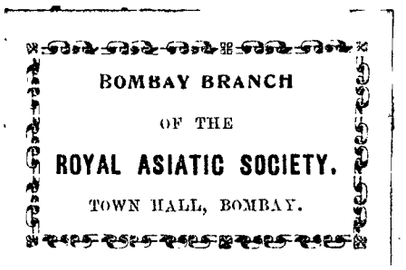
00020049

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016

00020049

THE LIVES OF THE Moſt eminent PERSONS Who have flouriſhed in *GREAT-BRITAIN* and *IRELAND*, From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

C

CONANT (JOHN) a very learned, pious, and eminent Engliſh Divine, in in the ſeventeenth century. He was deſcended from a very good family, that had flouriſhed for many years in the county of Devon, but was originally French (*a*). His father was Robert Conant, and his mother's name was Elizabeth, perſons of great integrity, having a competent, though not a large fortune, ſo that he had no reaſon to be aſhamed of his family; nor had a certain writer any need to have troubled himſelf with an apology about it (*b*); and one, who was much better informed, and more nearly concerned, hath, with great modeſty, ſet this point in the true light in which it ought to be known to poſterity (*c*) [*A*]. He was born October 18, 1608, at Yeatenton, a ſmall Village in Bicton pariſh, in the ſouth-eaſt part of the county before-mentioned (*d*); and giving very early and lively tokens of his inclination to learning, his uncle, the Rev Mr John Conant, Rector of Lymington, near Ilcheſter, in Somerſetſhire, charged himſelf in a particular manner with the care of his education; and having kept him for ſome time at the free-ſchool at Ilcheſter, put him afterwards under the tuition of Mr Thomas Branker, a very laborious and learned ſchool-maſter in the neighbourhood; and, while he was at both places, gave him occaſionally whatever helps he wanted in his ſtudies with great readineſs and pleaſure (*e*). His youth promiſed all that his riper years produced; his diſpoſition was always mild, moderate, and modeſt, ſo that he contented himſelf rather with the ſatisfaction ariſing from the poſſeſſion of knowledge, than affected to diſplay it. In Lent Term, 1626, his uncle carried him to Oxford, and entered him of Exeter-college, of which he had been himſelf nine years a Fellow, placing him under a very ſtrict, pious, and learned tutor, Mr Lawrence Bodley, B. D. (*f*) He ſtudied there with great vigour and application, and, in a ſhort time, diſtinguiſhed

(*a*) Life of John Conant, D. D. by his ſon John Conant, LL. D. MSS. p. 5.

(*b*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.

(*c*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 5.

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912.

(*e*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 6.

(*f*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 7.

[*A*] *In which it ought to be known to poſterity.*] We are told by the Reverend Mr Prince what follows, with reſpect to the deſcent of this worthy Perſon (1). 'He was not, ſays he, deſcended indeed from great, but 'from good parentage, more eminent for their piety 'than gentility, which in the eſtimation of God and 'good men, is the trueſt nobility. However, we are 'not to eſteem him as ſprung *ex fæce virûm*, from the 'dregs of the Plebeians: no; his name hath long 'flouriſhed, and his relations lived in good eſtate and 'reputation in thoſe parts.' Dr John Conant, the ſon of our Divine, gives us the plain Engliſh of all this in the following words (2): 'He was the eldeſt ſon 'of Robert Conant, and Elizabeth his wife, who were 'perſons of great integrity. Robert was one of the 'ſons of Richard Conant, and Agnes his wife, who 'lived at Budley, near Yeatenton, and were much 'eſteemed for their exemplary piety. Richard was 'the ſon of John Conant, deſcended from ingenious 'parents of Gittiſham, near Honiton, in this county; 'whoſe anceſtors, for many generations, had been 'fixed there, but were originally of French extraction'

(1) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.

(2) Life of Dr Conant, p. 5.

ſtinguiſhed himſelf as one of the ſhrewdeſt diſputants in this college, then one of the moſt flouriſhing in that univerſity. He was alſo very remarkable for the purity and perſpicuity of his Latin ſtile; and of the Greek, he was ſo perfect a maſter, as often to diſpute publickly in that language in the ſchools; which extraordinary accompliſhments recommended him highly to Dr John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college, and the King's Profeſſor of Divinity (*g*) [*B*]. It is very certain, that he took his degrees regularly, though the times, for what reaſon it is not eaſy to ſay, are omitted by the Oxford Hiſtorian (*h*); and ſo pious and prudent was the whole courſe of his life, that, without any other intereſt than his merit, he was choſen Probationer, June 30, 1632, and became actual Fellow of Exeter-college July 3, 1633 (*i*). He was alſo a very eminent tutor, and, in that capacity, had for his pupils ſeveral young gentlemen of the beſt families in his county, whom he educated with equal care, in ſound learning, and true piety (*k*). Upon the breaking out of the civil war, moſt of the ſtudents under his care leaving the univerſity, he judged it moſt convenient for him to retire alſo, which he accordingly did in 1642; but certainly without any deſign of forſaking his college, as appeared by his leaving in his chamber a large and well-choſen collection of books, of which, in his abſence, he was plundered (*l*). Some ſhort time before he quitted the univerſity, he had taken Deacon's Orders, and had applied himſelf with very great diligence to the ſtudy of the oriental languages, and whatever elſe might properly qualify him for the diſcharge of the miniſterial function, for which he had always a high reverence, and which he afterwards diſcharged, for many years, with great piety and zeal, and no leſs wiſdom and learning (*m*) [*C*]. He retired firſt to Lymington, his uncle's living in Somerſetſhire, not in Hampſhire, as Mr Prince would have it; but finding his worthy relation forced from thence, he officiated for him as long as he could continue there with ſafety; but, after being rifled of all he had, and kept for ſome time a priſoner, he found it high time for him alſo to repair to London, where, having found his uncle ſettled in the church of St Botolph, Alderſgate, he for ſome time, aſſiſted him in his paſtoral duties (*n*). While he was at Lymington he was conſtituted by the parliament one of the Aſſembly of Divines (*o*); but I believe he ſat amongſt them, if ever, very ſeldom, ſince it is certain, that he never took the Covenant. In order to avoid this, and other things not agreeable to his conſcience, he willingly accepted the offer made to him, of being domeſtick chaplain to the Lord Chandos; in whoſe family he lived at Harefield, or, as it is commonly called, Harvill, near Uxbridge, in Middleſex, where his piety, learning, and exemplary life, gained him many friends, who would have procured him a much better ſettlement, his income there being but fourſcore pounds a year, the beſt part of which he beſtowed in charitable uſes (*p*); but the privacy in which he paſſed his days, and his great apprehenſion of charging his conſcience with the tranſactions of thoſe times, induced him to refuſe the favours offered him, and in particular a good living in his own country, from Mr Duke, of Otterton (*q*). He carried this juſt and religious principle ſtill farther, for perceiving the effects of the parliament viſitation of the Univerſity of Oxford, where the Solemn League and Covenant was preſſed upon all the members of the Univerſity, rather than break in upon his own innocence, by ſubmitting to a power, and taking an oath, both which wanted a legal authority, and rather than abjure the good order that was eſtabliſhed in this Church ſince the perfecting of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, or combine to promote a civil war, all which were thought to be virtually contained in that oath, he determined to quit his relation to Exeter-college (*r*), which he did, by reſigning his fellowſhip, Sept. 27, 1647 (*s*). This proceeding of his, as it was equally candid and conſcientious, ſo the bare relation of it, muſt ſufficiently refute a very groundleſs calumny, inſerted in the work (*t*) of the Oxford Hiſtorian, concerning which the reader will be better informed in the notes [*D*]. While he lived as chaplain to Lord Chandos, he preached a volun-

(*g*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(*h*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912.

(*i*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 8.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(*l*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 9.

(*m*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912.

(*n*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 10.

(*o*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 198.

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(*q*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 11.

(*r*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912.

(*s*) As appears from that date in the college regiſter.

(*t*) Hiſt. & Antiquat. Oxon, lib. i. p. 397.

[*B*] *Recommended him highly to Dr John Pridcaux, then Rector of Exeter-college, and the King's Profeſſor of Divinity.*] We have an account of this fact from both the writers before mentioned; but the latter gives it in the cleareſt and moſt intelligent manner (3). 'Theſe 'his excellent endowments, ſays he, ſet off by a life 'every way regular and unblameable, could not eſcape 'ſo vigilant a governor, and ſo known an encourager of 'learning and virtue, as the reverend and learned Dr 'John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college; who, 'by an alluſion to his name *Conanti, nihil eſt difficile*; '(this, according to the humour of thoſe times, is a 'playing upon words; for, in one ſenſe, it implies, to 'him who endeavours, every thing is eaſy; and in another, there is nothing difficult to Conant;) ſignified his 'opinion of him: and he once ſaid of him, Jack Co'nant *will have my place*. Dr Prideaux was then Regius 'Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity, as well as Rector of the college; both which eminent places were, 'in proceſs of time, conferred on Dr Conant.'

(3) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 7.

[*C*] *And no leſs wiſdom and learning.*] We have mentioned in the text the excellence he acquired in Latin and Greek languages, to which he ſoon after added as perfect an acquaintance with the Hebrew and Syriac tongues, and was alſo a good proficient in Chaldee and Arabic (4); all which he thought neceſſary to the thorough underſtanding of the holy ſcriptures; in reading which in their originals, and in comparing them with each other, and with the beſt commentators, he ſpent ſeveral years, by which he became ſo thoroughly maſter of that ſort of learning, as to appear with equal luſtre in the pulpit and in the chair (5); nor was there any man of his time more remarkable for being a ſolid and ſound expoſitor, or for clearing the true ſenſe of ſuch texts as were miſinterpreted by the Socinians and other hereticks (6).

(4) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(5) Calamy's life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 76.

(6) Life of Dr Conant, p. 27.

[*D*] *Will be better informed in the notes.*] The famous Mr Anthony Wood informs us (7), that the reverend Mr Henry Tozer, Fellow and Sub-rector of Exeter college, was ſummoned before the parliament viſitors on the 21ſt of March, 1647, and by them queſtioned on eleven heads of offences by him committed in the management of the college; for which he was by theſe viſitors afterwards expelled, and flying into Holland, was there taken into the ſervice of the Engliſh merchants as their chaplain, and in that poſt died

(7) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon, lib. i. p. 397.

a voluntary lecture, upon a week-day, at Uxbridge, where he had always a very numerous audience; and though this was purely from a principle of doing good, and not with any view of being talked of and known in the world, which no man of his abilities ever ſought leſs, yet it ſerved to keep alive that great reputation which he had acquired at the univerſity, and of which the members of Exeter-college were ſo mindful, that upon the death of the learned Dr George Hakewill, their Rector, in the month of April, 1649, there was a remarkable conteſt about chuſing either his uncle or him for his ſucceſſor (*u*): but Mr John Conant, ſenior, who was then ſettled in the pariſh of St Thomas, in Colcheſter, abſolutely declining that preferment, the Fellows thereupon unanimouſly choſe Mr John Conant on the 7th of June following, and on the 29th of the ſame month he was admitted to that honourable office (*w*), which he executed with great prudence and fidelity, and with equal reputation to himſelf, and advantage to that ſociety which had given him ſo ſignal a proof of their affection and eſteem (*x*) [*E*]. In a very ſhort time, however, after his being thus ſettled, he was in great danger of being driven out of all publick employment again, and this by the Parliament's enjoining what was called the *Engagement*, which he did not take within the time preſcribed, but had a fortnight given him to conſider further of it, and that ſpace being expired a month (*y*), at the end of which he ſubmitted, but under a declaration, ſubſcribed at the ſame time with the *Engagement*, which, as it in fact enervated that inſtrument entirely (*z*), is at once a demonſtrative proof of his great integrity, and of the general reputation he muſt have had to procure his ſubſcription to be received upon thoſe terms [*F*]. This difficulty being got over, he continued to diſcharge his office

(*u*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 14.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912.

(*x*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(*y*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 16, 17.

(*z*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

died at Rotterdam, Sept 11, 1650. He further adds, that theſe heads of accuſation were tranſmitted to the viſitors by Mr John Conant, Mr. Anthony Clifford, Mr John Martin, and Mr Robert Hancock. This is a very heavy and a very extraordinary charge, which, at firſt ſight, ſeems to agree but very indifferently with Mr Conant's known character, who, of all things, hated to concern himſelf in quarrels or diſputes. But the following refutation of this charge is ſo clear, ſo full, and ſo unanſwerable, that it muſt certainly ſatisfy every man that reads it (8). 'His reſignation in 'the college regiſter bears date the 27th of Sept. 1647. 'That he had never ſeen Oxford from the end of the 'year 1642, till June, 1649, I find expreſsly under 'his own hand-writing, in a book of accounts relating 'to his pupils and to his Oxford affairs, which I here 'particularly mention, in order to rectify a miſtake in 'a late author, who, in his book, entitled Hiſtoria et 'Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, reckons Mr Co'nant among the Fellows of Exeter-college who accuſed 'Mr H. Tozer, their Sub-rector, to the parliamen'tary viſitors; whereas Mr Tozer was not called be'fore the viſitors till the 21ſt of March, 1647, as 'may be ſeen in the regiſter of the proceedings at 'that viſitation, now in the publick library, at Ox'ford, which was near half a year after Mr Conant 'had ſent his reſignation to the college. Beſides, the 'matters laid to Mr Tozer's charge, as this very au'thor has repreſented them, were ſuch as could not 'poſſibly fall under the notice of any one who had 'not lived in the college very lately, which Mr Conant 'had not done for more than five years paſt. But, 'had he been ſtill Fellow there, and reſident, yet 'it is very unlikely that he ſhould join in an accuſa'tion againſt Mr Tozer, whoſe name he would never 'mention without reſpect; neither can it be thought, 'that he would accuſe any one, tho' never ſo faulty 'and unſtatutable to thoſe viſitors, whoſe power he 'would not acknowledge, and to whom he himſelf 'was obnoxious, for not having taken the Covenant.' It appears from hence with how great caution the facts advanced in that book of Mr Wood's particularly, ought to be received, and in how great need they ſtand of ſome other authority to ſupport them before they meet with allowance and credit.

(8) Life of Dr Conant, p. 12, 13.

[*E*] *So ſignal a proof of their affection and eſteem.*] At the time Mr Conant was admitted to the rectory of Exeter-college, the ſtate of it's revenue was very indifferent. They had contracted conſiderable debts by aſſiſting the King, while he remained at Oxford; and other misfortunes had contributed to heighten both the confuſion and diſtreſs of their affairs (9). He ſet about the removing of theſe inconveniences with equal ſagacity and diligence; he put the method of receiving the college revenues upon the beſt footing poſſible, and, having adjuſted, in an equitable manner, the order in which their incumbrances were to be paid off; the very firſt notice of his ſcheme revived the credit of the college. In point of diſcipline during the adminiſtration of Dr Holland, and Dr Prideaux, it fell ſhort of none in the univerſity; but that being afterwards broke in upon, the ſociety gradually declined, and was in a very low ſtate when he became Rector. He ſet about the correction of thoſe diſorders with the greateſt vigour and vigilance, and he perſiſted in that courſe with the utmoſt ſteadineſs and courage, did much by exhortation and encouragement, more by reproof and an unrelaxed ſtrictneſs in puniſhments, moſt of all by the brightneſs of his own example. He was conſtant in his attendance at publick prayers; he expounded the holy ſcriptures learnedly, critically, and practically; he took care that the meaneſt ſervants in the college ſhould be inſtructed, and, for that purpoſe, cathechized them often in his own apartment. He had a watchful eye over the ſcholars, more eſpecially ſuch as were intended for the Miniſtry; he enquired carefully into the progreſs of their ſtudies, and was ſtill *ſtricter with regard to their morals; his* way of puniſhing was by exerciſes, and not pecuniary mulcts; for he underſtood not making parents pockets pay for their childrens offences (10). He took no leſs pains with the tutors, to whom he frequently remonſtrated the great truſt that was repoſed in them, the obligations they were under to diſcharge it, and the folly of expecting any proficiency in their pupils, if they were at all wanting in their duty. But above all, he was remarkably juſt and candid in the affair of elections, where his intereſt, as Rector, could be procured no otherwiſe than by merit, and, where that appeared, his influeuce was ſure to be exerted as far as legally it might. What the effects were of this ſo painful and diligent diſcharge of his duty, may be learned from the following paragraph in his ſon's memoirs, out of which the foregoing particulars were extracted (11).

(9) Life of Dr Conant, p. 15.

(10) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

'Exeter-college flouriſhed ſo much under the go'vernment of Mr Conant, that the ſtudents were 'many more than could be lodged within the walls. 'They crowded in here from all parts of the nation, 'and ſome from beyond ſea, where the fame of it's 'diſcipline had reached. It would be tedious to enu'merate thoſe eminent perſons, both in Church and 'State, thoſe learned and good men who were bred 'up under his care. In his time it afforded a Vice'chancellor, a Proctor, a Doctor of the chair in Di'vinity, a Moral Philoſophy and Rhetorick Reader to 'the univerſity, a Preſident to St John's, a Principal 'to Jeſus, and a Divinity Profeſſor to Magdalen-col'lege; not to mention ſuch as were tranſplanted 'thence to ſcholarſhips and fellowſhips in other col'leges, many of whom were men of eminency after'wards.'

(11) Life of Dr Conant, p. 23.

[*F*] *To procure his ſubſcription to be received upon thoſe terms.*] If, as the moſt judicious criticks agree, the capital uſe of Biography, not compoſed by barely tacking together the circumſtances of a life, ſo as to render it a mere ſkeleton of facts and dates, is to inform and inſtruct by example; then, without doubt, there is nothing ſo much worthy of obſervation, in

Wh-

office of Rector of Exeter-college with universal approbation; and though his labours therein were both constant and great, yet, being in virtue of that office Vicar of Kidlington, a large parish four miles from Oxford, he, for some time, officiated there in person, going thither on a saturday, and preaching twice on sunday, and catechizing the youth, leaving the care of the parish, during the week, to Mr Rumbald, a very worthy and learned man (*a*), who kept a school there. But finding his absence from College detrimental to it's discipline, he afterwards took care to have a sufficient Curate at his living, to whom he allowed three-fourths of it's revenue (*b*). After he was thus fixed at Oxford, he preached a voluntary lecture at Allhallow's church every friday morning at seven o'clock, almost every sunday he preached at St Michael's, and every other sunday during the summer half-year, in the afternoon, at St Mary Magdalen's, in the suburbs, and this not only without desiring, but even without accepting any recompence when offered (*c*). October 28, 1652, he received Priest's Orders, at Salisbury, and (*d*), May the 29th, 1654, he was admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*e*). In the month of December, the same year, upon the decease of Dr Joshua Hoyle, he became Divinity Professor in the University of Oxford, where his lectures were received with universal applause, by a very numerous and learned audience, by whom, though often and warmly importuned, his modesty was so great, that he could never be prevailed with to publish them (*f*). In 1657 he accepted the impropriate Rectory of Abergely, near St Asaph, in Denbighshire, as some satisfaction for the benefices formerly annexed to the Divinity-chair, which he never enjoyed. This acceptance of his was very beneficial to the Curate, whose salary he augmented twenty pounds a year, gave him other encouragements besides, and contributed largely to the relief of the poor, though the whole income of the living was but one hundred and twenty pounds a year (*g*). Upon the restoration of Episcopacy, knowing that this rectory had been anciently annexed to the Bishoprick of St Asaph, he not only immediately quitted it to Dr Griffith, upon his coming to that See, but allowed him also to receive the last year's profits (*h*). On the 9th of October, 1657, he was admitted Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to the great joy, and no less benefit, of that learned body (*i*). This high dignity he kept till the 1st of August, 1660, during which space he corrected many abuses, regulated the publick exercises in a manner highly serviceable to the promoting solid learning, was very instrumental in procuring Mr Selden's large and valuable collection of books for the publick library, and had a great hand in defeating a design, to which the Protector, Oliver, gave his consent, for erecting a kind of university at Durham (*k*). The most extraordinary thing of all that occurred during his administration, was preventing some eager persons in the university from sacrificing their own rights and privileges, by a petition to the Protector Richard's parliament, which was the more honourable to Dr Conant, as it was his own act entirely, and as his firmness in the opposition procured it's success, so far as to defeat this pernicious project, which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities (*l*) [G]. Upon

(*a*) Life of Dr Conant. p. 16,

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 24, 25.

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 24, 25.

(*d*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76. Life of Dr Conant, p. 25, 26.

(*e*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Wood's Fasti Oxon, Vol. II. col. 106.

(*f*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 27. Ayloffe's Ancient and Present State of Oxford, Vol. II. p. 308.

(*g*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 29.

(*h*) Ibid, p. 30.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Ayloffe's Ancient and Present State of Oxford, Vol. II. p. 287.

(*k*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 32, 33.

(*l*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 33, 34, 35.

what is preserved to us, of the conduct of this worthy person, as the steadiness and integrity he shewed in those times of confusion, when, notwithstanding the hypocritical shew of religion, there was as great a defection from virtue as in any of which we have authentick records (12). His son gives us those particulars relative to this matter, which we have inserted in the text; but, as to the restrictions, with which, after delaying so long, he at last signed the Engagement, we owe it entirely to Mr Prince, that they have not been buried in oblivion. The terms of the Engagement were (13),

(12) Life of Dr Conant, p. 17.

(13) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

'You shall promise to be true and faithful to the 'Common-Wealth of England, as it is now established, 'without King or House or Lords.'

Dr Conant's declaration before the commissioners when he took the Engagement (14).

Being required to subscribe, I humbly premise,

I. 'That I be not hereby understood to approve of 'what hath been done in order unto, or under this 'present government, or the government itself; nor 'will I be thought to condemn it: they being things 'above my reach, and I not knowing the grounds of 'the proceedings.

II. 'That I do not bind myself to do any thing 'contrary to the word of God.

III. 'That I do not so hereby bind myself; but, that 'if God shall remarkably call me to submit to any 'other power, I may be at liberty to obey that call, 'notwithstanding the present engagement.

IV. 'In this sense, and in this sense only, I do pro'mise to be true and faithful to the present govern'ment, as it is now established, without King or 'House of Lords (15).

JOHN CONANT.'

(14) Taken from an attested copy of the original, by Mr D. G.

(15) Life of Dr Conant, p. 35, 36, 37.

[G] *Which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities.*] The point aimed at was to obtain from the parliament, local visitors of such colleges, as, by their statutes, were to be visited by Archbishops and Bishops. But Dr Conant had so true an idea of parliamentary visitations, that he had not the least desire of seeing any more of them in his time, and therefore would not, by any means, countenance a petition for that purpose. He was told, that a Convocation were the proper judges of the matter: but this he denied; he said that local visitors was not the affair of the university, but of particular colleges, many of which consisted mostly of scholars and undergraduates, and consequently had no votes in Convocations; and it would be very hard to represent any thing as their sense of the matter, who had no opportunity of expressing their sentiments upon it. It was then suggested to him, that it was a thing to which the university in general inclined, and that he might make himself extremely popular by promoting it. His answer was, that he had found, by long experience, is was impossible to please the generality, without prostituting a man's conscience; that if he could stretch his to the measures of other men's judgments, he knew he should not fail of the loud acclamations of the university; but hoped never to purchase their applause at so dear a rate. It was then insinuated, that by his stiffness he would raise himself many enemies, and that possibly he might bring the parliament upon his head, who would take it amiss that he checked any thing that tended to put greater power into their hands. This induced him to speak his mind more plainly. I am sensible, said he, how ill a negative vote may be resented at this juncture, and how much it concerns every man that loves his own quiet and security, to keep himself out of their hands, who can do what they please: but, since I have no honest way of preventing what is feared,

I sub-

Upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. Dr Conant, as Vice-chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, came up to London, attended by the Proctors, and a great number of the principal members of that illuſtrious and learned body, and, June 15, 1660 (*m*), had the honour to be introduced to his Majeſty, to whom he would have made his ſpeech kneeling; but the King roſe himſelf from his ſeat and commanded him to riſe, after which he made a ſuccinct and elegant oration in Latin, which is unfortunately loſt, and preſented his Majeſty with a book of verſes, written by the members of the univerſity, and amongſt them ſome of his own, which have been deſervedly commended, as having in them a true ſpirit of poetry, a juſt ſtrain of panegyrick, and a noble concern for religion (*n*) [*H*]. On the 25th of March, 1661, the King iſſued a commiſſion for the review of the Book of Common Prayer, in which Dr Conant was one of the commiſſioners, and aſſiſted at the Savoy Conferences, which were the fruits of this commiſſion, in which he behaved with his uſual modeſty and moderation, expreſſing a deſire that ſome regard might be had to thoſe who had been otherwiſe educated, and ſuch condeſcenſion ſhewed, as might preſerve the peace of the Church (*o*). After this, upon the paſſing of the Act of Uniformity, which gave but a ſhort day for the conſideration of matters of very great importance, in the ſentiments of ſuch as were of truly tender conſciences, he did not ſee ſufficient cauſe to conform, and, as he had already given up his living in Denbeighſhire to the Biſhop of St Aſaph, loſt his Profeſſorſhip of Divinity by the return of Dr Robert Saunderſon, to whom, of right, it belonged; ſo, rather than offer any violence to his principles, he ſuffered himſelf to be deprived of the Rectory of Exeter-college, which was pronounced vacant, September 1, 1662 (*p*), and in which he was ſucceeded by Mr Joſeph Maynard. And thus, as a judicious prelate obſerves, Dr Conant was diſabled from the publick exerciſe of his miniſtry, to the great loſs of the Church of England in general, and more eſpecially of the Univerſity of Oxford, and of Exeter-college in particular (*q*). In this ſituation, however, he ſhewed that he had as great tenderneſs for the publick peace, as for the quiet of his own conſcience, and therefore he was ſo far from ſetting himſelf at the head, as he might eaſily have done of a ſeparation, that, on the contrary, he refuſed to join with, or countenance it, but went publickly to church, and behaved there with exemplary piety and devotion (*r*). An eccleſiaſtical dignity was offered him about that time, which he refuſed (*s*), becauſe he was reſolved to conſider coolly and carefully the terms preſcribed by authority, that, after weighing every thing ſeriouſly, he might, if he ſaw evidence, conform, or, if not, remain firm in his preſent conduct [*I*]. At

(*m*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 180.

(*n*) The Title of this book ran thus, *Britannia Rediviva, ſeu Oxonienſium carmina in reditum Caroli* II. *in Angliam. Oxonii*, 1660, 4to.

(*o*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76. Life of Dr Conant, p. 39.

(*p*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. II. col. 912. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76. Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 844. Life of Dr Conant, p. 40.

(*q*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 748.

(*r*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 42. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.

(*s*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 41.

I ſubmit to God's providence. As to my being worſted in this buſineſs I value it not, for I aim not at victory, but to keep my conſcience clear; and as to this, *it is not in any man's power to deprive me of my end.* At laſt, they propoſed, as an accommodation, that he ſhould go out of town, and ſubſtitute a Pro-Vice-chancellor, who might do what he could not prevail upon himſelf to do; but he would hear of no ſuch expedient: he ſaid, it would be a betraying of his truſt, by a weak and mean compliance in a thing which, in his own judgment, he utterly diſallowed. The iſſue of this was, that after all the ſtir made about them, theſe petitions were quaſhed, and came to nothing.

[*H*] *And a noble concern for religion.*] The reader will beſt judge of the truth of the commendations by his peruſing of the verſes, which were theſe (16).

(16) Britannia Rediviva, p. 5.

Ad ſereniſſimum Regem.

Accipe pacato, princeps celſiſſime, vultu,
Quæ tibi dat trimulâ muſa togata manu.
Prima offenſantis capias tentamina linguæ,
Quæ non auſa diu, marti ſtrepente, loqui.
Jam ſolitos reſciſſe modos patiare camænas;
Agnoſcunt artes, te redeunte, ſuas.
Quæ tua ſunt cœlum tibi reddidit; ipſe viciſſim
Jam cœlo reddas, Carole magne, ſua:
Sceptra Deo tradas; illum regnare jubeto,
Inclyte Rex, quo, tu ſceptra jubente, tenes.
O ter fælices, te ſic regnante Britannos!
Chriſtus ut emineat, teque regente, regat.
Ipſa ſibi triſtes gratabitur Anglia clades,
Penſari tanto quæ potuere bono.

In Engliſh thus.

To his Sacred Majesty.

Kindly accept, that tribute, beſt of Kings,
The college muſe, with trembling rev'rence brings,
The firſt eſſays of her unpractis'd ſong,
Whom war's harſh clamour doom'd to ſilence long.
But, now reviv'd, the lamps of learning burn,
And, arts returning, wait on thy return.
Heav'n has thy rights reſtor'd; do thou reſtore
The rights of heav'n! religion's ſacred power!
Return the ſceptre GOD beſtows again,
And CHARLES reigning; let his Maker reign.
Thrice happy BRITONS, whom you thus ſhall ſway,
And only rule that they may CHRIST obey.
Our ſlaughter's paſt, no longer we deplore,
Nor ills regret that ſuch a PRINCE reſtore.

[*I*] *Or, if not, remain firm in his preſent conduct.*] We have a very curious, as well as circumſtantial account of his behaviour upon this occaſion, and of the methods he took to reſolve his own caſe of conſcience, whether he ought to conform or not, in his ſon's memoirs (17).

(17) Life of Dr Conant, p. 44, 45.

'He applied himſelf very cloſely, for ſome time, 'to the ſtudy of the controverſies relating to Confor- 'mity. He had deliberately weighed and conſidered 'the whole compaſs of theſe diſputes, and made him- 'ſelf maſter of every turn in them. He had not only 'examined what had been objected to the ſeveral of- 'fices of the liturgy, it's doxologies and reſponſals, 'it's rubricks and kalendar, and thoroughly conſidered 'all the phraſes and modes of expreſſion in each ſer- 'vice, but likewiſe compared it with ancient litur- 'gies, as well as with the holy ſcriptures, doctrines 'of the apoſtles, and later rituals and offices. This 'appears from his papers in my hands, running over 'many of the paſſages in the book of Common Prayer 'that have been objected to, and giving ſuch ortho- 'dox ſenſes of them, as he concludes were agreeable 'to the judgment of the firſt Right Reverend and pi- 'ous compilers of them. And, I perſuade myſelf, 'were they perfect, they might reconcile the moſt 'ſcrupulous to join in thoſe excellent forms of prayer.' He adds afterwards, 'Dr Conant's conformity could 'not be ſurprizing to any one who conſiders, that his 'prejudices were never many, and thoſe not ſtrong or 'violent, though his determinations were ſlow and ad- 'viſed. One would rather wonder, that he did not 'confor-

At length, after eight years ſerious deliberation, his mind was ſatisfied, and he reſolved to comply in all points, and in particular with that which had probably ſtuck moſt with him, which was the being re-ordained, and accordingly was ſo, September 28, 1670 *(t)*, by the Right Rev. Dr Reynolds, Lord Biſhop of Norwich, whoſe daughter he had married. This behaviour of his ſurprized thoſe who beſt knew him leaſt, and Dr Owen, his contemporary at Oxford, could not help ſaying, when he heard it, that he did not in the leaſt wonder at it, ſince he knew Dr Conant's ſentiments were for Epiſcopacy all along *(u)*. He had no ſooner qualified himſelf for the acceptance of eccleſiaſtical preferments than many were offered him, and, on the 18th of December, the ſame year, he was actually elected Miniſter of the Church of St Mary, Aldermanbury, in the City of London *(w)*; but having ſpent ſome years in the town of Northampton, where he was much beloved, and highly eſteemed, he choſe rather to accept of the invitation of his neighbours to remain amongſt them, and Dr Simon Ford, who was then Miniſter of All-Saints, being elected in the room of Dr Conant, by the Veſtry of St Mary, Aldermanbury, Dec. 29, 1670 *(x)*; he was nominated by the corporation to the Vicarage of All-Saints, and had inſtitution given him Feb. 15, 1670, which, tho' of the value only of a ſingle hundred pounds *per Annum*, he would never part with, though very conſiderable offers were made him, and in particular one by his gracious Maſter King Charles II. which was ſignified to him by a letter from the then Secretary of State *(y)*. On the 20th of September, 1675, he had the mortification to ſee the greateſt part of his pariſh, together with his church, burnt to the ground, though providentially his own houſe eſcaped *(z)*. His preſence was of great uſe to the town in that critical juncture, when he employed both his perſon and his purſe for the ſervice of the diſtreſſed, and would not, though new and great offers were made him, conſent to leave them under this calamity *(a)*. So true a ſenſe had the inhabitants of Northampton of his wiſe conduct upon this occaſion, that they gave him the uſe of St Peter's Church till his own could be repaired, and the gentlemen in the neighbourhood made up his year's ſalary, which, the next year, was paid him by his generous benefactor Mr Montague, of Horton, brother to his old patroneſs the Lady Chandos *(b)*. He diſcharged his paſtoral duty there with the ſame zeal and application which he had ſhewn in other places, and was particularly inſtrumental in bringing over Diſſenters of all denominations to the Church [*K*]. In the beginning of the year 1676, the Archdeaconary of Norwich becoming vacant by the death of Mr John Reynolds, his brother-in-law, the Biſhop offered him that preferment, with this ſingular compliment *(c)*, *I do not expect thanks from you, but I will be very thankful to you if you will accept of it*; of which he deſired time to conſider, and reflecting on the miſconſtructions that might be made of his declining it, he embraced the propoſal, was inſtituted on the 7th, and inſtalled on the 8th of June following, in that Archdeaconary *(d)*, and, ſo long as his health would permit, conſtantly diſcharged his duty by perſonal viſitations. Upon the death of Mr Tomkins, one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Worceſter, Dr Conant's old friend and contemporary at Exeter-college, the worthy Earl of Radnor *(e)*, aſked it for him from King Charles II. in theſe terms, *Sir, I come to beg a preferment of you for a very deſerving perſon*

(*t*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. II. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 45.

(*u*) Kennet's Hiſt. Regiſter, p. 748. Life of Dr Conant, p. 44.

(*w*) Kennet's Hiſt. Regiſter, p. 843.

(*x*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 843.

(*y*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 47.

(*z*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.

(*a*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 48, 49.

(*b*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 48, 49.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti. Oxon, vol. II. col. 106. Life of Dr Conant, p. 53, 54.

(*d*) Appendix to Sir T. Brown's Poſthumous Works, p. 59.

(*e*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 66.

'conform much ſooner than he did, ſince it is certain, 'that his temper was never ſowred by the loſs of his 'college; that he had an awful regard for the com-'mands of authority in things indifferent; that he 'conſtantly blamed thoſe who held their aſſemblies at 'hours that interfered with the publick worſhip of 'God, in affront to the civil ſanctions of the laws, to 'good order and parochial communion; that he was 'ſo far from being ambitious of a ſeparate congrega-'tion, or covetous of their contributions, that he had 'induſtriouſly kept out of the way of both.'

[*K*] *In bringing over Diſſenters of all denominations to the Church.*] He was not only conſtantly reſident in his pariſh, except when his other offices abſolutely required his attendance, but alſo conſtantly officiated in perſon, preaching twice every ſunday, and taking care to inculcate practical religion in the plaineſt and moſt pathetick language (18). In the evenings he catechized the children, and, amongſt them, his own were always preſent. He ſeldom, if ever, viſited his pariſhioners, more eſpecially thoſe of the better ſort, in a ceremonious way; but his clerk had ſtrict orders to inform him when any were ſick, and then, without ſtaying to be ſent for, he readily waited upon the meaneſt of his flock. He was not afraid to ſpeak freely where it was neceſſary, out of any reſpect to perſons; and, where he ſaw the appearance of diſtreſs, he relieved with a bounty ſuitable rather to his inclinations than his circumſtances. He was one of the moſt remarkable Caſuiſts in his time, and was not only reſorted to by ſome who lived at a great diſtance, but his advice was likewiſe aſked, by letters, even from foreigners. As his duties took up a great part of his time, ſo the ſhort ſpaces that he allowed to thoſe relaxations which are abſolutely neceſſary for the relief of human nature, were dedicated to things that would have hardly paſſed with many for recreation. Reading a few pages in the claſſicks, hearing ſome remarkable piece of hiſtory, and diſcourſing upon it to his children, or explaining to them ſome point in Natural Philoſophy, that they might have juſt notions of the wiſdom of Providence, and an early impreſſion of the reverence due to it's divine author were his only diverſions. Yet, with all this ſtrictneſs of manners, he had nothing either of moroſeneſs or pride, great evenneſs of temper, which never roſe higher than being chearful; and, on the other hand, was never depreſſed by temporal loſſes, or corporal pain; his humility ſo true, that it diſcovered itſelf upon all occaſions; he knew little of form and ceremonies, and, from the little he did know, deſpiſed them; yet, from the natural ſweetneſs of temper, he was obliging to all, and courteous even to the meaneſt in his pariſh. His charity, as has been before hinted, had leſs relation to his circumſtances than any other point of his conduct. At Northampton, for twenty years together, he paid for the ſchooling of poor children, never fewer than twenty-four, and ſometimes nearer forty; and theſe he placed out with ſeveral needy widows, that what he gave might contribute to their aſſiſtance. He was, upon all occaſions, ready to promote the relief ſought by ſtrangers, of which various inſtances are given in his ſon's memoirs; but we have already exceeded the uſual limits of ſuch an article, for which, the worth of it muſt be our apology, for it would be hard, as well as unjuſt, to ſay but little of ſo great and good a man (19).

(18) Calamy's life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.

(19) Dr Conant's Life, thro' the laſt 20 pages.

[*L*] *With*

perſon, who never ſought any thing for himſelf, and, upon naming him, the King very kindly conſented; ſo that December 3, 1681, he was inſtalled (*f*). He governed himſelf ſtrictly, with reſpect to this preferment, by the local ſtatutes, as to reſidence, preaching, and other circumſtances, ſo long as he was able to travel; and when his age and infirmities intitled him, in the judgment of the Chapter, to ſtatuteable exemption, he directed a great part of the revenue of his prebend to be diſtributed among poor houſe-keepers, (*g*) and others, at Worceſter. In 1686, after his eyes had been for ſome time weak, he loſt his ſight entirely; which great misfortune, together with the common infirmities of old age, for ſharp and painful diſeaſes he had none, he bore not only with patience and reſignation, but with chearfulneſs and eaſe (*h*). As his publick courſe of life was uſeful and honourable, ſo he was alſo very happy in his family. He married, in Auguſt, 1651, Elizabeth, daughter of Dr Edward Reynolds, afterwards the right reverend and learned Biſhop of Norwich, by whom he had ſix ſons and as many daughters (*i*). In his private life there was a happy mixture of mildneſs of temper, with ſeverity of morals. He had always as great a contempt of pomp and magnificence, as he had an unfeigned affection for a private and retired life (*k*). Temperate he was to a degree of abſtemiouſneſs, frugal in his expences, and more of his time, and yet no man freer of both where charity required. So little deſirous of the wealth of this world, that, when he had nothing but his Fellowſhip to ſupport him, he generouſly made over the eſtate that deſcended to him from his father, to his younger brother, Robert, who had married young, and had many children (*l*). He was not only a man of very ſolid, but of very extenſive learning, and yet ſo very modeſt, that though he underſtood moſt of the Oriental Languages, and was particularly as well verſed in Syriac as any man of his time, yet his proficiency in theſe ſtudies was known to very few. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed upon (for that is really the fact, though directly contrary to what ſeveral authors have aſſerted) (*m*) to ſuffer a volume of his ſermons to be publiſhed in his life-time, and, as for the reſt which eſcaped that ſevere cenſure he paſſed upon what would have been thought of the higheſt value by the reſt of the world, they were ſent abroad, by the pious care of ſeveral wiſe and worthy perſons, from a charitable deſire, that the Church might not be deprived of the labours of ſo painful and ſo practical a preacher; which writings of his have met with that reſpect and eſteem they ſo highly deſerved (*n*) [*L*]. This learned perſon, after an exemplary life, deceaſed in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, March 12, 1693, and was buried in his own pariſh-church of All-Saints, in Northampton, with a ſuitable inſcription to his memory upon a plain and decent monument, erected by his widow (*o*). His ſon, John Conant, Doctor of Laws, a man very eminent in his profeſſion, wrote his life with great care and judgment, from which many particulars have been taken, and the whole of which deſerves well to be publiſhed.

(*f*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. II. p. 680.

(*g*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 67.

(*h*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227.

(*i*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 67.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.

(*l*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 80.

(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 82, 83.

(*n*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227. Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. II. p. 680.

[*L*] *With that reſpect and eſteem which they ſo highly deſerved.*] In this note it is propoſed to give an account of ſuch of Dr Conant's works as have been preſerved and made publick, in order to rectify the miſtakes that have been made about them. There have been, in all, ſix volumes of his ſermons ſent abroad, at ſeveral times, by ſeveral hands.

Vol. I. Publiſhed in 1693, 8vo. by the care of Dr John Williams, miniſter of St Mildred's, in the Poultry, in the author's life-time, as appears by the preface, and Dr Conant's dedication to the inhabitants of Northampton. There are in this volume eleven ſermons.

II. Publiſhed in 1697, 8vo. by John, Biſhop of Chicheſter, with a preface before it, in which notice is taken of the former volume, publiſhed in the Doctor's life-time. This volume contains fifteen ſermons.

III. Publiſhed in 1698, 8vo. by the ſame editor, who ſays in the preface, that Dr Conant committed to the flames many learned diſcourſes, and particularly thoſe which he had preached in a Lecture in the univerſity on nice and difficult ſubjects, preſerving ſuch only as related to practice. He likewiſe mentions a life of the author, which was expected, but not come to hand. This volume contains fourteen ſermons.

IV. Publiſhed in 1703, 8vo. by the ſame editor. In the preface his Lordſhip takes notice, that there had been an intention of writing the author's life, as a thing that could not fail of being acceptable to thoſe who knew him, and very uſeful to thoſe who did not; but, for the preſent, this deſign being laid aſide, it was hoped the loſs of it would be compenſated by the publication of this fourth volume of ſermons from his own manuſcripts. This volume contains thirteen ſermons.

V. Publiſhed in 1708, 8vo. by the ſame editor, who, in his preface, ſays very confidently, that, with the next volume, an account of the author's life would appear, written by an able hand. This volume contains fourteen ſermons.

VI. Publiſhed in 1722, 8vo. by Digby Coates, M. A. Principal of Magdalen-hall, in Oxford, at the requeſt of the author's ſon, John Conant, LL.D. but without any life or preface before it. There are in this volume thirteen ſermons, making up the whole number four-ſcore.

E

CONGREVE (WILLIAM) a celebrated Engliſh Poet in the laſt and preſent century. There is no ſort of queſtion about the deſcent of this gentleman, which was from the antient houſe of Congreve in Staffordſhire, flouriſhing there with honour and reputation (*a*); neither is there any doubt as to his immediate family, for he was the only ſurviving ſon of William Congreve, Eſq; who was the ſecond ſon of Richard Congreve, Eſq; of Congreve and Stratton in the county of Stafford (*b*). As to the place, and indeed as to the kingdom, in which he was born, authors differ, and not only ſo, but are poſitive on both ſides; ſome are clear that he was a native of Ireland (*c*), but it ſeems more probable, or, to ſpeak more plainly, it is morally certain, that he was a native of England, and drew his firſt breath at the village of Bardſa, near Leeds in Yorkſhire (*d*), which was the eſtate of a near relation of his by the mother's ſide. The reaſon of our giving the preference to this ſentiment, rather than that which entitles another iſland to the honour of his

(*a*) See the Arms of the ancient families in Staffordſhire, in the margin of Dr Plot's map prefixed to his Natural Hiſtory of that county.

(*b*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, vol. I. p. 41.

(*c*) See the article of Congreve (W.) in the General Dictionary.

(*d*) See the funeral inſcription on his monument, in note [*P*].

his birth, will be found at the bottom of the page [*A*]. The time when it happened can only be collected by circumſtances, which place it in 1671 or 1672 (*e*). His father carried him, when a very child, into Ireland, where at that time he had a command in the army, but afterwards was entruſted with the management of a conſiderable part of the large eſtate of the noble family of Burlington, which fixed the reſidence of himſelf and family in that kingdom (*f*). Our author received the firſt tincture of letters in the great ſchool of Kilkenny, and gave very early proofs of his pregnant genius; and it is ſaid, that one of the firſt eſſays of his poetical talent was a copy of verſes upon the death of his maſter's magpye (*g*). He went from the ſchool of Kilkenny to the univerſity of Dublin, then flouriſhing under the direction of Dr St George Aſh, where, in a very ſhort time, Mr Congreve became perfectly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and acquired not only a general acquaintance with, but a correct and critical taſte in, the Claſſicks (*h*). His father, however, was deſirous that his parts ſhould be applied to more profitable ſtudies, and therefore ſent him over to England a little after the Revolution, and placed him as a ſtudent in the Middle-Temple (*i*). But the ſevere ſtudy of the Law had ſo little relation to the active diſpoſition and ſprightly humour of the young Gentleman, that though he continued for three or four years to live in chambers, and paſs for a Templar, yet it does not appear that he ever applied himſelf with diligence to conquer his diſlike to a courſe of life which had been choſen for him, with ſo little reſpect either to the turn of his natural parts, or the preceding courſe of his education (*k*). But how little ſoever he anſwered the expectation of his friends, in the proſecution of that profeſſion to which they had deſtin'd him, certain it is, that he was not either indolent or inactive in the cultivation of thoſe ſtudies, that were both his early and his lateſt care. His firſt performance, when almoſt a boy, was extraordinary in it's kind, and though no more than a novel, which, under the aſſumed name of *CLEOPHIL*, he dedicated to Mrs Catherine Leveſon, yet it was a proof, not only of the vivacity of his wit, and the fluency of his ſtile, but alſo of the ſtrength of his judgment [*B*]. As he did not then think proper to own

(*e*) See the Funeral inſcription on his monument, in note [*P*].

(*f*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; by Charles Wilſon, p. 1. From the relation of Captain Southerne.

(*g*) Memoirs of Mr Congreve, p. 1.

(*h*) From Captain Southerne's relation.

(*i*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 41.

(*k*) From the accounts given by ſeveral of his friends and acquaintance.

(*l*) See his Dedication of his *Incognita*: or, Love and Duty reconciled.

[*A*] *Will be found at the bottom of the page.*] In the new Engliſh tranſlation, with great additions, of the learned Antiquary of Ireland's works, we find Mr Congreve's life inſerted, as a native of that country; but it is not ſaid when or where he was born (1). In a very large collection of the ſame kind with this, we find the ſame fact aſſerted, from the information of the late ingenious Thomas Southerne, Eſq; who was Mr Congreve's intimate friend, and out-lived him many years (2). He was himſelf of that country, and might very probably be firmly perſuaded, from his knowing him a youth there, that he was his countryman. The author, upon whoſe credit we rely, in giving a different account of this matter, is the late Mr Giles Jacob; and (3) though at firſt ſight it muſt appear very ſingular, to prefer the authority of Mr Jacob to that of Mr Southerne; yet there is a reaſon for it, ſo ſtrong, that when it is once mentioned, it may perhaps clear this diſpute, in the reader's opinion as well as mine. In the preface Mr Jacob, ſpeaking of the communications which he had received from living authors, has this paſſge, 'I am in particular obliged to Mr Con-'greve for his free and early communication of what 'relates to himſelf, as well as his kind directions for 'the compoſing of this work.' This correſpondence was in the year 1719, though the book was not publiſhed till three years afterwards: but, however, as it was both written and publiſhed in Mr Congreve's lifetime, we muſt conclude from thence, that we have his own authority for the matter of fact, which is ſuperior even to the recollection of his old friend and acquaintance Mr Southerne, who, as a man might miſtake, though he was certainly a man of too much honour, willingly, to miſinform any body.

(1) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 294.

(2) General Dictionary, Vol. IV. p. 427.

(3) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Vol. I. p. 41.

[*B*] *But alſo of the ſtrength of his judgment.*] The title of this firſt work of our ingenious author's was, INCOGNITA: or, *Love and Duty reconciled.* It has been always conſidered as a piece very well written, more eſpecially as it was the firſt production of a youth of ſeventeen. It has been alſo aſſerted, that at the bottom it is a true hiſtory, and though the ſcene is by Mr Congreve laid in Italy, yet the adventures happened here in England. It is not our buſineſs to enter into the ſecret hiſtory of this entertaining piece, or to attempt giving the reader a key to what the writer took ſo much pains to conceal; but what we intend in this note, is to juſtify the obſervation in the text, and to prove, that though this was the firſt eſſay, and the firſt eſſay of a very young man, yet there is in it ſomething very extraordinary, more eſpecially when we add to what has been ſaid before, that it was a very haſty eſſay likewiſe. There is nothing more common, and indeed there is nothing more natural, than for young men to pique themſelves upon the brightneſs of their parts, the quickneſs of their wit, and, in pieces of this nature, on the elegancy and flowerineſs of their language. But this was not Mr Congreve's point; he aimed at perfection from the very beginning, and his deſign in writing this novel, was to ſhew how novels ought to be written. Let us hear what he ſays himſelf, and from thence we ſhall entertain a higher opinion of his abilities, than could poſſibly be raiſed by the warmeſt commendations. After obſerving, very judiciouſly, that there is the ſame relation between Romances and Novels, as between Tragedy and Comedy, he proceeds thus. 'Since all traditions muſt indiſpu-'tably give place to the Drama; and ſince there is no 'poſſibility of giving that life to the writing or repe-'tition of a ſtory, which it has in the action, I re-'ſolved in another beauty to imitate dramatick wri-'ting, namely, in the deſign, contexture, and reſult 'of the plot. I have not obſerved it before in a no-'vel. Some I have ſeen begin with an unexpected 'accident, which has been the only ſuprifing part of 'the ſtory, cauſe enough to make the ſequel look flat, 'tedious, and inſipid; for 'tis but reaſonable the rea-'der ſhould expect, if not to riſe, at leaſt to keep 'upon a level in the entertainment, for ſo he may be 'kept on in hopes, that, at ſome time or other, it 'may mend; but the other is ſuch a balk to a man, 'tis carrying him up ſtairs to ſhew him the dining-'room, and after forcing him to make a meal in the 'kitchen. This I have not only endeavoured to a-'void, but alſo have uſed a method for the contrary 'purpoſe. The deſign of this novel is obvious, after 'the firſt meeting of Aurelian and Hippolito with In-'cognita and Leonora; the difficulty is in bringing 'it to paſs, maugre all apparent obſtacles, within the 'compaſs of two days. How many probable caſualties 'intervene in oppoſition to the main deſign, viz. of 'marrying two couple ſo oddly engaged in an intricate 'amour, I leave the reader at his leiſure to conſider: 'as alſo, whether every obſtacle does not, in the pro-'greſs of the ſtory, act as ſubſervient to that purpoſe, 'which, at firſt, it ſeems to oppoſe. In a comedy 'this would be called the unity of action, here it may 'pretend to no more than an unity of contrivance. The 'ſcene is continued in Florence from the commence-'ment of the amour, and the time, from firſt to laſt, 'is but three days. If there be any thing more in 'particular reſembling the copy, which I imitate, as 'the curious reader will ſoon perceive, I leave it to 'ſhew itſelf, being very well ſatisfied how much more 'proper it had been for him to have found out this 'himſelf, than for me to prepoſſeſs him with an opi-'nion of ſomething extraordinary in an eſſay, begun

'and

own this piece to the world, ſo the reputation reſulting from it was confined within the narrow compaſs of his acquaintance; but, as true genius cannot remain long hid, and as untoward accidents rather provoke than tame high ſpirits; ſo, upon a fit of ſickneſs (*m*) which ſeized him about three years after his return to England, he amuſed himſelf, during a ſlow recovery, in writing a comedy which he very ſoon finiſhed, and though he was very modeſt and diffident of his own abilities, yet he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the perſuaſion of his relations and friends, and conſented to bring it upon the ſtage. In order to this he was recommended to Capt. Southerne, who, in conjunction with the great Mr Dryden, and that excellent Critick Arthur Manwairing, Eſq; reviſed the *Old Batchelor*, of which Mr Dryden ſaid, He never ſaw ſuch a firſt play in his life (*n*), and that the author not being acquainted with the ſtage or the town, it would be pity to have it miſcarry for want of a little aſſiſtance. The ſtuff was rich indeed, only the faſhionable cut was wanting, which was ſoon given it. Mr Thomas Davenant, who had then the direction of the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, was ſo much ſtruck with the merit of the piece, and the author's converſation, that he granted him what is called the privilege of the houſe, half a year before his play came upon the Stage, which, according to the maxims of Theatrical Government, was not barely an unuſual, but an unprecedented favour (*o*). In 1693, *The Old Batchelor* was acted before a numerous and noble audience. The prologue, intended to be ſpoken, was written by Lord Falkland; the play was admirably performed, and received with ſuch general applauſe, that Mr Congreve was thenceforward conſidered as the prop of the declining Stage, and as the riſing genius in Dramatick Poeſy (*p*) [C]. It was this play, and the very ſingular ſucceſs that attended it upon the Stage, and after it came from the preſs, that brought our author to the notice of that great patron of the Engliſh Muſes, Charles Mountague, Lord Halifax, who being deſirous to place ſo eminent a Wit in a ſtate of eaſe and tranquillity, made him immediately one of the Commiſſioners for licenſing Hackney-coaches; beſtowed upon him ſoon after a place in the Pipe Office; and gave him likewiſe a poſt in the Cuſtom-Houſe of the value of ſix hundred pounds a year (*q*). As theſe were favours of a very extraordinary nature, ſo they raiſed in the breaſt of Mr Congreve a noble ſpirit of gratitude and affection, which ſhewed itſelf in an unalterable attachment to that Nobleman during his life, and the moſt profound reverence for his memory after his deceaſe. We need not be ſurprized, that after ſuch encouragement as the town, and even the Criticks, had given him, our author quickly made his appearance again upon the Stage, as he did the year following, when he brought on the *Double Dealer* (*r*). This play was honoured with the preſence of Queen Mary, and though it was not ſo univerſally applauded as his former performance, yet it had the honour to be very highly commended, as well as generally approved, by the beſt judges (*s*). We need not at all wonder

(*m*) Amendments of Mr Collier's Faults and imperfect Citations, p. 40.

(*n*) From the relation of Capt. Southerne.

(*o*) From the ſame authority.

(*p*) Memoirs of Mr Congreve, p. 3.

(*q*) General Dict. Vol. IV. p 428.

(*r*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 43.

(*s*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 4.

'and *finiſhed in the idler hours of a fortnight's time*; 'for I can only eſteem *that a laborious idleneſs*, which 'is parent to ſo inconſiderable a birth.'

[C] *And as the riſing genius in Dramatick Poeſy.*] This play is dedicated to the Lord *Clifford*, of *Laneſborough*, the eldeſt ſon and heir apparent of the Earl of Burlington; but himſelf a Peer alſo, being, as we have told the reader elſewere, called up to the Houſe of Lords, in the life-time of his father, by writ. In the text we have joined the two accounts of Mr Congreve's father going over to Ireland and remaining there, becauſe, as it appears from what Mr Congreve himſelf communicated to Mr Jacob (4), that he went thither originally in a military capacity; ſo from this dedication we may be convinced of the truth of the other circumſtance, as to his being intruſted with the concerns of the Burlington family.' Mr Congreve begins his dedication thus (5). 'My Lord, it is with 'a great deal of pleaſure that I lay hold on this firſt 'occaſion, which the accidents of my life have given 'me, of writing to your Lordſhip: for ſince, at the 'ſame time I write to all the world, it will be a 'means of publiſhing what I would have every body 'know, the reſpect and duty which I owe and pay to 'you. I have ſo much inclination to be your's, that 'I need no other engagement; but the particular 'ties by which I am bound to your Lordſhip and fa'mily, have put it out of my power to make you any 'compliment, ſince all offers of myſelf will amount 'to no more than an honeſt acknowledgment, and 'only ſhew a willingneſs in me to be grateful. I 'am very near wiſhing, that it were not ſo much 'my intereſt to be your Lordſhip's ſervant, that it 'might be more my merit, not that I would avoid 'being obliged to you, but I would have my own 'choice to run me into the debt; that I might have 'it to boaſt, I had diſtinguiſhed one to whom I would 'be glad to be obliged, even without the hopes of having 'it in my power ever to make him a return.' There ſtand before this comedy three copies of verſes, by *Mr Southerne*, *Mr Marſh*, and *Mr Higgins*, in which it is very highly commended; but that we may be convinced this did not at all proceed either from the excuſable fondneſs of friendſhip, or that more excuſable tenderneſs for a riſing genius which glows in the boſom of every true judge of writing, let us look a little into the merits of the cauſe, as they are ſtated by an excellent and impartial judge. The author of the Tatler ſays (6), 'In the character which gives name 'to the play, there is excellently repreſented the re'luctance of a battered debauchee, to come into the 'trammels of order and decency: he neither lan'guiſhes nor burns, but frets for love. The gentle'men of more regular behaviour are drawn with ſo 'much ſpirit and wit, and the drama introduced by 'the dialogue of the firſt ſcene, with uncommon, yet 'natural converſation. The part of Fondlewife is a 'lively image of the unſeaſonable fondneſs of age and 'impotence.' We are told in another paper, by the ſame agreeable writer (7), That 'in this comedy there 'is a neceſſary circumſtance obſerved by the author, 'which moſt other poets either over-look, or do not 'underſtand, that is to ſay, the diſtinction of charac'ters. It is very ordinary with writers to indulge a 'certain modeſty of believing all men as witty as 'themſelves, and making all the perſons of the play 'ſpeak the ſentiments of the author, without any 'manner of reſpect to the age, fortune, or quality of 'him that is on the ſtage. Ladies talk like rakes, 'and footmen make ſimilies; but this writer knows 'men, which makes his plays reaſonable entertain'ments, while the ſcenes of moſt others are like the 'tunes between the acts; they are perhaps agreeable 'ſounds, but they have no ideas affixed to them.' But, notwithſtanding this, the remarks of Mr Collier (8), upon ſome paſſages in this comedy, are not altogether wide of truth, or of ſound criticiſm, but they regard not the ſtructure of the play, and only cenſure a few libertiniſms, into which the author had fallen a little unwarily.

(4) General Dict. Vol. IV. p. 427. Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 41.

(5) See his Dedication prefixed to *The Old Batchelor*, in the firſt Vol. of Mr Congreve's Works.

(6) No. 9.

(7) No. 15.

(8) Short View of the Immorality and Prophaneneſs of the Engliſh Stage.

der at the fate of this fine performance, for regular Comedy was at that time a new thing. Our author was the very firſt who attempted it; I will not ſay he was the laſt who ſucceeded in it; but I may ſafely aſſert, that he carried it to the higheſt degree of perfection, and that if we were to wiſh any of our Comedies tranſlated into French, for the honour of our nation, it ſhould be his, and amongſt them there is none that does him greater credit than the *Double Dealer*, notwithſtanding ſome objections that have been made to it (*t*) [*D*]. It was towards the cloſe of that year Queen Mary died, which melancholy accident, as it afforded a pregnant ſubject to Orators and Poets, ſo, amongſt all that attempted it, none ſucceeded better than Mr Congreve, in the Paſtoral which he wrote upon that occaſion, and which, in point of ſimplicity, elegance, and correctneſs, is at leaſt equal to any thing of the kind that has appeared in our language (*u*). We have taken notice in another place, of the great Revolution that happened in the theatrical world in the ſucceeding year, and of the juſtice and generoſity with which Mr Congreve eſpouſed the cauſe of our Engliſh Roſcius (*w*), when he opened his new Theatre in Portugal-Row, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, by giving him his excellent Comedy of *Love for Love*, ſo judiciouſly contrived, and ſo happily executed, as to unite at once the approbation of the few, and the tumultuous applauſe of the many, in it's favour (*x*) [*E*]. The ſame year he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a new kind

(*t*) See this point fully cleared in note [*D*].

(*u*) The title of this piece is *The Mourning Muſe of Alexis.*

(*w*) See the article of BETTERTON (THOMAS).

(*x*) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Vol. I. p. 43.

[*D*] *Notwithſtanding ſome objections that have been made to it.*] This play is dedicated to the Right Hon. Charles Montague, one of the Lords of the Treaſury: and though we are apt to over-look dedications, as ſeldom containing any thing except acknowledgments and praiſes, yet there are in this ſome paſſages of ſuch true and ſolid criticiſm, and which give ſo clear and ſo good an account of the play itſelf, that they very well deſerve the reader's notice (9). 'I 'have, ſince the acting of this play, hearkened after 'the objections which have been made to it, for I 'was conſcious where a true critick might have put 'me upon my defence. I was prepared for the attack, 'and am pretty confident, I could have vindicated 'ſome parts, and excuſed others, and, where there 'were many plain miſcarriages, I would moſt ingenuouſly have confeſſed them. But I have not heard 'any thing ſaid ſufficient to provoke an anſwer. That 'which looks moſt like an objection, does not relate 'in particular to this play, but to all, or moſt, that ever 'have been written, and that is ſoliloquy: therefore I 'will anſwer it, not only for my own ſake, but to 'ſave others the trouble to whom it may be hereafter 'objected. I grant, that for a man to talk to himſelf appears abſurd and unnatural, and indeed it is 'ſo in moſt caſes, but the circumſtances which may attend the occaſion, make great alteration. It often'times happens to a man to have deſigns, which require him to himſelf, and, in their nature, cannot 'admit of a confident. Such, for certain, is all villainy, and other leſs miſchievous intentions may be 'very improper to be communicated to a ſecond perſon. In ſuch a caſe therefore, the audience muſt 'obſerve, whether the perſon upon the ſtage takes 'any notice of them at all or no: for if he ſuppoſes any 'one to be by when he talks to himſelf, it is monſtrous and ridiculous to the laſt degree; nay, not 'only in this caſe, but in any part of a play, if there 'is expreſſed any knowlege of an audience, it is inſufferable. But otherwiſe, when a man in ſoliloquy 'reaſons with himſelf, and *pro's* and *con's*, and weighs 'all his deſigns, we ought not to imagine that this 'man either talks to us, or to himſelf; he is only 'thinking, and thinking ſuch matter as were inexcuſable folly in him to ſpeak. But, becauſe we are 'concealed ſpectators of the plot in agitation, and the 'poet finds it neceſſary to let us know the whole myſtery of his contrivance, he is willing to inform us 'of this perſon's thoughts, and to that end is forced 'to make uſe of the expedient of ſpeech, no other 'or better way being yet invented for the communication of thought. Another very wrong objection has 'been made by ſome who have not taken leiſure to 'diſtinguiſh the characters. The hero of the play, 'as they are pleaſed to call him, (meaning Mellefont) 'is a gull, and made a fool, and cheated. Is every 'man a gull and a fool that is deceived? at that rate 'I'm afraid the two claſſes of men will be reduced to 'one, and the knaves themſelves be at a loſs to juſtify 'their title; but if an open-hearted, honeſt man, 'who has an entire confidence in one whom he takes 'to be his friend, and whom he has obliged to be ſo, 'and who, to confirm him in his opinion, in all appearance, and upon ſeveral tryals has been ſo: if 'this man be deceived by the treachery of the other, 'muſt he of neceſſity commence fool immediately, 'only becauſe the other has proved a villain? ay, 'but there was caution given to Mellefont, in the 'firſt act, by his friend Careleſs. Of what nature was 'that caution? only to give the audience ſome light 'into the character of Maſkwell, before his appearance, and not to convince Mellefont of his treachery, 'for that was more than Careleſs was then able to do: 'he never knew Maſkwell guilty of any villainy; he 'was only a ſort of man which he did not like. As 'for his ſuſpecting his familiarity with my Lady 'Touchwood, let them examine the anſwer that Mellefont makes him, and compare it with the conduct 'of Maſkwell's character through the play. I would 'beg them again to look into the character of Maſkwell before they accuſe Mellefont of weakneſs, for 'being deceived by him; for, upon ſumming up the 'inquiry into this objection, it may be found, they 'have miſtaken cunning in one character, for folly in 'another.' To this play there is now prefixed a copy of verſes, by Mr Dryden, that were addreſſed to the author upon it's firſt appearing. They contain the higheſt compliments to him, and the ſtrongeſt commendations of the play poſſible, but are too well known to the world, and too commonly met with, to be inſerted here, and the force and meaning of them would be very much weakened and broken by citing parts of them. Mr Charles Hopkins alſo wrote a copy of verſes upon the ſame occaſion, and the beſt judges in general have admitted, not only that the foregoing defence of Mr Congreve was very well founded, but that he has fairly unravelled the true ſource of falſe criticiſm, and ſhewn himſelf thereby a deep enquirer, as well as an excellent judge of human nature, which, as we ſhall have frequent occaſions to ſhew hereafter, appears to have been the conſtant ſtudy of his life, as well as the chief fund from whence he drew the many fine and beautiful ſtrokes that diſtinguiſh all, but more eſpecially his comic writings.

(9) See the Dedication to this Play in the firſt Volume of Mr Congreve's Works.

[*E*] *In it's favour.*] There is prefixed to this play a ſhort dedication to the then Lord Chamberlain, Charles, Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, written, as all his dedications are, with great decency and good ſenſe, and without any of that fulſome flattery, which reflects at once on the patron and the writer, and is, at the ſame time, ſuch a plague and puniſhment to a reader, as he has ſeldom the patience to go through. Some faults have been found with ſeveral characters in this play; but if the reflections, proceeding from the ſevere morals of Mr Collier, can be averted by any tolerable excuſes, drawn from the very nature of comedy, which requires the repreſenting the manners of the age as they really are, nothing elſe can affect it. The ſenſe of ſucceeding times has fully juſtified the judgment of thoſe in which it was firſt acted, and *Love for Love* continues, and is like to continue, an admired comedy, as long as true taſte for theatrical entertainments ſhall prevail.

[*F*] *They*

kind of Poetry, by addreſſing to King William an irregular Ode on the taking of Namur, in which the ſublimity of the ſentiments, the harmony of the numbers, the happy imitation of the Antients, the graceful turn of his panegyrick, are truly admirable; but perhaps there is nothing in it that deſerves higher commendation than the delicate compliment with which it ends, and where, in a ſingle line, he ſays the fineſt things poſſible of his two great patrons Halifax and Dorſet (*y*). As he had now attained the higheſt reputation as a Comick Poet, he was inclined to ſhew that a regular and finiſhed tragedy might ſucceed upon the Engliſh theatre. It was an adventurous taſk that he ſet himſelf, and a very high ſtake he made, when he hazarded all the reputation he had already acquired upon this new performance, which, though written according to the rules, was altogether deſtitute of thoſe artificial and irregular helps, frequently relied on by former writers. It ſeems to have coſt him more pains than any of his former pieces, for it was not till 1697 that the *Mourning Bride* (*z*) was acted at the new Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Very few Plays ever excited ſo great expectations as this did, and fewer ſtill have met, after ſuch expectation raiſed, with ſo univerſal an approbation. In ſhort, it was the beſt received of all his pieces, and, without doubt, whatever credit he drew from this exquiſite tragedy, was in ſome meaſure ſhared by the audience, who fairly entitled themſelves to the character of equal and able judges, by the applauſe they beſtowed upon that excellent performance [*F*]. He was called off from his attention to the theatre to another kind of writing, that to him, of all men living, was the moſt tedious and tireſome, and that was controverſy. His four Plays were attacked with equal fury and celerity by the famous Mr Jeremy Collier, who, without the leaſt pity to his fine parts, or the ſlighteſt tenderneſs for a reputation raiſed with ſo much pains, fell upon him, not as a dull or taſteleſs, but as a dangerous and deſtructive, writer (*a*). An anſwer was neceſſary, and therefore an anſwer was given, under a very plain title (*b*), and written with much modeſty as well as wit. There are abundance of judicious things in this defence, which was drawn up in the form of letters to that candid Critick, and the author's conſtant friend, Walter Moyle, Eſq; which, though the ſubject ſeems to render them now out of date, will make them always well worth a judicious reader's peruſal [*G*]. In all probability, this quarrel created in our author

(*y*) The title of this piece is, *To the King upon the Taking of Namur.*

(*z*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 9.

(*a*) View of the Immorality and Prophaneneſs of the Engliſh Stage.

(*b*) Amendments of Mr Collier's falſe and imperfect Citations, &c. Lond. 1698, 8*vo.*

[*F*] *They beſtowed upon that excellent performance.*] This play was dedicated to Queen Anne, then princeſs, and it is not eaſy to imagine any thing, either more great or graceful, than the manner in which the author ſhews the conſiſtency of his addreſs, and as there is ſomething in this very peculiar, the following paragraphs will be peruſed with pleaſure (10). 'It is 'from the example of Princes that virtue becomes a 'faſhion in the people, for even they who are averſe 'to inſtruction, will yet be fond of imitation. But 'there are multitudes who never can have means nor 'opportunities of ſo near an acceſs, as to partake of 'the benefit of ſuch examples: and to theſe Tragedy, 'which diſtinguiſhes itſelf from the vulgar poetry, by 'the dignity of it's characters, may be of uſe and in'formation; for they who are at that diſtance from 'original greatneſs, as to be deprived of the happi'neſs of contemplating the perfections and real excel'lencies of your Royal Highneſs's perſon, in your 'Court, may yet behold ſome ſmall ſketches and ima'ges of the virtues of your mind, abſtracted and re'preſented on the theatre. Thus poets are inſtructed 'and inſtruct, not alone by precepts, which perſuade, 'but alſo by examples, which illuſtrate. Thus is de'light interwoven with inſtruction: when not only 'virtue is preſcribed, but alſo repreſented. But, if 'we are delighted with the livelineſs of a feigned re'preſentation of great and good perſons, and their 'actions, how muſt we be charmed with beholding 'the perſons themſelves? If one or two excelling qua'lities, barely touched in the ſingle action and ſmall 'compaſs of a play, can warm an audience with a 'concern and regard, even for the ſeeming ſucceſs 'and proſperity of the actor; with what zeal muſt 'the hearts of all be filled, for the continued and 'increaſing happineſs of thoſe who are the true and 'living inſtances of elevated and perſiſting virtue? 'Even the vicious themſelves muſt have a ſecret ve'neration for thoſe peculiar graces and endowments 'which are daily ſo eminently conſpicuous in your 'Royal Highneſs, and, though repining, feel a plea'ſure, which, in ſpite of envy, they *per* force ap'prove.' This Tragedy has been highly commended by Sir Richard Blackmore (11), and he has ſhewn himſelf a very judicious critick in all that he ſays about it; nor is there any reaſon to diſpute the character which he has given it, of being the moſt perfect tragedy written in that age.

(10) See the Dedication prefixed to this Play, in the ſecond Vol. of Mr Congreve's Works.

(11) See his Preface to Prince Arthur, Lond. 1697, fol.

[*G*] *Will make them always well worth a judicious reader's peruſal.*] The title which our author gave this work was, *Amendments of Mr Collier's falſe and imperfect Citations, &c. from the* Old Batchelor, Double Dealer, Love for Love, Mourning Bride. *By the author of thoſe plays* (12). In this apology for his own conduct, he lays down many things which are extreamly well worth the knowing, and without knowing which, it is impoſſible to form a right notion of the innocence, excellency, or uſe of plays. He obſerves, that Ariſtotle *defines comedy to be an imitation of the worſe ſort of people.* He does not mean the worſe ſort of people in reſpect to their quality, but in reſpect to their manners. This is plain from his telling you immediately after, that he does not mean relating to all kinds of vice, there are crimes too daring and too horrid for comedy. But the vices moſt frequent, and which are the common practice of the looſer ſort of livers, are the ſubject matter of comedy. He tells us farther, that they muſt be expoſed after a ridiculous manner: For men are to be laugh'd out of their vices in comedy; the buſineſs of comedy is to delight, as well as to inſtruct: And as vicious people are made aſham'd of their follies or faults, by ſeeing them expoſed in a ridiculous manner, ſo are good people at once both warn'd and diverted at their expenee. Our author next obſerves, that ſince comic poets are obliged by the laws of comedy, and to the intent that it may anſwer the end and purpoſe abovementioned, to repreſent vicious and fooliſh characters; it ought not therefore to be imputed to the perſwaſion or private ſentiments of the author, if at any time one of theſe vicious characters ſhall behave himſelf fooliſhly or immorally, in word or deed. This, ſays he, would be as hard and as unreaſonable, as to believe that a Painter ſhould reſemble all the ugly faces that he draws. He next remarks that Mr Collier's method of citing detached ſentences is unfair, becauſe when thus cited, they may, and indeed muſt, carry quite another ſenſe, than they do in the author's own work, ſo that a man becomes criminal by repreſentation only. 'I cannot think it reaſonable, 'ſays he, becauſe Mr Collier is pleas'd to write one 'chapter of immodeſty, and another of profaneneſs, 'that therefore every expreſſion traduced by him un'der thoſe heads, ſhall be condemned as obſcene and 'profane immediately, and without any further en'quiry. Perhaps Mr Collier is acquainted with the '*deceptio viſus*, and preſents objects to the view thro' 'a ſtained glaſs; things may appear ſeemingly profane, 'when in reality they are only ſeen through a pro'fane

(12) Lond. 1698, 8*vo.*

author some distaste to the Stage; however, he afterwards brought on another Comedy, the last, not the least valuable, of his performances. It was intituled *The Way of the World* (*c*), of which it was so just a picture, that the world could not bear it, which compleated the disgust of our author to the theatre, upon which Mr Dennis (though not very famous for either) said a very fine, and a very kind thing, *That Mr Congreve quitted the Stage early, and that Comedy left it with him* (*d*). He seems to have foreseen the fate of his play, which is well revenged in his Epilogue, as it is justly exposed in the Dedication prefixed to it when it was published, wherein our author shewed, that he knew how to resent the injuries done him by little Criticks, but it would have been better if he had stopped there, and not punished the rest of the world for their sakes, by dropping his pen in the prime of life, and when he was most capable of doing honour to himself and to his country. This play has long ago triumphed over it's feeble adversaries, and is now justly esteemed as much as it deserves [*H*]. He amused himself, however, after this, and obliged the world by a great variety of original poems and translations (*e*). He had a fine taste for Musick as well as Poetry, which sufficiently appears in his Hymn to Harmony in honour of St Cecilia's day 1701, set by Mr John Eccles, his great friend, and one of the most elegant Composers our nation has produced. To him also our author was obliged, for setting several of his songs, which are very beautiful in their kind, and have all that vivacity of wit which can give life and lustre to such performances. His early acquaintance with the Great, had promised him not an easy only, but a happy station in life, to which it is very rare that either true genius, or any kind of literary merit, recommends any man. This freed him from all obligations of courting any longer publick favour, though it still left him under the tie of gratitude to his illustrious friends (*f*). He acted in a manner suitable to his situation, he very seldom risked the character he had obtained for the sake of exalting it: but he never missed any opportunity of paying his complements to his high patrons

(*c*) Lives of the English Poets, Vol. I. p. 45. Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; p. 13.

(*d*) Lives of the English Poets, Vol. I. p. 46.

(*e*) Collected in a Volume, and published by himself in 1710.

(*f*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; p. 17.

'sane medium, and the true colour is dissembled by 'the help of a sophistical varnish: Therefore I de-'mand the privilege of the Habeas Corpus Act, that 'the prisoners may have liberty to remove, and to ap-'pear before a just judge in an open and uncounterfeit 'light': To these he adds another remark. 'Be-'cause, says he, Mr Collier, in his chapter of the pro-'faneness of the stage, has founded great part of his 'accusation upon the liberty which poets take of 'using some words in their plays, which have been 'sometimes employed by the translators of the holy 'scriptures: I desire that the following distinction may 'be admitted, viz. That when words are applyed to 'sacred things, and with a purpose to treat of sacred 'things, they ought to be understood accordingly: 'But when they are otherwise applied, the diversity of 'the subject gives a diversity of signification. And in 'truth, he might as well except against the common 'use of the alphabet in poetry, because the same letters 'are necessary to the spelling of words which are 'mentioned in sacred Writ.' He adds farther, 'It may 'not be impertinent to take notice of a very common 'expedient, which is made use of to recommend the 'instruction of our plays, which is this: after the 'the action of the play is over, and the delight of the 'representation at an end, there is generally care 'taken that the moral of the whole shall be summed 'up and delivered to the audience, in the very last and 'concluding lines of the poem. The intention of this 'is, that the delight of the representation may not so 'strongly possess the minds of the audience, as to make 'them forget, or over-see the instruction: it is the 'last thing said, that it may make the last impression, 'and it is always comprehended in a few lines, and 'put into rhyme, that it may be easy and engaging to 'the memory.' Upon these foundations, he builds the justification of the greatest part of the passages objected, to some others he excuses, and very frankly gives up some, with a promise of correction. As we have already treated of this matter elsewhere, we will not insist any longer on it here, but content ourselves with observing, that this dispute had a very good effect upon the stage, and that of all the authors criticized by Mr Collier, Mr Congreve was thought to escape the best, and to have defended himself with the greatest appearance of learning, justice, and candour.

[*H*] *And is now justly esteemed, as much as it deserves.*] The reasons are mentioned in the text, why this comedy did not meet with so universal an approbation as his former pieces. It is very certain, the fault was not in the play but in the audience, who were not as yet arrived at that correct taste, which requires that all kind of follies, how general or fashionable soever, should be submitted to the chastisement of the stage. In his dedication to Ralph Earl of Montague, a nobleman justly celebrated both as a competent and candid judge, the author treats this matter with great penetration and perspicuity (13). 'But little of it, says 'he, was prepared for that general taste, which seems 'now to be predominant in the palates of our audience. 'Those characters which are meant to be ridiculed in 'most of our comedies, are of fools so gross, that, in my 'humble opinion, they should rather disturb than 'divert the well natured and reflecting part of an 'audience, they are rather objects of charity than con-'tempt, and instead of moving our mirth, they ought 'very often to excite our compassion. This reflection 'moved me to design some characters, which should 'appear ridiculous, not so much thro' a natural folly '(which is incorrigible, and therefore not proper for 'the stage) as thro' an affected wit; a wit, which at 'the same time that it is affected, is also false. As 'there is some difficulty in the formation of a character 'of this nature, so there is some hazard which attends 'the progress of it's success upon the stage: for many 'come to a play so over-charged with criticism, that 'they very often let fly their censure, when, thro' 'their rashness, they have mistaken their aim. This 'I had occasion lately to observe: for this play had 'been acted two or three days, before some of these 'hasty judges could find the leisure to distinguish 'betwixt the character of a witwoud and a true wit.' In the following apology to his patron, for the liberty taken in the foregoing paragraphs, he sufficiently shews, that he felt the treatment that he had met with from the many, to whose decision he was resolved to trust no more. 'I must, says he, beg your Lordship's 'pardon for this digression, from the true course of 'this epistle; but that it may not seem altogether 'impertinent, I beg that I may plead the occasion of 'it, in part of that excuse, of which I stand in need, 'for recommending this comedy to your protection. 'It is only by the countenance of your lordship, and 'the few so qualifyed, that such who write with care 'and pains, can hope to be distinguished: for the pro-'stituted name of poet, promiscuously levels all that 'bear it.' There stand prefixed to this comedy, a copy of verses by Sir Richard Steele, in which he touches on the same subject, and condemns that coarse taste which induces the multitude to slight true Comedy for Farce. He insinuates, that our author had conquered this folly, and that the crowd were disposed to admire implicitly whatever had the stamp of his name. Mr Congreve, it seems, would not trust to these implicit admirers, he was resolved not to write down to their understandings, or to put it in their power any more to question his.

(13) See this Dedication, in the third Volume of Mr Congreve's Works.

[*I*] *That*

patrons, in a manner worthy of himſelf and of them. The death of the Marquis of Blandford, only ſon to the Duke of Marlborough, which happened Feb. 20, 1705, afforded him a melancholy occaſion of endeavouring to ſoften, by celebrating, the diſtreſs of that illuſtrious family, which he did in a moſt beautiful Paſtoral (*g*), inſcribed to the Lord Godolphin, Lord High-Treaſurer of England. The glorious ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms, under the invincible Duke beforementioned, ſupplied a glorious theme for an Ode to the late Queen Anne, in which he celebrates victories moſt honourable to this nation, in numbers that juſtly entitle their author to unfading reputation, as they cannot fail of preſerving the memory of thoſe victories, as long as our language ſhall laſt, or a true taſte in poetry remains (*h*). In another pindarick Ode he celebrated that great Stateſman, and true Patriot, the Lord High-Treaſurer Godolphin, taking occaſion from that Nobleman's great delight in horſe-racing, to imitate, or rather to emulate, the Greek Poet, in his favourite manner of writing, by a truly elegant and exquiſite digreſſion (*i*). We owe to him not only theſe two pieces in a kind of poetry almoſt before unknown to our language, but alſo a very learned and judicious Diſſertation upon this ſpecies of poeſy, which contains a ſolid and juſt criticiſm on thoſe ſort of irregular pieces, that hitherto have paſſed, though very undeſervedly, for Pindaricks [*I*]. The clearneſs and candour of his criticiſm, ought to give him as high a character in the Republick of Letters, as even his fine performances in ſo many different kinds of poetry. His *Birth of the Muſe*, and his *Dedication* in verſe of his poems when collected, both addreſſed to his old patron Charles Lord Halifax, are equally grateful and pleaſing, though as different in their compoſition as any two pieces can be; the former is ſolemn and ſublime, the latter eaſy and familiar. We ſee in one, how able the Poet was to riſe to the greateſt heights without the leaſt mixture of bombaſt or fuſtian; and in the other, how finely he could unite the becoming liberty of a friend, with that reſpect which was nevertheleſs due to his patron's ſuperior rank and dignity. But as, in the earlier part of his life, Mr Congreve had received obligations from perſons of leſs exalted ſtation, ſo of theſe he was highly ſenſible, and never let ſlip any favourable opportunity of returning. He wrote an Epilogue for his old friend Mr Southerne's fine tragedy of *Oroonoko* (*k*), and we learn from Mr Dryden himſelf, how much he owed to his aſſiſtance in the tranſlation of Virgil (*l*) [*K*]. He contributed by tranſlating the

(*g*) *The* Tears *of* Amaryllis *for* Amyntas.

(*b*) The title of this piece was, *A Pindarick Ode, humbly offered to the Queen, on the Victorious Progreſs of her Majeſty's Arms under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough.*

(*i*) The Addreſs of this Poem was, *To the Right Honourable the Earl of Godolphin, Lord High-Treaſurer of England.* A Pindarick Ode.

(*k*) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 279.

(*l*) In his Dedication to John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamſhire.

[*I*] *That hitherto have paſſed, tho' very undeſervedly, for Pindaricks.*] It has been hinted in the text, that whenever Mr Congreve applied himſelf to any kind of writing in proſe or verſe, his conſtant aim was perfection; to which he had not the vanity of thinking he might arrive by the ſtrength of his genius, but applied himſelf firſt as a critic, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the nature of his taſk, before he undertook to execute it as a poet. It was this led him to examine the works of Pindar, with the greateſt care, before he attempted to imitate him, and at firſt ſight he diſcovered how little reſemblance the odes, pretending to the character of pindarick, in our language, had to the odes of that author in reſpect to numbers, ſtructure, or ſentiment. He reſolved therefore to reſtore this ancient and ſublime manner of writing, by giving the world a true pindarick in ſubſtance as well as ſhow, that it might appear the force and ſpirit of this kind of poetry, conſiſted in the ſtrength of the thought, and not in the looſneſs or irregularity of the numbers. He enquired alſo into the cauſe of ſo general a miſtake, and has aſſigned it with an equal mixture of critical juſtice, and the candour of a gentleman. His words are theſe (14), 'Mr Cowley in his preface to his 'pindarick odes, ſpeaking of the muſick of numbers, 'ſays, that theſe ſometimes eſpecially in ſongs and odes, 'almoſt without any thing elſe, makes an excellent 'poet. Having mentioned Mr Cowley, it may be 'very well expected, that ſomething ſhould be ſaid of 'him, at a time when the imitation of Pindar is the 'theme of our diſcourſe. But there is that great de'ference due to the memory, great parts, and learning, 'of that gentleman, that I think nothing ſhould be 'objected to the latitude he has taken in his pindarick 'odes. The beauty of his verſes are an atonement 'for the irregularity of his ſtanza's, and tho' he did not 'imitate Pindar in the ſtrictneſs of his numbers, he has 'very often happily copyed him in the force of his 'figures, and ſublimity of his ſtile and ſentiments. 'Yet I muſt beg leave to add, that I believe thoſe 'irregular odes of Mr Cowley, may have been the 'principal, tho' innocent, occaſion of ſo many deform'ed poems ſince, which inſtead of being true pictures of 'Pindar, have (to uſe the Italian Painters term) been only 'caricaturas of him, reſemblances that for the moſt 'part have been either horrid or ridiculous. For my 'own part I frankly own my error, in having hereto'fore miſ-called a few irregular ſtanza's, a pindarique 'ode, and poſſibly if others, who have been under the 'ſame miſtake, would ingenuouſly confeſs the truth, 'they might own, that never having conſulted Pindar 'himſelf, they took all his irregularity upon truſt, and 'finding their account in the great eaſe, with which they 'could produce odes, without being obliged either to 'meaſure or deſign, remained ſatisfied, and it may be 'were not altogether unwilling to neglect being un'deceived.' This ſhews not only how deſirous Mr Congreve was of writing correctly himſelf, but alſo how willing to eſtabliſh ſo true a taſte, as might render correctneſs neceſſary to applauſe.

(14) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 345.

[*K*] *In the tranſlation of Virgil.*] As there have been few authors, whoſe abilities have been more univerſally confeſſed than Mr Dryden's; ſo never any author was more remarkable for modeſty, he ſhewed it in that civility, kindneſs, and candour, with which he corrected the works of others, but much more ſo in the readineſs and gratitude, with which he received any information of miſtakes made by himſelf. He knew that every man was fallible, and therefore, with all the great gifts he received from nature, did not at all repine at his being in that reſpect not exempt from the lot of mortals. It was a true ſenſe of this, and not a vain affectation of hearing his own praiſes ecchoed, that he communicated his works, before they were printed, to the ableſt of his friends, that he might receive their help as well as cenſure. Neither was he afraid or aſhamed to confeſs this to the world, for he knew that men of parts and probity, would approve and applaud it. In his dedication therefore to the Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamſhire, he makes the following mention of our author (15). *Mr Congreve has done me the favour, to review the Æneis, and compare my verſion with the original. I ſhall never be aſhamed to own, that this excellent young man has ſhewed me many faults, which I have endeavoured to correct.* The Engliſh tranſlation of Virgil was not publiſhed 'till 1697, but Mr Dryden was engaged in it in 1695, and conſequently at the time he conſulted our author, he was only between twenty three and twenty four years of age. What an honour to have his opinion aſked by the greateſt poet of his time, upon a ſubject of ſuch importance to his reputation, what an honour to juſtify both his friendſhip and his judgment on ſo critical an occaſion, and what an honour to receive the laurel from his learned brow, only to fix it again upon his tomb, to be the defender

(15) See Dryden's Virgil, Vol. II. p. 435.

the eleventh Satire to the tranſlation of Juvenal publiſhed by that great Poet, and wrote an admirable copy of verſes on the verſion of Perſeus performed by Mr Dryden alone (*m*). He wrote likewiſe a Prologue for a Play of Mr Charles Dryden's, full of kindneſs for that young gentleman, and of reſpect for his father (*n*). But the nobleſt teſtimony he gave of his filial reverence for that exalted genius, was in that inimitable panegyrick upon his writings, contained in the Dedication of his Plays to his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle, a monument that will for ever expreſs, in the moſt lively colours, the worth of him to whoſe honour it is conſecrated, and the capacity, candour, and critical juſtice, of the hand that raiſed it. His tranſlations have done him the greateſt honour, in the ſentiments of thoſe who were the beſt judges, and who have taken pains to compare them with their originals. The *Hymn to Venus*, and ſome of the moſt moving paſſages in the *Iliad*, appear with all the ſpirit and dignity of Homer in the Engliſh verſion, and as it is impoſſible for a learned writer to peruſe them without confeſſing his accuracy, ſo whoever has a true taſte for poetry muſt feel the effects of that art and force, with which all the emotions naturally riſing from the paſſions of the human mind, are expreſſed in theſe nervous pieces (*o*). His imitations of Horace have as much the air of that Poet as our times or language will permit, that is, the ſame ſtrength, vivacity, and delicacy, for which, through a long ſeries of years, they have been admired in the original (*p*). The third book of Ovid's *Art of Love* appears in our tongue with all the ſweetneſs and ſoftneſs peculiar to that author, who was perfectly acquainted with the paſſion, and knew how to deſcribe it with all the maſterly graces of a great Poet, and what was admired in the Auguſtan age, becomes excellent in ours, from the ſkill of Mr Congreve, and the happy union of the moſt diſtant excellencies in a tranſlator, eaſe and exactneſs (*q*). He was the better qualified for an undertaking of this kind, from the natural turn of his own temper, for his Poem to, and his excellent Epigram on, Mrs Arabella Hunt, are entirely in the Ovidian ſtrain, and are as pleaſingly pathetick as any Poems in their kind, in our own, or perhaps in any other language (*r*). There is a ſtrength and ſolemnity in his verſes to the memory of Lady Gethins, and in his Epitaph upon the two Huntingtons (*s*), that makes one ſcarce conceive it poſſible that he ſhould ſucceed as well in lighter compoſitions, and yet the tales that he has told after a celebrated French author, are ſo unaffected and natural, that if we were not appriſed of it we ſhould never have ſuſpected they were tranſlations (*t*); but there is one piece of his which ought to be particularly diſtinguiſhed, as being ſo truly an original, that though it ſeems to be written with the utmoſt facility, yet we may deſpair of ever ſeeing it copied; this is his *DORIS*, ſo highly and ſo juſtly commended by Sir Richard Steele, as the ſharpeſt and moſt delicate ſatire he had ever met with (*u*). We muſt not omit, in this free catalogue of his works, two pieces of the dramatick kind, which do him equal honour as a Poet, and as a lover of Muſick, *viz.* the *Judgment of Paris*, a *Maſque*, and the *Opera of Semele*. Of theſe, the former was acted with great applauſe, and the latter finely ſet to muſick by Mr Eccles. In reſpect to both it is but bare juſtice to ſay, that they have the ſame ſtamp of excellency borne by the reſt of Mr Congreve's works, were conſidered as maſter-pieces when publiſhed, and may ſerve as models to poſterity [*L*]. We have now almoſt finiſhed the liſt of his poetical labours, in

(*m*) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 238.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 280.

(*o*) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 228, 232, 366.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 238, 239, 241.

(*q*) Ib'd. p. 299.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 225, 250.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 256, 257.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 359, 365.

(*u*) See the Dedication of Sir Richard Steele's Miſcellanies, to Mr Congreve.

of that great man's fame when he was dead, who had loved him ſo much living, and piouſly to vindicate the character of him, whoſe generous, tho' juſt, praiſes, had laid the foundation of his own?

[*L*] *And may ſerve as models to poſterity.*] The great art of adapting poetry to muſick, tho' ſtudied by many, has been acquired by few. This very plainly appears from the want of a true poetick ſpirit, in many of the pieces ſet to fine muſick, in which we evidently perceive, that the notes were not accommodated to the words, but the words to the notes. We do not indeed perceive this ſo plainly, during the performance, when the faculties of the mind are ſo tranſported by the ſweetneſs of the ſound, that we have not power to diſcern the defects in the ſenſe. But what eſcapes us on the Theatre, ſtares us in the face in the cloſet, and we cannot help wondering, when we read what it was that tranſported us ſo much in the hearing. But the few great maſters that have reached the ſublime heights of Harmony, inſtead of receiving from, communicate helps to the moſt able compoſer. Of this we have the ſtrongeſt inſtance in Mr Dryden's celebrated ode on St Cecilia's day, which not only raviſhes us when performed, but when read, and thereby convinces the judicious peruſer of the real force of numbers. The ſame thing may with equal juſtice be ſaid of our author's maſque, the ſongs in which are moſt admirably adapted to the characters, as well as the muſick, and the performance is not only perfect upon the ſtage, but perfect alſo when conſidered only as a poetick entertainment; and though we may ſee it with more rapture, yet we read it too with the higheſt delight, and find nothing in it flat or inſipid for want of the ſupport of muſick. There is an excellency in every kind of writing, and as an author is juſtly entitled to reputation who reaches this in any; ſo admiration is the juſt tribute to that exalted genius that reaches it in all, I need not tell the reader, that this is Mr Congreve's claim to admiration. His opera of Semele was never performed; but, for all that, it has been univerſally admired. The fable is happily choſen and ſkillfully managed, the ſcenes are finely diſpoſed, the ſentiments perfectly agreeable to the ſubject, and the language exactly ſuitable to the ſentiments. There is, however, one thing that deſerves peculiar notice, and that is, the manner in which our author has diſpoſed that part of his work which ſeemed leaſt ſuſceptible of ſenſe and grace at the ſame time. Himſelf ſhall give you, an account of it, for none but himſelf could expreſs it ſo well. 'It was (16) not thought requiſite to have 'any regard either to rhyme or equality of meaſure 'in the lines of that part of the dialogue, which was 'was deſigned for the recitative ſtile in muſick; for 'as that ſtile in muſick is not confined to the ſtrict 'obſervation of time and meaſure, which is required 'in the compoſition of airs and ſonata's; ſo neither is it 'neceſſary that the ſame exactneſs in numbers, rhymes, 'or meaſure, ſhould be obſerved in words deſigned to 'be ſet in that manner, which muſt ever be obſerved 'in the formation of odes and ſonnets: for what they 'call recitative in muſick, is only a more tunable, 'ſpeaking, it is a kind of proſe in muſick, it's beauty 'conſiſts in coming near nature, and in improving the 'natural accents of words by more pathetick or empha-'tical tones.' This explains what had never been explained before, that is to ſay, the nature and meaning of the recitative, how far it approaches, and wherein it is removed from proſe, what the uſe of it, and

(16) See the argument prefixed to Mr Congreve's Opera of Semele, in the third Vol. of his Works.

in which we have been the more particular, becauſe it was peculiar to Mr Congreve to have written and excelled, not barely in every kind of dramatick poetry, but almoſt in every kind of poetry. The laſt to which he turned his genius was that of familiar epiſtles, of theſe that on the *Art of Pleaſing* (*w*), addreſſed to Sir Richard Temple, now the Field Marſhal Viſcount Cobham, is the only one inſerted in his works, and is ſo truly admirable, that the publick has juſt reaſon to regret ſome others that are ſtill ſaid to be preſerved in the cabinets of his friends to whom they were addreſſed, and which it is hoped will one day ſee the light. Another epiſtle of his to the ſame noble perſon, as it is not to be found in his works, we have, as one of it's brighteſt ornaments, inſerted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct [*M*]. This naturally leads us to mention his proſe letters, which are diſperſed through the works of other men, but, whenever they have a new edition, would make a very natural and a very valuable addition to his own. His letter upon *Humour* in Engliſh Comedy, is without doubt as inſtructive as entertaining, and as correct a piece of criticiſm as is any where to be met with (*x*). All his other letters are written with infinite wit and ſpirit, and at the ſame time with a wonderful facility and a fine flow of language, ſo happily intermixed with lively and inoffenſive raillery, that it is impoſſible not to be pleaſed with them at the firſt reading, or to find any fault with them on the moſt mature reflection. We may be ſatisfied from the peruſal of them, that his converſation muſt have been very engaging, and therefore we need not wonder that he lived in ſuch familiarity with the greateſt men of his time, or that they courted his friendſhip by rendering him every good office in their power. It has been obſerved, that no

(*w*) Congreve's Works, Vol. III, p. 332.

(*x*) Inſerted in *Dennis's Letters*.

and conſequently what rules are to be obſerved in it's compoſition, ſo as to keep it from ſinking ſervilely low, and to reſtrain it from ſwelling into rant and bombaſt.

[*M*] *Inſerted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct.*] This beautiful poem is written with that ſimple elegance, that force of genius, and that dignity of ſentiment, which leaves no room to doubt of it's being juſtly attributed to Mr Congreve. At what time it was written cannot be ſaid with any pretence to certainty; but as there is a viſible alluſion in the poem to meaſures, which the writer thought were too complaiſant to the *French*, it is very evident that it muſt have been penned but a very ſmall time before his death. The title it bears is this,

Of improving the preſent time.

Sincereſt critick of my proſe or rhyme,
Tell how thy pleaſing Stowe employs thy time.
Say, Cobham, what amuſes thy retreat?
Or ſtratagems of war, or ſchemes of ſtate?
Doſt thou re-call to mind, with joy or grief,
Great Marlbro's actions? that immortal *chief*,
Whoſe ſligheſt trophy, rais'd in each campaign,
More than ſuffic'd to ſignalize a reign.
Does thy remembrance riſing, warm thy heart
With glory paſt, where thou thyſelf had'ſt part;
Or doſt thou grieve indignant, now to ſee
The fruitleſs end of all thy victory?
To ſee the audacious foe, ſo late ſubdu'd,
Diſpute thoſe terms for which ſo long they ſu'd,
As if Britannia now were ſunk ſo low,
To beg that peace ſhe wonted to beſtow.
Be far, that guilt! be never known that ſhame!
That England ſhould retract her rightful claim!
Or ceaſing to be dreaded and ador'd,
Stain with her pen the luſtre of her ſword.
Or doſt thou give the winds a-far to blow,
Each vexing thought and heart-devouring woe,
And fix thy mind alone on rural ſcenes,
To turn the levell'd lawns to liquid plains;
To raiſe the creeping rills from humble beds,
And force the latent ſprings to lift their heads;
On watry columns capitals to rear,
That mix their flowing curls with upper air?
Or doſt thou, weary grown, theſe works neglect,
No temples, ſtatues, obeliſks erect;
But catch the morning breeze from fragrant meads,
Or ſhun the noon-tide ray in wholeſome ſhades;
Or lowly walk along the mazy wood,
To meditate on all that's wiſe and good?
For nature, bountiful in thee, has join'd,
A perſon pleaſing, with a worthy mind;
Not given the form alone, but means and art,
To draw the eye, or to allure the heart.
Poor were the praiſe in fortune to excel,
Yet want the way to uſe that fortune well.
While thus adorn'd, while thus with virtue crown'd,
At home in peace; abroad, in arms renown'd:
Graceful in form, and winning in addreſs,
While well you think what aptly you expreſs,
With health, with honour, with a fair eſtate,
A table free, and elegantly neat.
What can be added more to mortal bliſs?
What can he want that ſtands poſſeſt of this?
What can the fondeſt wiſhing mother more,
Of Heaven attentive, for her ſon implore?
And yet, a happineſs remains unknown,
Or to Philoſophy reveal'd alone;
A precept which, unpractis'd, renders vain
Thy flowing hopes, and pleaſure turns to pain.
Shou'd hope and fear thy heart alternate tear,
Or love, or hate, or rage, or anxious care,
Whatever paſſions may thy mind infeſt,
(Where is that mind which paſſions ne'er moleſt?)
Amidſt the pangs of ſuch inteſtine ſtrife,
Still think the preſent day the laſt of life;
Defer not 'till to-morrow to be wiſe,
To-morrow's ſun to thee may never riſe;
Or ſhou'd to-morrow chance to chear thy ſight
With her enliv'ning and unlook'd-for light,
How grateful will appear her dawning rays!
As favours unexpected doubly pleaſe.
Who thus can think, and who ſuch thoughts purſues,
Content may keep his life, or calmly loſe.
All proofs of this, thou may'ſt thyſelf receive,
When leiſure from affairs will give thee leave.
Come, ſee thy friend retir'd, without regret,
Forgetting care, or ſtriving to forget,
In eaſy contemplation, ſoothing time
With morals much, and now and then with rhyme;
Not ſo robuſt in body as in mind,
And always undejected, tho' declin'd;
Not wond'ring at the world's new wicked ways,
Compar'd with thoſe of our fore-fathers days;
For virtue now is neither more or leſs,
And vice is only vary'd in the dreſs:
Believe it, men have ever been the ſame,
And *Ovid*'s GOLDEN AGE is but a dream.

WILLIAM CONGREVE.

[*N*] *With*

no change of Miniſtries affected him in the leaſt, nor was he ever removed from any poſt that was given him except to a better (y). His place in the Cuſtom-houſe, and his office of Secretary in Jamaica, are ſaid to have brought him in upwards of twelve hundred pounds a year, and though he lived in a manner ſuitable to ſuch a fortune, yet he was ſo far an œconomiſt, as to raiſe from thence a competent eſtate. No man of his parts and learning ever paſſed through life with more eaſe or leſs envy, and as in the dawn of his reputation he was very dear to the greateſt wits of his time, ſo during his whole life he preſerved the utmoſt reſpect, and received continual marks of eſteem from men of genius and letters, without ever being involved in any of their quarrels, or drawing upon himſelf the leaſt mark of diſtaſte, or even diſſatisfaction. On the contrary, they ſought his approbation with concern, and received it as the higheſt ſanction of merit. Mr Addiſon teſtified his perſonal regard for him, and his high eſteem of his writings, upon many occaſions. Sir Richard Steele conſidered him as his patron upon one occaſion, and was deſirous of ſubmitting to his judgment as an umpire on another (z). Even the judicious Mr Pope, tho' ſufficiently jealous of his poetical character, thought fit to honour him with the higheſt teſtimony of deference and eſteem (a) [N]. We may add to all this, that Mr John Dennis, who valued himſelf ſo much upon criticizing the works of the ableſt writers of his time, was ſo ſenſible of the ſuperior excellence of Mr Congreve's writings, or at leaſt was ſo grateful for the repeated marks of affability and beneficence which he received from him, that he always ſpoke of him, not with decency only but with veneration, which, if not a peculiar felicity, muſt at leaſt have been a ſingular ſatisfaction to a man of Mr Congreve's peaceable diſpoſition, who, as he never gave any offence, was very deſirous, if it was poſſible, to avoid abuſe (b). There is no doubt that Mr Congreve had an appetite to fame, and was not inſenſible of praiſe; yet never any man was freer from vanity, or ſhewed leſs concern about the fate of his writings; inſomuch, that a foreigner of diſtinction, and without compariſon the beſt Poet his country has to boaſt, was a little offended at this, and thought him rather too careleſs as to his literary reputation (c) [O]. The beſt part of the laſt twenty years of his life were ſpent in eaſe and retirement, but towards the end of his days he was very much afflicted with the gout, which at length broke his conſtitution ſo much as to bring on a gradual decay. It was for this, that in the ſummer of the year 1728, he made a tour to the Bath for the benefit of the waters, where he had the misfortune to be overturned in his chariot, from which time he complained of a pain in his ſide, which was ſuppoſed to ariſe from ſome inward bruiſe. However it was, upon his return to London, his health declined more and more, but without making any impreſſion on his ſpirits or underſtanding. He had accuſtomed

(y) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; P. ii. p. 51.

(z) In his Dedication of his *Miſcellanies*, and in the Addreſs prefixed to the *Drummer*, a Comedy of Mr Addiſon's, of which he publiſhed a ſecond edition.

(a) See this at large in note [N].

(b) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; P. ii. p. 137.

(c) Voltaire's Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation, Lond. 1733, 8vo, p. 188, 189.

[N] *With the higheſt teſtimony of deference and eſteem.*] Thoſe who were well acquainted with the late Mr Pope know, that there was nothing he deſpiſed ſo much in others, or the imputation of which he could have bore with ſo little patience himſelf, as the paying a ſervile court, and ſhewing a mean dependance upon any man, how great ſoever. He knew that virtue was true nobility, and parts the riches of nature; hence his deep reverence for Mr Bethel, and his high regard for Mr Congreve. To them, however, he would have been aſhamed to dedicate his works, and yet to them he was proud to inſcribe them. He looked upon his performances, as monuments ſecure from time and accident, and every name they bore as conſecrated to immortality. This was his ſentiment, nor was it vanity; the moſt generous poſſeſſor of gold knows the properties and value of the metal as well as the meaneſt miſer. Let us hear then what praiſes one who was ſo ſparing of them has beſtowed on Mr Congreve, we ſhall find them at the cloſe of his poſtſcript to the tranſlation of Homer, and there they run thus (17). 'Inſtead of endeavouring to raiſe 'a vain monument to myſelf, let me leave behind me 'a memorial of my friendſhip, with one of the moſt 'valuable men, as well as fineſt writers of my age 'and country. One who has tried, and knows by 'his own experience, how hard an undertaking it is to 'do juſtice to Homer, and one who I am ſure, ſincerely 'rejoices with me at the period of my labours. To 'him therefore, having brought this long work to a 'concluſion, I deſire to dedicate it, and to have the 'honour and ſatisfaction of placing together in this 'manner the names of Mr Congreve, and of

A. POPE.

(17) Poſtſcript to his Tranſlation of the Iliad of Homer, dated Mar. 25, 1720.

[O] *As to his literary reputation.*] The gentleman mentioned in the text, is the preſent eminent wit, and juſtly eſteemed poet of France, Mr Voltaire, who, in the ſhort time that he ſtayed here, acquired indeed a wonderful knowledge of our language, and of our manners; notwithſtanding which, however, he was ſometimes miſtaken, and it is the more neceſſary to take notice of his miſtakes, becauſe no man's authority in the world is more like to paſs them upon the preſent age, or upon poſterity, for undoubted truths. The character he is pleaſed to give Mr Congreve runs thus: 'He raiſed the glory of comedy to a greater 'height than any Engliſh writer before or ſince his 'time (18). He wrote only a few plays, but they are 'excellent in their kind. The laws of the drama are 'ſtrictly obſerved in them. They abound with cha'racters, all which are ſhadowed with the utmoſt de'licacy, and we don't meet with ſo much as one low 'or coarſe jeſt. The language is every where that of 'men of faſhion, but their actions are thoſe of knaves, 'a proof that he was perfectly well acquainted with 'human nature, and frequented what we call polite 'company. He was infirm, and come to the verge 'of life when I knew of him. Mr Congreve had one 'defect, which was his entertaining too mean an idea 'of his firſt profeſſion, that of a writer, though it was 'to this he owed his fame and fortune. He ſpoke of 'his works as of trifles that were beneath him, and 'hinted to me in our firſt converſation, that I ſhould 'viſit him upon no other foot than that of a gentle'tleman, who led a life of plainneſs and ſimplicity. 'I anſwered that had he been ſo unfortunate as 'to be a mere gentleman, I ſhould never have come 'to ſee him, and I was very much diſguſted at ſo un'ſeaſonable a piece of vanity.' It is ſomewhat ſtrange to hear an author accuſed of vanity, for under-valuing his own works. We often meet with cenſures even upon great men, for talking continually of themſelves and their writings; but it is a very ſingular cenſure that is paſſed upon Mr Congreve, that he was troubled with an unſeaſonable vanity, which hindered him from talking of them at all. The truth of the matter ſeems to have been, that inſtead of feeling an unſeaſonable vanity, he had out-lived the ſeaſon of vanity, if ever he had any, and having no longer any thing of the pride of an author about him, it is not at all wonderful that his converſation was not reliſhed by Mr Voltaire, whoſe merit, as an author, is ſuperior to every thing——but the ſenſe he has of that merit.

(18) Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation, p. 188, 189.

[P] *With*

cuſtomed himſelf to conſider life, and every thing belonging to it, as bleſſings in which we have a very uncertain tenure, and therefore was not either ſurprized or diſturbed at the proſpect of loſing it; the only concern he expreſſed, was for the grief it occaſioned to his friends, more eſpecially thoſe for whom he had a tender affection and a moſt profound eſteem. He yielded his laſt breath about the hour of five on Sunday morning, Jan. 19, 1728-9, at his houſe in Surrey-ſtreet in the Strand, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age (*e*), and on the Sunday following, Jan. 26, his corps lay in ſtate in the Jeruſalem-Chamber, from whence, the ſame evening, between the hours of nine and ten, it was carried with great decency and ſolemnity into King Henry the VIIth's chapel, and after the funeral ſervice was performed, was interred in the abbey. The pall was ſupported by the Duke of Bridgwater, Earl of Godolphin, Lord Cobham, Lord Wilmington, the Honourable George Berkeley, Eſq; and Brigadier-General Churchill; and Col. Congreve followed his corps as chief-mourner. Some time after, a neat and elegant monument, with a ſuitable inſcription thereupon [*P*], was erected to his memory by Henrietta Ducheſs of Marlborough.

(*e*) Mr Congreve's Laſt Will and Teſtament, Lond. 1730, 8*vo*, p. 10.

[*P*] *With a ſuitable inſcription thereupon.*] As the erecting of this monument is later, in point of time, than any of the collections of ſuch kind of ornaments in Weſtminſter-Abbey, it is proper to inſert the inſcription here, which runs thus. 'Mr William Congreve died Jan. 'the 19th, 1728, aged fifty-ſix, and was buried near 'this place, to whoſe moſt valuable memory this mo- 'nument is ſet up, by Henrietta, Ducheſs of Marl- 'borough, as a mark how dearly ſhe remembers the 'happineſs and honour ſhe enjoyed in the ſincere friend- 'ſhip of ſo worthy and honeſt a man, whoſe virtue, 'candour and wit, gained him the love and eſteem 'of the preſent age, and whoſe writings will be the 'admiration of the future.' E

CONNOR (BERNARD) an eminent Phyſician and learned Writer towards the cloſe of the laſt century. He was deſcended from an antient family in the kingdom of Ireland, and was born in the county of Kerry about the year 1666 (*a*). He had an early tincture of learning given him, though he was not regularly educated in the grammar ſchools and univerſity of that iſland, on account of his family's being of the Popiſh religion (*b*). When he grew up towards man's eſtate, either out of regard to the exhortations of his family, or from the natural turn of his own diſpoſition, he determined to apply his thoughts to the ſtudy of Phyſick, and with that view, about the year 1686, he went over to France, reſided for ſome time in the univerſity of Montpellier, and went from thence to Paris, where he ſpent his time ſo well, and directed his ſtudies in ſo prudent and regular a manner, that he was very much eſteemed, not only for his proficiency in the art of Phyſick, but for his great ſkill in Anatomy and Chemiſtry (*c*). As he profeſſed himſelf deſirous of travelling, and as there were two ſons of the High-Chancellor of Poland then on the point of returning to their own country, it was thought expedient they ſhould take that long journey under the care and inſpection of Dr Connor (*d*). He accordingly conducted them *very ſafely to Venice, where he found the Honourable Mr William Legg*, afterwards Baron and Earl of Dartmouth, much indiſpoſed of a fever, from which, by his great ſkill and diligent attendance, he happily recovered him, and having accompanied him to Padua (*e*), went from thence through Tyrol, Bavaria, and Auſtria, down the Danube to Vienna, and after having made ſome ſtay at the Court of the Emperor Leopold, paſſed through Moravia and Sileſia to Cracow, and from thence in eight days to Warſaw (*f*). He was very well received at the Court of King John Sobieſki, and by the intereſt of Signor Hieronimo Alberto de Conti, Miniſter from the Serene Republick of Venice, who married the Lady Margaret Paſton, eldeſt daughter to Robert, and ſiſter to William Earl of Yarmouth, to whom he had been ſtrongly recommended, he became Phyſician to that Monarch (*g*). This was a very extraordinary preferment in ſo ſhort a time and for ſo young a man, for it happened in the beginning of the year 1694, when Dr Connor could not be above twenty-eight years of age. In right of his employment he was conſtantly near the perſon of that Prince, which gave him an opportunity of entering thoroughly into his character, and of diſcerning that he was not only a deep Politician, and one of the greateſt Captains of his age, but a perſon alſo of ſound ſenſe, great reading, quick parts, and much addicted to think freely upon all ſubjects. He gives us a very ſingular and curious inſtance of this (*h*), which, as it ſerves to let us into the Doctor's turn and diſpoſition as well as the King's, is inſerted at the bottom of the page [*A*]. His reputation in

(*a*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*b*) See the account given of this gentleman by Dr Hayley, in his Funeral Sermon.

(*c*) De Stupendo Oſſium Coalitu Diſſertatio Medico-Phyſica, p. 4.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258. See alſo Dr Hayley's Funeral Sermon.

(*e*) Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 2.

(*f*) See Dr Hayley's Funeral Sermon. Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 2.

(*g*) Peerage of England, Lond. 1709, 8*vo*, Vol. I. p. 246.

(*h*) Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 173.

(1) Hiſtory of Poland, Vol. I. p. 179.

[*A*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The King, ſays he (1), was a well ſpoken Prince, of very eaſy acceſs, extreamly civil, and had moſt of the good qualities requiſite in a gentleman; he was not only well verſed in all military affairs, but likewiſe in all polite and ſcholaſtick learning. Beſides his own tongue, the Sclavonian; he underſtood the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkiſh languages; he delighted much in Natural Hiſtory, and in all the parts of Phyſick; he uſed to reprimand the Clergy for not admitting into the univerſity and ſchools the Modern Philoſophy; he loved to hear perſons diſcourſe of thoſe matters, and had a particular talent to ſet people about him very artfully by the ears, that, by their diſputes, he might be diverted, as happened often in my time, eſpecially once when I was undeſignedly concerned myſelf, the King being at dinner, and having the Biſhops of Poſnania, Ploſko, Vilna, and other Divines about him, particularly Father Vota, an ingenious Jeſuit, the King aſked me in Latin, 'What part of the body I thought 'the ſoul was in?' I was willing to decline talking on that ſubject, and told the King, 'That being a 'Phyſician, my chief enquiry was about the body, and 'that the Divines there preſent were able to ſatisfy 'his Majeſty.' The King replied, 'That ſince the 'ſoul has an influence upon the body, and ſince the 'paſſions

in the Court of Poland was highly raiſed by the judgment he made of the Ducheſs of Radzivil's diſtemper, which all the Phyſicians of the Court took to be no more than an ague, from which ſhe might be eaſily recovered by the regular and conſtant taking of the Bark; but Dr Connor inſiſted that ſhe had an abſceſs in her liver, and that her caſe was deſperate *(i)*. As this lady was the King's only ſiſter, his prediction made a great noiſe, more eſpecially when it was juſtified by the event, for ſhe not only died within a month, but, upon the opening of her body, the Doctor's ſentiment of her malady was fully verified. He might have continued with great reputation at that Court if he had been ſo inclined, but as he never propoſed to remain longer in Poland, than was requiſite to finiſh his enquiries into the Natural Hiſtory and other remarkables of that kingdom, and as he foreſaw

(i) Hiſtoire de Maiſon de Radzivil, p. 319. Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 199.

'paſſions of the mind, as anger and fear, breed fevers 'and other diſtempers, it was neceſſary that the Phy'ſicians ſhould examine the ſoul in that reſpect, as 'well as the body.' I anſwered, 'That Phyſicians did 'enquire into the nature of the paſſions, and obſerved, 'that there was ſuch an influence of the ſoul upon the 'body, and of the body upon the ſoul, that altered 'the thoughts of the one, as well as the operations of the 'other; but that the ſoul being a ſubſtance inviſible, and 'without extenſion, it was impoſſible for Phyſicians to 'conceive the nature of it themſelves, or explain it to 'others, as they do that of the body, which they take 'to pieces by Anatomy, and reſolve into it's minuteſt 'elements by Chemiſtry; that the Phyſicians only 'agree in the main, that the ſupreme author of things 'has eſtabliſhed ſuch laws between the ſoul and the 'body, which make a mutual correſpondence between 'them; that as for the ſeat of the ſoul, I might per'haps differ from the Divines then preſent, and con'ſequently oppoſe the common doctrine of the ſchools; 'for they hold with Ariſtotle, that the ſoul is entire 'in all the body, and wholly in every part of the 'body, which was impoſſible to conceive; for if the 'ſoul was entire in every part of the body, there 'would be as many ſouls in the body as there are 'parts; ſince it is impoſſible that the ſelf-ſame ſub'ſtance, though an indiviſible ſpirit, can ever be in 'two places at the ſame time; beſides, the ſoul can't 'be but where it thinks, and every one finds by ex'perience, that his thought is not in his hands nor 'feet, but is conſcious to himſelf, that his thought is 'in his head, and that conſequently the ſoul muſt be 'only in the brain, which is the ſeat of ſenſation, and 'and the origin of all the nerves, which are the or'gans of preception and motion.' Father Vota being alarmed at this doctrine, which ſeemed altogether new in that part of Europe, ſaid, 'That if the ſoul was 'only in the head, the reſt of the body would be dead, 'ſince the received opinion was, that the ſoul was the 'life of the whole body, and that to enliven the whole 'body, the ſoul muſt be wholly preſent in every part 'of it.' This drew on a longer diſpute than I ex'pected, for I anſwered, 'That the rational ſoul was 'not the life of the body, but the blood only, and the 'animal ſpirits, and that this blood and ſpirits circula'ted equally all over the body, and gave it natural heat 'and motion, which is properly it's life; and that this 'circulation of the blood and ſpirits could not poſſibly 'depend on the rational ſoul, becauſe it was an invo'luntary motion, formed by the mechanick ſtructure of 'the body, and by the natural impulſe of the heart, 'which is the *primum mobile* of the whole machine; 'and that though they all held, not only in Poland, but 'in other countries, that the rational ſoul performed 'every minute action in the body, yet this opinion 'was very irreconcileable with the free will of the 'mind, which they all admitted; for ſince they al'low, that whatever the ſoul does, it is not only con'ſcious of it, but likewiſe does it freely, without be'ing neceſſitated thereto, when, as it is very evidently 'obvious to every one, that the vital motions in our 'bodies, I mean the motion of the heart, and that of 'reſpiration, with the periſtaltick motion of the ſto'mach and guts, are performed naturally with ſuch 'mechaniſm, that the ſoul can't ſtop them, no, nor 'ſo much as haſten nor retard them, and that the ſoul 'is not at all conſcious of them, for if we think of 'any object, or not think at all, as when we are a'ſleep, or in an apoplexy, thoſe vital motions go on 'equally the ſame.' The Biſhop of Poſnania, who was bred up in his youth a Phyſician, ſeemed to ſpeak in favour of this opinion, as did likewiſe ſome others of the company, which made the Jeſuit very angry; inſomuch, that he acquainted them in a kind of paſſion, 'That neither the King nor they ought to hark'en to any diſcourſe contrary to the received opinion 'of the Church; that it might have been a pernicious 'conſequence had it been publick: for, (ſays he) if the 'ſoul be not in all the body, and if it does not ani'mate the body, and perform all it's vital functions, 'it would be of no uſe, and conſequently we ſhould 'live like other animals.' I anſwered him, 'That 'doubtleſs the operations of life were performed by 'the ſame mechaniſm in us as they were in brutes, 'ſince we have the ſame organs with them, as likewiſe 'the ſame fluids to enliven us; that the prerogatives of 'the ſoul are not leſs for it's not being preſent to every 'action of the body, for the ſoul, though it is not the 'cauſe of ſpontaneous or vital motion in us, yet it 'performs all voluntary actions, as ſpeaking, walking, 'and all other free motions of the body; it receives 'all impreſſions from the five ſenſes, it forms to itſelf 'all ideas of ambient objects, it reaſons upon them to 'know what's moſt uſeful and hurtful to itſelf and 'to the body. The ſoul, in ſhort, is like the pilot, 'though it does not ſet the body in motion, as the 'wind does a ſhip, yet it is capable of governing it's 'actions, and directing voluntarily it's courſe.' The King being thus ſatisfied, that the rational ſoul did not actuate, as they call it, or enliven, all the parts of the body, deſired to know what was properly *Death*. The ſchool Divinity maintains, that *Death* is a ſeparation of the rational ſoul from the body. I owned indeed, 'that in death the ſoul was actually ſeparated from the 'body.' But I could not allow, 'That that ſeparation was the cauſe of death, but that the death of 'the body was the ceſſation of the motion of the heart, 'of the blood, and of the ſpirits, which ceſſation could 'not proceed from the ſeparation of the ſoul, ſince 'theſe don't at all depend upon it,' as I proved before, 'but it was occaſioned by ſome defects in the 'organs and fluids of the body, which, loſing their 'due diſpoſition, and their mutual correſpondence 'one with another, all their actions ceaſe, which ceſ'ſation is properly called *Death*; ſo that the ſoul find'ing them incapable of receiving it's influence, and 'of obeying it's commands, quits the body after it is 'dead; by which it appears, that the ſeparation of 'the ſoul is not properly the cauſe of death, but that 'the death of the body is the cauſe of the ſeparation.' The King himſelf illuſtrated this opinion from a familiar example of an organ and an organiſt: while the the parts of the organ were in their due order, and ſymetry the organiſt played upon them, but when, by length of time, they were either broke, uſed too much, or any other way put quite out of tune, he leaves playing on them. This diſcourſe held from three of the clock 'till ſeven, and the Divines were extremely warm in it, and ſome of them had the boldneſs to tell the King, that his Majeſty ſhould not ſuffer ſuch heretical opinions to be introduced before ſuch a great aſſembly, contrary to the received doctrine of the Church. By this it may be plainly ſeen how fond the Divines are of their old opinions, relying upon the doctrine of Ariſtotle, whom we can't ſuppoſe to be ſo thoroughly acquainted with the ſtructure, ſprings, and motions of the human body, nor indeed with all other natural cauſes as the modern Phyſicians are; yet it is the policy of the Divines, not only in Poland, but in Spain, Italy, and in moſt other countries, where their power is very great, not to let any opinions creep in among them that would ſeem to contradict thoſe of Ariſtotle, for having built their ſyſtems of Divinity upon the principles of this Pagan Philoſopher, they are juſtly afraid, that if experience and reaſon ſhould ſhake the foundation, the ſuperſtructure would fall to the ground, as doubtleſs it would for the moſt part.

foreſaw that the King's life could not laſt long, and that there was little reaſon to hope for the eſtabliſhment that was promiſed him, from the political views of the royal family, he reſolved to lay hold of the firſt favourable opportunity for quitting that country, and returning into the Britiſh dominions, nor was it long before he met with as fair an occaſion as he could wiſh (*k*). The King had an only daughter, the Princeſs Tereſa Cunigunda, who eſpouſed the Elector of Bavaria by proxy, in the month of Auguſt 1694. As ſhe was to make a journey from Warſaw to Bruſſels, of near a thouſand miles, and in the midſt of winter, it was thought neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be attended by a Phyſician, and, by the intereſt of his good friend the Venetian Miniſter, he procured himſelf to be named to that employment (*l*), and accordingly ſet out with her on the eleventh of November for Berlin, and continued his journey through the territories of the Elector of Hanover, the Biſhop of Hildeſheim, and the Biſhop of Munſter, to Wezel, where ſhe was met by the Elector of Bavaria, and from thence he proceeded in her train to Bruſſels, where ſhe arrived on the twelfth of January following (*m*). He ſoon after reſigned his charge to Dr Piſtorini, the Elector's Phyſician, and, having taken leave of the Princeſs, ſet out for Holland, and from thence came over to England in the month of February 1695 (*n*). He ſtayed ſome ſhort time at London and then went to Oxford, where, in the ſpring of the year laſt mentioned, he read his lectures upon the Animal Œconomy to a numerous and learned audience with very great applauſe (*o*). In his travels through Italy he had converſed with Malpighi, Bellini, Redi, and other celebrated perſons (*p*), of whoſe acquaintance he made a proper uſe; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſo clear, ſo methodical, and ſo judicious a manner of explaining the new diſcoveries in Anatomy, Chemiſtry, and Phyſick, that his reputation was very ſoon raiſed to a great height. This was not a little increaſed by his printing, during the time of his reſidence in that ſeat of the Muſes, ſeveral learned and accurate Diſſertations upon curious and important ſubjects, which treatiſe met with a very favourable reception (*q*), as it certainly deſerved, from the many new and ſenſible thoughts that occur in every part of it, and which diſcover their author to have been a man of much meditation, as well as of great reading and general knowledge [*B*]. He returned in the Summer of 1695 to London, lived in Bow-ſtreet Covent-Garden, and in the Winter read a courſe of Lectures of the ſame kind that he had done at Oxford (*r*), and which were received with general approbation. He became about this time a member of the Royal Society, and a member of the Royal College of Phyſicians alſo, which were a kind of rewards juſtly due to his great application and ſingular merit (*s*). In the ſummer of the year 1696, he went to Cambridge in conſequence of an invitation from ſome of the members of that univerſity, read publick Lectures there, and made various experiments in Chemiſtry (*t*). Upon his return from thence to London he was honoured with a letter from the Biſhop of Ploſkow, wherein was contained the caſe of his old maſter the King of Poland, upon which his advice was deſired, but before he had an opportunity of returning an anſwer, the news came of that Monarch's death (*u*). As he was naturally addicted to ſpeak his ſentiments very freely, even upon very nice and delicate

(*k*) See the Preface to his Hiſt. of Poland, and the firſt Letter to the Earl of Yarmouth.

(*l*) Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 197.

(*m*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 219.

(*n*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*o*) This appears from the Letters annexed to his firſt Vol. of the Hiſt. of Poland.

(*p*) See Dr Hayley's Funeral Sermon.

(*q*) Of this he informs us himſelf in the Preface to the firſt Vol. of his Hiſtory of Poland.

(*r*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*s*) Taken from the printed Liſts of both thoſe learned Bodies for that year.

(*t*) From the Preface to his firſt Vol. of the Hiſt. of Poland.

(*u*) Inſerted in his Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 201.

[*B*] *As well as of great reading and general knowledge.*] Theſe eſſays were printed together, under the following general title, viz. *Diſſertationes Medico-Phyſicæ, de Antris Lethiferis. De Montis Veſuvii Incendio. De Stupendo Oſſium Coalitu. De Immani Hypogaſtrii Sarcomate, A. D. Bernardo Connor, M. D. Sereniſſimi* Poloniæ *Regis* Medico, *& Regia Cameræ* Pariensis *Societate.* Oxonii. *E. Theatro Sheldoniano Sumptibus Henrici Clements Bibliopola,* An. Dom. 1659, 8*vo. That is,* 'Medico-phyſical Diſſertations concerning 'Peſtiferous Caverns, an extraordinary eruption of 'Mount Veſuvius, the wonderful coalition of human 'Bones, and of an extraordinary ſwelling or dropſy of 'the womb.' Theſe treatiſes are printed ſeparately, and with different title pages. There is a table of contents to the firſt, and another to the other three. The Vice-Chancellor's Imprimatur is dated June 5, 1695. The firſt of theſe diſcourſes is dedicated to Thomas, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomeryſhire, at that time Lord Privy-Seal, and one of the Lords Juſtices. It is written very ſuccinctly, and with great perſpicuity: the author introduces and diſcuſſes a multitude of curious queſtions, and gives his reaſons for believing, that there is nothing infectious or poiſonous in the famous cave near Naples; but that animals are killed therein, or rather loſe their lives, thro' the want of elaſticity in the air, which renders it unfit for animal reſpiration. The ſecond diſcourſe is addreſſed to Dr Edward Brown, whom he compliments highly upon his Book of Travels that he had publiſhed. He therein gives a particular deſcription of a moſt remarkable eruption of Mount Veſuvius, which happened in the month of April, 1694, and which he attributes to the vaſt quantities of nitre and antimony lodged in the bowels of that mountain (2). He addreſſes his third diſcourſe to Dr John Ratcliff, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the College of Phyſicians; and therein he gives an accurate account of an anatomical prodigy which he had ſeen at Paris. The fourth treatiſe is dedicated to Dr Hans Sloane, then one of the King's Phyſicians, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College, who has been ſince knighted, and Preſident of both thoſe learned bodies; in which he gives him an account of the diſſection of a widow at Paris, who died at the age of fifty-ſeven, and who laboured under a monſtrous big belly, occaſioned by a mole, or falſe conception, for twenty-five years. This fleſhy ſubſtance was of an enormous ſize, being in length twenty-two inches, twelve broad, ten thick, and weighing forty-two pounds. What is moſt obſervable in theſe diſſertations, is the great art and ſkill which the author has ſhewn in bringing in a great variety of uſeful ſubjects, more eſpecially relating to the animal œconomy, of which he diſcourſes with much freedom and judgment; from whence it is very evident, that they were not publiſhed ſo much with a view to gratify the curioſity of the learned men at that time, as to excite a good opinion of the author's capacity and knowledge in his profeſſion, and, at the ſame time, to ſhew the improvements he had made in his travels, that by this means he might come into practice with the greater eaſe and credit. It is pretty certain that this method had it's effects, and that if he had not been taken off ſo ſuddenly, he would have very ſoon grown into as high repute as any Phyſician of his time. It ſeems to be a pity that theſe diſſertations have not been tranſlated, as there is a great variety of curious obſervations in them, that would prove very entertaining to the Engliſh reader.

(2) He gives a very clear and accurate Deſcription of this Mountain from his own obſervation.

[*C*] *And*

cate ſubjects, he adventured, both at Oxford and at Cambridge, to let fall ſome diſcourſes in relation to miracles, and of a new method of explaining the nature of them in a phyſical way, upon which he had digeſted his ſentiments into writing ſome years before. He was very much preſſed to make this work of his publick, and though he could not but foreſee that many inconveniences would attend it, yet the ſollicitations upon this head were ſo ſtrong, and came from perſons to whom he was ſo much obliged, that he could not avoid yielding to their requeſt (*w*). He took however the precaution of procuring the licence of the College of Phyſicians, which bears date April 9, 1697, and is ſubſcribed by Sir Thomas Millington then Preſident, and by Dr Barwick, Dr Torleſſe, Dr Dawes, and Dr Gill, who were Cenſors (*x*). He dedicated it to the Right Honourable Charles Montague Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Preſident of the Royal Society. This work of his made a very great noiſe in the world, and came to a ſecond edition the ſame year: it is written in Latin with as much perſpicuity as the ſubject would permit, and with great prudence and circumſpection [*C*]. Notwithſtanding this it made a bad impreſſion upon ſome minds,

(*w*) See his Letter to a Reverend Clergyman and Dignitary of the Church, at the end of the firſt Vol. of the Hiſt. of Poland.

(*x*) It is prefixed to his book.

[*C*] *And with great prudence and circumſpection.*] In the firſt place it will be neceſſary to ſee the title of it at large, which we may preſume has given at leaſt as much offence as the book, it runs thus: Evangelium Medici: *ſeu Medicina Myſtica de Suſpenſis Naturæ Legibus, ſive de Miraculis; Reliquiſque ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις Memoratis, quæ Medicæ indagini ſubjici poſſunt. Ubi perpenſis priùs Corporum Naturâ, ſano et morboſo Corporis Humani Statu, nec non Motûs Legibus, Rerum Status ſuper naturam, præcipuè qui Corpus Humanum et Animam ſpectant, juxta Medicinæ Principia explicantur. A Bernardo Connor*, M. D. *et* R. S. S. i. e. 'The Phyſician's Goſpel: or, Myſtical 'Phyſick, with reſpect to the ſuſpenſion of the laws 'of nature, or of miracles; and whatever elſe worthy 'of note occurs in the ſacred writings, that falls properly under the conſideration of Phyſick, wherein 'the nature of bodies, the ſound and diſeaſed ſtate of 'human bodies, as alſo the laws of motion, and the 'ſupernatural ſtate of things, more eſpecially of the 'human body and ſoul, are previouſly conſidered, and, 'according to the principles of Phyſick, explained.' *Londini* 1697, 8*vo* & 12*mo*. *Amſtelodami* 1699, 8*vo*. This curious little treatiſe contains ſixteen ſhort ſections, in which the author, with great clearneſs, and conciſeneſs, and with the moſt perfect connection, treats every part of his ſubject ſo as to make the reader fully ſenſible, that he had not haſtily or ſuperficially run it over in his mind, but with great care and caution had conſidered all things that he advances, and the conſequences that might be drawn from them. The beſt, as well as moſt ſuccinct account that can be given of it, the reader will meet with in the following extract of a letter, written by himſelf, to an eminent Divine (3).

(3) This Letter is to be found at the end of the firſt Vol. of his Hiſt. of Poland.

'My deſign, Sir, ſays he, is to endeavour to make 'it no longer a difficulty to conceive and make evident, by reaſon and the principles of Phyſick, I mean 'the principles of nature, all the ſupernatural effects authentically delivered to us concerning bodies chiefly, 'but particularly the human; I mean, ſuppoſing thoſe 'effects to be true matters of fact, and all matters of 'fact, as well natural as ſupernatural, to be immediate effects of a ſupreme being, which muſt be 'granted; it is as eaſy to conceive the manner how 'this infinite power may be applied to bodies to work 'ſupernatural effects, as to produce the common phænomena of nature. By this I hope to convince our 'Scepticks, the Deiſts, who muſt give their aſſent 'when they have the ſame evident reaſon to conceive 'the poſſibility, and conſequently to believe the truth, 'of ſuch miraculous effects, that are authentically related, as they have to conceive, that ſtraw can burn 'in a flaming fire. The foundation I go upon is the 'ſtructure of the human body, which I have often 'taken to pieces by Anatomy, and reſolved into it's 'eſſential elements, or minute particles, by Chemiſtry; for I find it as neceſſary to be acquainted with 'it's fabrick, to give an account of the miraculous 'ſtates it is ſuppoſed to have been in ſupernaturally, 'as it is to explain the natural effects commonly produced in it. For want of a ſufficient inſight into this 'matter, ſeveral Divines in the latter ages have given 'very groſs ideas of the ſupernatural effects they have 'pretended to explain, and in ſeveral places where I 'have been, I ſaw them, either through ignorance, 'or for intereſt, give out for miracles, phænomena, 'that were only ſurpriſing effects of natural cauſes, 'which has given ſo great an occaſion to Sceptiſciſm, 'and increaſe of Deiſm. Having laid down for my 'baſis the ſtructure of the human body, as far as I 'could diſcover from my ſenſes, anatomy, fire, microſcopes, and experiments, I proceed to examine, 'and endeavour to explain, the different ways it's natural ſtate is ſuppoſed to have been ſupernaturally 'altered by an infinite power: for finding that the 'human body is all matter, and that all this matter 'is nothing but an union of particles with bulk, figure, 'and reſpective ſituation, I thought that all the alterations that could ſupernaturally happen to this 'bulk, figure, or ſituation, could be conceived. But 'before I enter upon thoſe nice ſubjects, I find it firſt 'neceſſary to enquire into the cauſe, nature, and laws 'of motion, becauſe motion is the only true cauſe of 'all natural phænomena, and the ſuſpenſions of the 'laws of this motion are the only cauſes of all ſupernatural effects. I conceive the laws of motion can 'be ſuſpended three different ways, and by one or 'more of theſe laws of ſuſpenſion, it is as eaſy to 'ſolve clearly all ſupernatural effects, as it is to explain the moſt evident effects of natural cauſes by the 'common laws of motion. Tho' I mention, that all 'ſupernatural effects whatſoever can be eaſily reduced to ſome of the three laws of ſuſpenſion or 'motion, notwithſtanding I do not deſign to ſpeak of 'them all in particular, but of ſuch only as are moſt 'in diſpute amongſt the learned; yet any underſtanding man may eaſily make his application, and reſolve all other miraculous effects into one or other 'of them. By the ſuſpenſion of the laws of motion, 'I do not mean, that theſe laws are changed or abrogated, but only that their courſe is ſtopt while an 'effect is produced by the immediate action of the 'Deity, without any influence of theirs, for ſome particular end; and it cannot be denied, but that the 'ſupreme legiſlator, who made firſt the laws, may 'ſuſpend them when he pleaſes, and, in that ſtate of 'ſuſpenſion, produce, of himſelf alone, without their 'concurrence, the ſame effects, which are wont to 'be produced only by the ſame laws put in execution; 'ſo that though a body, for example, of a hundred 'pound weight, by the eſtabliſhed laws of motion, 'muſt be moved by another that has ſeveral degrees 'of motion, yet an infinite power may, of himſelf, 'either move it without the concurrence of another 'body, or hinder it's being moved by any other body 'of what weight ſoever, though put into the moſt rapid 'motion, as if combuſtible matter ſhould be in a flaming fire without burning.—Sir, the learned and judicious gentlemen of your own, can have no reaſon 'to complain, that I invade their province, or encroach upon their prerogatives; for I do not undertake to prove, that there ever were any ſupernatural 'effects produced; that matter, I think, belongs entirely to Divines to make evident from authentick teſtimony. I only endeavour to demonſtrate the poſſibility of 'them, and if there were ever any, to explain the 'mode and mechaniſm with which we may conceive 'how they might have been performed. This is not 'doing any prejudice to your profeſſion, for I have 'that reſpect to the Church, and that deference to the 'Clergy, that I did nothing in this matter without 'the advice and approbation of thoſe of them that 'are in the higheſt ſtation; and they owned, that 'though this ſubject had never yet been handled by 'any Phyſician, nor indeed by any Divine that I know

of,

minds, occaſioned a ſuſpicion of the author's religious principles here at home, and has given occaſion to ſome warm and inconſiderate writers abroad (y), to repreſent him as an abſolute Atheiſt, though there is nothing more certain, than that the Doctor was entirely free from any thing of that kind, and actually wrote this piece with a very good intention, neither is there any thing in the treatiſe, that, fairly conſidered, will admit of any ſuch conſtruction, notwithſtanding the prejudices that have been raiſed againſt it. The Poliſh election, upon the death of King John Sobieſki, having a ſtrong influence upon the general ſyſtem of affairs in Europe, and being from thence a common topick of diſcourſe at that time, induced many perſons of the firſt diſtinction to deſire the acquaintance of Dr Connor, that they might inform themſelves as to the ſtate of that kingdom, than which there was none ſo little known, or ſo indifferently underſtood amongſt the generality even of intelligent perſons, and the ſatisfaction given by the Doctor in his converſations upon theſe ſubjects was ſuch, that he was deſired to gratify the publick, by committing what he knew of the Poliſh nation and country to the preſs (z). Upon his giving his conſent to this, he found himſelf ſo much hurried in the execution, and this hurry ſo inconvenient with reſpect to his practice, that he was obliged to engage one Mr Savage to aſſiſt in compoſing, correcting, and publiſhing that performance (a). The method he took was that of an ingenious French Jeſuit in his account of China, that is to ſay, he threw his materials into the form of letters, each of which he addreſſed to ſome perſon of high rank and diſtinction, who perhaps had formerly deſired thoſe lights from him, that are given in the Epiſtle thus addreſſed. The two volumes of which this work conſiſts, were publiſhed ſeparately, and the laſt more eſpecially carries in it many marks of precipitation; but however, it muſt be allowed the beſt book that we have upon the ſubject, or rather, to contain the beſt things in it, and may be read with equal pleaſure and improvement (b) [D]. There are ſome particulars which fell more immediately under the

(y) Reimanni, Hiſtoria Univerſalis Atheiſmi et Atheorum, p. 449. Heiſteri Apologia proMedicis, p. 10.

(z) See his Preface to the firſt Vol. of his Hiſtory.

(a) This he tells us himſelf in the ſame Preface.

(b) Methode pour etudier l'Hiſtoire, par M. l'Abbé du Freſnoy, Tom. IV. p. 294.

'of, yet it was only a Phyſician's buſineſs to treat of, 'according to the principles of Natural Philoſophy 'and Phyſick: for ſince it is on all ſides acknowledged, that miraculous effects are above natural 'cauſes, no people can better judge whether any effect is really ſupernatural, than thoſe that make it 'their buſineſs and profeſſion to know how far the activity of natural cauſes can reach. For Phyſicians may 'find ſometimes that what the wilful miſtakes of ſome, 'and the ignorance of others, take for ſupernatural, 'is the viſible effect of a natural cauſe; as I obſerved 'once at Rome ſome years ſince, paſſing by chance 'through the Strada del Popolo, I ſaw a multitude of 'people hurrying a man to St Mark's Chapel, which 'belongs the Venetian Embaſſador, they told me, that 'he was poſſeſſed with the devil, and that they were 'carrying him to be exorciſed. I crowded through 'the throng into the church, and felt the man's pulſe; 'I found him in a fever, making hideous grimaces and 'motions with his face, eyes, tongue, and all his 'limbs, which were nothing elſe but a fit of convulſive 'motions all over his body, occaſioned by diſorder of his 'blood and his ſpirits, being a hypochondraical perſon. 'The clergy and people began very devoutly to fright 'the pretended devil out of him, and, in a little time, 'his diſorderly motion ceaſed, which, as they thought 'it to be the miraculous effect of their prayers, I attributed to the natural abatement and uſual ceſſation of ſuch fits. Every underſtanding Naturaliſt 'knows, that an able Chemiſt can work ſuch ſurprizing effects in his art, as may very eaſily paſs for 'miracles with ſuch as are unacquainted how far the 'force of natural cauſes can extend. It would ſeem 'to them very aſtoniſhing to ſee two liquors that are 'cold of their own nature ferment, boil, and become 'very hot, without any viſible cauſe to put them in 'motion: to ſee Aqua Regalis diſſolve maſſy gold, 'Aqua Fortis diſſolve ſilver, iron, Mercury, and moſt 'other Minerals: to ſee the Spirit of Nitre, and the 'Oil of Cloves, which ſeparately are very quiet, turn 'into a burning flame when mixed together; to ſee 'tranſparent liquors, when mixed, turn red, green, 'white, and into all ſorts of colours. I ſay nothing 'of the Phoſphorus, of the ſurprizing effects of the Air-'Pump, of the elaſticity of the Air, of the Magnet, 'nor of an infinite number of other wonderful Phæ'nomena in nature, which though they may be com'mon, yet they are not the leſs ſurprizing, becauſe 'their cauſe is as hid from thoſe that do not, and even 'to thoſe that do, ſtudy nature, as that of ſupernatural 'effects is to thoſe Naturaliſts who trace natural cauſes 'to their higheſt ſphere of activity. I do not doubt, 'but that if the miſſionaries that are ſent from the 'Weſtern Churches to convert the Pagans of the Eaſtern Nations, were as well verſed in Anatomy and 'Chemiſtry, as they are in the tenets of the Chriſtian 'Religion, and in the Mathematicks, and that if they 'did but dazzle the eyes of thoſe ignorant people with 'a great many curious and uſeful experiments in theſe 'two fundamental branches of Phyſick, they would perhaps make as deep impreſſions upon their minds, and 'give them as convincing teſtimonies of the power and 'legality of their miſſion, as they can at preſent by 'the ſpiritual or indelible character they ſay is inherent in them, by virtue of their commiſſion. Pope 'Clement X. knew well the effects Chemiſtry, artfully applied, might produce in the minds of ignorant people, when he ſecured the perſon of the famous 'Italian, Signior Borri, who, about thirty-five years 'ago, by his ſkill in Chemiſtry, did work ſeveral extraordinary cures on diſeaſes in Germany, and gained 'ſuch univerſal reputation all over the Empire, and 'the northern kingdoms, that, (as it was reported of 'him) he thought he had credit and opportunity ſufficient to invent and propagate a new religion, by 'making his ſurprizing experiments in Chemiſtry paſs 'for miracles, which they might have eaſily done, ſince 'Chemiſtry being then in it's minority was not much 'known in the world. But the Pope, fore-ſeeing the ill 'conſequence ſuch a deſign might produce, gave timely 'orders to his Nuncio, then at Vienna, to deſire the 'preſent Emperor to get him ſeized, which being accordingly done, he was ſent priſoner to Rome, on condition nevertheleſs, that his life ſhould be ſafe. Here 'he lived in Caſtello St Angelo for ſeveral years, where 'I ſaw him, and his curious Laboratory for Chemiſtry, allowed him for his diverſion. No-body was 'admitted to diſcourſe him without ſpecial leave, for 'fear, I ſuppoſe, he ſhould inform the world either 'of his pretended new doctrine, or of the injuſtice he 'might intimate that was done to him. He died 'lately in this cloſe confinement ſince I have been at 'Rome.' To this is added another little piece, intled, *Tentamen Epiſtolare de Secretione Animali*, that is, 'An Epiſtolary Eſſay upon Animal Secretion,' addreſſed to Edward Southwell, Eſq; ſon to Sir Edward Southwell, formerly Preſident of the Royal Society.

(4) The Hiſtory of Poland, in ſeveral Letters to Perſons of Quality, giving an account of the antient and preſent State of that kingdom, Hiſtorical, Geographical, Phyſical, Political, and Eccleſiaſtical; it's Origin and Extent; with a Deſcription of it's Towns and Provinces, the Succeſſion and remarkable Actions of all it's Kings, and of the Great Dukes of Lithuania, &c.

[D] *With equal pleaſure and improvement.*] The title of this work promiſes largely (4), and there is no doubt that the author was both willing and able to have performed what he promiſed, if he had been ſuffered to proceed in his own way; for as he was naturally a very cloſe and conciſe writer, he intended to have inſiſted chiefly upon matters of the greateſt moment, and upon facts and things that fell under his immediate obſervation, and to have brought the whole into an octavo volume, which if he had done, there is no doubt it would have appeared a very correct, and finiſhed

the author's own inſpection, that are very curious, and not to be met with elſewhere; ſuch as his account of the ſalt-mines, of young children carried away and nouriſhed by bears, and of the diſeaſes peculiar to that country, of which ſome notice will be taken in it's proper place (c) [E]. Dr Connor's practice, by that time he had finiſhed the firſt volume of his work, was ſo much enlarged, that he was forced to charge his aſſiſtant with the care of the ſecond entirely, furniſhing him only with notes, and there is no doubt that if he had lived, he might have become a very eminent man in his profeſſion. But in the flower of his age, and juſt as he began to reap the fruits of his learning, ſtudy, and travels, he was attacked by a violent fever, which, after a ſhort illneſs, carried him off in the month of October 1698, when he was very little more than thirty-two years of age (d). He had, as we obſerved before, been bred in the Romiſh religion, but had embraced that of the Church of England upon his firſt coming over from Holland, but in what communion he died is not perfectly clear, the reaſons of which the reader will learn at large in the notes (e) [F], from

(c) See a brief account of theſe matters in the note.

(d) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(e) Dr Hayley's Sermon at his funeral.

finiſhed performance; but being prevailed upon to extend his plan, and to leave the open part of it, for which he had no materials, to be filled up from books by another perſon, it is, to ſay the truth, not a little confuſed and unequal; but wherever we can diſcern the doctor's pen, the reader is ſure to meet with ſomething worthy his notice. The firſt volume is divided into ſix letters, *viz.* to the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Rocheſter, the Duke of Devonſhire, the Earl of Yarmouth, the Lord Townſend, and Mr Stepney. According to the plan of the ſecond volume, printed before the firſt, there is a ſcheme of twelve letters, notwithſtanding which, there are only ten in that volume, addreſſed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, Mr Secretary Vernon, the Earl of Marlborough, the Marquis of Normanby, the Duke of Ormond, Mr de Cleverſkerk the Dutch Embaſſador, the Earl of Burlington, Sir Thomas Millington, and Mr Bridges, afterward Duke of Chandos, but this letter is not upon the ſubject which was promiſed, for that with another, were never executed, though the contents of them ſhew that this was a loſs to the publick. Letter XI. Giving an anatomical account of the natural cauſe, why people muſt neceſſarily die of old age alone, attended with no other diſeaſe. Letter XII. Explaining the nature of curable and incurable wounds, demonſtrating by practical obſervations, and anatomical experiments, the ſmall number of wounds which are of themſelves abſolutely mortal, and ſhewing the true and common abuſe of ſtyptic waters and powders, in the practice of Surgery. All the letters in the ſecond volume, except the firſt, are ſigned I. S. tho' it is evident, that part of the materials in each was furniſhed by Dr Connor, who ſeeing them indifferently put together, did not care to own them.

[E] *Of which ſome notice will be taken in it's proper place.*] We are told by Dr Connor, that the ſalt mines near Cracow, were diſcovered in 1548, by a cobbler (5), and that they have been wrought ever ſince without any danger of being exhauſted. They deſcend into them by ſeveral pair of wooden ſtairs, and the depth of the mine is computed at three hundred geometrical paces. There are a vaſt number of turnings and windings at that depth, ſome narrow like allies, and others broad and large like ſtreets. The owner of the mine, Mr Morſtin Covalſki, told the Doctor, it would require a week's time to go all over the mine, which muſt be conſequently of a vaſt extent. In ſome places there is a great deal of freſh water, but in moſt places it is ſalt. There are frequently ſuch fierce winds in the mine, as are not to be withſtood; and the air, to thoſe who are not uſed to it, is exceſſively penetrating and ſharp. The miners poſitively affirm, that the ſalt weighs leſs in the mine than when brought up into the air, of which, however, the Doctor, ſeems a little to doubt. The ſalt found here is of four ſorts, the firſt clear and hard like cryſtal, the ſecond clear but not ſo hard, the third brittle and white like ſugar, the fourth not ſo well coloured and of a leſs pungent taſte. In ſome places it is impoſſible to work, becauſe the nitrous vapours are apt to take fire upon the approach of a candle. The revenue drawn from this mine by the publick, amounts to eight hundred thouſand Poliſh florins a year, beſides which, the proprietor makes preſents to each of the cities and towns of Poland, and to the Staroſts, all which, and the expences of working defrayed, there remains a very great income. ——— The Doctor takes occaſion to prove at large, a ſtory he had beforementioned in one of his Latin treatiſes (6), of a boy kept in a convent in his time, that had been bred up by a ſhe-bear, and was taken in the woods when he was about ten years old, as they gueſſed from his ſtature and aſpect: he was of a hideous countenace, and had not either the uſe of reaſon or of ſpeech: he went upon all four, and had nothing in him like a man, except his human ſtructure. But ſeeing he reſembled a rational creature, he was admitted to the font and chriſtened, yet ſtill he was reſtleſs and uneaſy, and often inclined to flight, and at length being taught to ſtand upright, by clapping againſt a wall and holding him after the manner that dogs are taught to beg, and being by little and little accuſtomed to eat at table, he after ſome time became indifferently tame and began to expreſs his mind with a hoarſe and inhuman tone, but being aſked concerning his courſe of life in the woods, he could not give much better account of it than we can do of our actions in the cradle. — The account the Doctor gives us of the plica (7), is very ſingular, but free from the abſurdities of former accounts. He tells us, that it conſiſts in the hairs being matted and intangled like fulled cloth, ſometimes on one ſide of the head, ſometimes on both; but he aſſures us, that no blood follows upon cutting it, nor does the patient feel any pain in that operation, tho' he is afterwards ſubject to a kind of rheumatick diſorder all over, and ſometimes to greater inconveniences; yet he aſſures us, that Dr Jonas, a Jew, and the king of Poland's Phyſician, found a very ſhort and ſafe method of curing it, by firſt ſalivating by friction, and then cutting off the hair, which was done without any dangerous conſequences enſuing. The moſt extraordinary circumſtances attending this diſeaſe are two (8); firſt, that it is peculiar to the kingdom of Poland, and Duchy of Lithuania; next, that it comes ſuddenly without any viſible cauſe, and, that too, frequently in a night's time.

(5) Hiſtory of Poland, Vol. I. p. 246.

(6) Evangel. Medici, Art. 15. p. 181.

(7) Hiſtory of Poland, Vol. II. p. 95.

(8) Chwalkowſk Singularia Poloniæ, p. 191.

[F] *Will learn at large in the notes.*] This funeral ſermon upon Dr Bernard Connor, was preached by the Reverend William Hayley, D. D. Rector of St Giles's in the Fields, on the 30th of October 1698, at which time the corps of Dr Connor was interred there. What follows is in that Divine's own words (9) 'He 'had in his ſickneſs, before his diſtemper arrived to a 'great height, and while he was in his perfect ſenſes 'made a *will*, in which he left five pounds to the poor 'of this pariſh, where he now lived, and deſired that 'if it ſhould pleaſe God to take him out of this world, 'I might preach his *funeral ſermon*, and that it might 'be made publick; his friends let me know this, and 'at his and their requeſt I viſited him: I found him 'very much decayed in ſtrength, but perfectly ſenſible, 'as he had ſtill been in the intervals of his fits, though 'the height of his fever put him into *ravings*. As 'ſoon as I ſaw him, he requeſted of me what his friends 'had told me before hand, and I preſumed his deſign 'in it was, that he might be vindicated from the 'ſuſpicion of ſome *heterodox opinions*, which his cenſurers imputed to him, as well as that his death might 'be the occaſion of an uſeful diſcourſe to the living. 'I therefore told him, that in caſe I complied with his 'deſire, I thought it would be expected I ſhould ſay 'ſomething of a *perſon* whoſe *writings* and *character* 'had rendered him ſo much known to the world, and 'had given occaſion to ſome people to ſpeak *doubtfully* 'of his *principles* in *religion*; and that for this reaſon, 'among others, it would be very proper for me to 'have ſome ſatisfaction from him as to his *faith*, 'upon which I put ſeveral queſtions to him, *As whether* 'he believed the goſpel? whether he gave credit to the 'miracles

(9) Sermon preached at the funeral of Bernard Connor, M. D. in the pariſh church of St Giles's, Oct. 30, 1698, by William Hayley, D. D. Rector of the ſaid Pariſh, Lond. 1699, 4*to*.

from a Funeral Sermon preached by an eminent Divine at his own requeſt, who ſeems to have ſpoken of him with all the candour and charity that became a Chriſtian Prieſt. As his writings are very well known, and his character has been much canvaſſed in foreign countries, this article was thought the more neceſſary, in which we have endeavoured to collect all the ſcattered facts that can be met with about him.

'*miracles that are there recorded, and looked upon them* '*as atteſtations of the truth of the Chriſtian religion?* '*whether he believed that Jeſus Chriſt was the ſaviour* '*of the world, and that he came to be our propitiation,* '*and to ſatisfy divine juſtice for the ſins of mankind?* 'To which, and ſuch like queſtions, he anſwered '*affirmatively* with great *earneſtneſs*; and when I diſcourſed him on the ſubject of that *book* of his, which 'occaſioned ſuſpicion of his principles, he declared 'that he had no intention to prejudice *religion* thereby, 'and remitted me to his Grace the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* for farther ſatisfaction, to whom he ſaid he 'had explained himſelf in this matter; and as an atteſtation of his ſincerity, had received the *ſacrament* 'upon it at the pariſh church of St *Martin* in the '*Fields*, which I have ſince found to be true.

'I then began to examine him as to the *ſtate* of his '*ſoul*, what ſenſe he had of his ſins, and what remorſe 'for having at any time offended *God?* and whether he 'were perſwaded of the neceſſity of repentance and 'amendment of life, in order to gain the ſalvation 'purchaſed by *Jeſus Chriſt*. To all which he gave me 'ſatisfactory anſwers, and expreſſed great ſorrow for 'the *ſins* and *errors* of his life paſt, and then joined 'with us very *devoutly* in the prayers of the Church, in 'the office for the viſitation of the ſick.

'In the *afternoon* of the ſame day, I went with a 'deſire to have had ſome farther diſcourſe with him, 'but the violence of his fit being upon him, he was 'not in a condition to be ſpoken with.

'The next *morning* I viſited him again, and found 'him in one of his *intervals* ſtill *ſenſible*, but very 'much weakened. I took this occaſion to talk with 'him more particularly concerning his principles, and 'upon mentioning the *merits* of our *Saviour*, aſk'd him 'whether he depended entirely on the *merits* of *Jeſus* '*Chriſt*, and his *interceſſion*, for pardon of his ſins and 'reconcilement to God? and he made anſwer, *that he* '*relied only on the merits of his Saviour.* He was then 'put in mind of receiving the *ſacrament*, and he ſaid 'he deſired it *with all his ſoul.* I aſk'd whether in 'receiving the *ſacrament*, he had in his view the profeſſing himſelf a diſciple of *Chriſt* and a member of *his* '*body* the *Church?* and if in receiving it from *my hands*, 'he deſired to profeſs himſelf a member of the *Church* 'of *England*, which queſtion being a *ſecond* time diſtinctly put to him by a friend of his then preſent, 'he anſwered with very great *ſeriouſneſs* that he did. 'Then I put him in mind of his *neglect* of receiving 'the *ſacrament*, which he had not done ſince about *two* 'years ago, when he communicated at St *Martin*'s, 'and he expreſſed a ſorrow for it. By all this I 'thought he ſufficiently purged himſelf from the imputation of *Deiſm*, *Socinianiſm*, or *Popery*. I looked 'on him as a *true penitent* member of the *Church* of '*England*, and I gave him the *ſacrament*: He received 'it with ſigns of very great *devotion*, with expreſſions 'of hearty *repentance* for all the ſins and follies of his 'life, and earneſt petitions for pardon, and ſo I left 'him as far as we could judge in a Chriſtian diſpoſition 'for death, which I looked upon as very near.

'These are things which I think myſelf obliged to 'give a particular account of, partly to anſwer what 'I conceive was the *deſign* of the deceaſed, and partly 'upon occaſion of an accident that happened ſome 'hours after I left him, which perhaps it will be 'thought not fair to conceal. A certain perſon, who it 'ſeems was a *Romiſh* prieſt, came to the Doctor's 'lodgings, and deſired very earneſtly to ſee him, declaring that he was his *countryman*, his *friend*, and 'his *relation*: thoſe about him looking upon him as 'very near his departure, were unwilling he ſhould be 'diſturbed, but upon great *importunity* did at laſt grant 'the *ſtranger* admittance, who coming to the bed-ſide, 'called the Doctor by his name, and ſaluted him three 'times before he regarded, but at the third time he 'cried out *for God's ſake aſſiſt me.* Upon which the 'company was prevailed with to leave the room, but 'the Doctor's moſt intimate *friend* returned to the door, 'and heard the Doctor repeating over his *Confiteor* 'in *Latin*, in a very *huddled* manner, upon which the '*prieſt* gave him *abſolution*; and then aſked him, 'whether he would have *extreme unction*, and the 'Doctor ſaid *yes*, after which it is ſuſpected it was 'adminiſtred to him.

'Now here could I imagine the Doctor was in his 'ſenſes, and that he was really in his heart of the '*Roman* communion, while he only acted this part in 'the laſt ſcene of his life, I ſhould look upon it as a 'very great *ſtain* on his memory, and I am perſwaded 'it would give every body a ſhocking idea of that 'religion, which would allow a perſon ſo to *prevaricate* 'both with God and man.

'But I confeſs that I believe his judgment was now 'quite decayed, and that he did not know what he 'did, for he was thought dying by thoſe about him, 'though he recovered out of that agony and lived till 'next day. His *friend* aſſures me, that in his 'ſickneſs, he turned away another *Romiſh* prieſt who 'would have ſeen him: that the doctor *thanked* him 'for it, and deſired that none of thoſe perſons (adding a 'reproachful word, which I do not think decent to 'publiſh) ſhould be admitted to him; and that it was 'the *Doctor's own deſire* that I ſhould attend him in his 'ſickneſs; and I cannot ſee what occaſion there 'ſhould be for ſuch a piece of *diſſimulation* if he had 'been of the *Roman communion*. E

COOKE (Sir ANTHONY) Governor, Preceptor, or School-maſter, to King Edward VI, and great grandſon to Sir Thomas Cook Lord Mayor of London in 1462 [*A*], was born at Giddy, or Gidding-Hall in Eſſex (*a*), about the year 1506 (*b*). Where the place

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Eſſex, p. 327.

(*b*) Mr Camden tells us, in his Annals of Qu. Elizabeth under the year 1576, that Sir Antony the year 1506.

was *ſeptuagenarius*, 70 years old, that very year when he died; and therefore muſt have been born about

[*A*] *Great Grandſon to Sir* Thomas Cook, *Lord-Mayor of* London, *in* 1462,] This Sir Thomas Cooke was ſon of Robert Cooke, of Lavenham, in Suffolk. He was of the Drapers Company, and probably brought up to that buſineſs. In the 5th of King Edward IV. he was made Knight of the Bath, and knighted in the field by the King (1); but in the year 1467 he came into great troubles: For one Hawkins having, ſome years before, deſired him to lend him a thouſand marks upon good ſecurity, Sir Thomas anſwered, he would firſt know for whom it was, and for what intent. Underſtanding it was for the uſe of Queen Margaret, (wife of King Henry VI.) he anſwered, he had no goods that he could convert into money without too much loſs; and, at length, refuſed to lend even a hundred pounds. Two or three years after, Hawkins being committed to the Tower, and put to the rack, impeached Sir Tho. Cook of high-treaſon, for what ſhould *then* have been imputed to him as a virtue rather than a crime. However, he was for the ſame tried at Guild-hall, by the procurement of Sir John Fogg; and tho' he was acquitted of treaſon, he was ſent to the Counter, and from thence to the King's-Bench. During his confinement, his houſe in London, and his country-ſeat at Giddy-Hall, were plundered by the ſervants of Sir John Fogg, and Anthony Rivers, Earl of Widville: for which damages Sir Thomas could never get the leaſt recompence: nor was he releaſed 'till he had paid eight thouſand pounds to the King, and eight hundred pounds to the Queen (2). His ſon was Philip Cooke, Eſq; — his grandſon John Cooke, Eſq; who died Oct. 10, 1516,—and his great grandſon, Sir Anthony, of whom we are now writing (3).

(1) Stowe's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, fol. Vol. II. B. v. p. 122.

(2) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 420.

(3) Hiſt. & Antiq. of Eſſex. by N. Salmon, p. 249.

[*B*] *Together*

place of his education was, we cannot find any where mentioned; though it was moſt probably at Cambridge (*c*). But wherever it was, he became eminent in the whole circle of arts; being a thorough Maſter of the Latin and Greek languages; an excellent Critic and Philologiſt; and equally ſkilled in Poetry, Hiſtory, and the Mathematicks. He was at the ſame time adorned with ſingular piety and goodneſs. Theſe illuſtrious qualities, together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his own family [*B*], being taken notice of by thoſe noble perſons that had the charge of King Edward VI: they appointed Sir Anthony to be that Prince's chief inſtructer, and the great guide of his learning and manners (*d*). And what glorious progreſs he made, under his, and the reſt of his Governors, good care, is ſufficiently known. During Queen Mary's perſecuting reign, he was an exile for his religion. But after Queen Elizabeth's happy acceſſion, he returned to his native country: And peaceably ſpent the remainder of his days at Giddy-Hall, of which he finiſhed the building (*e*) [*C*]. He died June 11, 1576, aged ſeventy; leaving behind him the character of a man of ſevere gravity, and great learning (*f*). See the reſt of his character in the note [*D*]. Several witty and ingenious ſayings of his are recorded [*E*]. He was buried in the chapel of Rumford in Eſſex, where a monument is erected to his memory (*g*). If he was great and happy in himſelf, he was much happier and greater in his four daughters, learned above their ſex in Greek and Latin; namely, 1. Mildred, married to Sir William Cecil, Baron Burleigh, Lord Treaſurer of England. 2. Anne, to Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. 3. Elizabeth to Sir John Ruſſel, ſon and heir of Francis Earl of Bedford. And 4. Catherine [*F*], to Henry Killigrew, Eſq; — By his Lady, Anne, daughter of Sir William Fitz-Williams of Milton, Knt. he had alſo two ſons, Richard and William (*b*).

(*c*) He is not mentioned at all by A. Wood.

(*d*) State Worthies, &c. by Dav. Lloyd, 2d edit. 8*vo*, Lond. 1679, p. 374, &c. See alſo Sir John Hayward's Life of King Edward VI. in Compl. Hiſt. of England, fol. Vol. II. edit. 1706, p. 274, note (*d*).

(*e*) D. Lloyd; and Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra; and The Hiſtory and Antiquities of Eſſex, &c. by N. Salmon, p. 249.

(*f*) *Vir—antiqua ſeveritate, & doctrina multiplici*—as Mr Camden ſtyles him; Annal. Reg. Eliz. ſub anno, 1576.

(*g*) J. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 467, &c.

(*b*) Strype, ibid.

[*B*] *Together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his family.*] His childrens maintenance was always according to their quality, and their employment according to their diſpoſition; he neither allowing them to live above their fortunes, nor forcing them againſt their natures. His firſt care was to give them a true ſenſe of religion, and his next, to inure them to ſubmiſſion, modeſty, and obedience, and to let their inſtructions grow with their years. Their book and pen was their recreation; the muſick and dancing-ſchool, the court and city, their accompliſhment; the needle in the cloſet, and houſewifry in the hall and kitchen, their buſineſs. They were reproved, but with reaſon that convinced and checked, that wrought as well an ingenuous ſhame, as an unfeigned ſorrow, and a dutiful fear. He never loved them with over-fondneſs, nor chaſtiſed them in a paſſion. He ſaid, 'That the joys of parents are ſecrets, and ſo are 'their griefs and fears.' Children ſweeten labours, but they embitter misfortunes; they increaſe the care of life, and mitigate the remembrance of death. The recreations he indulged his in, were moderate, lawful, ſober, becoming, uſeful, and ſeaſonable: the expences he allowed, not ſo illiberal as to acquaint them with ſhifts, make them reſort with mean company, nor ſurfeit when they came to plenty; nor yet ſo prodigal, but that they were taught how to live in the world. The books he adviſed were not many, but choice; the buſineſs he preſſed, was not reading, but digeſting. The diet he preſcribed was moderate: in apparel he allowed for neceſſity, for decency, and in ſome caſes for magnificence, provided that it were neither too coſtly, nor too vain; neither above the purſe, nor beyond the calling, nor beſides the eſtate (4).

[*C*] Giddy-hall, *of which he finiſhed the building.*] As the following inſcription, on the front of it, teſtified.

Ædibus his frontem proavus Thomas *dedit olim,*
Addidit Antoni *cætera ſera manus.* 1568.
Ædes quiſque ſuas, Domini ſed moenia pauci
Ædificant, levior cura minora decet (5).

The purport of which is, that the front of that houſe was built by his great grandfather Thomas, and the reſt added by himſelf in 1568, &c. This ſeat was not long ago re-built, in an elegant manner, by the late owner, Sir John Eyles, Bart.

[*D*] *See the reſt of his character in the note.*] He was, if David Lloyd may be credited (6), naturally of a reſerved temper; and took more pleaſure to breed up ſtateſmen, than to be one. Contemplation was his ſoul, privacy his life, and diſcourſe his element: buſineſs was his purgatory, and publickneſs his torment." To which may be added what King Edward VI. uſed to ſay of his tutors, that Rodolph, the German, ſpake honeſtly, Sir John Cheke talked merrily, Dr Cox ſolidly, and Sir *Anthony Cooke* weighingly (7).

(4) State Worthies, &c. as above. p. 375, 376, 377.

(5) Weaver's Funeral Monuments edit. 1631, fol. p. 650.

(6) Ubi ſupra, p. 377.

(7) Ibid. p. 386.

[*E*] *Several witty and ingenious ſayings of his are recorded.*] Particularly the following: 'That there 'were three things before whom he could not do 'amiſs; his Prince, his conſcience, and his chil-'dren.' Writing to his daughter Mildred, he ſaid to her, 'My example is your inheritance, and my life is 'your portion.' This ſtory is likewiſe related of him. That a Suſſex Knight having ſpent a great eſtate at Court, and reduced himſelf to one park and a fine houſe in it, was yet ambitious to entertain King Edward VI. therein; and to that purpoſe had new-painted his gates, with a Coat of Arms, and this motto over them in large golden letters, OIA VANITAS. Sir Anthony offering to read it, deſired to know of the gentleman what he meant by OIA? who told him it ſtood for *omnia*. Sir Anthony replied, 'Sir, I won-'der, having made your *Omnia* (8) ſo little as you 'have, you notwithſtanding make your *Vanitas* (9) ſo 'large (10).'

(8) *i.e.* Your All.

(9) *i.e.* Vanity.

[*F*] *Catherine.*] Dr T. Fuller hath preſerved the following Latin verſes of this lady's, written, as he ſays, upon this occaſion. Her huſband, Sir Henry Killigrew, being deſigned by Queen Elizabeth Embaſſador for France, in troubleſome times, when the employment, always difficult, was then apparently dangerous; this affectionate wife of his wrote theſe verſes to her ſiſter Mildred Cecil, to uſe her intereſt with the Lord Treaſurer, her huſband, that Sir Henry might be excuſed from that ſervice.

Si mihi quem cupio cures, Mildreda, remitti,
Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi ſola Soror.
Sin male cunctando retines, vel trans mare mittes,
Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla Soror.
It ſi Cornubiam, tibi pax ſit, & omnia læta,
*Sin mare, * Cecili, nuntio bella, vale.*

(*) Mel, *trajiciat.*

Thus engliſhed by the ſame author (11).

(10) State Worthies, by David Lloyd, ubi ſupra, p. 375, 385.

(11) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 328.

If, Mildred, by thy care he be ſent back, whom I requeſt,
A ſiſter good thou art to me, yea better, yea the beſt.
But if with ſtays thou keep'ſt him ſtill, or ſend'ſt where ſeas may part,
Then unto me a ſiſter ill, yea worſe, yea none thou art.
If go to Cornwall he ſhall pleaſe, I peace to thee foretell.
But, Cecil, if he ſet to ſeas, I war denounce; farewell.

C

COOPER, or COUPER (THOMAS) a learned Biſhop in the XVIth Century, was born in the city of Oxford, about the year 1517, but not of ſuch mean parentage as is inſinuated by Anthony Wood [*A*]. He was educated in grammar-learning in the ſchool joining to St Mary Magdalen-College, of which he was a Choriſter (*a*). Making great proficiency there beyond his years, he was elected firſt Demi, and then in 1539 Probationer, and, the year following, perpetual Fellow of that College (*b*). On the 7th of July 1539, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*), and that of Maſter, June 6, 1543 (*d*). About which time, he became Maſter of the ſchool wherein he had received his education (*e*). In 1546, he left his Fellowſhip, being then probably married, and applied himſelf to the ſtudies of polite Literature and Phyſick (*f*). When Queen Mary came to the Crown, he being inclined to the Proteſtant Religion, took the degree of Bachelor of Phyſick, in 1556 (*g*), and practiſed in that faculty at Oxford (*h*). But, after that Queen's death, he returned to his former ſtudy of Divinity, and became a frequent and celebrated Preacher (*i*). March 18, 1566-7, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor, and Doctor in Divinity (*k*); and, about that time, was made Dean of Chriſt-Church in Oxford (*l*); and for ſeveral years after, was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity (*m*). In 1569, he was made Dean of Glouceſter (*n*); and February 24, 1570, conſecrated Biſhop of Lincoln (*o*). The 27th of July 1572, he preached a ſermon at St Paul's-Croſs, in vindication of the Church of England, and its Liturgy; to which an anſwer was ſent him by a diſaffected perſon (*p*). Which anſwer the induſtrious Mr Strype hath printed at length, in his Annals of the Reformation (*q*). A few years after, he was deſired to viſit King's College in Cambridge [*B*], but refuſed to do it, unleſs he had a ſpecial commiſſion for that purpoſe (*r*). Upon occaſion of the publick exerciſes (known by the name of *Propheſyings*) being continued in ſeveral parts of his dioceſe, particularly in Hertfordſhire [*C*], the Queen ſent him a letter, in 1577, to put a ſtop to thoſe exerciſes (*s*). There was a deſign, in 1579, to remove him to Norwich, on the intended tranſlation of Biſhop Scambler to Ely; but, for certain reaſons [*D*], Dr Cooper declined this offer (*t*). He did a good ſervice to his dioceſe in 1582, by getting a commiſſion ſuperſeded, that had been obtained under pretence of diſcovering concealed lands and eſtates granted by the Crown; but which, in reality, was very perplexing and oppreſſive both to the clergy and laity (*u*). His diſtinguiſhed merit and abilities having recommended him to his ſovereign's favour and eſteem, he was tranſlated in 1584, to the rich Biſhoprick of Wincheſter (*w*); where, as he had done before in every other ſtation, he became much noted for his learning and ſanctity of life (*x*). Soon after his conſecration, he went and reſided in his new dioceſe; and becauſe it abounded with great numbers of Recuſants, he thought it neceſſary to take an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion along with him (*y*). Moreover being apprehenſive of great danger from them, and of an invaſion that way, *he petitioned the Privy-Council*, to ſuppreſs the

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 265.

(*b*) Ibid. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 196.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 62.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 67. & Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Hiſt. & Antiq. ibid. & Athen. ubi ſupra. See alſo Balei Scriptor. Illuſtr. Majoris Bryt. Cent. IX. No. 74. p. 755, edit. Oporini.

(*f*) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Faſti, Vol. I. col. 83.

(*h*) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Faſti, ubi ſupra, col. 97.

(*l*) Athen. ubi ſupra; & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 255.

(*m*) See Faſti, Vol. I. col. 100, 101, 103, 104.

(*n*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 158, 263.

(*o*) Godwin. de Præſulibus, edit. 1615, 4to, p. 362; and Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 242, 265, 712.

(*p*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 193, edit. 1725.

(*q*) Ibid. &c.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 419.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 486, 487; and Appendix to Book ii. No. 9. p. 111.

(*t*) Ibid. Annals, p. 590, 591.

(*u*) Idem, Vol. III. p. 112.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 175. Godwin. de Præſulibus, &c. p. 301.

(*x*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 239, 240.

[*A*] *But not of ſuch mean parentage as is inſinuated by A. Wood.*] He was the ſon of *John* Couper, fourth ſon of Tho. Couper of the city of Cheſter, Eſq; by Iſabel daughter and ſole heireſs to Richard Goodman Eſq; Mayor of that city A. D. 1497: which John was ſent to Oxford, and entered a Commoner of St Mary-Magdalen-Hall; but, before he *took* a Degree, unhappily married ſo much to the diſpleaſure of his parents, that they never took notice of him afterwards, and he lived in Oxford very obſcurely all the reſt of his days (1).

(1) From the information of William Cowper, Eſq;

[*B*] *He was deſired to viſit King's College in Cambridge.*] Of which, by Statute, he was the legal Viſitor; but as his viſitations there were but from three years to three years, and it was not yet three years ſince his laſt viſitation, he thought he could not take upon himſelf to viſit them, without an extraordinary commiſſion (2).

(2) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra, p. 419.

[*C*] *The Queen ſent him a Letter in* 1577, *to put a ſtop to the Propheſyings, that were continued in his Dioceſe.*] Theſe Propheſyings otherwiſe named *Exerciſes*, were grounded upon 1 Corinth. XIV. 31. *Ye may all propheſy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.* They were ſet on foot in ſeveral parts of the kingdom about the year 1571; (3) and conſiſted of conferences among the Clergy, for the better improving of themſelves, and one another, in the knowledge of Scripture and Divinity. For that purpoſe, certain Miniſters within a convenient compaſs in each Dioceſe, aſſembled together in a pariſh church, commonly in ſome market-town; and there, one after another, gave their judgments briefly of the ſenſe of ſome place or places of ſcripture, propounded before to be diſcuſſed, either by the Biſhop, or the Archdeacon's order, or ſome other grave perſon: and then it was determined by a Moderator (4). The chief members of the aſſemblies were *Moderators*, *Writers*, and *Speakers*. The Moderators, who were generally four in number, pitched upon the parts of Scripture that were to be handled. The Writers collected ſeveral obſervations upon every verſe of thoſe parts of Scripture, and ſo proceeded upon the whole. The Speakers diſcourſed, or enlarged, upon ſuch portions as were ſeverally aſſigned to them. Their method of proceeding was thus: They began and ended with prayer: Then the firſt Moderator propoſed and read the firſt verſe of the text, or chapter that was to be handled. Upon which verſe the Writers read in order the obſervations they had gathered. Then the Speaker aſſigned to that part of the text, enlarged upon the ſame. After him the reſt of the Speakers had liberty to give any brief notes upon that verſe. In the mean time, the Moderator's care, was to take notice of any error, negligence, or ignorance in any of the Writers and Speakers, and to correct and reform them. After which he further added ſuch obſervations as he had gather'd upon that verſe. And after him the reſt of the Moderators, in due order, did the like, till as much was ſaid upon that verſe, as was thought convenient. All the time, both the Speakers and Writers, took notice in writing, of the obſervations given by any of the Speakers or Moderators. And ſo all the Moderators proceeded with the whole text, or chapter, verſe by verſe (5). Theſe Propheſyings, or Exerciſes, were put down in the dioceſe of Norwich in 1574 (6), but continued in others, particularly in the North, for above ten years after (7). However, they were almoſt generally ſuppreſſed in 1577 (8), on account of their being thought to be Seminaries of Puritaniſm.

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 90, &c.

(4) Ibid. p. 219.

(5) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 90, &c. 318, 319, &c. Vol. III. p. 328, 329.

(6) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 460, 462.

(7) Idem, Annals, Vol. III. p. 328.

[*D*] *For certain reaſons Dr Cooper declined the offer of the See of Norwich.*] His reaſons were; that the greatneſs of the charge, and number of churches, would be either little or nothing diminiſhed: the troubleſomeneſs, and danger, of the dioceſe far greater, than where he was: the credit of the place nothing more: the benefit of the living no whit amended: and the charges of the alteration very great (9).

(8) See Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, 2d edit. 1732, Vol. I. p. 352, &c.

(9) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 590, 591.

the boldneſs of the Papiſts in the county of Southampton [*E*]. Not long after, he was accuſed of Covetouſneſs (*z*), of which he cleared himſelf [*F*]. Upon the diſcovery of William Parry's treaſon, he put out 'an order of Prayer and Thankſgiving for the preſervation of the Queen's life and ſafety; to be uſed in the dioceſe of Wincheſter (*a*).' In the year 1588, he preached at St Paul's-Croſs, on the 17th of November, being a day of publick thankſgiving, as well for the Queen's acceſſion to the throne, as for the ſignal victory obtained over the Spaniſh Armada (*b*). This reverend and holy Biſhop, as Mr Wood ſtyles him (*c*), died at Wincheſter, April 29, 1594, and was buried in the cathedral there, on the ſouth-ſide of the choir, a little above the Biſhop's ſeat. Over his grave was ſoon after laid a flat marble, with a Latin inſcription in proſe and verſe [*G*]. The ſeveral books he publiſhed, were theſe: I. 'The Epitome of Chronicles from the 'ſeventeenth year after Chriſt, to 1540, and thence afterwards to the year 1560.' Lond. 1560, 4*to*. The two firſt parts of this Chronicle, and the beginning of the third as far as the ſeventeenth year after Chriſt, were compoſed by Thomas Lanquet, a young man of twenty-four years of age. But he being cut off by untimely death, Mr Cooper finiſhed the work; and his part, which is the third, contains almoſt thrice as much as Lanquet's two parts, being chiefly taken from Achilles Pyrminius. When it was finiſhed, a third perſon publiſhed it ſurreptitiouſly, and in a very faulty manner, in 1559, under the title of *Lanquet's Chronicle*: whereupon, our author reviſed, corrected, and publiſhed it again in 1560, under the general title of *Cooper's Chronicle*, &c. The running title to the firſt and ſecond part, is *Lanquet's Chronicle*; and to the third, *The Epitome of Chronicles*. II. *Theſaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ*, &c. and *Dictionarium Hiſtoricum & Poeticum*. Lond. 1565, fol. This Dictionary was ſo much eſteemed by Queen Elizabeth, that ſhe endeavoured to promote the author as high in the church as ſhe could (*d*). It is an improvement of *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*; Elyot's Library or Dictionary; printed at Lond. 1541, fol. to which Mr Cooper added thirty-three thouſand words and phraſes, beſides a fuller account of the true ſignification of words (*e*): Or rather, it is taken out of Robert Stephens's *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ*, and out of *Friſii Lexicon Latino-Teutonicum* (*f*). III. 'A brief Expoſition of ſuch Chapters of the Old Teſtament, as uſually are read in the 'Church at Common-Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the Year.' Lond. 1573, 4*to*. IV. 'Sermon at Lincoln 1575, on Matth. xvi. 26, 27.' Lond. 8*vo*. V. 'Twelve Ser'mons on Rom. i. 16. Matth. vii. 15, 16. 1 Cor. x. 1, 3, 5. Matth. xiii. 3, 5. and John viii. 46.' Lond. 1580, 4*to*. VI. 'An Admonition to the People of England. 'Wherein are anſwered not only the ſlanderous Untruths, reproachfully uttered by *Mar'tin*, the Libeller, but alſo many other Crimes by ſome of his brood, objected generally 'againſt all Biſhops, and the chief of the Clergy; purpoſely to deface and diſcredit the 'preſent ſtate of the Church.' Lond. 1589, 4*to*. This was a ſolid and judicious anſwer to John ap Henry's ſcurrilous and abuſive libels againſt the Eſtabliſhed Church, publiſhed under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate* (*g*). Ap Henry, or his Club of Puritans, replied to the Biſhop's book, in two ludicrous pamphlets, intitled, 'Ha'ye any work for a Cooper?' and 'More Work for a Cooper (*h*). ——— Biſhop Cooper's character is repreſented by ſeveral writers in a very advantageous light. One ſtyles him (*i*), a very learned man, eloquent,

(*z*) Ibid. p. 175, 176.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 260, 261.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 526. Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, p. 751.

(*c*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra, col. 266.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 266.

(*e*) Wood, ibid. col. 67.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. & Hiſt & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 196.

(*g*) See Wood, Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 258, 259; and Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 288.

(*h*) Strype, ibid. & Wood, ubi ſupra; & col. 266.

(*i*) Baleus, ubi ſupra—*puerorum olim pædagogus doctiſſimus, vir facundus, & utriuſque linguæ peritus.*

[*E*] *He petitioned the Council to ſuppreſs the boldneſs of the Papiſts*, &c.] Among other methods for it, he propoſed, 'That an hundred, or two, of obſtinate 'recuſants, luſty men, well able to labour, might 'by ſome convenient commiſſion be taken up and ſent 'into Flanders as pioneers and labourers. Whereby 'the country ſhould be diſburthened of a company of 'dangerous people. And the reſt that remained be 'put in ſome fear.' (10)

(10) Idem, Vol. III. p. 240.

[*F*] *He was accuſed of Covetouſneſs.*] Of which he cleared himſelf, by producing a ſchedule of the value of his biſhoprick, and the charges payable out of it. By that it appeared, that the clear valne, or rent of aſſize, of that biſhoprick amounted then to two thouſand ſeven hundred pounds ten ſhillings and ſixpence, yearly; and the charges iſſuing out of it, to two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy ſeven pounds: ſo remained clear to him, only three hundred and ninety eight pounds nine ſhillings. From the ſame ſchedule it moreover appears, that ſome of the Courtiers were quartered upon this biſhoprick. For there is one article in it thus, 'My Lord of Leiceſter's fee 100 *l.*' And another, 'Paid yearly in annuities, granted by Biſhop Gardiner 'and Biſhop White; wherein Sir Fr. Walſingham's 'fee is contained—218 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* (11)

(11) Strype's Annals, Appendix to Vol. III. B. i. No. [xxx] p. 58.

[*G*] *With a Latin inſcription in proſe and verſe.*] Which is as follows. Round the ſtone. *Hic jacet Thomas Cooper olim Lincolnienſis, nuper Wintonienſis Epiſcopus munificentiſſimus, doctiſſimus, vigilantiſſimus Præſul; qui religioſiſſimè in domino obiit Aprilis* 29. *an. dom.* 1594. In the middle of the ſtone are theſe verſes.

Theſaurus, Chronicorum, Cooperi cætera ſcripta*
Dum remanent, celebris Cooperi fama manebit.
Oxonienſis erat, Gloceſtrenſiſque Decanus,
Continuus primæ Vicecancellarius Urbis,
Tum Lincolnienſis † ſit Præſul, & inde movetur
Wintoniam, denos ubi ſedit Epiſcopus annos.
Summè doctus erat, ſummèque benignus egenis,
Et ſummo ſtudio divina oracula pandit.
Terra tegit corpus, ſed ſpiritus eſt ſuper aſtra:
Coeleſtes animæ, coeleſti pace fruentur.

(*) It is ſo printed in Wood, but it ſhould be *Chronicon*, in order to make up both the ſenſe and the verſe.

(†) It ſhould be *Lincolnienſis*.

Below.

In obitum D. Thomæ Cooperi, Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſoris, W. S. Δεκάστιχον (12).

(12) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 196, 197.

i. e. 'Here lies Thomas Cooper, formerly Biſhop of 'Lincoln, and late of Wincheſter, a very bountiful, 'learned and vigilant prelate, who died piouſly in the 'Lord, April 29, in the year 1594. While Cooper's 'Dictionary, Chronicle, and other writings are in be'ing, Cooper's great fame will laſt. He was of Ox'ford, Dean of Glouceſter, for ſeveral years Vice'Chancellor of the former; then he became Biſhop of 'Lincoln, and thence was tranſlated to Wincheſter, 'where he ſat Biſhop ten years. He was very learned, 'extremely bountiful to the poor, and with great di'ligence explained the divine oracles. The earth 'covers his body, but his ſoul is above the firmament: 'heavenly ſouls ſhall enjoy heavenly peace.'

'Theſe ten verſes on the death of Dr Thomas Coo'per, S. T. P. were made by W. S.'

[*H*] *He*

quent, and well acquainted with the Engliſh and Latin languages. Another (*k*) ſays of him, that he was a man of great gravity, learning, and holineſs of life. He was, ſays A. Wood (*l*), furniſhed with all kind of learning almoſt beyond all his contemporaries, and not only adorned the pulpit with his ſermons, but alſo the Commonwealth of Learning with his writings. 'Of him, ſays Sir John Harrington (*m*), I can ſay much, and I ſhould 'do him great wrong if I ſhould ſay nothing: For he was indeed a reverent man, very 'well learned, exceeding induſtrious; and, which was in thoſe dayes counted a great praiſe 'to him, and a chief cauſe of his preferment, he wrote that great Dictionary that yet bears 'his name. His life in Oxford was very commendable, and in ſome ſort ſaint-like; for, 'if it be ſaint-like to live unreprovable, to bear a troſs patiently, to forgive great injuries 'freely, this man's example is ſampleleſs in this age.' He married a wife at Oxford [*H*], with whom he happened to be very unhappy, ſhe proving unfaithful to his bed. 'The 'whole univerſity, in reverence of the man, and indignity of the matter, offered to ſeparate 'her from him by publick authority, and ſo to ſet him free, being the innocent party. 'But he would by no means agree thereto, alledging he knew his own infirmity, that he 'might not live unmarried; and to divorce and marry again, he would not charge his 'conſcience with ſo great a ſcandal.'

(*k*) Godwin. de Præſul. p. 305.

(*l*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 255.

(*m*) A briefe Survey of the State of the Church of England in Queen Elizabeth and King James's Reign. Being a Character and Hiſtory of the Biſhops of thoſe Times, Lond. 1653. 8*vo*, p. 62, 64.

[*H*] *He married a wife at Oxford*, &c.] By her he had two daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Dr John Bellew, ſome time Provoſt of Oriel-College, and Chancellor of the dioceſe of Lincoln; and Mary, who was married to John Gouldwell, Gent (13).

(13) From the ſame information as above.

COOPER (ANTHONY ASHLEY) Earl of Shafteſbury, one of the ableſt perſons, greateſt Politicians, and moſt diſtinguiſhed Miniſters in the laſt century. He derived from his birth, all the advantages that could ſpring from an honourable deſcent joined to a large fortune. His father was Sir John Cooper of Rockborn in the county of Southampton, Bart. by Anne, daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir Anthony Aſhley, of Winborne St Giles in the county of Dorſet, Knight and Baronet (*a*); from whom he inherited an eſtate of eight thouſand pounds a year, and all the influence that aroſe from ſuch a fortune, and the credit of his anceſtors in the Weſt of England, which was very conſiderable (*b*) [*A*]. He was born at Winborne St Giles, July 22, 1621 (*c*), and educated with great care under the eye of his parents during his infancy, in which he diſcovered ſuch extraordinary parts, as not only gave hopes of his becoming one day a perſon of excellent abilities, but rendered him even at that time the ſubject of general admiration; ſo that while a very boy he was conſidered as a prodigy, and, if we may credit his Hiſtorian, very extraordinary things were predicted of him (*d*) [*B*]. He had the misfortune to loſe his father, March

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 481.

(*b*) Rawleigh Redivivus, or the Life and Death of the Right Hon. Anthony late Earl of Shafteſbury, Lond. 1683, 8*vo*, p. 6.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 720. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 371, where there is a glaring miſtake of 1624 for 1621.

(*d*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 9, 10.

[*A*] *Which was very conſiderable.*] As to this gentleman's deſcent, by the father's ſide, we find, that in the 22d of Henry VIII. Richard Cooper, Eſq; purchaſed from Sir Amyas Pawlet the Manor of Pawlet (1), in Somerſetſhire, ſtill in the poſſeſſion of this family, and erected into a Barony in their favour by King Charles II. This Richard Cooper, by Jane his wife, daughter of Sir John Kingſmill, of Sydmonton, in the county of Southampton, Knight, had iſſue John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the ſame county, who was afterwards knighted, and was the father of Sir John Cooper, Knt. mentioned in the text, and who was alſo created Baronet, July 4, 1662. As for his mother's family, ſhe was deſcended by the females from the ancient houſes of Hamlynes (2), Pleſheys, and Malmaines, poſſeſſors of Wimborne St Giles, from whom it deſcended to Anthony Aſhley, Eſq; who, for his great ſervices in the Cadiz expedition, where he acted as Secretary at War, had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him (3). He was afterwards promoted to be one of the clerks of the Privy-Council in the reign of King James I (4). but falling under the diſpleaſure of that Prince, and being removed from his office, his large fortune, which conſiſted of two thouſand marks a year in real eſtate, and as much in money and effects, tempted one Sir James Creighton (5) to enter into a wicked conſpiracy with Henry Smith and Mary Rice, ſervants to Sir Anthony, in the year 1610, to deprive him of his life and fortune; in order to which, Mary Rice preſented a petition to the King, ſetting forth, that her huſband, William Rice, dead eighteen years before, was poiſoned by Henry Smith, at the inſtance of Sir Anthony Aſhley, and Henry Smith confeſſed the ſame; but upon referring this petition to the Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, the whole iniquity was found out, and the conſpirators puniſhed in the Star-Chamber. This Sir Anthony Aſhley, July 3, 1622, was created a Baronet (6), who by his wife, daughter of Philip Okeover, of Okeover, in the county of Stafford, had only one daughter, Anne, who married Sir John Cooper, by whom ſhe had this only ſon, to whom his grandfather was alſo godfather, and gave him both his names, ſo that he was chriſtened Anthony Aſhley, as being the preſumptive heir of both families (7).

(1) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 370.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 481.

(3) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 726.

(4) Liſt of Civil Officers in the Reign of King James I. MS.

(5) Coke's Reports, P. xii. p. 91.

(6) Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets, and the Time of their Creation.

(7) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 6. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 371.

[*B*] *Were predicted of him.*] As the ancients were given to believe in omens and prodigies, ſo it was the foible of the laſt, as well as ſome preceding ages, to yield, but too much faith to pretended prophecies and idle prognoſtications. Of this nature we may reckon what a certain writer tells us of a Proteſtant gentleman, that flying out of Germany for his religion, was charitably received and entertained by Sir John Cooper, who being extremely taken with the wonderful parts of his ſon, who could not then be above nine years old, addreſſed him, in the preſence of his father, in theſe words (8), 'Child, if thou wilt be religious, and 'keep cloſe to God, and take care to avoid the vain and 'deſtructive allurements of prophaneneſs and debauch'ery, and entertain a fixed reſolution to improve all 'thy parts and abilities for the advancing the Proteſtant 'Religion, you ſhall be a man of the largeſt parts in 'Chriſtendom, and ſhall be an inſtrument of doing an 'extraordinary piece of ſervice to your King, which 'ſhall be very acceptable to him, whereupon you ſhall 'ſtand high in his favour, and be promoted to very 'great honour, yet ſhall afterwards loſe your Prince's 'favour, and be as much diſreſpected as before ho'noured and admired; yet, at the ſame time, you 'ſhall be one of the moſt popular men under Heaven: 'and that you may know that this will fall out ac'cording to my prediction, pray remember this that 'I am now going to tell you, and write it down in 'your pocket-book that you may not forget it. Not 'long after your coming from the univerſity, you ſhall 'be in extream danger of drowning, telling him the 'very day when it ſhould happen.' The author afterwards proceeds to ſhew, that this accident did happen, and was followed by all the other events hinted at in the prediction, which was not publiſhed 'till after the Earl of Shafteſbury's death, and it is very probable was invented not long before it.

(8) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 9.

[*T*] *He*

March 23, 1631, before he was ten years of age, and thereby, as his only child, became entitled to his large eſtate (*e*). At the age of fifteen he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, and became a Fellow-Commoner of Exeter-college, under the tuition of the famous Dr Prideaux who was then Rector of it, and is ſaid to have ſtudied hard there for about two years (*f*), and very well maintained the character with which he came thither, of being a ſingular and moſt ſurprizing genius. He removed from thence to Lincoln's-Inn (*g*), where he applied himſelf with great vigour and diligence to the ſtudy of the Law, but more eſpecially turned his thoughts to the gaining a perfect ſkill in the conſtitution of this kingdom, in which, as in every thing elſe that claimed his attention, he became a wonderful proficient, and on various occaſions in the future courſe of life, clearly diſcovered, that no man more thoroughly underſtood it than himſelf (*h*). He was thus employed, when, in the nineteenth year of his age, he was choſen one of the Burgeſſes to repreſent the town of Tewkeſbury in Glouceſterſhire, in that Parliament which met at Weſtminſter April 13, 1640 (*i*), and of which very great hopes were entertained, but, to the great ſorrow of the nation, were all fruſtrated by it's ſudden, unexpected, and fatal diſſolution (*k*). We have no account of his diſtinguiſhing himſelf in that aſſembly, and indeed there was but very little time for it. It is however highly probable that he was very well affected to the King's ſervice, of which he gave ſufficient proofs at the beginning of the Civil Wars, by repairing to Oxford, and offering his ſervice there to his Majeſty, not for ſubduing or conquering his country, but for reducing ſuch, as had either deſerted or miſtaken their duty, to his Majeſty's obedience. This was a very extraordinary ſcheme for a perſon of two or three and twenty years of age to propoſe, and therefore it is not at all ſtrange that it ſhould ſurprize his Majeſty, when, in an audience obtained for that purpoſe, he propoſed putting an end to the war by acting upon ſuch principles (*l*). We have this fact from a perſon who had the beſt opportunities of knowing the truth of it, whoſe candour in any other inſtance was never doubted, and whoſe account however has been neglected becauſe it is without date, and does not ſeem to agree with other relations. But for all this it might very well have happened in the ſpring of the year 1643, and ſeems equally to deſerve the reader's notice and belief [*C*]. It is very certain that Weymouth ſubmitted on the ninth of Auguſt the ſame year (*m*), and we have a very long account in the work of the noble Hiſtorian, of the diſpute that happened between Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford, as to the appointing Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper Governor of that place, which was at firſt poſitively refuſed by the King, and at laſt, though not without great difficulty, granted (*n*). Whoever will take the pains to compare and conſider theſe two ſeemingly inconſiſtent accounts, will find them very reconcileable, and clearly perceive, that the truth is to be collected from adverting to this circumſtance, that as the former is given us by the friend of this gentleman; ſo the latter, which for this purpoſe was alſo inſerted in the notes [*D*], was penned when the noble author had no good opinion of the perſon

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 371.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon Vol. II. col. 720.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 5.

(*h*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 11.

(*i*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, MS.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Oxf. fol. p. 44.

(*l*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 471.

(*m*) Britain's Remembrancer, p. 23.

(*n*) Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 348. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 260.

[*C*] *To deſerve the reader's notice and belief.*] As no body was better acquainted with this noble Peer than Mr Locke, ſo it is highly probable, that what he has left us concerning him was taken from his own mouth, or, if received from any other authority, at leaſt confirmed by himſelf. What is ſaid in the text is ſufficient to ſhew, that it might poſſibly be true, and the authorities juſt mentioned, may induce us to believe it really was ſo (*o*). Mr Locke's account runs thus: 'Being at Oxford in the beginning of the civil 'war, for he was on that ſide as long as he had any 'hopes to ſerve his country there, he was brought to 'King Charles I. by the Lord Falkland, his friend, 'then Secretary of State, and preſented to him, as 'having ſomething to offer to his Majeſty worth his 'conſideration. At this audience he told the King, 'that he thought he could put an end to the war if 'his Majeſty pleaſed, and would aſſiſt him in it. The 'King anſwered, that he was a very young man for 'ſo great an undertaking. Sir, replied he, that will 'not be the worſe for your affairs, provided I do the 'buſineſs. Whereupon the King ſhewing a willingneſs to hear him, he diſcourſed to him to this purpoſe. The gentlemen and men of eſtates, who firſt 'engaged in that war, ſeeing now, after a year or two, 'that it ſeems to be no nearer the end than it was at 'firſt, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well 'ſatisfied would be glad to be in quiet at home again, 'if they could be aſſured of a redreſs of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties ſecured to 'them. This I am ſatisfied is the preſent temper generally through all England, and particularly in thoſe 'parts where my eſtate and concerns lie; if therefore 'your Majeſty will empower me to treat with the Parliament garriſons, to grant them a full and general 'pardon, with an aſſurance that a general amneſty (arms being laid down on both ſides) ſhould reinſtate 'all things in the ſame poſture they were before the 'war, and then a free Parliament ſhould do what 'more remained to be done for the ſettlement of the 'nation.' He added farther,

'That he would begin and try the experiment firſt 'in his own country, and doubted not but the good 'ſucceſs he ſhould have there, would open him the 'gates of other adjoining garriſons, bringing them the 'news of peace, and ſecurity in laying down their arms. 'Being furniſhed with full power, according to his deſire, away he goes to Dorſetſhire, where he managed 'a treaty with the garriſons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorcheſter, and others, and was ſo ſucceſsful in it, that one 'of them was actually put into his hands, as the others 'were to have been ſome few days after. But Prince 'Maurice, who commanded ſome of the King's forces, 'being with his army then in thoſe parts, no ſooner 'heard that the town was ſurrendered, but he preſently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to 'his ſoldiers. This Sir Anthony ſaw with the utmoſt 'diſpleaſure, and could not forbear to expreſs his reſentments to the Prince, ſo that there paſſed ſome 'pretty hot words between them; but the violence 'was committed, and thereby his deſign broken. All 'that he could do was, that he ſent to the other garriſons he was in treaty with to ſtand upon their guard, 'for that he could not ſecure his articles to them, and 'ſo this deſign proved abortive, and died in ſilence.'

(*o*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 471.

[*D*] *Is alſo inſerted in the notes.*] It is only by this method of carefully comparing, and candidly conſidering, the ſame paſſages, as they are variouſly related by perſons of different ſentiments and oppoſite opinions, that the real matter of fact ever comes to be known. The Earl of Clarendon was ſo much concerned in this affair, that he muſt have known it to the bottom: but whether he has related all he knew, or ſhewn how or why Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper came

to

perſon of whom he was ſpeaking. Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper was alſo at that time High-Sheriff of the county of Dorſet, and choſe therefore in that quality, rather than by virtue of any military commiſſion, to raiſe, as he had power to do, the whole ſtrength of the county, and to embark them at once in the cauſe of the King and the Conſtitution (*o*). To this intent he iſſued his ſummons for aſſembling the *Poſſe Comitatus*, on a day certain at Dorcheſter, which is the county town, but, before that day came, he was invited to Oxford by a letter from his Majeſty, Col. Goring was ſent into his neighbourhood with ſome forces (*p*), and Col. William Aſhburnham came to him at Dorcheſter, and produced a commiſſion of ſuch a nature, as plainly enough demonſtrated that there was no intention to confide in him, or to allow him to proceed in that way which he thought could alone determine this conteſt, without involving the nation in a long and bloody war (*q*). He conferred notwithſtanding with Col. Aſhburnham, told him what he had done, and with what view, but perceiving plainly that his behaviour was diſliked, and his perſon in danger, he retired, firſt to his own houſe, and from thence went into the Parliament quarters (*r*). Neither was it long after that he went up to London, where he was very well received by the leading men on that ſide, who knew well his weight and intereſt in his county, and had a very high opinion of his parts and capacity to ſerve them, in caſe they could attach him thoroughly to their intereſts. This however was not very eaſily done,

(*o*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 16, 17.

(*p*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 479.

(*q*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 17.

(*r*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 478.

to be ſuſpected at Oxford, the reader muſt judge for himſelf. The ſtory, as he tells it, runs thus (10).

(10) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 348.

'There was, ſays he, an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince Maurice and the Marquis. It hath been ſaid, that the Earl of Carnarvan, who was General of the horſe of the weſtern army, had marched from Briſtol the day before the Prince, and had taken Dorcheſter and and Weymouth before his Highneſs came up to the army, both conſiderable places, and the ſeats of great malignity. The former was not thought neceſſary to be made a garriſon, but the latter was the beſt port town of that county, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made ſome promiſe of the government thereof when it ſhould be taken, of which they made no doubt, to Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, a young gentleman of that county, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one who, in the opinion of moſt men, was like to advance the place by being governor of it, and to raiſe men for the defence of it, without leſſening the army, and had, in expectation of it, made ſome proviſion of officers and ſoldiers, when it ſhould be time to call them together. Prince Maurice, on the other ſide, had ſome other perſon in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge when it ſhould fall. In the moment that the town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sir Anthony hearing that the Marquis came not with the army, but remained ſome time at Briſtol, made all the haſte he could to him, and came thither the ſame day the King left it, and applied himſelf to the Marquis, who remembered his promiſe, and thought himſelf obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power ſo to do, ſince it appeared that the town was taken, before the King had declared to him, that he ſhould not go to the army 'till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was ſet. "Sir Anthony came likewiſe to him, who was of his "acquaintance, and deſired his aſſiſtance; that after "ſo much charge he had been put to in the expectation "of it, and to prepare for it, he might not be expoſed "to the mirth and contempt of the country." It was evident, that if he returned with the commiſſion from the Marquis (which he was moſt inclined to give him) both he and the commiſſion would be affronted, and the town would not be ſuffered to ſubmit to him: therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no other way but to appeal to the King, and deſire his favour, as well as his juſtice, in giving his commiſſion to the perſon deſigned by the Marquis, which would remove that part of the exception which would moſt trouble the Prince; and he offered to write himſelf very earneſtly to the King. Beſides his deſire to gratify the Marquis, he did, in truth, believe it of great importance to his Majeſty's ſervice, to engage a perſon of ſuch a fortune and intereſt ſo thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believed ſuch an obligation muſt needs do, the flexibility and inſtability of that gentleman's nature not being then underſtood or ſuſpected.

'He did write with all the ſkill and importunity he could uſe to the King, and writ to the Lord Faulkland, "To take Sir John Colepepper with him, if "he found any averſion in the King, that they might "together diſcourſe and prevail with him." But his Majeſty poſitively and obſtinately refuſed to grant it, and ſaid, "He would not, to pleaſe the Marquis "in an unjuſt pretence, put a publick diſobligation and "affront upon his nephew." So the expreſs returned without effect, and the Marquis was as ſenſibly touched as could be imagined, and ſaid; "That he "was fallen from all credit with the King, and was "made incapable of doing him further ſervice; that "his fidelity ſhould never be leſſened towards him, "(as in truth he was incapable of a diſloyal thought) "but ſince he was become ſo totally uſeleſs to the "King and to his friends, he hoped his Majeſty would "give him leave to retire to his own houſe, where he "doubted not he ſhould be ſuffered to live privately "and quietly to pray for the King." The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to purſue any reſolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majeſty, for whom he had all poſſible duty; yet he knew too, that the miſchief was not ſmall, from the obſervation that the Marquis thought himſelf ill uſed, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment thoſe jealouſies and diſcontents, and therefore reſolved (having diſpatched all things which were incumbent on him at Briſtol, and uſed all freedom with the Marquis for the diſpelling all troubleſome imaginations) to go himſelf to the King, and to repreſent that affair to him, and the probable conſequences of it, with new inſtances. And, at laſt, with very great difficulty, he did ſo far prevail with his Majeſty, that he gave a commiſſion to Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, to be Governor of Weymouth, which he was the more eaſily perſuaded to, out of ſome prejudice he had to the perſon who he underſtood was deſigned to that government.' The words *a little before this time*, at the beginning of this account, refer to the plundering of Weymouth and Melcombe, by Prince Maurice, which this writer acknowledges, at the ſame time he excuſes it all he can. He adds however, that upon this, Lyme and Poole, the only two garriſons the Parliament had in thoſe parts, inſtead of ſubmitting, ſent the Prince ſo peremptory an anſwer, that though he wanted not either troops or cannon, he did not think fit to approach them (11). This agrees exactly with the former relation, and we may eaſily diſcern why thoſe who had broke their words with Sir Anthony were afraid to truſt him; neither are the words the noble Hiſtorian put into his mouth common ſenſe, if he had not been deeper engaged than from this relation appears. This ſevere cenſure upon his mutability therefore might have been ſpared, if any reflections were to be made, they ought to have fallen upon that great ſoldier of fortune, who made ſo free with his own word, the liberties of the Engliſh nation, and the King his uncle's intereſts (12).

(11) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 359. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 346.

(12) Hiſtory of King Charles I. p. 313.

done, for though the Noble Hiſtorian is pleaſed to ſay, (and though it be his it is but a coarſe ſaying) *That he gave himſelf up body and ſoul to the Parliament* (s), yet this does not very clearly appear, ſince it is very certain that he betrayed none of the counſels with which he was truſted at Oxford, nor took any other ſtep, by which he might render his former connections any way uſeful to thoſe whom he had now joined (t). But it is indeed evident that he accepted a commiſſion from the Parliament (u), and raiſed forces in Dorſetſhire for the recovery of ſome places out of the hands of thoſe, who he thought had nothing elſe in view but carrying on a war for the entire reduction of the kingdom, the merit of which might entitle them to great rewards, from the new government that might be then eſtabliſhed upon the ruins of the antient and legal conſtitution (w); and it is no wonder at all that he ſhould oppoſe this, if we conſider how large an eſtate he had, and conſequently, excluſive of principles, how much it was his private intereſt to look unto the ſafety of his country (x). In October 1644 he took Wareham by ſtorm, and very ſoon after reduced all the adjacent parts of Dorſetſhire; this, and ſome other actions of the ſame nature, might poſſibly induce the Earl of Clarendon to add to the harſh character beforementioned, that he became *an implacable enemy to the Royal family* (y). One may reaſonably ſuppoſe they had other ſentiments of him at Oxford, ſince he was truſted with ſome private negotiations between his Majeſty and Denzil Lord Hollis, at the treaty of Uxbridge, for which the latter was afterwards queſtioned in Parliament, and had loſt his life, if Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper could have found his memory of what paſſed in that buſineſs (z) [E]. Neither was this the only ſervice he did the Royal cauſe, for when it began every where to decline, and conſequently when there could be no motives of intereſt to induce him, he thought of a ſurprizing expedient for giving a check to the power of the Parliament, by raiſing the CLUB-MEN (a), who put Sir Thomas Fairfax, after the fatal battle of Naſeby, to a ſtand, and which deſign had probably given a new turn to affairs, if it had been as vigorouſly executed, as it was wiſely and warily concerted (b) [F]. Thus was Sir Anthony employed in propping the Royal Cauſe, when the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, abandoned the King, and accepted paſſes from the Parliament to retire beyond the ſeas (c). Towards the end of 1645 he was choſen Sheriff of Norfolk (d), and approved by Parliament. The next year he was Sheriff of Wiltſhire, and had an ordinance of Parliament to enable him to reſide out of the county (e). In 1651 he was of the Committee of Twenty, appointed to conſider of ways and means for reforming the Law (f). He was alſo one of the Members of that Convention that met after General Cromwell turned out the Long Parliament, and was very active in oppoſing his ambitious deſigns, which occaſioned the diſſolution of that aſſembly (g). He was again a Member of the Parliament of 1654, and was one of the principal perſons who ſigned that famous Proteſtation, charging the Protector with tyranny and arbitrary government; neither was it in Cromwell's power, when it was at the higheſt, to prevent his being elected, which forced him to turn him, and other honeſt gentlemen, out of the Houſe, which was done more than once, but particularly in 1656, when he ſhewed as much courage and firmneſs in expoſing and thwarting the illegal meaſures of that arbitrary Uſurper,

(s) Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 399.

(t) Locke's Works, Vol. II. p. 473.

(u) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(w) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473.

(x) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 18.

(y) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 399.

(z) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473, 474.

(a) See this both proved and explained in the note.

(b) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 157.

(c) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 289.

(d) Whitlocke's Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 185.

(e) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 94.

(f) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 372.

(g) Heath's Chron. p. 350, 353.

[E] *Could have found his memory of what paſſed in that buſineſs.*] In the treaty at Uxbridge the King had ſome ſeparate and private communication with Lord Hollis, then Mr Hollis, and the Lord Commiſſioner Whitlock; Lord Saville, who, about that time, was created Earl of Suſſex, going over afterwards to the Parliament (13), gave information of this, and the warm and violent party, who hated Hollis for adhering ſteadily to his principles, were very deſirous of having this imputation fixed upon him, which they apprehended it was in the power of Sir Anthony to do. There had been an old enmity between them, and Mr Hollis had prevented Sir Anthony from coming into the Houſe of Commons, though he had been fairly elected. When the latter came to be examined, he ſaid, that though what he knew of that matter might poſſibly tend to acquit Hollis of the charge, yet he could not ſuffer himſelf to ſay any thing about it, becauſe it would look as if he would have taken this occaſion to revenge himſelf, in caſe it had been in his power (14). This did not ſatisfy the Houſe by any means, ſo that they ordered him to withdraw, and threatened him with a commitment to the Tower. That had no effect, and though ſeveral of his friends came out to him in the Lobby, and perſuaded him to ſatisfy the Houſe; yet he would not depart from his firſt reſolution, but anſwered, he neither could nor would remember any thing about it. After a long debate, the main queſtion was put, and, for want of evidence, Mr Hollis, though with difficulty, was acquitted (15). He went ſome time after to make his acknowledgments to Sir Anthony, who told him, he was not at all obliged to him, that he would have done the ſame thing for any other man in the like circumſtances; but added, that he knew the value of his friendſhip, and ſhould be glad to merit it, by having the greateſt regard for him for the future, which offer was very readily accepted, and a friendſhip commenced from thence, which laſted as long as their lives (16).

(13) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 354.

(14) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473.

(15) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 361.

(16) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473.

[F] *As it was wiſely and warily concerted.*] The true ſtate of the buſineſs there hinted at, was briefly this: Sir Anthony met with Serjeant Fountaine, by accident, at an inn, and in diſcourſing about publick affairs, they quickly agreed in their ſentiments, that the nation would be equally undone, which ever ſide prevailed, and that therefore it ought to be the aim of all well-diſpoſed perſons to compel the violent of both parties to ſacrifice their animoſities and private views to the intereſt of the publick, that abſolutely required a peace (17). In order to bring this about, the Commons in ſeveral counties were encouraged to take up arms, to declare themſelves neuters, and to inſiſt upon a treaty, by which they might be reſtored to the benefit of the laws, and of the Conſtitution (18). This was carried ſo far, that Sir Thomas Fairfax received their propoſals, and promiſed to communicate them to the Parliament; but General Cromwell and others, bent upon driving things to extremities, attacked ſome bodies of club-men, and getting the better of them, cut the poor people to pieces without mercy, which diſconcerted the ſcheme, and frighted thoſe who had the management of it from purſuing it as they intended (19). The reader will obſerve, that this was built upon the ſame principles with that propoſition which Sir Anthony had made to the King about a year before.

(17) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 455. Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 472.

(18) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 157. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 171, 173.

(19) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain, &c. p. 163.

[G] *That*

Uſurper, as any man in the kingdom (*b*). It is indeed true, that the Protector endeavoured to gain him, as he did other perſons of eminent parts and extenſive influence, by appointing him one of his Privy-Council; but as to what has been ſuggeſted, of his aiming to become his ſon-in-law, and coming by that means into the chief management of affairs, may be well conſidered as a calumny (*i*), ſince it can be hardly doubted, that had it been true, Cromwell would not have miſſed that opportunity, of fixing him in the ſupport of his government and of his family. When the Protector Richard was depoſed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony one of their Council of State (*k*), and a Commiſſioner for managing the army. He was at that very time engaged in a ſecret correſpondence with the friends of his Majeſty King Charles II, laid the ſcheme of Sir George Booth's inſurrection in 1659, and, if he had not been defeated, would have joined him with all the ſtrength of Dorſetſhire (*l*). This could not be ſo ſecretly carried, but that the Parliament had notice of it, and upon a complaint, that though Sir George Booth was the hand, yet another Knight was the head of that buſineſs, he was not only queſtioned but impriſoned. He defended himſelf with great art and ſkill, notwithſtanding which, it was with infinite difficulty that he was acquitted and diſcharged (*m*) [G]. The Rump afterwards appointed him one of the Committee to ſecure the Tower, one of the ſix Commiſſioners for the command of the army, and colonel of a regiment of horſe (*n*). Soon after, with eight other members of the old Council of State, he ſigned a letter to General Monk to encourage him to march into England (*o*), which was the firſt direct ſtep made towards the Reſtoration, as Sir Anthony's Regiment of horſe was one of the firſt that joined that General, upon his marching into this kingdom (*p*). It was by his influence that the abjuration oath was laid aſide, and even the Noble Hiſtorian is pleaſed to allow, that as the revolt of the fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Lawſon, was what broke the heart of the Committee of Safety; ſo he is alſo forced to own, that this was brought about by Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, who gained that gallant officer (*q*) from his old patron Sir Henry Vane, and prevailed upon him to tell Sir Henry, when he came in perſon to the fleet, that he would ſubmit to no authority but that of the Parliament. He was alſo very inſtrumental in quaſhing General Lambert's deſign, which had otherwiſe prevented the King's return (*r*); and though no doubt General Monk's intentions for the ſervice of the King were very ſincere, yet it is certain that Sir

(*b*) This famous Proteſtation was ſigned by Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, and 115 other Perſons.

(*i*) Liſt of the Protector's Privy Council, printed upon a broad half Sheet.

(*k*) Bates, Elench. Mot. p. 131.

(*l*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 38. Heath's Chron. p. 427.

(*m*) Compleat Statesman, p. 26.

(*n*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 694.

(*o*) Baker's Chr. p. 673.

(*p*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 699.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 704, 705. Baker's Chron. p. 677.

(*r*) Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 303.

[G] *That he was acquitted and diſcharged.*] Theſe were times of infinite perplexity, and in which even men of the greateſt abilities had much ado to ſecure themſelves. It was on May 13, 1659, that Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper was appointed one of the Council of State, in which the executive part of the government was veſted (20). Upon the 18th of the ſame month a charge was brought before that council againſt Sir Anthony and the Lord Commiſſioner Whitlocke, for correſponding with the King, or ſome of his Miniſters abroad (21). It was the misfortune of this noble perſon, of whom we are ſpeaking, to be as little in the good graces of Whitlocke, as of Clarendon, as will very plainly appear from the following account, which he gives us of Sir Anthony's defence (22). 'Sir 'Anthony-Aſhley Cooper made the higheſt profeſſions 'that could be made of his innocence, and the higheſt 'imprecations of God's judgments upon him and his 'poſterity, if ever he had any correſpondence with the 'King, or with Sir Edward Hyde, or any of the King's 'Miniſters or friends; and his expreſſions were ſo high, 'that they bred in ſome the more ſuſpicion of him, but 'at this time he was believed, and what followed after-'wards is known.' It appears from hence, and from another paſſage that we ſhall have occaſion to mention immediately, that this gentleman had no opinion of Sir Anthony's ſincerity or veracity. But the queſtion is, or at leaſt ought to be, whether this opinion was well founded? Sir Anthony's life and fortune were at ſtake in this caſe; and, which is more, the welfare and ſafety of this nation: if therefore Sir Anthony had no concern or intercourſe with the King, or his friends abroad, though he had concerted meaſures for procuring a free Parliament, in which the ſenſe of the nation might be known, in reference to the government they were moſt inclined to live under, he certainly had a right to defend himſelf in what manner he thought proper: no doubt this was none of the moſt eligible methods, but perhaps it was the only method to preſerve himſelf amongſt ſuch people. Now the fact was really thus, and this is not an apology contrived for the defence of this noble perſon's memory, but ariſes from evidence, which I will inſtantly produce. Many years after this, when he was Earl of Shafteſbury, and a priſoner in the tower, he wrote a letter to King Charles *II.* the following paſſage in which fully ſhews his principles, and from what views he promoted the Reſtoration (23). The facts contained in it are very curious and very important, and I believe there will be hardly found any man ſo great a Sceptick as to believe, that the Earl of Shafteſbury would depart *from truth, in a letter written to his ſovereign, upon ſubjects of which that Prince was as much, maſter as he.* 'I had the honour to have a principal hand in your 'Reſtoration, neither did I act in it but on a principle 'of piety and honour: I never betrayed, as your Ma-'jeſty knows, the party or councils I was of. I kept no 'correſpondence with, nor I made no ſecret addreſſes 'to, your Majeſty; neither did I endeavour or obtain 'any private terms or articles for myſelf, or reward for 'what I had done, or ſhould do. In whatever I did 'towards the ſervice of your Majeſty, I was ſolely 'acted by the ſenſe of that duty I owed to God, the 'Engliſh nation, and your Majeſty's juſt right and 'title. I ſaw the hand of Providence that had led us 'through various forms of government, and had given 'power into the hands of ſeveral ſorts of men, but he 'had given none of them a heart to uſe it as they 'ſhould; they all fell to the prey, ſought not the 'good or ſettlement of the nation, endeavoured only 'the enlargement and continuance of their own autho-'rity, and graſped at thoſe very powers they had com-'plained of ſo much, and for which ſo bloody and ſo fatal 'a war had been raiſed, and continued in the bowels of 'the nation. I obſerved the leaders of the great parties 'of religion, both laity and clergy, ready and forward 'to deliver up the rights and liberties of the people, 'and to introduce an abſolute dominion; ſo that ty-'ranny might be eſtabliſhed in the hands of thoſe that 'favoured their way, and with whom they might have 'hopes to divide the preſent ſpoil, having no eye to 'poſterity, or thought of future things.' The accuſation which occaſioned this note hung in the Houſe of Commons 'till the 14th of September, 1659, and then we have the following account of it from an anthor before cited (24). 'Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper 'voted not guilty of the accuſation againſt him, of 'having correſpondence with the King. The queſtion 'was not brought againſt me for the ſame matter, 'there being no ground for it as there was for the 'other.'

(20) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 42.

(21) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679. Compleat Statesman, p. 27.

(22) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679.

(23) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 479.

(24) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683.

[H] *In*

Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper put it out of his power to act otherwiſe than he did, by firſt procuring that great man an unlimited commiſſion from the Parliament, and then obliging him in the Council of State, to remove ſuch officers as they could not depend upon, and particularly Sir William Lockhart, who was Governor of Dunkirk, and to re-place them by perſons of whom they had a better opinion, as in that caſe by Sir Edward Harley, which left no room for diſputes (*s*). He was returned a member for Dorſetſhire, in that which was called the Healing Parliament, which ſat April 25, 1660, and a reſolution being taken to reſtore the Conſtitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the Houſe of Commons to carry their invitation to the King (*t*), and it was in his performing this ſervice, that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was Lord High-Chancellor, a circumſtance neceſſary to be mentioned, on account of the ſcandalous reflections that were afterwards made upon it (*u*). Upon his return to England, and the King's coming over, he was, together with General Monk, and other great perſons, ſworn of His Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council (*w*). He was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for the trial of the regicides, and the reflection made thereupon by the Oxford Hiſtorian might have been ſpared, ſince nothing is more certain, than that he had nothing to do with the counſels of thoſe, that either betrayed or ſhed the blood of their Sovereign (*x*). Upon the approach of the coronation, the King his maſter thought fit to raiſe him to the dignity of the peerage, and, by Letters Patent dated April 20, 1661, created him Baron Aſhley of Winborne St Giles's, with very honourable mention of the ſhare he had in bringing him back to his kingdom (*y*) [*H*]. He was ſoon after made Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer (*z*), and upon the death of that loyal old Peer, and his great friend and patron, the wiſe and worthy Earl of Southampton, he was appointed one of the Lords Commiſſioners (*a*) for executing the office of High-Treaſurer. He continued in the councils and in the confidence of the King his maſter, during the happieſt part of his reign, and ſtood as high in his favour as any of his Miniſters. He was afterwards made Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorſet (*b*), and on the twenty-third of April 1672, he was created Baron Cooper of Pawlet in the county of Somerſet, and Earl of Shafteſbury (*c*). At this time the Lord Keeper Bridgeman parting with the Seals, he was, on the fourth day of November, raiſed to the great and envied poſt of Lord High-Chancellor of England (*d*), which office he executed, as even his enemies allow, with equal ability and integrity [*I*]. In his other capacities, of a Miniſter and

(*s*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 478.

(*t*) Heath's Chr. p. 447.

(*u*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 48.

(*w*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 704. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 722.

(*x*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 722.

(*y*) Bill. Sign. de ann. 13 Car. II.

(*z*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52.

(*a*) Dugd. Chron. Series, p. 116.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 377.

(*c*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 723. North's Examen. p. 33.

[*H*] *In bringing him back to his kingdom.*] We have already ſhewn, from as good authority as can be deſired, that this noble perſon, as he acted very cautiouſly on one ſide in the management of that nice affair, behaved alſo very diſintereſtedly on the other. Whitlocke very frankly owns, that he was ready to have gone to the King with propoſals, and what he blames this great man for, was an intention to reſtore the King, without making terms (25). It was, however, the judgment of Lord Aſhley, that this was the only right way of acting, for he thought that any terms ſo made would alter the Conſtitution, and what he chiefly aimed at by bringing back the king, was reviving the Conſtitution, which, from the experience of ſucceſſive changes, he judged would be a bleſſing to the nation. Sir Philip Warwick tells us in his Memoirs, that himſelf, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Geoffery Palmer, met Mr Anneſly, afterwards Earl of Angleſey, Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, and Sir William Morrice, before the Healing Parliament ſat, by which his Majeſty was very well informed of their good intentions for his ſervice (26). The ſame writer informs us, that General Monk was tampered with by the French Embaſſador, and great offers made to ſupport him, in caſe he had been ſuſceptible of French counſels; and acquaints us, that it was upon the appointing of a new Council of State, the names of ſome of which he gives us, and amongſt them Sir Anthony, that the old republicans began to fear the calling back of the King (27). There is alſo extant a letter to Admiral Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, from Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, upon Lambert's defeat, which plainly ſhews his ſenſe of things in general, and of that ſeaſonable ſtroke in particular (28). But the words in the preamble to his patent are ſo full and expreſs, that they need not any authority to ſupport, or commentary to explain, them. In this his Majeſty takes notice (29), 'that he had in 'ſundry reſpects manifeſted his loyalty to King Charles I. 'and his great affection to his country in the late pe- 'rilous and difficult times, and likewiſe to him, by 'his prudent and ſeaſonable advice and conſultation 'with General Monk, in order to his reſtoration, in 'conſideration of which acceptable ſervices he created 'him to the degree and dignity of a Baron.'

(25) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 691.

(26) Memoirs of Affairs after the King's murder, p. 428.

(27) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 426, 427.

(28) See this Letter in the firſt Volume of this Work, p. 303.

(29) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 481.

[*I*] *With equal ability and integrity.*] He reſided, during his continuance in that employment, at Exeter-houſe in the Strand, and proceeded from thence to Weſtminſter, with all the ſolemnity poſſible, for it was his opinion, that ceremony and ſtate were both uſeful and neceſſary to keep up the credit of great offices (30); for to uſe his Lordſhip's own words to Baron Thurland, Reputation is a thing of conſequence to magiſtrates as well as merchants. He wore an aſh-coloured ſilk gown, richly laced, and did not at all alter his garb upon his acceſſion to that high ſeat of judicature. He was deſirous of cutting buſineſs ſhort, and of avoiding forms, in which we are told, that the Lawyers gave him ſo much trouble, that to be able to proceed, he was forced to return to them: however, he was as expeditious as it was poſſible, and his quick penetration enabled him to ſee very far in a ſhort time, and what he ſaw, his eloquence made every body elſe ſee; ſo that whatever he decreed was ſo plain, and ſo perſpicuous, that there needed no learning to perceive he was in the right, nor was it poſſible to puzzle things again ſo much as to create a doubt that he was in the wrong (31). This gave him a high reputation at that time, ſo that Mr Dryden, to beget an opinion of his own impartiality, in that moſt inviduous character which he gave of his Lordſhip, was forced to throw in a fine compliment upon his integrity in the diſtribution of juſtice (32). It was a point of too great conſequence to be omitted, and it ſeems was then too well underſtood to be miſrepreſented. Some attempts have been ſince made to leſſen his character, as a Chancellor, but whoever conſiders them attentively, and obſerves, that they are deſtitute of facts, and publiſhed at a great diſtance of time, will not be much moved by them (33). Another writer, immediately after his Lordſhip's death, ſpeaks of his behaviour thus (34): 'With what prudence, 'candour, honour, and integrity, he acquitted himſelf 'in that great and weighty employment, the tranſ- 'actions of the Court of Chancery, during the time 'of his Chancellorſhip, will beſt teſtify; juſtice then 'run in an equal channel, ſo that the cauſe of the rich 'was

(30) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 377.

(31) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 301.

(32) Dryden's Original Poems and Tranſlations, Vol I. p. 156, 157.

(33) North's Examen. p. 59.

(34) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53, 54.

and Privy-Counſellor, he has been variouſly ſpoken of, and it would require a volume to enter into the merits of the queſtion, and to diſcuſs fairly and impartially what has been ſaid, and what might be ſaid, on both ſides, in this article, however we cannot be expected to enter into any ſuch field, and ſhall therefore be content with obſerving, that from the publick records of his diſcharge of theſe offices, particularly his ſpeeches in Parliament upon the ſwearing in the Lord High-Treaſurer Clifford, his ſucceſſor Sir Thomas Oſborne and Mr Baron Thurland (*e*), we muſt conclude him one of the ableſt men, and one of the moſt accompliſhed orators, this nation has ever bred. The ſhort time that he was at the helm was a ſeaſon of ſtorms and tempeſts, and it is but doing him ſtrict juſtice to ſay, that they could not either affright or diſtract him. Whatever he did he did with his might, and there was a ſpirit and dignity in his adminiſtration, which that government could never recover after he left it (*f*). He was the ſoul and genius of the Miniſtry while he made a part of it, but whether he did not carry things too high, and out of the reach of all other capacities but his own, it would ſavour of raſhneſs to determine (*g*) [*K*]. When the King had taken a reſolution, as he was apt to take ſuch reſolutions without conſulting others, of changing meaſures, the Chancellor very quickly diſcerned it; and as he knew it was for his ſafety, ſo he thought it no diminution to his honour, to follow the example of his Prince, and therefore he changed in time, in which his

(*e*) See theſe Speeches in Rawleigh Redivivus, and in Echard's Hiſt. of England.

(*f*) Memoirs; and A juſt Vindication of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 13.

(*g*) This ſeems to be inſinuated by Mr Dryden, in his *Abſalom and Achitophel*.

'was not ſuffered to ſwallow up the rights of the poor, 'nor was the ſtrong or cunning oppreſſor permitted to 'devour the weak or unſkilful oppoſer; but the abu'ſed found relief ſuitable to their diſtreſs, and thoſe 'by whom they were abuſed a ſevere reprehenſion, 'anſwerable to their crimes. The miſchievous 'conſequences which commonly ariſe from the delays, 'and other practices of that court were, by his 'ingenious and judicious management, very much 'abated, and every thing weighed and determined 'with exact judgment and equity.'

[*K*] *It would ſavour of raſhneſs to determine.*] All that is ſaid, either in our general hiſtories, or private memoirs, of the conduct of the Earl of Shafteſbury while in power, and as it were at the head of the adminiſtration, is liable to many objections, and ought therefore to be read with much circumſpection. Such as have written direct apologies for him, of which there are ſeveral, will have every thing to have been not only well and wiſely, but uprightly and virtuouſly done, which, perhaps, is more than ought to be advanced in favour of any Miniſter (35). On the other hand, ſuch as make no ſecret of their diſlike to this great man, very ſeldom ſhew the leaſt ſcruple of painting him in the blackeſt colours, and both diſcover how far they deviate both from impartiality and truth, by running into palpable abſurdities, and viſible contradictions. A few inſtances ſeem to be requiſite, that it may appear we have collected the materials of this article with that caution and care which it's importance demands. There were three great ſtrokes which diſtinguiſhed the period of his miniſtry, and 'tis not a little difficult to form a right judgment of his behaviour in any one of them. The *firſt* of theſe is as to his ſhutting up the Exchequer. In reference to this, Sir Joſeph Tyley's manuſcript (36) poſitively affirms, that that the meaſure was of Lord Aſhley's contrivance, but that it was picked out of him when heated with wine, and in a free converſation by Sir Thomas Clifford, who, by that artifice, got himſelf advanced to the Peerage, and to the high dignity of Lord Treaſurer of England. An honourable author affirms the direct contrary; he compares the Earl of Shafteſbury and the Lord Clifford to a ſub-ſheriff and a ſheriff; the former, he ſays, had the authority, and the latter carried the wand (*). Both theſe ſtories cannot be true, and it is highly probable that neither of them are ſo. The Earl of Shafteſbury was not a man to be over-reached, and Lord Clifford had too great a capacity to ſtoop to any direction. It is moſt likely, that they acted in concert; and tho' it may be very true, that the Earl of Shafteſbury was ambitious of being Treaſurer, yet he might be prevailed upon to give way to the Lord Clifford, becauſe the very meaſure required the aſſiſtance of a Chancellor, and none of the great men in that adminiſtration were capable of exerciſing that office but the Earl of Shafteſbury. The Earls of Clarendon and Southampton had mutually ſupported each other in thoſe poſts, and we may very reaſonably ſuppoſe, that Shafteſbury and Clifford propoſed to follow their examples; indeed it is certain they did follow them as long as they were in power, and whoever conſiders the ſpeeches made by the Chancellor Shafteſbury, at the admiſſion of Lord Clifford, and his ſucceſſor, the Lord Oſborne, to the office of Treaſurer, will ſee ſuch a manifeſt difference as will give no ſmall weight to this conjecture (37). The *ſecond* great ſtroke was, the declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, in which both theſe great Miniſters were equally concerned, though with very different views, for Lord Clifford was then a concealed, and not long after a declared, Papiſt: the Earl of Shafteſbury was deſirous of obliging the Diſſenters, the former was for maintaing this Declaration, even againſt the opinion of Parliament; the latter, finding his maſter wavering, gave up the Declaration, that he might put himſelf at the head of the Proteſtant intereſt. They both acted, conſidering the circumſtances under which the Declaration was framed, like wiſe Stateſmen; and, when they came to divide, each of them ſhewed a ſteadineſs to his principles, not in the leaſt unworthy of a great politician, ſo that Lord Clifford retired with credit, and the Earl of Shafteſbury kept his power when he loſt his poſt, and when no longer able to rule a Court, ſhewed his dexterity in becoming the ruler of the people (38). The *third* great ſtroke was peculiarly his, and that was, the iſſuing writs during the receſs of Parliament, in virtue of his office, and making uſe of his intereſt in the country to procure elections in conſequence of thoſe writs, agreeable to the views of his adminiſtration. Father Orleans, who had his lights from King James, applauds this meaſure, and acknowledges as well the candour as the capacity of the Chancellor, in reſpect to his maſter's ſervice (39). The honourable writer before-mentioned gives us quite another account. He tells us (40), the Chancellor did it to bring in his own creatures in Dorſetſhire more eſpecially, and to keep out the friends of Colonel Strangeways, whom he diſliked for many reaſons, but moſt for being a very loyal gentleman. It happens unluckily, that he entirely overturns his own ſyſtem, by acknowledging, that all the perſons brought in by Shafteſbury's intereſt, were Royaliſts (41). However, the Houſe of Commons turned them out again without the leaſt ſtruggle, either on the part of theſe new members, or of the Crown. Shafteſbury ſaid upon this, that if the King would not ſupport his Chancellor, his Chancellor could do little in that capacity for his maſter's ſervice. Upon the whole, it ſeems to be pretty clear, that the Earl of Shafteſbury was in hopes the Court would have proſecuted the Dutch war with ſuch ſucceſs, as to have carried the glory of the Engliſh flag to the utmoſt height, promoted the Engliſh commerce in it's largeſt extent, and have ſacrificed that kind of bigottry, which he judged to be the bane of the Proteſtant Religion, in which caſe he thought the power of the Crown, and the grandeur of the people, muſt have ſtood upon the ſame baſis; but finding that other ſchemes were bringing upon the carpet, though not by the King, but rather the Duke, he choſe to make a ſhort turn, and to comply with thoſe who could ſave him, inſtead of continuing to play a deſperate game in conjunction with ſuch, as, to make their peace, might be tempted to make him a victim (42).

(35) Of theſe there are many, ſuch as Rawleigh Redivivus. Memoirs and Vindication of the Earl of Shafteſbury. Compleat Stateſman, &c. in print; and there are ſeveral others in MS.

(36) As it is cited by Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory.

(*) North's Examen, p. 38.

(37) See both thoſe Speeches in Echard's Hiſtory.

(38) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 296.

(39) Hiſt. of the Revolutions in England, under the Family of the Stuarts, p. 242.

(40) North's Examen, p. 42, 56.

(41) Id. ib. p. 56.

(42) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 83, 84, 85.

his enemies ſay he had a very great dexterity; and, on the other hand, his friends believe, that he made a virtue of neceſſity, and when he ſaw that his great parts could be no longer ſerviceable to his Maſter in office, he thought it very allowable to make uſe of them to ſave himſelf (*b*), and in this it is no ſmall commendation, that he retired with credit, where it would have been the higheſt point of wiſdom in any other man to have eſcaped ruin (*i*). The Duke of York was apprehenſive, from his conduct in Parliament, that he ſhould find him in many reſpects uncomplying, and was therefore very earneſt with the King to remove him, which however his Majeſty was not much inclined to do, becauſe he had a great opinion of his ſkill in finding out expedients, and of diverting dangers before things came to extremity (*k*). At length, however, that point was carried, and Nov. 9, 1673, the Earl of Shafteſbury reſigned the Great-Seal, but with ſome particular circumſtances, with the knowledge of which the reader cannot be diſpleaſed (*l*) [*L*]. After he had thus quitted the Court, he continued to make a great figure in Parliament; his abilities enabled him to ſhine, and his inclinations did not incline him to reſt (*m*). In 1675, the Lord Treaſurer Danby introduced the Teſt Bill into the Houſe of Lords, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Earl of Shafteſbury, who, if we may believe a great Prelate, diſtinguiſhed himſelf more in this ſeſſions than ever he had done (*n*), which is ſomewhat ſingular, conſidering he had long before attained the reputation of being one of the greateſt ſpeakers of that age. In this indeed he ſhewed his parts, and contradicted the character that ſome had given him, of being an indiſcreet Orator, by inſiſting, for a full hour, on the folly and impropriety of condemning all reſiſtance by an expreſs law (*o*). He ſhewed, that as government could not ſubſiſt if men might reſiſt as often as they were diſpleaſed; ſo liberty muſt be loſt, if in no caſe reſiſtance was lawful. He obſerved, that a King might be in the hands of a faction, and then it would be treaſon to oppoſe what had the ſanction of his name, though it was to reſcue his authority. He delivered this diſcourſe with his uſual eaſe and freedom, though he knew that every word he ſaid was watched, and his enemies had the mortification of finding, that he could ſay what he pleaſed, without putting it in their power, how much ſoever it was in their will, to hurt him (*p*). A diſpute between the two Houſes, occaſioned an unexpected prorogation by which the bill was loſt. There enſued upon this a receſs of fifteen months, and when the Parliament met again Feb. 16, 1676-7, the Duke of Buckingham argued, that it ought to be conſidered as diſſolved, the Earl of Shafteſbury was of the ſame opinion, and maintained it with ſo much warmth, that together with the Duke beforementioned, the Earl of Saliſbury, and the Lord Wharton, he was ſent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, though the other Lords upon their ſubmiſſion were ſpeedily diſcharged (*q*). In order to be delivered from his confinement, he applied himſelf to the Court of King's-Bench, where, after his Counſel had done ſpeaking, he argued his own caſe with much eloquence and wit. He was notwithſtanding remanded to the Tower, and, at the next meeting of Parliament, this application was magnified into a great crime by the then Lord Treaſurer Danby, who very ſoon after was obliged to have recourſe to the ſame method for his own deliverance, and felt very ſenſibly the weight of thoſe ſevere doctrines, which he took ſo much pains to eſtabliſh upon this occaſion (*r*). At length the Earl of Shafteſbury made a full ſubmiſſion, and, upon an addreſs of the Houſe of Peers, the King was pleaſed to diſcharge him (*s*), and the precedent made in his caſe was afterwards reverſed (*t*). He managed the oppoſition to the Earl of Danby's adminiſtration with ſuch vigour and dexterity, that it was found abſolutely impoſſible to do any thing effectually in Parliament, without changing the ſyſtem which then prevailed. The King, who deſired nothing ſo much as to be eaſy, reſolving to make ſuch a change, diſmiſſed all the Privy-Council at once, and formed a new one; this was declared April 21, 1679, and at the ſame time the Earl of Shafteſbury was appointed Lord Preſident (*u*). This was one of the beſt received, as well as one of the moſt popular, meaſures, in his whole reign, and was equally acceptable to the people at home, and to the natural allies of this nation abroad (*w*). It had

(*b*) Sir William Temple's Memoirs, London, 1692, 8*vo*, p. 71.

(*i*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 87.

(*k*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 723.

(*l*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 898.

(*m*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 4.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 384.

(*o*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 7. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 384.

(*p*) Vindication of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 35. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 384.

(*q*) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 402.

(*r*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 25, 26, 27. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 431, 434, 437.

(*s*) Father Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 247.

(*t*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 28.

(*u*) Sir William Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 334.

(*w*) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 456.

[*L*] *With the knowledge of which the reader cannot be diſpleaſed.*] We have this relation, which is pleaſant enough in it's circumſtances, and theſe are ſo much the more credible, from their agreeing exactly with the characters of the perſons mentioned; from Mr Archdeacon Echard, which we ſhall give the reader in his own words (43). 'Soon after the breaking up of the 'Parliament, the Earl was ſent for, on a Sunday morning, to Court, as was alſo Sir Heneage Finch, Attorney-General, to whom the ſeals were promiſed. As 'ſoon as the Earl came, he retired with the King in- 'to the cloſet, while the prevailing party waited in 'triumph to ſee him return without the purſe. His 'Lordſhip being alone with the King, ſaid, *Sir, I know you intend to give the ſeals to the Attorney-General, but I am ſure your Majeſty never intended to diſmiſs me with contempt.* The King, who could 'not do an ill-natured thing, replyed, *God's fiſh, my Lord, I will not do it with any circumſtance that may look like an affront. Then Sir,* ſaid the Earl, *I deſire your Majeſty will permit me to carry the ſeals before you to chapel, and ſend for them afterwards from my houſe.* To which his Majeſty readily com- 'plied, and the Earl entertained the King with news, 'and other diverting ſtories, 'till the very minute he 'was to go to chapel, purpoſely to amuſe the courtiers and his ſucceſſor, who he believed was upon 'the rack for fear he ſhould prevail upon the King to 'change his mind. The King and the ſtill Chancellor came out of the cloſet talking together, and ſmiling, and went together to chapel, which ſurprized 'them all, who could have no opportunity to inform 'themſelves what was to be expected, and ſome ran 'immediately to tell the Duke of York all their meaſures were broken, and the Attorney-General was 'ſaid to be inconſolable. After ſermon the Earl went 'home with the ſeals, and that evening the King gave 'them to the Attorney-General, a man of great parts 'and abilities, with the title of Lord Keeper.

(43) Hiſtory of England, p. 898.

[*M*] *Allowing*

had not however long the good effects that were expected from it, which was owing to the factions at Court, and those quickly rose to such a height, that the Earl was removed from that high employment on the fifth of October following (*x*). He had drawn upon himself the implacable hatred of the Duke of York, by steadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an Exclusion Bill. In respect to this he was indeed immoveable, notwithstanding he knew the King would never consent to it, and though most of his friends were inclined to accept the expedient offered by the Court, of providing against what they feared, by establishing legal limitations. It is not our business to determine in so nice and important a point, but this we may have leave to say, that his Lordship's reasons were clear and weighty, allowing his principles to be well founded (*y*) [*M*]. The discovery of the Popish plot opened a way for subverting the Earl of Danby's ministry, and the general opinion seems to be, that this induced the Earl of Shaftesbury to push that matter, not only with vigour but vehemence. There is nothing plainer than that he was the author and promoter of all the prosecutions that followed thereupon, as well in the inferior Courts, as in Parliament; with a view of quashing the Popish party entirely, and of excluding the Duke, which were the points he had most at heart, and which, without doubt, he pursued with unrelenting severity (*z*). Upon the King's summoning a Parliament to meet at Oxford, March 21, 1680-1, he joined with several Lords in a petition to prevent it's meeting there (*a*), which however failed of success. He was present in that Parliament, and strenuously supported the Exclusion Bill, which however was thrown out in the House of Lords. He is likewise said to have used his utmost endeavours to have reconciled his Majesty to that measure, but without effect (*b*). It is no wonder that such a conduct as this should inflame the Duke and his friends against him, and not long after, an occasion either offered or was found, to make him feel the weight of their resentments. Upon the dissolution of that Parliament, and his return to London, one Bryan Haines applied himself to him, under pretence that he could make still clearer discoveries than hitherto had been made of the Popish plot, and the murther of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, provided, that for this service, he might obtain a pardon (*c*). But when this man was brought before the Privy-Council, he gave quite another account, and boldly charged the Earl

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*y*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 469, 477, 482, 494, 502.

(*z*) Hist. of the Revolutions in England, p. 249. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 486.

(*a*) Rawleigh Redivus, P. ii. p. 89.

(*b*) North's Examen, p. 123.

(*c*) Rawleigh Redivus. P. ii. p. 103. North's Examen, p. 117. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 506.

[*M*] *Allowing his principles to be well founded.*] It was a misfortune to the Earl of Shaftesbury, that those who were angry with him have transmitted to posterity the history of those times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had so large a share. As for instance, Sir William Temple having come in by the interest of the Earl of Arlington, and being afterwards supported by that of the Lord Treasurer Danby, could not avoid feeling a distaste to one who left the former, and opposed the latter, and of this there are visible marks in those passages of his Memoirs, where the Earl of Shaftesbury is mentioned (44). The Bishop of Salisbury was very intimate in his turn with the Earl of Shaftesbury, as well as other great men of those times, but had the misfortune to be upon bad terms with him afterwards, by bringing the unfortunate Lord Stafford to charge Shaftesbury at the Bar of the House of Lords, with being a friend to the Papists a little before he suffered death (45). The Hon. Roger North had his reasons also for disliking him, which he tells us very fairly, speaks upon all occasions as an enemy, but as an enemy declared, and therefore the less to be feared (46). It cannot be asserted, that when these writers relate facts concerning this noble Lord, they do not deserve credit, for as men of sense and reputation, that is due to whatever they relate, as a thing known; but these remarks, and many more that might be added, are sufficient to take off the edge of their censures, to lessen the credibility of their conjectures, and to keep the reader from having an implicit faith in the characters they have drawn of a man they did not love, and that chiefly, because he opposed those who are the heroes of their respective works, such as Lord Halifax, Lord Danby, and Lord North. As to the point of the Bill of Exclusion, it is generally mentioned as an instance of the Earl of Shaftesbury's dislike to monarchy, and those who opposed it are magnified as men who were best affected to what was, at that time, esteemed the English Constitution. One of those writers says, that the Earl of Shaftesbury never denied his changing sides, but, on the contrary, took a pleasure in relating the many turns he had made, and in shewing that he made them at the proper times (47). It might have been added, that he valued himself likewise upon never betraying those he left, and upon quitting parties without leaving his principles. He had a good opinion of King Charles the second's inclinations, and thought his affairs were prejudiced by carrying the dead weight of a Popish successor. This he thought necessary to be removed, and thought the only way to remove it, without prejudice to the monarchy, was to exclude the Duke of York, and pass on to the next heir. He judged that such a law, would be no improper instance of the absolute power of a King and Parliament, might provide for the safety of the subject, and yet leave the power of the Crown entire, without tinging the Constitution with the least colour of a common-wealth (48). How far he might act in this from his personal resentment against the Duke of York, what views he might have of re-establishing his own power, or what schemes he might be drawn into after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, are out of the case. We are speaking of the grounds upon which he promoted the Exclusion, and how far they were reconcileable to his former principles, of which the reader, from what has been said, may very easily settle his judgment. As for Lord Hallifax, who was the great patron of the limitations, he made no scruple of owning, that he meant thereby not to limit the successor only, but to lessen and curtail the prerogatives of the Crown. He carried it so far, if we may believe the Bishop of Sarum, and there is not the least colour for disbelieving him, as to insinuate, that a Popish King was a blessing, as it afforded an opportunity of putting all his successors under these restraints (49). Now granting these accounts to be true, there cannot be any thing clearer than that Shaftesbury continued a Royalist, though at the head of an opposition, and that Lord Hallifax acted, or affected to act, upon the maxims of a common-wealth's man, when in the service of the Court. The reasons why Shaftesbury always rejected the scheme of limitations were, first, because he thought it was not for the benefit of the subject, that the prerogatives of the Crown should be lessened, but that the abuse of those prerogatives by Ministers should be punished; and therefore he conceived it unjust, that the English Monarchy should suffer for the fault of the Duke of York; and secondly, he thought limitations impracticable, because, if the person limited came to be King, and had a Parliament to his mind, those limitations might be as easily and as legally repealed as ever they were enacted. It is evident, that neither of these objections lay against his scheme of the Exclusion, for that would have left the Monarchy sound and entire, and have placed such a new head as would have always maintained his own title, and must have governed by law, in order to have it effectually in his power to do that; which would have been an advantage to the nation, rather than an inconvenience.

(44) Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 334, 335, 337, 339, 340, 341, 343, &c.

(45) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 494.

(46) In his Examen, and in his Life of Lord North, as often as he mentions him.

(47) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 97.

(48) Collected from his several Speeches made upon that occasion in Parliament.

(49) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 456.

Earl with endeavouring to ſuborn him (*d*). Upon this information his Lordſhip was apprehended on the ſecond of July 1681, and after being examined by his Majeſty in Council, he was committed to the Tower, where he remained upwards of four months, notwithſtanding he petitioned, and took every other legal method to obtain a trial, or to be admitted to bail according to the *Habeas Corpus* Act (*e*). At length, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1681, a bill was preſented to the Grand Jury at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, againſt him, for high-treaſon, and the witneſſes were examined in open court. They certainly teſtified enough, or rather too much; for, on the one hand, the evidence they gave was very incredible in itſelf; and, on the other, their characters were ſo infamous, that even a probable ſtory would ſcarce have deſerved belief upon their depoſition (*f*). But what was chiefly relied on, was a paper found in the Earl's ſtudy, which contained the draught of an aſſociation; yet it was neither written, or ſo much as marked, with his hand; and though it contained many ſtrange things, yet it was full of the higheſt zeal for the preſervation of the King's perſon (*g*). Upon the whole, the Jury thought fit to return the bill *Ignoramus*. This occaſioned a very high controverſy, many aſſerting that this was inconſiſtent with their oaths, and others, who took themſelves to be as good judges, maintaining as poſitively, that, conſiſtent with their oaths, they could not have found another verdict; and ſeveral things were publiſhed on both ſides (*h*) [*N*]. It is certain that great rejoicings were made upon his Lordſhip's acquittal and diſcharge, and a MEDAL was alſo ſtruck upon that occaſion, which gave a ſubject to the ſatyrick muſe of Mr Dryden, whoſe poem under that title is thought not at all inferior to any of his writings, which however decides nothing as to the fact, ſince Poets do not always ſucceed beſt upon the baſis of truth or reaſon (*i*). The Earl, as ſoon as he was at liberty, endeavoured to vindicate himſelf by law, and brought an action againſt one Mr Cradock, for ſpeaking of him as a traytor. A rule however being made upon the motion of the defendant, that the tryal ſhould not be had before a Jury either of London or Middleſex, but in any other county that his Lordſhip ſhould chuſe, he thought fit to diſcontinue his ſuit (*k*). He reſided for many years at Thanet Houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet, but finding his health decay, his ſpirits declining, and the times growing ſtill more and more tempeſtuous, to which we may add, that thoſe who were his bittereſt enemies were now in the zenith of their power, he thought it high time to ſeek for ſome place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the ſmall remainder of his life in peace (*l*). It was with this view, that in the month of November, 1682, he embarked for Holland, and arriving ſafely at Amſterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a houſe there, propoſing to live in a manner ſuitable to his quality, being viſited by perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and treated with all the deference and reſpect that he could deſire; but being ſeized by his old diſtemper the gout, it ſpeedily flew up into his ſtomach, and ſoon became mortal, ſo that he expired on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1682-3, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age (*m*). His body being embalmed was tranſported to England, and the corps being landed at Poole in Dorſetſhire, the gentlemen of that county, out of their extraordinary regard to his memory, came uninvited, and accompanied it to Winborne St Giles's, where he was interred with his anceſtors (*n*), and, in 1732, a noble monument, with a large inſcription to his honour, was erected by his worthy deſcendant, the preſent Earl of Shafteſbury (*o*). His Lordſhip

(*d*) North's Examen, p. 117.

(*e*) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories. Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 104. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 506.

(*f*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 400.

(*g*) Remarks upon the new Project of Aſſociation, where the Aſſociation is printed at large.

(*h*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 121.

(*i*) Dryden's Original Poems and Tranſlations, p. 189. Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 389.

(*k*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 122.

(*l*) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories.

(*m*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 125. Compl. Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 400. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 158.

(*n*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 125.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 385.

[*N*] *Were publiſhed on both ſides.*] The reader will find a full account of the proceedings againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury, upon this bill of indictment, in it's proper place (50), and will there ſee what was ſworn againſt him, and by whom. The great deſign of the Court was to make it evident to all the world, that the King could not obtain juſtice, even for the higheſt offences committed againſt him by a ſubject, from the manifeſt partiality of the Grand Juries in London, diſpoſed and packed by malecontent ſheriffs. The proof of this was ſuppoſed to depend on the manifeſt ſtrength of the evidence offered to prove the facts laid in this indictment, which it was alledged the Grand Jury could not reject, without breach of their oaths (51). On the other hand, it was inſiſted upon, that the Grand Jury being ſworn to bring in a *true verdict*, they could not, in their conſciences, return *Billa vera*, where the evidence was inconſiſtent, given by infamous witneſſes, and made up of abſurd and incredible relations; in ſhort, that a Grand Jury was bound to return *Ignoramus*, notwithſtanding any evidence, when they, in their conſciences, ſaw reaſon not to believe that evidence (52). To this purpoſe, a ſtrong and bold piece was written, as a certain great Prelate informs us, by the learned and ingenious Mr Somers, afterwards Lord Somers, and Chancellor of England (53). As for the Aſſociation mentioned in the text, the ſame Prelate tells us, and indeed it is very probable, that it was put into the hands of the Earl of Shafteſbury when the Parliament ſat at Oxford, in which an Aſſociation had been propoſed, as a neceſſary ſecurity againſt the apprehenſions of Popery, and the dangers ariſing from a popiſh Succeſſor after the Excluſion Bill was rejected (54). Thus much is certain, that the Aſſociation was not mentioned in the indictment, but was offered as a ſupplemental and corroborative proof of what was ſworn againſt his Lordſhip by the witneſſes. There was another ſtrange circumſtance attended this, that one Mr Wilſon, who, on the part of the Earl, attended to receive back ſuch of his papers as were ſeized, and were not conſidered as criminal, and to mark thoſe of another nature, that it might appear they were really found in the Earl's cuſtody; I ſay it was another ſtrange circumſtance in regard to this Aſſociation, that it was not indorſed as the other papers were, and that Mr Wilſon was committed for High-Treaſon (55). To ſay the plain truth, theſe were very dreadful times, when all parties had recourſe to the moſt unjuſtifiable methods for carrying their points. Such as oppoſed the Government made no ſcruple of publiſhing the moſt bitter and injurious libels againſt it. On the other hand, thoſe employed by the Court ſacrificed truth and dececy, without the leaſt ſcruple. Marchmont Needham, who had been employed by the Regicides and the Parliament, to vilify the Royal Family in the moſt ſcandalous and barbarous manner, was paid by the Miniſters to abuſe and defame the Earl of Shafteſbury, which he did with all the alacrity in the world (56), and his abuſe is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble perſon by the Oxford Hiſtorian (57). It was given out, with the like deſign, that the Earl of Shafteſbury had the vanity to expect to be choſe King of Poland, and this made way for calling him Count *Tapſky*, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out of the ulcer between his ribs when he was

(50) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 418.

(51) North's Examen, p. 111.

(52) See the third part of No Proteſtant Plot, ſaid to be written by the famous Robert Ferguſon.

(53) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 509. Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 108.

(54) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 506.

(55) North's Examen, p. 112. Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 107, 108.

(56) In a quarto pamphlet, intituled, A Packet of Advices and Animadverſions, ſent from London to the men of Shafteſbury, which is of uſe for all his Majeſty's ſubjects in the three Kingdoms, London, 1676.

(57) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 721, 722, 723.

Lordſhip married three wives, the firſt Margaret, daughter to Thomas Lord Coventry, by whom he had no iſſue; ſecondly Frances, daughter to David Earl of Exeter, by whom he had Anthony his ſon and heir (*p*). And thirdly, Magaret daughter of William Lord Spencer, by whom he left no iſſue (*q*). Anthony, his only ſon and ſucceſſor born the 16th of January 1651, married Dorothy, daughter to John Earl of Rutland, by whom he had iſſue two ſons Anthony and Maurice, and three daughters; Lady Mary married to Francis Stonehouſe of Hungerford-park, in the county of Berks, Eſq; Lady Elizabeth wife of James Harris of Saliſbury, Eſq; and Lady Dorothy eſpouſed to Edward Hooper, of Hearn-court in the county of Southampton, Eſq; And his lordſhip departing this life on the 10th of November 1699, was ſucceeded by Anthony his ſon and heir, which Anthony born 26th of February 1670, was a nobleman of extraordinary parts and learning (*r*), as from his celebrated writings appears. He married in 1709, Jane, daughter of Thomas Ewer, of Buſhy-Hall in the county of Hertford, Eſq; and departing this life at Naples, on the 14th of February N. S. 1712-13, was ſucceeded by Anthony his only ſon, now Earl of Shafteſbury. His Lordſhip married on the 12th of March 1724-5, the Lady Suſan Noel, ſiſter to Baptiſt now Earl of Gainſborough, but as yet they have no iſſue.

(*p*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 482; where he is entirely miſtaken as to his Lordſhip's having iſſue by his laſt wife, and not by his ſecond.

(*q*) This appears from the inſcription upon his monument.

(*r*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 385.

(*s*) At preſent Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorſet and town of Poole.

(58) See the Preface to Dryden's Poem upon the Medal.

(59) North's Examen, p. 42. Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 331.

(60) North's Examen, p. 60.

(61) Character of of King Charles II. p. 5.

was Lord Chancellor (58). It was alſo a ſtanding jeſt with the lower form of Wits, to ſtile him *Shiftſbury* inſtead of *Shafteſbury* (59). A very grave author is pleaſed to tell us, that when his Lordſhip was Chancellor, one Sir Paul Neal watered his mares with Rheniſh and ſugar, that is, entertained his miſtreſſes (60); which, if true, was certainly a ſtory that needed not to be communicated to poſterity. We are told, that King Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once ſaid to the Earl at Court, in a vein of raillery and good humour, and in reference only to his amours, *I believe*, Shafteſbury, *thou art the wickedeſt fellow in my dominions*. To which, with a low bow, and a very grave face, the Earl replyed, *May it pleaſe your Majeſty, of a* ſubject *I believe I am*; at which the merry Monarch laughed heartily. When parties were at their greateſt height, the King would very often honour him with his converſation, and would aſk his opinion upon indifferent things, which was not pleaſing to the Miniſters, as it carried nothing of that averſion which they would have had the world believe he entertained againſt his Lordſhip (61). In return, there is good reaſon to maintain, that whatever lengths party might carry him, his Lordſhip ſtill retained a deep ſenſe of that favour, with which his indulgent maſter had honoured him (62); and it happens a little ſtrangely, that the author who has drawn this noble perſon's character in the blackeſt colours has, notwithſtanding, left us a paſſage, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of it (63). 'If he was a friend really to any human 'kind beſides himſelf, I believe it was to King Charles 'II. whoſe gaiety, breeding, wit, good humour, familiarity, and diſpoſition, to enjoy the pleaſures of 'ſociety and greatneſs, engaged him very much, that 'had a great ſhare of wit, agreeableneſs, and gallantry 'himſelf. But this ſame ſuperiority ſpoiled all, his 'Majeſty would not be always influenced by him, but 'would take ſhort turns on his toe, and ſo fruſtrate 'his projects: and by that, finding he could not work 'under him, ſtrove, if poſſible, to reduce his autho'rity, and get above him. It ſeems, by what was 'given out, that he would not have hurt the King per'ſonally, but kept him tame in a cage with his ordi'nary pleaſures about him.' E

(62) See his Letter to the King, at the end of Locke's Memoirs concerning the Earl's Life.

(63) North's Examen, p. 119.

COOTE (Sir CHARLES) a brave and active Officer in the ſeventeenth Century, *created in 1660 Earl of Mountrath, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Charles Coote [A] who was made a Baronet the 2d of April 1621 (a).* In January 1641-2 he was beſieged in Caſtle-Coote by twelve hundred Iriſh, but he valiantly raiſed the ſiege within a week. Not long after, he defeated Hugh O Connor and his forces: And on the 2d of March encountred Con O Rourk and his followers, who came to plunder Roſcommon; took him priſoner, and killed moſt of his party. Afterwards he gave a total defeat to the rebels, who had formed a Camp at Kregs, and took all their baggage and proviſions. He likewiſe got a conſiderable prey from about Ballyniſlow. And in Eaſter-week relieved Athlone with ſome proviſions

(*a*) The Iriſh Compendium, &c. by Fr. Nicholls, edit. 1735, p. 107.

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of Sir* Charles Coote] This Sir Charles Coote was a man of great conſideration in Ireland. Upon the breaking out of the Iriſh rebellion, in 1641, he had a commiſſion for a regiment of foot, and was made Governor of Dublin (1). On the 29th of November he relieved the caſtle of Wicklow, beat a thouſand of the Iriſh, with their commander, Luke Toole, and put them to a ſhameful flight; whereby he became ſo terrible to the Iriſh, that they ſeldom made any reſiſtance where he was (2). In December, the Lords of the Pale, in Ireland, accuſed him of having uttered, at the council-board, ſome ſpeeches, tending to a purpoſe and reſolution of executing a general maſſacre upon the Iriſh Roman Catholicks: but the Lords Juſtices cleared him of that imputation (3). On the 15th of the ſame month he pillaged and burnt the the village of Clantarſe, near Dublin (4). The 10th of April, 1642, he was ſent with Sir Thomas Lucas, and ſix troops of horſe, to relieve Bir, and ſome other places. They were to paſs a cauſeway which the rebels had broke, and had caſt up a ditch at the end of it; but Coote made thirty of his dragoons alight, and, in perſon, led them on, and beat off the Iriſh, with the ſlaughter of forty rebels and their captain, and then relieved the caſtles of Bir, Burrous, and Knocknemeaſe; and having ſate almoſt forty-eight hours on horſeback, and loſt and ſpoiled a hundred horſe in this expedition, they returned to the camp on *the eleventh*, at night, without the loſs of one man. And this was the prodigious paſſage through Mountrath-woods, which indeed is wonderful in many reſpects, and therefore juſtly gave occaſion for the title of Earl of Mountrath to be entailed upon the poſterity of Sir Charles Coote, who was the chief commander in this expedition (5). Some time after he accompanied the Lord Liſle in relieving the caſtle of Geaſhill, and, at the council of war, told the reſt, that if they made haſte they might eaſily paſs the defiles and cauſeways, before the enemy could aſſemble to oppoſe them: whereto another replied, that perhaps it might be ſo, but when the country was alarmed how ſhould they get back? 'I proteſt, ſaid 'Sir Charles Coote, I never thought of that in my 'life; I always conſidered how to do my buſineſs, and 'when that was done, I got home again as well as I 'could, and hitherto I have not miſſed of forcing my 'way:' ſo they relieved that place, and beſides took Philipſtown and Trim; which laſt, three thouſand Iriſh attempting to recover the next night, Sir Charles Coote routed them with a very few forces. But in this rencounter he had the misfortune of being ſhot to death; whether by the enemy, or by one of his own troopers, is uncertain (6). Beſides his other offices and employments, he was one of the council to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland (7). He left ſeveral ſons, namely, Sir Charles his eldeſt ſon and heir, created Earl of Mountrath; Richard, afterwards Baron of Colloony and Earl of Bellamont; Chudleigh; Thomas (8).

(1) The Iriſh Rebellion, &c. by Sir John Temple, edit. 1646, 4to, P. ii. p. 3.

(2) Ibid. p. 17; and Cox, Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 83.

(3) Temple, ibid. p. 23, 24.

(4) Ibid. p. 29; and Cox, p. 84, 85.

(5) Cox, ibid. p. 105.

(6) Idem, p. 106, 107.

(7) Temple, as above, p. 26, 28, 51.

(8) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 839. See alſo The Iriſh Compendium, p. 107, 119.

provisions and other necessaries (*b*). About the beginning of the year 1644, he was one of the Agents from the Irish Protestants, who attended King Charles I. at Oxford, in order to treat of a Peace between them and the Catholicks in Ireland (*c*). In November 1646, having received some forces from England, he broke through the army of the Irish with a party, and caused them to draw farther off from Dublin, which they kept in a manner besieged (*d*). In May 1647, he gave them a great defeat, in which a thousand of them were slain (*e*). Soon after, he had several skirmishes with them, in which some of the leading Rebels were taken prisoners (*f*). In October the same year, joining his forces with those of Col. Jones and Col. Monk, they took several Castles and places from the Irish; and among the rest, Port Lester, and Athboy (*g*). About the end of the next year, marching with the forces he had assembled in Connaught, from Sligo seventy miles into the Rebels county; after a little skirmish with them, he burned great store of their corn, and brought away a great booty (*h*). He also took Culmore-fort (*i*). At his return, he apprehended Sir Robert Stuart, the King's commander in those parts, and sent him into England with an Accusation against him. Upon which occasion, so well did the Parliament approve of his conduct, that they ordered care to be taken of his forces, and sent him a letter of thanks (*k*). In 1649 he did not meet with the same success: For he was straitly besieged in Londonderry [*B*] by such of the Irish as had declared for King Charles II; and they demanded he should depart the Kingdom (*l*). But having some relief come from England, he sallied out, and scoured the country for seven miles on all sides of the city, killing many, and taking several prisoners (*m*). After which, he concluded a peace with Major-general Owen Row O-neal, in order to preserve the garrison of Londonderry, and the English interest in those parts: which the Parliament highly approved of, and ordered him to be supplied with provisions and ammunition (*n*). Accordingly, being supplied with them, and reinforced with a thousand foot, and five hundred horse, he march'd into the country possessed by King Charles's friends, and having clear'd all round Londonderry for fourteen miles together, he brought great store of provisions into that city (*o*): and kept the field without any considerable opposition. In December, he routed about four thousand horse and foot, that came to the relief of Carrickfergus, then closely besieged by him, and slew fourteen hundred men; whereupon Carrickfergus surrendered (*p*). About the beginning of the year 1650, he marched towards Belfast, where he found no opposition, and settled that country (*q*). Then he reduced Castledove (*r*), and advanc'd towards Catherlough (*s*). In April, he reduced many small Forts near Carrickfergus, and took Inniskilling and some other places (*t*), whereby he became so formidable, that the Irish army in Ulster would not engage with him, tho' he took great booties from them (*u*). In June, he gave a great defeat to the Bishop of Clogher [*C*], who was advancing at the head of four thousand foot and six hundred horse, to hinder the junction of Sir Charles, and Colonel Venables (*w*). In September, he was at the siege of Athlone: And in May 1651, was sent to attend the motions of the Irish in Connaught (*x*). In June, he marched thirty miles in a day and a night, in order to escape the Marquis of Clanrickard who endeavoured to intercept his passage; and joining the then Deputy of Ireland, they routed the united forces of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Earl of Castlehaven, killing and taking three thousand of them: Then he went, and sat down before Galloway (*y*). Soon after, advancing against the remains of the Marquis of Clanrickard's Forces, they abandoned several passes, and a castle of consequence (*z*). And he also took Maso-castle (*a*). In the beginning of the year 1652, he harass'd the Barony of Burren [*D*], which refused to pay him contributions (*b*). And on the 12th of May ensuing, Galloway surrendred to him, after a long and tedious siege. Whereupon, the Marquis of Clanrickard desired to enter into a Treaty with him, for putting a period to the war in Ireland, and establishing the repose of that Nation (*c*). In June he reduced Sligo (*d*): And in July marched against a party of the Royalists in Kerry [*E*]; whom having beaten

(*b*) Hist. of Ireland, &c. by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 97.
(*c*) Cox, ibid. p. 139.
(*d*) Memorials of the English Affairs, &c. by Mr Whitelock, edit. 1732, p. 228.
(*e*) Ibid. p. 251.
(*f*) Ibid. p. 258.
(*g*) Page 275.
(*h*) Idem, p. 367.
(*i*) Hist. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 203.
(*k*) Whitelock, p. 367.
(*l*) Ibid. p. 396.
(*m*) Ibid. p. 414, 420.
(*n*) Page 422.
(*o*) Page 425, 426, 427.
(*p*) Ibid. p. 435, 436
(*q*) Ibid. p. 443.
(*r*) Page 446.
(*s*) Page 451.
(*t*) Page 453, 455.
(*u*) Page 455, 458.
(*w*) Page 463, 464.
(*x*) Page 477, 493
Ludlow's Memoirs, edit. 1698, Vol. I. p. 343, 348.
(*y*) Whitelock, p. 495, 497, 500.
(*z*) Ibid. p. 507.
(*a*) Page 516.
(*b*) Page 522.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 527, 531, 532.
Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. edit. 1698, p. 396, &c.
Hist. of Ireland, by R. Cox, Vol. II. in Charles II. p. 69.
(*d*) Whitelock, as above, p. 538.

[*B*] *For he was straitly besieged in Londonderry.*] During this siege, he agreed to supply the besiegers with powder, upon their engaging to furnish him with such provisions as he wanted; which was performed on both sides (9). This shows how little Sir Charles was afraid of the besiegers. But how greatly he was, and had been, distressed, for want of pay and provisions, is evident, from a paper of requests to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, wherein it was represented, in the name of Sir Charles Coote and his forces, that they, being three regiments of horse, and three of foot, had received but eight months pay in eight years, and a peck of oatmeal a week (10).

(9) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 294.
(10) Whitelock, as above, p. 410.

[*C*] *In June he gave a great defeat to the Bishop of* Clogher.] This battle was fought at Skirfolas, on the 21st of June (11); and, after an hour's hot dispute, with great resolution on both sides, the Irish were wholly routed. Many of them were killed upon the place, and the execution was ten or eleven miles every way that night (12): but, afterwards, the pursuit was continued farther than ever was heard of before, namely, above thirty miles. So that it was believed, that five hundred of all this army did not escape (13). But Sir Charles writes in a letter, that there were at least, in all, three thousand killed. The Bishop being taken, much wounded (14), was hanged the next day, by order of the President, and his head set up on one of the gates of Londonderry; of which, but the year before, he had assisted Sir Charles Coote in raising the siege (15).

(11) Hist. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 24.
(12) Whitelock, p. 464.
(13) R. Cox, ubi supra.
(14) Whitelock, as above.
(15) R. Cox, as above, p. 24; and Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 331.

[*D*] *He harrassed the Barony of* Burren.] Mr Whitelock informs us, that this Barony hath neither wood, water, nor earth enough to hang, drown, or bury a man (16).

(16) Memorials, p. 521.

[*E*] *And in July he marched against a party of the Royalists in* Kerry.] They had got together a body of about five thousand men, under the conduct of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Sir Phelim O Neal, with which they had besieged and taken the fort of Ballishannon, Whereupon Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Venables drew out what forces they could, and advanced towards them with such expedition, that they

beaten from their faſtneſſes, and ſecured the paſſes by planting ſome garriſons, he ſo diſtreſſed them that they could no longer continue in a body; therefore they, and the Marquis of Clanrickard came in and ſubmitted. And he had leave to tranſport himſelf with three thouſand men to any foreign country in friendſhip with England, within the ſpace of three months (*e*). To enable Sir Charles to carry on the war, he was one of the Commiſſioners of the taxes, exciſe, and cuſtoms, for Ulſter (*f*). After Ireland was reduc'd to the obedience of the Parliament, he was one of the Court of Juſtice in the province of Connaught (*g*); of which he was made Preſident by Act of Parliament (*h*). Being in England at the time of the depoſing of Richard Cromwell, he went poſt for Ireland, to carry the news of that great alteration to his brother Henry Cromwell, and to concert with him what to do in order to maintain themſelves in their poſts (*i*). At firſt he ſeemed to aim at nothing more, than to keep his Government in Connaught, and to have his Regiment of Foot, and troop of Horſe, continued to him (*k*) [*F*]. But when he found that King Charles the Second's intereſt was likely to prevail, he endeavoured to inſinuate himſelf into his favour. For that purpoſe, he ſent over to the Marquis of Ormond, then at Bruſſels, one Sir Arthur Forbes, a Scotiſh Gentleman of good affection to the King, and good intereſt in the Province of Ulſter where he was an Officer of horſe, 'To aſſure 'his Majeſty of Sir Charles's affection and duty; and that, if his Majeſty would vouchſafe 'to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole Kingdom would declare for him: that 'though the preſent Power in England had remov'd all the ſober men from the govern-'ment of the State in Ireland, under the character of Preſbyterians; and had put Ludlow, 'Corbet, and others of the King's judges in their places; yet they were generally ſo 'odious to the Army as well as to the People, that they could ſeize upon their perſons, 'and the very caſtle of Dublin, when they ſhould judge it convenient.' However, the King not chuſing to go to Ireland, diſmiſs'd Sir Arthur Forbes with ſuch letters and commiſſions as he deſired: who, upon his return to Ireland, found the ſtate of affairs much alter'd ſince his departure (*l*). For Sir Charles Coote, and one or two more, ſo influenc'd the whole council of Officers, that they prevail'd upon them to vote, Not to receive Col. Ludlow as commander in chief; and, beſides, made themſelves maſters of Athlone, Drogheda, Limerick, Dublin, and other places for the ſervice of the King (*m*). Then he ſent to Col. Monk, to acquaint him with the progreſs he had made in ſecuring Ireland; who was ſo pleaſed with it, that he cauſed the cannon at Berwick to be fired in teſtimony of his joy, and ſent back the meſſenger with letters of thanks for the good ſervice, deſiring him and his friends not to reſtore the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, whom they had ſeized, to the exerciſe of their authority (*n*). Soon after, Sir Charles Coote, and ſome others ſent to the Parliament a charge of high-treaſon, againſt Col. Ludlow, Col. John Jones, Col. Thomlinſon, and Miles Corbet (*o*). But the oppoſite party reſolved to ſeize him, and his friends: of which having notice, he mounted on horſe back, and, attended by great numbers of people, rid about the ſtreets of Dublin, and declared for a Free Parliament (*p*). He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of Dublin-caſtle, and expelled Sir Hardreſs Waller from the command of the army (*q*). To recommend himſelf further to the King, he apprehended John Coke, chief juſtice of Ireland, who had been Solicitor-general at the trial of King Charles I (*r*). Notwithſtanding all that, the Rump thought themſelves ſo ſure of him, that on the 5th of January 1659-60, they approved of what had been done by him and other officers of the army in Ireland for the ſervice of the Parliament; and ordered, that the Thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given them for their good ſervice, to be ſigned by the Speaker, and ſealed with the Seal of the Parliament (*s*). On the 19th of the ſame month, they appointed him one of the Commiſſioners for the management of the affairs of Ireland (*t*). But, before thoſe Commiſſioners declared for King Charles, they inſiſted upon ſeveral particulars relating to their intereſt as members of that nation (*u*). The 6th of September 1660, Sir Charles Coote was, on account of his many and great ſervices for the Royal Cauſe, created Baron and Viſcount Coote, and Earl of Mountrath in the Queen's county in Ireland: and was alſo appointed one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland (*w*). But he did not long enjoy theſe Honours, for he died the 18th of December 1661 (*x*). He was ſucceeded in honour and eſtate by Charles his ſon, the ſecond Earl; anceſtor of Algernoon, the preſent, and fifth, Earl of Mountrath, late repreſentative in Parliament for the borough of Heydon in Yorkſhire.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 540. Ludlow, as above, p. 418.

(*f*) Ludlow, ibid. p. 338.

(*g*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 443.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 704.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 642.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 704.

(*l*) The Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. by Lord Clarendon, edit. 1731, 8vo, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 754, 755.

(*m*) Ludlow, as above, Vol. II. p. 787, 788.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 798.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 805, 806.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 838.

(*q*) Page 839.

(*r*) Page 851.

(*s*) Mercurius Politic. No. 602, p. 1009.

(*t*) Ibid. No. 604.

(*u*) Ibid. No. 612.

(*w*) The Iriſh Compendium, &c. as above, p. 107, 108.

(*x*) Ibid.

they were near the place before the enemy had notice of their march; who, finding themſelves ſurprized, retreated to the bogs, leaving a ſmall garriſon in Balliſhannon; but being purſued by the Parliament's forces, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, (in which number were thirty officers) and took from them ſeven or eight thouſand cows, on whoſe milk they chiefly ſubſiſted; twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their arms; upon which the garriſon they had placed in Balliſhannon ſurrendered upon articles (17).

(17) Ludlow, as above, Vol. I. p. 412.

[*F*] *At firſt he ſeemed to aim at nothing more than to keep his government in Connaught, and to have his regiment of foot, and troop of horſe continued to him.*] Mr Ludlow informs us, (if he is altogether to be credited) that he aſſured him of his endeavours, to have all thoſe things confirmed to him by the Parliament, in hopes that he would employ them in the defence and preſervation of that authority under which he had done ſo many great ſervices, and from whom he had received ſo many marks of favour. This Sir Charles promiſed to do, and added, that he was fully convinced that his intereſt was wholly involved in the preſervation of the Parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their authority; and that as he had oppoſed the late King in his arbitrary deſigns, ſo he would continue to act in conformity to thoſe actions, well knowing, that if the ſon ſhould happen to prevail, the Engliſh intereſt would be loſt in Ireland, and the Iriſh reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands, according to an agreement paſſed between them. And this Sir Charles promiſed Ludlow he would do (18).

(18) Ludlow's Memoirs, &c. Vol. II. p. 704, 705.

CORBET (RICHARD), Biſhop of Norwich, and an excellent Poet, was ſon of Mr Vincent Corbet [*A*], and born at Ewell in Surrey, towards the latter end of the ſixteenth Century, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He had his education in Weſtminſter School, and from thence was ſent to Oxford in Lent-Term 1597-8, where he was admitted a Student of Chriſt-Church. In 1605, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, being at that time eſteem'd one of the moſt celebrated Wits of the Univerſity. Afterwards entering into Holy Orders, he became an eminent Preacher, and was much followed by perſons of taſte and learning. His Wit and Eloquence recommended him to the favour of King James I. who made him one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and, in 1620, promoted him to the Deanery of Chriſt-Church; about which time he was Doctor in Divinity, Vicar of Caſſington near Woodſtock in Oxfordſhire, and Prebendary of Bedminſter-Secunda in the Church of Sarum (*a*). He made verſes, whilſt Dean of Chriſt-Church, on a Play acted before the King at Woodſtock [*B*]. He was elected, the 30th of July 1629, Biſhop of Oxford, in the room of Dr Howſon tranſlated to the See of Durham; was conſecrated the 19th of October, and inſtalled the 3d of November following. Laſtly, upon the tranſlation of Doctor White to Ely, he was elected Biſhop of Norwich, the 7th of April 1632; and received the Temporalities, the 12th of May following (*b*). This Prelate married Alice the daughter of Dr Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower in Northamptonſhire (*c*) [*C*], by whom he had a ſon named after his Grandfather *Vincent* [*D*]. In his younger years, he wrote ſeveral pieces of Poetry [*E*], without any intention of their being made publick (*d*); and

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 600, 601.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. col. 571.

(*d*) Id. ubi ſupra, col. 601.

[*A*] *He was ſon of Mr Vincent Corbet.*] Our author's filial piety put him upon immortalizing the memory and virtues of his father in an excellent elegy, which begins thus (1):

> Vincent Corbet, farther known
> By Pointer's name than by his own,
> Here lies engaged, till the day
> Of raiſing bones, and quick'ning clay.

(1) See Poems, written by the Right Rev. Dr Richard Corbet, late Lord Biſhop of Norwich. London, 1672, p. 31.

That gentleman's character is beautifully drawn in the following lines:

> Years he liv'd were near fourſcore;
> But, count his virtues, he liv'd more:
> And number him by doing good,
> He liv'd the age before the flood.

Again;

> Simple he was, and withal
> His purſe not baſe nor prodigal;
> Poorer in ſubſtance than in friends,
> *Future* and *public* were his ends.
> His conſcience, like his diet, ſuch
> As neither took, nor left, too much.
> So the made laws needleſs grown
> To him, he needed but his own.

The elegy ends with this turn:

> Read then, and mourn, whate're thou art
> That doſt hope to have a part
> In honeſt epitaphs; leſt being dead,
> Thy life be written, and not read.

[*B*] *He made verſes on a play acted before the King at Woodſtock.*] The play was called *Technogamia:* or, *The Marriage of Arts*, and was written by Barten Holiday, the Poet. The ill ſucceſs it met with in the repreſentation (2), occaſioned ſeveral copies of verſes; among which, to uſe Anthony Wood's words (3), 'Corbet, Dean of Chriſt-Church, put in for one, who 'had that day preached (as it ſeems) before the King, 'with his hand ſtarched clean; for which he was re- 'proved by the graver ſort, but thoſe who knew him 'well took no notice of it, for they have ſeveral times 'ſaid, that *he loved to the laſt boys play very well.*' The verſes in queſtion may be ſeen in the Article HOLIDAY (BARTEN).

(2) See the article HOLYDAY (BARTEN).

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 260.

[*C*] *He married Alice, the daughter of Dr Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower, in Northamptonſhire.*] He mentions that village in his *Iter Boreale.*

> Here we paid thanks, and parted, and at night
> Had entertainment, all in one man's right,
> At *Flow're*, a village, where our tenant ſhe,
> Sharp as a winter morning, fierce, yet free, &c. (4).

(4) Poems, &c. p. 2.

It is not improbable, that our author's acquaintance with Dr Hutten might take it's riſe from that *Northern Trip*, and that he might then have had the firſt ſight of the Doctor's daughter, whom he afterwards married.

[*D*] *He had a ſon named* Vincent.] Our author's Muſe obeyed the dictates of paternal affection no leſs than of filial piety; for as he wrote an elegy on his own father, ſo he addreſſed the following verſes, fraught with the beſt and kindeſt wiſhes, to his ſon.

> What I ſhall leave thee none can tell,
> But all ſhall ſay, I wiſh thee well.
> I wiſh thee, *Vin*, before all wealth,
> Both bodily and ghoſtly health:
> Nor too much wealth, nor wit, come to thee;
> So much of either might undo thee.
> I wiſh thee learning, not for ſhow,
> Enough for to inſtruct, and know;
> *Not ſuch as gentlemen require,*
> To prate at table, or at fire.
> I wiſh thee all thy mother's graces,
> Thy father's fortunes, and his places.
> I wiſh thee friends, and one at Court,
> Not to build on, but to ſupport;
> To keep thee, not in doing many
> Oppreſſions, but from ſuffering any.
> I wiſh thee peace in all thy ways,
> Nor lazy, nor contentious days;
> And when thy ſoul and body part,
> As innocent as now thou art (5).

(5) Page 35.

I conjecture, from the laſt line, that *Vin* was very young when his father wrote theſe.

[*E*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces of Poetry.*] A collection of them was publiſhed, under the title of *Poetica Stromata*, in octavo, London, 1647-8 (6). There is another edition of them in a thin *duodecimo*, London, 1672, dedicated to Sir Edmund Bacon, of Redgrave-Hall, in Suffolk, Baronet. The Editor tells his patron, that *the moſt pious of the Clergy have made uſe of the innocent art of poeſy, not only for their pleaſant diverſion, but their moſt fervent devotion.* After the dedication follows an *advertiſement*, in which we are told, that 'Upon reprinting theſe poems, diligent 'ſearch was made to perfect them, which were very 'imperfectly printed before;' and that, 'though in 'this edition there be but few new poems, yet we may 'find many of them more perfect than before; for in 'ſome there are ſix, in others four, and in many two 'lines added out of perfecter copies, which were left 'out in the former impreſſion.' Beſides what has been already cited, I ſhall give the curious reader a farther ſpecimen of Biſhop Corbet's poetical genius, as his works are in but few hands. In his *Iter Boreale:* or *Journey Northward*, he has the following humorous deſcription of a Serjeant.

(6) Wood, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. col. 601.

I'th'

and he was one of thoſe celebrated perſons, who, with Ben Johnſon, Sir John Harrington,

I'th' interim comes a moſt officious drudge,
His face and gown draw'd out with the ſame budge.
His pendent pouch, which was both large and wide,
Look'd like a letters-patents by his ſide.
He was as awful, as he had been ſent
From Moſes with the eleventh commandement (7).

(7) Poems, &c. P. 3.

In the ſame poem we meet with a fine moral reflection upon the burial place of King Richard III. and Cardinal Wolſey, who were both interred at Leiceſter.

Is not uſurping Richard buried here,
That King of Hate, and therefore ſlave of fear;
Dragg'd from the fatal Boſworth-field, where he
Loſt life, and, what he liv'd for, cruelty?
Search, find his name; but there is none: O Kings,
Remember whence your pow'r and vaſtneſs ſprings;
If not as Richard now, ſo may you be,
Who hath no tomb, but ſcorn and memory.
And tho' from his own ſtore Wolſey might have
A palace *, or a college †, for his grave,
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remembered were his fall.
Nothing but earth on earth, no pompous weight
Upon him, but a pebble or a quoit.
If thou art thus neglected, what ſhall we ‖
Hope after death, that are but ſhreds of thee (8)?

(*) Whitehall.
(†) Chriſt-church.
(‖) Students of Chriſt-church.
(8) Page 6, 7.

The hoſt's pointing out the diſpoſition of the two armies in Boſworth-field affords a very humorous and entertaining picture.

Mine Hoſt was full of ale and hiſtory,
And on the morrow when he brought us nigh
Where the two roſes joined, you wou'd ſuppoſe
Chaucer ne're writ the Romant of the Roſe.
Hear him: ſee ye yon woods? there Richard lay
With his whole army: look the other way,
And lo! where Richmond in a bed of groſſe
Encamp'd himſelf o're night with all his force.
Upon this hill they met. Why, he could tell
The inch where Richmond ſtood, where Richard fell.
Beſides what of his knowledge he could ſay,
He had authentic notice from the play:
Which I might gueſs by's muſtring up the ghoſts,
And policies, not incident to hoſts:
But chiefly by that one perſpicuous thing,
Where he miſtook a player for a King;
For when he wou'd have ſaid, King Richard died,
And call'd a horſe, a horſe, he *Burbage* cry'd (9).

(9) Page 17, 18.

Our author appears to have had an excellent genius for *Panegyric*, by the following lines, which are part of *an elegy on the late Lord* William Howard, *Baron of* Effingham, *who died the 10th of December*, 1615.

What did he? Acts of mercy, and refrain
Oppreſſion in himſelf, and in his train?
Was his eſſential table full as free
As boaſts and invitations uſed to be;
Where if his Ruſſet-friend did chance to dine,
Whether his Satten-man wou'd fill him wine?——
Did he ſeek regular pleaſures? was he known
Juſt huſband of one wife, and ſhe his own?
Did he give freely without pauſe or doubt,
And read petitions e're they were worn out?——
Did he attend the court for no man's fa'l?
Wore he the ruin of no hoſpital?
And when he did his rich apparel don,
Put he no widow, nor an orphan on?
Did he love ſimple virtue for the thing?
The King for no reſpect but for the King?
But above all, did his religion wait
Upon God's throne, or on the chair of ſtate?
He that is guilty of no *Quære* here,
Out-laſts his epitaph, out-lives his heir.

And a few lines farther;

And therefore I am angry, when a name
Comes to upbraid the world like *Effingham*.
Nor was it modeſt in thee to depart
To thy eternal home, where now thou art,
E're thy reproach was ready; or to die,
E're cuſtom had prepar'd thy calumny.
Eight days are paſt ſince thou haſt paid thy debt
To Sin, and not a libel ſtirring yet;
Courtiers, that ſcoff by patent, ſilent ſit,
And have no uſe of ſlander, or of wit:
But, which is monſtrous, tho' againſt the tide,
The water-men have neither rail'd nor ly'd.
Of good or bad there's no diſtinction known,
For in thy praiſe the good and bad are one (10).

(10) P. 38, 39, 40.

Nor was his talent for *Satire* leſs extraordinary, as appears by his verſes *upon Mrs* Mallet, *an unhandſome gentlewoman that made love unto him.*

Have I renounc'd my faith? or baſely ſold
Salvation, or my loyalty for gold?
Have I ſome foreign practice undertook,
By poiſon, ſhot, ſharp knife, or ſharper look,
To kill my King? Have I betray'd the ſtate
To fire or fury, or ſome newer fate,
Which learned murth'rers, thoſe grand deſtinies,
The Jeſuits, have nurs'd? If of all theſe
I guilty am, proceed, I am content
That *Mallet* take me for my puniſhment.
For never ſin was of ſo high a rate,
But one night's Hell with her might expiate.

Again;

Whether her wit, form, talk, ſmile, fire, I name,
Each is a ſtock of tyranny and ſhame.
But for her breath, ſpectators, come not nigh,
That lays about, God bleſs the company.
The man in a bear's ſkin, bated to death,
Wou'd chuſe the dogs much rather than her breath.
One kiſs of her's, and eighteen words alone,
Puts down the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

He concludes with theſe lines:

No Tyger's like her, ſhe feeds upon man,
Worſe than a Tygreſs or a Leopard can.
Let me go pray, and think upon ſome ſpell,
At once to bid the devil and her farewell (11).

(11) P. 44, 45, 46.

Our author's *Epigrammatic* turn may be ſeen in the following tetraſtick *on Henry Bolings.*

If gentleneſs cou'd tame the fates, or wit
Deliver man, Bolings had not dy'd yet:
But one, which over us in judgment ſits,
Doth ſay, our ſins are ſtronger than our wits (12).

(12) Page 88.

And in thoſe verſes, *On the birth of the young Prince Charles.*

When private men get ſons, they get a ſpoon,
Without eclipſe, or any ſtar at noon.
When Kings get ſons, they get withal ſupplies,
And ſuccours far beyond all ſubſidies.
Welcome God's loan, thou tribute to the ſtate,
Thou money newly coin'd, thou fleet of plate;
Thrice happy child, whom God thy father ſent,
To make him rich without a parliament (13).

(13) Page 108.

I ſhall only add here the following ſenſible and witty reflection in his *Elegy upon the death of Queen Anne.*

Know henceforth, that grief's vital part
Conſiſts in nature, not in art;
And verſes that are ſtudied,
Mourn for themſelves, not for the dead (14).

(14) Page 126.

ton, Dr Donne, Michael Drayton, and others, wrote Mock-Commendatory verſes on Tom Coryate's *Crudities* (*e*). He concurred likewiſe with other Poets of the Univerſity in inviting the celebrated Ben Johnſon to Oxford, where that Poet was created Maſter of Arts (*f*). There is extant in the *Muſæum Aſhmolæanum* (*g*) a Funeral Oration in Latin, by Dr Corbet, on the death of Prince Henry, A. D. 1612. This learned and ingenious Prelate died in the year 1635, and was buried at the upper end of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Norwich [*F*]. He was very hoſpitable, and always a generous encourager of publick deſigns; and particularly, when St Paul's Cathedral was repaired, *an.* 1634, he not only contributed largely himſelf, but was very diligent in procuring contributions from others (*h*). I know not why Anthony Wood ſays, *he was conſecrated Biſhop of Oxford, tho' in ſome reſpects unworthy of ſuch an office* (*i*), unleſs it be that he thought the character of a Poet inconſiſtent with that of a Biſhop. It appears by our author's Poems, that, at ſome time or other of his life, he took a journey to Paris [*G*]. I ſhall ſubjoin ſome manuſcript verſes in honour of Biſhop Corbet [*H*].

(*e*) Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Lond. 1687, p. 121.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 609.

(*g*) No. 1153.

(*h*) Id. ib. col. 601.

(*i*) Ibid. col. 736.

Theſe extracts may ſerve to give the reader a taſte of an author, who is but little known at preſent, and whoſe works are not eaſily to be met with.

[*F*] *He was buried——in the Cathedral Church of Norwich.*] Soon after, a large freeſtone, of a ſandy colour, was laid over his grave, and the following inſcription, engraven on a plate of braſs, was faſtened thereon.

Richardus Corbet Theologiæ Doctor, Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Chriſti Oxonienſis primum Alumnus, inde Decanus, exinde Epiſcopus, illinc huc tranſlatus, et hinc in cœlum, Julii 28. *an.* 1635.

In Engliſh.

'Richard Corbet, Doctor of Divinity, firſt ſtudent, 'then Dean, of Chriſt-Church, in Oxford, and 'next Biſhop of that See; from thence tranſlated hi-'ther, and from hence to Heaven, July 28. 1635.

On the ſaid ſtone are the antient arms of the Corbets, of Shropſhire, *viz. Or, a raven paſſant ſab.* (15).

(15) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *He took a journey to Paris.*] I cannot forbear giving the reader one more ſample of Biſhop Corbet's wit, out of the ballad he made on that journey. It is a ridicule on the ſuperſtitious veneration of the Roman Catholics for relics, and the many forgeries practiſed in that reſpect.

Then to *St Denis* faſt we came,
To ſee the ſights of *Notre Dame*;
The man that ſhews 'em ſnaffles;
Where, who is apt for to believe,
May ſee our lady's right-arm ſleeve,
And eke her old pantoffles;

Her breaſt, her milk, her very gown
That ſhe did wear in Bethlem town,
When in the inn ſhe lay:
Yet all the world knows that's a fable;
For ſo good cloaths ne're lay in ſtable
Upon a lock of hay.

No Carpenter cou'd by his trade
Gain ſo much coin as to have made
A gown of ſo rich ſtuff;
Yet they, poor fools, think for their credit
They may believe old Joſeph did it,
'Cauſe he deſerved enough.

There is one of the croſs's nails,
Which whoſo ſees his bonnet vails,
And, if he will, may kneel:
Some ſay 'twas falſe, 'twas never ſo;
Yet feeling it, thus much I know,
It is as true as ſteel.

There is a lanthorn, which the Jews,
When Judas led them forth, did uſe;
It weighs my weight downright:
But to believe it, you muſt think,
The Jews did put a candle in't,
And then 'twas very light (16).

(16) Poems, &c. p. 129.

[*H*] *Some manuſcript verſes in honour of Biſhop Corbet.*] I found them in a blank leaf of his *poems*.

In flowing wit, if verſes writ with eaſe,
If learning, void of pedantry, can pleaſe;
If much good humour, join'd to ſolid ſenſe,
And mirth accompanied with innocence,
Can give a poet a juſt right to fame,
Then CORBET may immortal honour claim:
For he theſe virtues had, and in his lines
Poetic and heroick ſpirit ſhines;
Tho' bright, yet ſolid, pleaſant, but not rude,
With wit and wiſdom equally indu'd.
Be ſilent, Muſe, thy praiſes are too faint:
Thou want'ſt a pow'r this prodigy to paint,
At once a poet, prelate, and a ſaint. J. C.

T

COSIN (JOHN) a learned biſhop of Durham in the ſeventeenth century, was the eldeſt ſon of Giles Coſin a citizen of Norwich (*a*), by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of ——— Remington of Remington-caſtle, a good and ancient family (*b*). He was born at Norwich November 30, 1594; and educated in the free-ſchool there, till he came to be fourteen years of age. Then he was tranſplanted into Caius-College in Cambridge, in 1610; of which he was ſucceſſively choſen Scholar, and Fellow: and where he regularly took his degrees in Arts (*c*). Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, diligence, and ingenuity; in the year 1616, when he was about twenty years of age, he had an offer, at the ſame time, both from Dr Lancelot Andrews then Biſhop of Ely, and from Dr Overall Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, of a Librarian's place. But, by his late Tutor's advice, he accepted of the latter's invitation: who liked him ſo well, that, on account of his knowledge and fair writing, he made him alſo his Secretary (*d*). At the ſame time he encouraged him to ſtudy Divinity, and ſent him from time to time to keep his Exerciſes in the Univerſity (*e*). But, in 1619, he loſt his excellent patron, and with him all hopes and proſpect of advancement (*f*). However, Providence ſoon raiſed him a better Patron in Dr Richard Neile then Biſhop of Durham, who took him for his domeſtic chaplain: And in 1624 conferred upon him the tenth Prebend in the Cathedral Church

(*a*) But originally of Foxhearth. He was a very rich man, and a perſon of great probity.

(*b*) See *The dead Man's real Speech.* A funeral Sermon on Biſhop Coſin, &c. by If. Baſire, 8*vo*, Lond. 1673, p. 38; and *Vita Joannis Coſini Epiſcopi Dunelmenſis. Scriptore Thoma Smitho.* Lond. 1707. 4*to*, p. 1.

(*c*) Dr Smith, ib. and Dr Baſire, p. 36, 43,

(*d*) Smith, p. 1, 2.

(*e*) Baſire, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Biſhop Overall died May 7, 1619, having the year before been tranſlated to Norwich.

Church of Durham [*A*], in which he was inſtalled the 4th of December that ſame year (*g*) In September following, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of the Eaſt-riding in the church of York, vacant by the reſignation of Marmaduke Blakeſton, whoſe daughter he had married (*h*). And on the 20th of July 1626, was moreover collated by his patron Biſhop Neile to the rich Rectory of Branſpeth [*B*], in the dioceſe of Durham (*i*). The ſame year, he took the Degree of Batchelor in Divinity (*k*). About that time, having frequent meetings, at the Biſhop of Durham's houſe in London, with Dr William Laud then Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Dr Francis White ſoon after Biſhop of Carliſle, Dr Richard Montague; and other learned men, diſtinguiſh'd by their zeal for the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England; He began to be obnoxious to the then Puritans, who (ſo great was their malice or ignorance!) look'd upon all ſuch Divines as Popiſhly affected (*l*). This imputation of theirs on Mr Coſin in particular, was ſufficiently authorized, as they imagin'd, by his 'Collection of Private Devotions,' [*C*] publiſh'd in 1627; wherein many things were thought too much favourable to Popery: But how wrong this imputation was, let his whole conduct teſtify. In 1628 he was concerned, with other members of the Church of Durham, in a proſecution againſt Peter Smart Prebendary there, for a ſeditious Sermon preached in that Cathedral [*D*]. About the ſame time, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity. And in 1634, February the 8th, was elected Maſter of Peter-Houſe, in the room of Dr Matthew Wren newly made Biſhop of Hereford:

(*g*) Smith, and Baſire, ubi ſupra. See alſo Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c by Br. Willis, Eſq; 4*to*, Lond. 1727, Vol. I. p. 273.

(*h*) Willis, ibid. p. 100.

(*i*) Smith, and Baſire, as above.

(*k*) Smith, p. 4.

(*l*) Ibid.

[*A*] *And, in* 1624, *conferred upon him the tenth prebend in the Cathedral Church of* Durham.] All the while he enjoyed it, which was about ſix and thirty years, he was very conſtant in his reſidences, both ordinary and extraordinary; during which he kept a laudable hoſpitality according to the ſtatutes of that Church. So that Dr Baſire teſtifies (1), that upon ſearch of the regiſter of that Cathedral, he could not find one diſpenſation for him in all the time he continued Prebendary.

(1) Ubi ſupra, p. 44, 45.

[*B*] *Was moreover collated by his patron, Biſhop* Neile, *to the rich Rectory of* Branſpeth.] The parochial Church of which he beautified in an extraordinary manner (2).

(2) See The Hiſt. of the Cathedral Church of Durham, by Sir William Dugdale, p. 81, at the end of his Hiſt. of St Paul's, 2d edit. 1716, fol.

[*C*] *His Collection of Private Devotions.*] The title of it was, *A Collection of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of Prayer*. Dr Smith informs us (3), that it was written at the command of King Charles I. who obſerving that his Queen's Proteſtant attendants were frequently reading in *the Hours of the Virgin Mary*, and other popiſh books of devotion, that were ſet, perhaps on purpoſe, about the royal apartments: leaſt they *ſhould thereby be tainted with ſuperſtition, and other falſe principles*, he ordered a Manual of Prayers to be compoſed for their uſe, out of the holy Scriptures, and the ancient Liturgies, which was accordingly done, by Mr Coſin. Others affirm (4), that it was written at the requeſt of the Counteſs of Denbigh, the Duke of Buckingham's ſiſter. This lady being then ſomewhat unſettled in her religion, and warping towards Popery, theſe Devotions were drawn up to recommend the Church of England farther to her eſteem, and preſerve her in that communion. This book, though furniſhed with a great deal of good matter, was not altogether acceptable in the contexture; altho' the title-page ſets forth, that it was formed upon the model of a book of *private Prayers*, authorized by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1560 (5). To give the reader ſome part of it: 'Af- 'the Calendar, it begins with the Apoſtles Creed in 'twelve articles, the Lord's Prayer in ſeven petitions, 'the Ten Commandments, with the duties enjoined, 'and the ſins forbidden. Then follow the precepts 'of charity, the ſeven ſacraments, the three theological virtues, the three kinds of good works, the 'ſeven gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, the twelve fruits of 'the Holy Ghoſt, the ſpiritual and corporal works of 'mercy, the eight beatitudes, the ſeven deadly ſins, 'their oppoſite vertues, and the four laſt things. And, 'after ſome explanatory prefaces and introductions, 'were ſubjoined the forms of prayer for the firſt, third, 'ſixth, and ninth hours, and likewiſe for the *Veſpers* 'and *Compline*, formerly called the canonical hours. 'Next to theſe was the litany, the ſeven penitential 'pſalms, prayers preparatory for receiving the Holy 'Euchariſt, prayers to be uſed in time of ſickneſs, and 'at the approach of death, &c.' Tho' this book was approved by Geo. Mountain, Biſhop of London, and licenſed with his own hand, yet it was ſomewhat ſurpriſing at firſt view; and ſome moderate perſons were ſhocked with it, as drawing too near the ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome; at leaſt they ſuſpected it as a preparation to further advances. The top of the frontiſpiece had the name of Jeſus, in three capital letters, I. H. S. Upon theſe there was a croſs, incircled with the ſun, ſupported by two Angels, with two devout women praying towards it. This book was ſeverely animadverted upon by Henry Burton, in his 'Exami- 'nation of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of 'Prayer, &c.' and by W. Prynne, in his 'Brief Sur- 'vey and Cenſure of Mr *Cozens* cozening devotions.'

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 5, 6.

(4) Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 742.

(5) *Horarium Regia Authoritate Editum*, ann. 1560; and reprinted in 1573, *cum privilegio*, by Will. Seers.

Lond. 1628, 4*to*.

Ibid. 1628.

[*D*] *In* 1628 *he was concerned, with other members of the Church of* Durham, *in a proſecution againſt* Peter Smart, *&c.*] This P. Smart, who had been ſchool-maſter at Durham, was collated Dec. 30, 1609, to the ſixth Prebend in the Church of Durham, and removed July 6, 1614, to the fourth Preband (6). He had alſo other preferments. Being to preach, July 7, 1628 (7), in the Cathedral Church of Durham, he took for his text Pſalm xxxi. 7. *I hate them that hold of ſuperſtitious vanities*. From which he took occaſion to make a moſt bitter invective againſt ſome of the Biſhops, charging them with no leſs than Popery and Idolatry. Among other virulent expreſſions he had theſe——p. 11. 'The Whore of Babylon's baſtardly 'brood, doting upon their mother's beauty, that 'painted harlot of the Church of Rome, have laboured 'to reſtore her all her robes and jewels again, eſpe- 'cially her looking-glaſs the Maſs, in which ſhe may 'behold her bravery.——The Maſs coming in, brings 'with it an inundation of ceremonies, croſſes, and crucifixes, chalices and images, copes and candleſticks, 'tapers and baſons, and a thouſand ſuch trinckets, 'which we have ſeen in this Church ſince the com- 'munion-table was turned into an altar.——p. 26. I 'aſſure you the altar is an idol, a damnable idol as it 'is uſed. I ſay, they are whores and whoremongers, 'they commit ſpiritual fornication who bow their bo- 'dies before that idol the altar,—&c.' For this ſermon he was queſtioned firſt at Durham, afterwards in the High-Commiſſioned-Court at London; from whence he was removed, at his own deſire, to that at York, where refuſing, with great ſcorn, to recant, he was, for his obſtinacy, degraded, and by ſentence at Common Law, ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed of his prebend and livings; whereupon he was ſupplied with 400 *l.* a year by ſubſcription from the Puritan party (8), which was more than all his preferments amounted to. As for Dr Coſin, he was ſo far from being Mr Smart's chief proſecutor (as he avers) that after he was queſtioned in the High Commiſſion at Durham, he never meddled in the matter, ſave that once he wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop of York, and the Commiſſioners, in his favour (9).—— Mr Smart's character is not repreſented to any great advantage. One author indeed (10) calls him a man 'of a grave aſpect, and reverend pre- 'ſence.' But another, who knew him better (11), aſſures us, 'That he was an old man of a moſt frow- 'ard, fierce, and unpeaceable ſpirit, &c.' He had not preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, tho' Prebendary of it for ſeven years, 'till he preached that ſeditious ſermon for which he was queſtioned. And whilſt he held and enjoyed his preferment, and his health too, he ſeldom preached more than once or twice a year.

(6) Willis, as above, p. 266, 268.

(7) Dr Nalſon ſays, by miſtake, it was 1638, p. 518. But he was ſuſpended for his Sermon in 1631.

(8) Out of the peculiar contributions at London and elſewhere, gathered up for ſilenced Miniſters.

(9) This is Dr Coſin's own account, as publiſhed in Dr Heylyn's *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 258, *&c.* Compare it with that in Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. xi. p. 173.

(10) Fuller, ibid.

(11) Dr Coſin, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *The*

Hereford: In that ſtation, he ſtrenuouſly applied himſelf to promote ſound Religion, and uſeful Learning (*m*). He ſerved the office of Vice-Chancellor for the Univerſity of Cambridge, in 1640. And the ſame year, King Charles I, to whom he was Chaplain, conferr'd upon him the Deanery of Peterborough; in which he was inſtalled November 7, 1640 (*n*). But this dignity he did not long enjoy, or rather he did not quietly enjoy it at all: ſince his troubles began three days after. For on the 10th of November, a petition from Peter Smart againſt him was read in the Houſe of Commons; wherein Smart complained, of the Doctor's ſuperſtition, and innovations in the Church of Durham, and of his ſevere proſecution in the High-Commiſſion-Court (*o*). Whereupon, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, Dr Coſin was ordered to be ſent for by the Serjeant at Arms, and a Committee appointed to prepare a charge againſt him (*p*). Soon after, he preſented a Petition to the Houſe, which, on the 28th following, was read, and referred to a Committee (*q*). On the 3d of December, the Serjeant had leave given him by the Commons, to take bail for Dr Coſin; which was accordingly done, the 19th of January 1640-1, the Doctor himſelf being bound in two thouſand pounds, and his ſecurities in a thouſand pounds a-piece, for his appearance upon ſummons (*r*). Three days after, namely January the 22d, he was, by a vote of the whole Houſe, ſequeſtred from his eccleſiaſtical Benefices; being the firſt clergyman that was then uſed in that manner (*s*). On the 15th of March enſuing, the Commons ſent up one and twenty Articles of impeachment againſt him [*E*] to-

(*m*) Ibid. p. 8, 9, 10.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 9, 11. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716, p. 241.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorica Coll. P. iii. Vol. I. edit. 1721, p. 41, 53; and Dr Nalſon, &c. ed. 1682, Vol. I. p. 518.

(*p*) Nalſon, ibid. p. 538.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 569.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 651, 728.

(*s*) Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, fol. Lond. 1714, P. ii. p. 58.

[*E*] *The Commons ſent up one and twenty articles of impeachment againſt him.*] They were carried up by one Mr Rouſe, who introduced them with the following ſpeech. 'My Lords, I am commanded by the 'Houſe of Commons, to preſent your Lordſhips a de-'claration and impeachment againſt Dr Coſins, and o-'thers, upon the complaint of Mr Peter Smart; which 'Mr Smart was a *Proto-Martyr*, or firſt confeſſor of 'note in the late days of perſecution. The whole 'matter is a tree, whereof the branches and fruit are 'manifeſt in the articles of this declaration.——Then follow theſe articles againſt Dr Coſin. 1. That he was the firſt man that cauſed the communion-table in the Church of Durham to be removed and ſet altar-ways, in the erecting and beautifying whereof, he (being then Treaſurer) expended two hundred pounds (12). 2. That he uſed to officiate at the weſt ſide thereof, turning his back to the people. 3. That he uſed extraordinary bowing to it. 4. That he compelled others to do it, uſing violence to the Perſons of them that refuſed ſo to do: for inſtance, once ſome omitting it, he comes out of his ſeat, down to the ſeat where they ſat, being gentlewomen, called them whores, and jades, and pagans, and the like unſeemly words, and rent ſome of their clothes. 5. That he converted divers prayers, in the Book of Common Prayers, into hymns, to be ſung in the choir, and played with the organ, contrary to the ancient cuſtom of that Church. 6. That whereas it had been formerly a cuſtom in that Church, at the end of every ſermon, to ſing a pſalm; this cuſtom, when Dr Coſin came thither, was abrogated, and inſtead thereof, they ſung an anthem in the choir, there being no pſalm ſung either at the miniſter's going up into the pulpit, or at his coming down. 7. That the firſt Candlemas-day at night, that he had been in that Church, he cauſed three hundred wax-candles to be ſet up and lighted in the Church at once, in honour of our Lady, and placed threeſcore of them upon and about the altar. 8. That in this Church there were reliques of divers images, above which were remaining the ruins of two Seraphims, with the picture of Chriſt between them, erected in Queen Mary's time, in the time of Popery; all which, when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, were demoliſhed, by vertue of a commiſſion by her to that intent granted, which ſo continued demoliſhed from that time, 'till Dr Coſin came to that Church, who, being Treaſurer, cauſed the ſame to be repaired, and moſt gloriouſly painted. 9. That all the time he was unmarried, he wore a cope of white ſattin, never officiating in any other, it being reſerved ſolely for him, no man excepting himſelf making uſe thereof, which, after marriage, he caſt off, and never after wore. 10. That there was a knife belonging to the Church, kept altogether in the veſtry, being put to none but holy uſes, as cutting the bread in the ſacrament, and the like; Dr Coſin refuſing to cut the ſame with any other but that, thinking all others that were unconſecrated, polluted; but that, which he putting holineſs in, never-termed but the conſecrated knife. 11. That in a ſermon preached in that Church, he did deliver certain words in diſgrace of the reformers of our Church, for inſtance, the words were theſe, 'The reformers of this Church, 'when they aboliſhed the Maſs, took away all good 'order, and, inſtead of a reformation, made it a de-'formation (13).' 12. That he ſeldom or never, in any of his ſermons, ſtiled the Miniſters of the word and ſacraments by any other name than Prieſts, nor the communion-table by any other name than altar. 13. That by his appointment there was a cope bought, the-ſeller being a convicted Jeſuit, and afterwards employed in that Church, having upon it the picture of the inviſible and incomprehenſible Trinity. 14. That whereas it had been formerly a cuſtom in that Church, at five of the clock to have morning-prayers read, winter and ſummer: this cuſtom, when Dr Coſin came thither, was abandoned; and inſtead thereof was uſed ſinging and playing on the organs, and ſome few prayers read, and this was called firſt ſervice; which being ended, the people departed out of the Church, returning at nine a-clock, and having then morning-prayers read unto them, and this was called ſecond ſervice; which innovation being miſliked, and complained of by Mr Juſtice Hutton, was reformed. 15. That he framed a ſuperſtitious ceremony in lighting the tapers which were placed on the altars, which, for inſtance, was this: a company of boys that belonged to the Church, came in at the choir-door with torches in their hands lighted, bowing towards the altar at their firſt entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted their tapers: having done, they withdrew themſelves, bowing ſo oft as before, not once turning their back-parts towards the altar, the organs all the time going. 16. That he counſelled ſome young ſtudents of the univerſity to be imitators and practicers of his ſuperſtitious ceremonies, who, to ingratiate themſelves in his favour, did accordingly; and being afterwards reproved for the ſame, by ſome of their friends, confeſſed, that Dr Coſin firſt induced them to that practice, and encouraged them therein. 17. That he uſed, upon communion-days, to make the ſign of the croſs with his finger, both upon the ſeats whereon they were to ſit, and the cuſhions to kneel upon, uſing ſome words when he ſo did. 18. That one ſabbath-day there was ſet up an unneceſſary company of tapers and lights in the Church, which Dr Hunt, being then Dean, fearing they might give offence, being they were then unneceſſary, ſent his man to pull them down, who did ſo; but Dr Coſin being thereat aggrieved, came to the fellow, and there miſcalled him in a moſt uncivil manner, and began to beat him in the publick view of the congregation, to the great diſturbance of the ſame. 19. That the Dean and Chapter of that Church, whereof Dr Coſin was one, with many others, being invited to dinner in the town of Durham, Dr Coſin then and there ſpake words derogating from the King's prerogative: the words were theſe, 'The King hath no 'more power over the Church than the boy that rubs 'my horſe-heels.' 20. That there being many of the Canons of the ſaid Church preſent at that time, amongſt the reſt there was one took more notice of his words than the reſt, and acquainted one of his Fellow-Canons

(12) Mr Fuller ſays, that it was a marble altar with Cherubins, which coſt 2000*l.* with all the appurtenances thereof. See Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 173.

(13) Dr Nalſon informs us, that the Doctor's words were, 'That we muſt 'not think that 'when the Bi-'ſhops took a-'way the Maſs, 'they took away 'all religion.' Which he made out by producing his Sermon. Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 792.

to the Houſe of Lords (*): To which the Doctor put in his Anſwer upon oath; and ſo fully vindicated himſelf (t), during the five days the affair was depending before the Lords, that moſt of them acknowledged his innocence: And Mr Glover, one of Smart's own Counſel, told him openly at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, 'That he was aſhamed of 'him, and could not in conſcience plead for him any longer.' Whereupon the Lords dimiſſed the Doctor, upon his putting bail for his appearance: But they never ſent for him again (u). About the ſame time, upon a motion made in the Houſe of Commons, 'that he had enticed a young Scholar to Popery,' he was committed to the Serjeant at Arms, to attend daily till the Houſe ſhould call him to a hearing. After fifty days impriſonment, and charges of twenty ſhillings a day, he came at length to a hearing; when he made it appear, That being Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, he had moſt ſeverely puniſhed that young Scholar (whom, upon examination, he had found guilty) by making him recant, and expelling him the Univerſity. And to this ſome of the members bore witneſs. However, the Doctor had no manner of reparation made him for his great trouble and expences;

(*) Ruſhworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 188; and Nalſon, Vol. I. p. 789, 790.

(t) Both by his own ſelf, and by the very witneſs that Smart and his ſon-in-law, produced againſt him. *Examen Hiſtoric.* p. 286.

(u) Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 59; and Smith, p. 10, 11; and Heylyn's Examen Hiſtoricum, p. 286.

Canons with them when he came home. This Canon being a friend to Dr Coſin, told the Doctor that ſuch a man exclaimed of him, and charged him with words that he ſhould ſpeak at ſuch a time; the Doctor preſently ſends for him, and when he came into the houſe the Doctor deſires him to follow him into an inner room, who did ſo; but ſo ſoon as he came in, the Doctor ſhuts the door, and ſets both his hands upon him, calling him rogue and raſcal, and many other names, inſomuch that the man, fearing he would do him a miſchief, cried out; Mrs Coſin coming in, endeavoured to appeaſe her huſband, and, holding his hands, the other ran away. 21. That the Doctor did ſeek many unjuſt ways to enſnare this man, that ſo he might take a juſt occaſion to put him out of his place; but none of them taking effect, he put him out by violence, having no other reaſon why he did ſo, but becauſe he had no good voice, when he had ſerved the place two years before Dr Coſin came thither: for inſtance of which unjuſt ways to enſnare this man, Dr Coſin hired a man and woman to pretend a deſire of matrimony, and to offer a ſum of money to this petty Canon to contract matrimony between them in a private chamber, ſo thereupon to take advantage of his revenge upon him. This plot being confeſſed by the parties, to be firſt laid by Dr Coſin, and that they were his inſtruments (14).——Beſides the ſeveral particulars mentioned in theſe articles, Mr Fuller informs us, that Dr Coſin was accuſed of having bought a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man; another with a crucifix, and the image of Chriſt, with a red beard, and a blue cap. And to have made an anthem to be ſung, of the three Kings of Collen, by the names of Gaſper, Balthazar, and Melchior (15).

(14) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 789, 790; and The Diurnall Occurrences, or daily Proceedings of Parliament in 1640 and 1641, Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 52, &c.

(15) Fuller, Ch. Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

To theſe articles Dr Coſin put in his anſwer, upon oath, before the Houſe of Lords, as is above related. But ſeeing afterwards the ſubſtance of them publiſhed in Mr Fuller's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (16), he writ from Paris a letter to Mr Warren, and Dr Reves, in his own vindication, dated April 6, 1658, wherein he declares, as he had done before the Lords, 1. That the communion-table in the Church of Durham (which in the Bill of Complaint and Mr Fuller's Hiſtory is ſaid to be the marble-altar, with Cherubims) was not ſet up by him [Dr Coſin], but by the Dean and Chapter, (whereof Mr Smart himſelf was one) many years before Mr Coſin became Prebendary of that Church, or ever ſaw the country. 2. That by the public accounts which are there regiſtered, it did not appear to have coſt above the tenth part of what is pretended, appurtenances and all (17). 3. That likewiſe the copes uſed in that Church were brought in thither long before his [Dr Coſin's] time, and when Mr Smart, the complainant, was Prebendary there, who alſo allowed his part (as he [Dr Coſin] was ready to prove by the Act-book) of the money that they coſt, for they coſt but little. 4. That as he never approved the picture of the Trinity, or the image of God the Father, in the figure of an old man, or otherwiſe to be made or placed any where at all; ſo he was well aſſured that there were none ſuch (nor to his knowledge or hearſay ever had been) put upon any cope that was uſed there. One there was that had the ſtory of the Paſſion embroidered upon it, but the cope that he uſed to wear, when at any time he attended the communion-ſervice, was of plain white ſattin only without any embroidery upon it all. 5. That what the Bill of Complaint, called the image of Chriſt, with a blue cap, and a golden beard, (Mr Fuller's Hiſtory ſays it was red, and that it was ſet upon one of the copes) was nothing elſe but the top of Biſhop Hatfield's tomb (ſet up in the Church, under a ſide-arch there, two hundred years before Dr Coſin was born) being a little portraiture, not appearing to be above ten inches long, and hardly diſcernable to the eye what figure it is, for it ſtands thirty foot from the ground. 6. That by the local ſtatutes of that Church, (whereunto Mr Smart was ſworn, as well as Dr Coſin) the treaſurer was to give order, that proviſion ſhould every year be made of a ſufficient number of wax-lights for the ſervice of the Choir, during all the winter-time; which ſtatute he [Dr Coſin] obſerved when he was choſen into that office, and had order from the Dean and Chapter, by capitular act, to do it: yet upon the Communion-table they that uſed to light the candles, never ſet more than *two fair candles, with a few ſmall ſizes* near to them, which they put there of purpoſe, that the people all about might have the better uſe of them for ſinging the pſalmes, and reading the leſſons out of the Bibles: but *two hundred* was a greater number than they uſed all the Church over, either upon Candlemaſs-night, or any other.——7. That he never forbad (nor any body elſe that he knew) the ſinging of the (meeter) pſalms in the Church, which he uſed to ſing daily there himſelf, with other company, at morning-prayer. But upon ſundaies and holydaies, in the choir, before the ſermon, the creed was ſung, (and that plainly for every one to underſtand) as it is appointed in the Communion-book, and after the ſermon, was ſung a part of a pſalm, or ſome other anthem taken out of the ſcripture, and firſt ſignified to the people where they might find it. 8. That ſo far was he from making any anthem to be ſung of the three Kings of Colen, as that he made it, when he firſt ſaw it, to be torn in pieces, and he himſelf cut it out of the old ſong books belonging to the choriſters ſchool, with a pen-knife that lay by, at his very firſt coming to that college. But he was ſure that no ſuch anthem had been ſung in the choir during all his time of attendance there, nor (for ought that any of the eldeſt perſons of the Church and town could tell, or ever heard to the contrary,) for fifty or threeſcore years before, or more. 9. That there was indeed an ordinary knife, provided and laid ready among other things belonging to the adminiſtration of the Communion, for the cutting of the bread, and divers other uſes in the Church-veſtry.——But that it was ever *conſecrated*, or ſo called, otherwiſe than as Mr Smart, and ſome of his followers had, for their pleaſure, put that appellation upon it; he [Dr Coſin] never heard, nor believed any body elſe had, that lived at Durham (18). The reſt of the articles mentioned above, Mr Smart could not prove, and Dr Coſin gave a very ſatisfactory anſwer to them, remaining upon the Rolls of Parliament. But as Mr Fuller did not ſpecify them all, the Doctor did not think it neceſſary to repeat in this letter his anſwer to each of them. Upon the whole, therefore, as we cannot, on the one hand, enough wonder at the weakneſs of Dr Coſin, for inventing and preſſing the obſervance of ſuch ceremonies and inſignificant things, as ſome of thoſe above-mentioned: ſo, on the other hand, who can be ſufficiently amazed at the confidence of P. Smart, in charging the Doctor with things which he could ſo eaſily diſprove? and what muſt be thought or ſaid of that Houſe of Commons which would encourage and receive ſuch kinds of accuſations?

(16) B. xi. p. 173.

(17) By this it ſeems, that the ſum mentioned in the original articles was 2000 *l.* tho' in the printed ones there is only 200 *l.* See above, note (12).

(18) This Letter is printed in Dr Heylyn's Examen Hiſtoricum, &c. Appendix, p. 283, &c. Dr Fuller afterwards aſked Dr Coſin's pardon for what he had ſaid as above, relating to him. See Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

pences; which gives but a diſadvantagious idea of the juſtice and honeſty of that Houſe (*w*). In 1642, he was concern'd, with others, in ſending the Plate of Cambridge Univerſity to King Charles I. then at York. For which a furious ſtorm fell upon ſeveral members of that Univerſity, and particularly upon Dr Coſin: who *having*, ſome time before (*x*), been voted unworthy to be a Head or Governor in either of the Univerſities, or to hold or enjoy any eccleſiaſtical promotion; was ejected from his Maſterſhip by a warrant from the Earl of Mancheſter, dated March 13, 1642-3. So that, as he was the firſt that was ſequeſtred, ſo was he alſo the very firſt of his univerſity, who was turned out (*y*). Thus being deprived of all his preferments, and ſtill fearing the worſt that might follow, he thought fit to leave the kingdom, and to withdraw to Paris, in the year 1643. Being ſafely arriv'd to that place, he did, according to King Charles's order and direction, take under his care, and officiate as Chaplain to, ſuch of Queen Henrietta Maria's houſhold as were Proteſtants. With them, and other Engliſh exiles that were daily reſorting to Paris, he form'd a congregation, that aſſembled at firſt in a private houſe, and afterwards in the chapel of Sir Richard Brown Embaſſador from the court of England to that of France. Not long after, he had lodgings aſſign'd him in the Louvre, with a ſmall penſion, on account of the relation he bore to Queen Henrietta (*z*). During his reſidence in this place, he ſhowed, how falſe and groundleſs was the imputation that had been thrown upon him, 'of his being Popiſhly affected.' For, notwithſtanding his great ſtraights, he remained ſteady and unmoved in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion. He kept up the Engliſh Church-Diſcipline, and the form of worſhip appointed by the Common Prayer: He reclaimed ſome that were quite gone over to Popery, and confirmed ſeveral more in the Proteſtant Profeſſion; who by their converſe with Romaniſts, were become wavering, and inclinable to entertain favorable opinions of the Popiſh Tenets (*a*). He alſo had ſeveral Controverſies and Diſputes with divers Jeſuits and Romiſh Prieſts; particularly once with the Prior of the Engliſh Benedictins at Paris [*F*]; in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much learning and ſound reaſoning, that he utterly deſeated the ſuſpicions of his enemies, and much exceeded the very expectations of his friends (*b*). There were made him very great offers of Preferment [*G*], if he would have been tempted thereby, to alter his Religion; but he ſtood proof againſt them all (*c*). He compoſed, during his exile, ſeveral learned works, chiefly againſt the Roman Catholicks, of which we ſhall give an account below. Tho' he was extremely zealous for the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, yet he kept a friendly intercourſe and correſpondence with the Proteſtant Miniſters at Charenton [*H*]; who, on their parts, expreſſed the utmoſt regard for him: and permitted him ſometimes to officiate in their congregations [*I*], according to the rites preſcribed by the book of Common-prayer (*d*). Thus having, during his ſeventeen years exile in France, behaved 'diſcreetly and prudently' even in the judgment of his enemies (*e*); he returned to his native country at the Reſtoration of King Charles II. and took poſſeſſion again of his preferments and dignities. About the end of July

(*w*) Perſecutio Ultimum, p. 23. Nalſon, as above, p. 568.

(*x*) January 22, 1640 41. Nalſon, as above, p. 734.

(*y*) Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 132.

(*z*) Smith, p. 12, 13, 14.

(*a*) See *Examen Hiſtoricum*, ut ſupra, p. 293.

(*b*) Fuller, Ch. Hiſt. B. xi. p. 173.

(*c*) Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 60.

(*d*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 19, 20. *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 291, 292.

(*e*) See D. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. II. edit 1733, p. 388. Mr Neal adds, that the Doctor was 'ſoftened in 'his principles by 'age and ſufferings.'

[*F*] *Particularly once with the Prior of the* Engliſh Benedictins at Paris.] The Prior's name was ——— Robinſon. And the controverſy between him and Dr Coſin was managed both by word and writing. The argument was, concerning *the validity of the ordination of our Prieſts*, &c. *in the Church of* England. And the Doctor had the better ſo far, that he could never get from the Prior any reply to his laſt anſwer. This conference was undertaken to fix a perſon of honour then wavering about that point. The ſum of the conference was written by Dr Coſin to Dr Morley, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, in two letters, bearing date June 11, and July 11, 1645 (19).

(19) Baſire, ubi ſupra, p. 59, 60.

[*G*] *There were made him very great offers of preferment.*] One author ſpeaks upon this point to the following purpoſe (20). Dr Coſin 'being by the violence of the perſecution which was raiſed againſt the 'epiſcopal party, forced to quit his native country, 'and ſeek a retreat among the Papiſts in France, he 'continued a moſt unſhaken Proteſtant, and bold propugnator of the Reformed Religion, even to the hazard 'of his life; and when the neceſſitous condition to 'which he was reduced, and all the advantageous 'offers imaginable were made him to embrace the Roman Communion, yet were not thoſe temptations capable of removing him from his foundation, inſomuch, 'that deſpairing of ever obliging him to change his 'religion, the Papiſts were ſo inraged at him, as, I 'have heard it from his own mouth, frequently to 'threaten him with aſſaſſination, and that he ſhould 'not eſcape piſtol or ponyard; and in revenge, which 'I have heard him aver was the moſt ſenſible affliction that ever befel him in his whole life, they inveigled his only ſon from him to become a Papiſt (21).' We may add this other teſtimony of Dr Coſin's attachment to the Reformed Religion.—'Whilſt he remained in France, he was the Atlas of the Proteſtant 'Religion, ſupporting the ſame with his piety and 'learning, confirming the wavering therein, yea, daily 'adding proſelytes (not of the meaneſt rank) there-'unto (22).'

(20) Nalſon, as above, p. 519.

(21) He was educated in grammar learning in a Jeſuit's ſchool (as were many others of our youths during the Civil War) which corrupted him. Smith, p. 13.

[*H*] *He kept a friendly intercourſe and correſpondence with the Proteſtant Miniſters at* Charenton.] One author indeed tells us (23), that 'after getting over 'into France, he neither joined with the Church of 'French Proteſtants, at Charenton, nigh Paris, nor 'with the Papiſts,——but confined himſelf to the 'Church of old Engliſh Proteſtants therein.' But Dr Coſin, in oppoſition to the former part of that aſſertion, declared to all the world, that he never refuſed to join with the Proteſtants there, or any where elſe, in all things wherein they joined with the Church of England (24). And that he was conſtant in the ſame opinion, appears by a letter of his, dated from Paris, Feb. 7, 1650, to one Mr Cordel, then at Blois, who ſeemed ſhy to communicate with the Proteſtants there, upon the ſcruple of their inorderly ordination: in which letter he has this paſſage,—'To ſpeak my mind freely 'to you, I would not wiſh any of ours abſolutely to 'refuſe communicating in theyre Church, or determine 'it to be unlawful, for fear of a greater ſcandal that 'may thereupon ariſe, than we can tell how to an-'ſwer or excuſe — (25).'

(22) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

(23) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(24) In his Letter, inſerted in Heylyn's Examen Hiſtoricum, p. 283, &c.

[*I*] *And permitted him ſometimes to officiate in their congregations.*] Where he baptized, married, and had even ſome perſons ordained Prieſts and Deacons by Engliſh Biſhops, according to the ſeveral forms in the book of Common Prayer. With their conſent likewiſe he did, in the year 1645, 'ſolemnly, in his 'prieſtly habit, with his ſurplice, and with the office 'of burial uſed in the Church of England, inter, at 'Charenton, the body of Sir William Carnaby, Knt. 'not without the troubleſome contradiction and 'contention of the Romiſh Curate of that pariſh (26).'

(25) See Baſire, p. 58, 59; and note [*P*] No. 2.

(26) Baſire, p. 58; and Smith, p. 19. See particularly Examen Hiſtoricum, p. 291, 292.

[*K*] *He*

July 1660, he came to his Deanery at Peterborough, and was the firſt that read the Common-prayer in that cathedral, after the late times of confuſion (*f*). But here he was not ſuffered to reſt; for the King deſigned, a very little while after, to make him Dean of Durham: But reflecting on his ſufferings, and upon his conſtant attendance and ſervices beyond the ſeas, he nominated him Biſhop of that rich See (*g*). Accordingly, he was conſecrated on the 2d of December 1660 in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*h*). As ſoon as he could go down into his Dioceſe, he ſet about reforming many Abuſes that had crept in there during the late Anarchy; and by his generous and hoſpitable temper, accompanied with a kind and courteous deportment, he gained an univerſal reſpect and eſteem (*i*). But he chiefly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his very great munificence, and charity, and by a public ſpirit. For, conſidering himſelf principally as ſteward of the large revenues belonging to his See, he laid out a great ſhare of them, in repairing or rebuilding the ſeveral edifices belonging to the Biſhopric of Durham, which had either been demoliſh'd, or neglected, during the civil wars. For inſtance, he repaired the caſtle at Biſhop's Aukland [*K*]; and that at Durham, which he enlarg'd with ſome additional buildings: And repair'd the Biſhop's houſe at Darlington, then very ruinous. He alſo enriched his new chapel at Aukland, and that in the caſtle of Durham, with ſeveral pieces of gilt plate, books, and other coſtly ornaments, to remain to his ſucceſſors in the Biſhopric for ever: the charge of all which buildings, repairs, ornaments, &c, amounted to no leſs than twenty ſix thouſand pounds (*k*). He likewiſe built and endowed two Hoſpitals; the one at Durham for eight poor people, the other at Aukland for four; the annual revenue of the firſt being ſeventy pounds, and of the other thirty pounds: And near his Hoſpital at Durham rebuilt the School-Houſes, to the charge of three hundred pounds. He alſo built a Library near the caſtle of Durham; the charge whereof, and pictures wherewith he adorned it, amounted to eight hundred pounds; and gave books thereto, to the value of two thouſand pounds; as alſo an annual penſion of twenty marks for ever to a Library-keeper. The College of diſſolved Prebends at Aukland, purchaſed by Sir Arthur Haſelrigg, and by him forfeited to the King, which King Charles II. gave to Biſhop Coſin, in fee, he gave to his ſucceſſors, Biſhops of Durham for ever; the value thereof being three hundred and twenty pounds. He rebuilt the Eaſt end of the chapel at Peterhouſe in Cambridge, which coſt three hundred and twenty pounds; and gave in books to the library of that college, a thouſand pounds. He founded eight ſcholarſhips in the ſame univerſity, namely five in Peter-houſe, of ten pounds a year, each; and three in Gonvill and Caius College of twenty nobles a-piece *per Annum*. Both which, together with a proviſion of eight pounds yearly, to the common cheſt of theſe two colleges reſpectively, amounted to two thouſand five hundred pounds. He likewiſe made an augmentation of ſixteen pounds a year to the vicarage of St Andrews at Aukland (*l*). The reſt of his numerous Benefactions we ſhall give an account of, in the note [*L*]. In a word, this generous Biſhop, during the eleven years

(*f*) See Mr Sim. Gunton's Hiſt. of Peterburgh, Supplem. p. 339.

(*g*) Baſire, p. 49.

(*h*) Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, &c. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1728, fol. p. 323. Dr Sandcroft preached the Conſecration Sermon. Vid. Smith, p 21.

(*i*) Smith, p. 21, 22, 23. In 1661, he was one of the Commiſſioners at the Savoy Conference, where he yielded to Some moderating conceſſions. See Life of R. Baxter. fol. l. i. Part ii. p. 305.

(*k*) Dr Smith ſays, it was only near ſixteen thouſand pounds. *Vita*, ut ſupra, p. 24, 25.

(*l*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 25.

[*K*] *He repaired the caſtle at* Biſhop's Aukland.] This (the chief country-ſeat of the Biſhops of Durham,) was, upon the ſeizure of the Biſhops land, beſtowed upon Sir Arthur Haſelrigg; who deſigning to make it his principal ſeat, and not liking the old-faſhioned building, reſolved to erect a new and beautiful fabrick, all of one pile, according to the moſt elegant faſhion of thoſe times. To fit himſelf therefore with materials for this his new houſe, he pulled down a moſt magnificent and large chapel, built by Anthony Beke, Biſhop of Durham, in the time of King Edward I. with the ſtone whereof, and an addition of what was deficient, he erected his new fabrick in a large court, on the eaſt ſide of the caſtle. But Biſhop Coſin, ſoon after his conſecration, taking notice that the greateſt part of the materials, uſed in that building, were taken from the above-mentioned conſecrated chapel, he not only refuſed to make uſe of it for his habitation, though it was commodiouſly contrived, and nobly built, but took it wholly down, and with the ſtone thereof built another beautiful chapel on the north ſide of that great court; and, under the middle iſle thereof, cauſed a convenient vault to be made for his own ſepulture (27).

(27) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 82.

[*L*] *The reſt of his numerous benefactions*, &c.] They were as follows. He gave to the Cathedral at Durham a fair carved Lectern, and Litany-deſk, with a large ſcallop'd ſilver patten, gilt, for the uſe of the communicants there, which coſt *forty-five pounds*.—Upon the new-building of the Biſhop's Court, Exchequer, and Chancery, and towards the erecting of two ſeſſions-houſes at Durham, he gave *a thouſand pounds*.——Moreover, he gave towards the redemption of Chriſtian captives, at Algier, *five hundred pounds*.——Towards the relief of the diſtreſſed loyal party in England, *eight hundred pounds*.—For repairing the banks in Howdenſhire, *a hundred marks*.——Towards the repair of St Paul's Cathedral, in London, *fifty pounds*. By *his Will* he bequeathed to the poor of his hoſpitals at Durham and Aukland, to be diſtributed at his funeral, *ſix pounds*.—To the poor people of the country, coming to his funeral, *twenty pounds*.—To poor priſoners detained for debt, in the goals of Durham, York, Peterborough, Cambridge, and Norwich, *fifty pounds*.—To the poor people within the precincts of the Cathedral at Norwich, and within the pariſh of St Andrews there, in which he was born and educated in his minority, *twenty pounds*.—To the poor of Durham, Aukland, Darlington, Stockton, Gateſhead, and Branſpeth, (all in the Biſhoprick of Durham) *thirty pounds*.—To the poor in the pariſhes of of Cheſter in the Street, Houghton le Spring, North-Allerton, Creike, and Howden, (all lordſhips belonging to the Biſhops of Durham) *forty pounds*.—Towards the re-building of St Paul's Cathedral, in London, when it ſhould be raiſed five yards from the ground, *a hundred pounds*.—To the Cathedral of Norwich, whereof the one half to be beſtowed on a marble-tablet, with an inſcription, in memory of Dr John Overall, ſome time Biſhop there, (whoſe Chaplain he had been) the reſt for providing ſome uſeful ornaments for the Altar, *forty pounds*.—Towards the re-edifying of the north and ſouth-ſides of the College-chapel at Peterhouſe, in Cambridge, ſuitable to the eaſt and weſt ends, already by him perfected, *two hundred pounds*.—Towards the new building of a Chapel at Emanuel-College, in Cambridge, *fifty pounds*.——To the children of Mr John Heyward, late Prebendary of Litchfield, as a teſtimony of his gratitude to their deceaſed father, who, in his Lordſhip's younger years, placed him with his uncle, Biſhop Overall, *twenty pounds* a-piece.—To the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, to be employed for the uſe of the poor in that town, *a hundred pounds*.—To the poor of Durham, Branſpeth, and Biſhop's Aukland, to be diſtributed as his two daughters (the Lady Gerard, and the Lady Burton) ſhould think beſt, *a hun-*

years he ſate in the ſee of Durham, is ſaid to have ſpent above two thouſand pounds a year, in pious and charitable uſes (*m*). The two laſt years of his life he enjoyed but a very indifferent ſtate of Health, being very much afflicted with the ſtone. At length the *roaring pains* of that diſtemper, as he uſed to call them; together with a pectoral Dropſy; put an end to his moſt valuable life (*n*), at his houſe in Pall-mall Weſtminſter, on the 15th of January 1671-2, when he was ſeventy ſeven years, one month, and ſixteen days old (*o*). In his Will, dated December 11, 1671, he made a large and open declaration of his Faith [*M*]. About the year 1625, he married Frances daughter of Marmaduke Blakeſton M. A. (*p*). by which he had a ſon, whom he diſinherited on account of his embracing Popery [*N*]; and four daughters, one married to Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart. another to Sir ——— Burton, Bart. and the youngeſt to Dr Denys Granville, brother to the Earl of Bath, and afterwards Dean of Durham (*q*). As for the Biſhop's body it was for ſome time depoſited in a vault in London; and in April, 1672, conveyed to Biſhop's Aukland in the dioceſe of Durham: where on the 29th of that month, it was buried in the chapel belonging to the palace, under a Tomb of black marble, with an inſcription [*O*] prepar'd by the Biſhop in his life-time (*r*). We ſhall give an account of his works in the note [*P*]. As to his perſonal qualifications; the Biſhop was tall and erect

(*m*) Baſire, ubi ſupra, p. 79, 80.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 86, 87.

(*o*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 27, 28.

(*p*) Archdeacon of the Eaſt Riding, and Prebendary of York and Durham, *&c.* See Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 100, 180, 269; and Baſire, as above, p. 39.

(*q*) Smith, p. 26, and from private information.

(*r*) Smith, p. 28. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 251. The Burial Service was read by Guy Carleton, Biſhop of Briſtol and Prebendary of Durham; and Dr If. Baſire, preached the funeral Sermon. Smith, ibid.

a hundred pounds.—To ſome of his domeſtick ſervants he gave *a hundred marks*, to ſome *fifty pounds*, and to the reſt half a year's wages, over and above their laſt quarter's pay (28).

(28) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 83, 84, 85; and Smith, p. 25, 26, 27.

[*M*] *In his Will——he made a large and open declaration of his Faith.*] Wherein, after repeating the ſubſtance of the Apoſtles and Nicene Creeds, he condemns and rejects whatſoever hereſies or ſchiſms, the ancient catholick and univerſal Church of Chriſt with an unanimous conſent, had rejected and condemned; together with all the modern fautors of the ſame hereſies; ſectaries, and phanaticks, who, being carried on with an evil ſpirit, do falſely give out, they are inſpired of God. As the Anabaptiſts, new Independents, and Preſbyterians of our country, a kind of men hurried away with the ſpirit of malice, diſobedience, and ſedition.——' Moreover, (adds he) I do profeſs, ' with holy aſſeveration, and from my very heart, that ' I am now, and ever have been from my youth, altogether free and averſe from the corruptions and impertinent new-fangled, or *papiſtical*, ſuperſtitions ' and doctrines,—long ſince introduced, contrary to ' the Holy ſcripture, and the rules and cuſtoms of the ' ancient Fathers. But in what part of the world ſoever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of ' Chriſt, and profeſſing the true Catholick Faith and ' Religion, worſhipping and calling upon God the ' Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, with one ' heart and voice, if I be now hindered actually to ' join with them, either by diſtance of countries, or ' variance amongſt men, or by any hindrance whatſoever; yet always in my mind and affection I join ' and unite with them: which I deſire to be chiefly ' underſtood of Proteſtants, and the beſt Reformed ' Churches, &c.' This part of his Will was written in Latin, and the latter part, containing his benefactions, in Engliſh (29).

(29) See Baſire, p. 111, *&c.* Smith, p. 55, *&c.*

[*N*] *He had a ſon, whom he diſinherited on account of his embracing Popery.*] See above, note [*G*] of this article. He was prevailed upon, not only to embrace Popery, but alſo to take Religious Orders in the Church of Rome; and though Dr Coſin uſed all the ways imaginable, and even the authority of the French King, which, by his intereſt, he had procured, to regain him out of their power, and from their perſuaſion, yet all proved ineffectual. Whereupon he diſinherited him, allowing him only an annuity of one hundred pounds (30). He pretended to turn again, but relapſed before the Biſhop's deceaſe.

(30) Nalſon, as above, p. 519; and Smith, p. 13, 26.

[*O*] *With an inſcription*] Which runs thus.

In non morituram memoriam.
JOHANNIS COSIN
Epiſcopi Dunelmenſis,
Qui hoc Sacellum conſtruxit,
Ornavit, & Deo conſecravit
Ann. M,DC,LXV.
In Feſto S. Petri.
Obiit XV *die Menſis Januarii*
Anno Domini, MDCLXXI.
Et hic ſepultus eſt, expectans
Felicem corporis ſui Reſurrectionem,
Ac vitam in coelis æternam.
Requieſcat in pace.

Round a marble ſtone on the floor, are alſo theſe words engraved.

Beati mortui
Qui moriuntur in Domino,
Requieſcunt enim
A laboribus ſuis (31).

(31) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 28; and J. le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, from 1650 to 1679, p. 172.

i. e. To the never-dying memory of John Coſin, Biſhop of Durham, who built and adorned this Chapel, and conſecrated it to God in 1665, June 29. He died the 15th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1671, and is buried here, waiting for the happy reſurrection of his body, and eternal life in heaven. Let him reſt in peace. Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours.

[*P*] *We ſhall give an account of his works*, &c.] Beſides his *Collection of Private Devotions*, mentioned above, he publiſhed, 'A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the ' Canon of the Holy Scripture: or, The certain and ' indubitable Books thereof, as they are received in ' the Church of England.' London, 1657, *4to.* reprinted in 1672. This hiſtory is deduced from the time of the Jewiſh Church, to the year 1546, that is, the time when the Council of Trent corrupted, and made unwarrantable additions to, the ancient Canon of the Holy Scriptures. Conſequently it was directed againſt the Papiſts, and was written by the author during his exile at Paris. He dedicated it to Dr M. Wrenn, Biſhop of Ely, then a priſoner in the tower. Dr P. Gunning had the care of the edition (32). ——Since the Biſhop's deceaſe the following books and tracts of his have been publiſhed. I. 'A letter to Dr Collins, ' concerning the Sabbath,' dated from Peterhouſe, Jan. 24, 1635 (33). In which, ſpeaking firſt of the morality of the ſabbath, he affirms, that the keeping of that particular day was not moral, neither by *nature* binding all men, nor by *precept* binding any other men but the Jews, nor them further than Chriſt's time. But then, adds he, whether one day of ſeven, at leaſt, do not ſtill remain immutably to be kept by *Us* Chriſtians, that have God's will and example before, and by virtue of the rules of reaſon and religion, is the queſtion? And for this he decides in the affirmative. Then he proves, that the keeping of our Sunday is immutable, as being grounded upon divine inſtitution, and Apoſtolical Tradition, which he confirms by ſeveral inſtances. Next he ſhews, that the Schoolmen were the firſt who began to diſpute, or deny, this day to be of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, on purpoſe to ſet up the Pope's power, to whom, they ſaid, it belongeth, either to change or abrogate the day. Towards the end, he lays down theſe three poſitions againſt the Puritans: 1. 'The obſervation of the Sunday in every week is ' not commanded us by the fourth commandment, as ' they ſay it is. 2. Nor is our Sunday to be obſerved ' according to the rule of the fourth commandment, ' as they ſay it is. 3. Nor hath it the qualities and ' conditions of the Sabbath annext to it, as they ſay ' it hath.' II. There is publiſhed, 'A Letter from ' our author to Mr Cordel, dated Paris, Feb. 7, 1650. See above note [*H*]. It is printed at the end of a pamphlet, intitled, 'The Judgment of the Church of ' England,

(32) Baſire, p. 66; and Smith, p. 17.

(33) And printed in *Bibliotheca Literaria*, &c. Lond. 1723, *4to*, No. v. p. 33, *&c.*

erect, and had a grave and comely preſence. He had a ſound underſtanding, well improved with all kinds of uſeful learning.' And, as for his hoſpitality, generoſity, and charity, they were ſo very conſpicuous and extenſive; that he is juſtly reckoned to have been one of the moſt munificent, if not the moſt munificent, of all the Biſhops of Durham (*s*). Among many other ſervices he did to his ſee, one was; the obtaining a releaſe (in compenſation of the loſs that ſee ſuffered by taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries,) of the annuity, or penſion, of one thouſand pounds (*t*), charged upon that Biſhopric, ever ſince Queen Elizabeth's days (*u*).

(*s*) See Baſire, p. 37—103.

(*t*) Or, eight hundred and fourſcore pounds. Baſire, p. 56.

(*u*) See Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 228, 311. This 1000*l.* was for keeping a garriſon at Berwick, againſt the Scots.

'England, in the caſe of Lay-baptiſm, and of Diſſenters baptiſm (34).' III. *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica, priſca, caſta, defoecata: omnibus Chriſtianis Monarchis, Principibus, Ordinibus, oſtenſa. Anno* MDCLII. *i.e.* A Short Scheme of the ancient and pure doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England (35). Written at the requeſt of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon (36). IV. *Hiſtoria Tranſubſtantationis Papalis. Cui præmittitur, atque opponitur, tum S. Scripturæ, tum Veterum Patrum, & Reformatarum Eccleſiarum Doctrina Catholica, de Sacris Symbolis, & præſentiâ Chriſti in Sacramento Euchariſtiæ. i. e.* The Hiſtory of Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation, &c. written by the author at Paris, for the uſe of ſome of his countrymen, who were frequently attacked upon that point by the Papiſts. It was publiſhed by Dr Durell, at London, 1675, *8vo.* and tranſlated into Engliſh in 1676, by Luke de Beaulieu, *8vo* (37). There is a *Second Part* ſtill in manuſcript (38). V. 'The differences in the chief 'points of religion, between the Roman Catholicks 'and us of the Church of England; together with the 'agreements which we, for our parts, profeſs, and are 'ready to embrace, if they, for theirs, were as ready 'to accord with us in the ſame. Written to the 'Counteſs of Peterborough (39).' VI. 'Notes on 'the Book of Common-Prayer.' Publiſhed by Dr William Nicholls, at the end of his Comment on the Book of Common-Prayer, Lond. 1710, *fol.* VII. 'Account of a Conference in Paris, between Cyril, 'Archbiſhop of Trapezond, and Dr John Coſin.' Printed in the ſame book.——The following pieces were alſo written by Biſhop Coſin, but never printed 1. 'An Anſwer to a Popiſh Pamphlet, pretending, that 'St Cyprian was a Papiſt. 2. An Anſwer to four 'queries of a Roman Catholick, about the Proteſtant 'Religion.' 3. 'An Anſwer to a paper delivered 'by a Popiſh Biſhop to the Lord Inchequin.' 4. '*Annales Eccleſiaſtici*, imperfect.' 5. An Anſwer to 'Father Robinſon's Papers, concerning the validity of 'the Ordinations of the Church of England.' See above, note [*F*]. 6. '*Hiſtoria Conciliorum*, imperfect. 7. 'Againſt the forſakers of the Church of England, 'and their ſeducers in this time of her tryal. 8. '*Chronologia Sacra*, imperfect. 9. A Treatiſe con-'cerning the abuſe of auricular confeſſion in the Church 'of Rome (40).' By all which learned works, as one obſerves (41), and his abilities, quick apprehenſion, ſolid judgment, variety of reading, &c. manifeſted therein; he hath perpetuated his name to poſterity, and ſufficiently confuted, at the ſame time, the calumnies induſtriouſly ſpread againſt him, of his being a Papiſt, or Popiſhly inclined (42); which brought on him a ſevere perſecution, followed with the plunder of all his goods, the ſequeſtration of his whole eſtate, and a ſeventeen years exile. C

(34) 2d edit. Lond. 1712, 8vo.

(35) Printed at the end of Dr Smith's Life of Biſhop Coſin.

(36) Smith, p. 15.

(37) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

(38) Baſire, p. 67.

(39) Printed at the end of *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, by Biſhop Bull.

(40) Baſire, p. 67, 68.

(41) Fuller, Worthies, in Durham, p. 294.

(42) Therefore, as Dr Smith obſerves, *Erubeſcant jam Schiſmatico-rum filii de parentum avorumq; convitiis, mendaciis, & calumniis, in Coſinum*, p. 18.

COTES (ROGER) a celebrated Mathematician and Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy in the univerſity of Cambridge in the eighteenth Century. He was the ſon of the Reverend Mr Robert Cotes, Rector of Burbage in Leiceſterſhire, which was alſo the place of his nativity (*a*) [*A*]. He was born there July the 10th, 1682, and received his firſt education at Leiceſter ſchool, where, when he was between eleven and twelve years of age, he ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to the mathematicks, which being obſerved by his uncle the Reverend Mr John Smith, father to the worthy Dr Robert Smith, his ſucceſſor as Plumian Profeſſor in the univerſity of Cambridge, he gave him all imaginable encouragement, and prevailed upon his father, to ſend him for ſome time to his houſe in Lincolnſhire, that he might aſſiſt him in thoſe ſtudies, where he laid the ſolid foundation (*b*) of that deep and extenſive knowledge in thoſe ſciences, for which he was afterwards ſo deſervedly famous. He removed from thence to London, and was ſent to St Paul's ſchool, where under the care of Dr Thomas Gale, and Mr John Poſtlethwait ſucceſſive maſters, he made a great progreſs in claſſical learning, and yet found ſo much leiſure as to keep up a conſtant correſpondence with his uncle, not only in Mathematicks, but alſo in Metaphyſicks, Philoſophy, and Divinity (*c*). His next remove was to Cambridge, where April 6th, 1699, at the age of ſeventeen, he was admitted Penſioner of Trinity-college in that univerſity, and at michaelmas 1705 was choſen Fellow of his college (*d*). He was at the ſame time tutor to Anthony Earl of Harold, and the Lord Henry de Grey ſons to the then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Kent, to which moſt noble family Mr Cotes had the honour to be related (*e*). In January following he was appointed Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, and Experimental Philoſophy, upon the foundation made by Thomas Plume, Doctor in Divinity, archdeacon of Rocheſter, being the firſt that enjoyed that office, to which he was choſen for his great learning and eminent abilities (*f*). He took the degree of maſter of arts in 1706, and in 1713 he entered into holy orders. The ſame year, at the deſire of Dr Richard Bentley, he publiſhed at Cambridge the ſecond edition

(*a*) From the information of Dr Robert Smith, Maſter of Trinity college in Cambridge.

(*b*) From the information beforementioned.

(*c*) A fact often mentioned by the late Profeſſor Saunderſon.

(*d*) From the information of Dr Smith.

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 38.

(*f*) Knight's Life of Dr Colet, Dean of St Paul's, p. 430.

[*A*] *Which was alſo the place of his nativity.*] The little town of Burbage, or rather Burbach, lying in Sparkenhoe-hundred, in Leiceſterſhire, and at the diſtance of about ſix miles from Leiceſter; is remarkable for it's once having had an Earl for it's Rector (1). This noble and reverend perſon was Anthony de Grey, the eighth Earl of Kent, who was Miniſter there at the time that ancient title deſcended to him, in 1639, and to his honour be it remembered, that he did not think himſelf obliged to alter his manner of living in the leaſt, he kept a very hoſpitable houſe before, and was always glad of the company of his brethren, in which courſe he continued, excuſing his attendance in parliament, on account of his age and infirmities, which, however, he would not ſuffer to excuſe him from the duties of his function, preaching conſtantly as long as it was poſſible for him to be carried up into the pulpit (2). He was great grandfather to the late Henry, Earl, Marquis, and at length Duke of Kent, to whom, as deſcended from a daughter of Major Farmer, in the ſame county, our author, Mr Cotes was, nearly related.

(1) Knight's Life of Dean Colet, p. 429, 430.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 299.

edition of Sir Iſaac Newton's Mathematical Principles of Natural Philoſophy, with all the improvements which the author had made to that time, to which he prefixed a moſt excellent preface (*g*). This added greatly to the high reputation he had already acquired for his profound knowledge in the abſtruſeſt parts of the mathematicks, amongſt the greateſt men of the age. He wrote alſo a deſcription of the great Meteor, that was ſeen on the 6th of March 1715-6, which was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*h*) [*B*] Theſe were the only fruits of his learned and laborious ſtudies, that appeared in his life-time, but he left behind him ſeveral admirable and judicious tracts, part of which, after his deceaſe, his learned kinſman and worthy ſucceſſor in his profeſſorſhip, Dr Robert Smith, gave to the publick, which were received with univerſal approbation [*C*]. He died

(*g*) This was the ſecond edition of that moſt valuable Work, and the Preface is conſidered as a maſterpiece in it's kind.

(*h*) No. 365.

[*B*] *Which was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] This curious account is contained in a letter to Robert Dannye, D. D. Rector of Spofferth, in Yorkſhire; which though it went out of his hands in his life-time, and might be very probably tranſmitted to the Royal Society before his death, yet it was in ſome reſpect a poſthumous work, ſince it did not appear 'till after our author's deceaſe; there are two things in it very remarkable, the firſt is the clearneſs and conciſeneſs with which the facts are deſcribed, the other the plainneſs and perſpicuity of the manner in which he accounts for them; the reader will not be diſpleaſed to have a taſte of both (3). 'It was, ſays he, after ſeven 'before I had notice of this uncommon ſight, at firſt 'I ſaw only two or three of the triangular ſtreams towards the north and north-weſt: Theſe were not of 'long duration, but were ſucceeded by others, which 'appeared, and vaniſhed again by turns, ariſing from, and 'aſcending up to places in the Heavens of very different altitudes above the Horizon. From the time 'I began to view them, they continued to aſcend more 'and more copiouſly, being propagated ſtill further and 'further from the north towards the weſt and eaſt, 'and directed always to the heads of *Gemini*, 'till at 'length when they ſeemed almoſt to meet at the point 'of convergence, they began to aſcend up towards it 'from the ſouthern parts alſo, and all round it; inſomuch that at a quarter after ſeven we had a perfect 'canopy of rays over us: the bottom of this canopy 'did no where reach down to the horizon, for near the 'north, where it deſcended the moſt, it's altitude was 'about ten or fifteen degrees, and near the ſouth 'where it deſcended the leaſt, it's altitude was about 'forty degrees. It remained in this ſtate about two 'minutes, during which time we ſaw ſeveral colours, 'ſome fainter and more permanent, others brighter, 'but quickly vaniſhing. Thus in the weſt I obſerved 'the rays to be tinged for ſome conſiderable time, 'with an obſcure and heavy red; and in one of the 'brighteſt ſtreams, at another time there ſuddenly 'broke out a very vivid red, which was inſtantly 'and gradually ſucceeded by the other priſmatick colours; all vaniſhing in about a ſecond of time. 'Theſe colours affected the ſenſe ſo ſtrongly, that I 'thought them to be more intenſe than thoſe of the 'brighteſt rainbow I had ever ſeen. A ſmall time before the appearance loſt it's perfection, we were ſurprized to obſerve a ſhaking and trembling of the 'ſtreams, chiefly in their upper parts; during which 'their convergence was confounded, and the whole 'Heaven ſeemed to be in a convulſion. At the ſame 'time I could perceive waves of light towards the 'north, which moved upwards, and in their motion 'croſſed the ſtreams lying parallel to the horizon. 'Theſe waves were different from thoſe broad ones, 'which you mention, and which I alſo took notice of: 'Their breadth ſeemed to be about a degree, their 'length about ninety degrees, and I can compare them 'to nothing better, than to thoſe ſlender waves upon 'the ſurface of ſtagnant waters, which are made by 'caſting in a ſmall ſtone.——— An irregular guſt of 'wind blowing upon and ſhaking the columns, was I 'ſuppoſe the cauſe of that trembling which appeared 'in the triangular ſtreams; and the cauſe alſo which 'deſtroyed that fine appearance of the canopy. The 'ſlender circular waves ſeen at the ſame time, might 'alſo be explained from the ſame cauſe. I need not 'detain you any longer by endeavouring to make out 'ſome other particulars of this unuſual appearance: 'I fear I have been already too tedious. However 'I will not omit to mention a very eaſy contrivance by 'which the thing may be tolerably well repreſented to 'view. Take a hoop and round about it faſten ſe'veral ſtreight ſticks parallel to each other, but all in'clined to the plane of the hoop; hold this plane pa'rallel to the horizon, and in that poſture move it 'with ſticks over a candle, the ſhadows of the ſticks 'upon the ceiling of your room, will converge to a 'point not directly over the candle (as they would have 'done had the ſticks been perpendicular to the plane 'of the hoop) but to the point in which a line drawn 'from the candle parallel to the ſticks, ſhall interſect 'the plane of the ceiling.'

(3) Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. XXXII. No. 365. p. 66.

[*C*] *Were received with univerſal approbation.*] The title of this work at large runs thus. HARMONIA MENSURARUM, *five Analyſis & Syntheſis per rationum angulorum menſuras promotæ: accedunt alia Opuſcula Mathematica: per* Rogerum Cotesium. *Edidit et auxit* Robertus Smith, *Collegii S.* Trinitatis *apud* Cantabrigienſes *ſocius, Aſtronomiæ & Experimentalis Philoſophiæ poſt* Cotesium *profeſſor.* Cantabrigiæ 1722, 4*to*. That is The Harmony *of* Meaſures: *or* Analyſis *and* Syntheſis *advanced by the meaſures of* Ratio's *and* Angles. *To which are added other Mathematical pieces by* Roger Cotes. *Publiſhed and augmented by* Robert Smith, *Fellow of Trinity College in* Cambridge, *and ſucceſſor to the ſaid* R. Cotes, *as Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy.* This work is dedicated by the learned editor to Dr *Richard Mead.* He next proceeds to give us, in a very elegant and affectionate Preface, a copious account of the performance itſelf; the pieces annexed to it, and of ſuch other of the author's work as are yet unpubliſhed: He tells us how much this work was admired by the judicious Profeſſor *Sanderſon*, and how dear the author of it was to the late learned Dr Bentley, to whom he gives the higheſt, that is the juſteſt, commendations. This book conſiſts of three parts. In the firſt, called *Logometria*, the author's chief deſign is to ſhew how that ſort of problems, which are uſually reduced to the quadrature of the Hyperbola and Ellipſis, may be reduced to the meaſures of Ratio's and Angles, and afterwards be ſolved more readily by the canon of Logarithms, Sines, and Tangents. He defines the meaſures of Ratio's to be quantities of any kind, whoſe magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the Ratio's to be meaſured. In this ſenſe any canon of Logarithms is a ſyſtem of numeral meaſures of the Ratio's of the abſolute numbers to an Unit: The parts of the aſymptote of the Logiſtic line intercepted between its ordinates, are a ſyſtem of linear meaſures of the Ratio's of thoſe ordinates: The areas of an hyperbola, intercepted between it's ordinates to the aſymptote, are a ſyſtem of plane meaſures of the Ratio's of thoſe ordinates: And ſince there may be infinite ſyſtems of meaſures, according as various kinds of quantities are made uſe of; ſuch as number, time, velocity, and the like; or according as the meaſures of any one ſyſtem may be all increaſed or diminiſhed in any given proportion; in ſuch variety, much confuſion may poſſibly ariſe, as to the kind and abſolute magnitudes of particular meaſures, which happen to fall under conſideration. Our author very happily removes this difficulty, by ſhewing, that the nature of the ſubject points out the meaſure of a certain immutable Ratio, for a modulus in all ſyſtems whereby to determine the kind and abſolute magnitudes of all other meaſures in each ſyſtem. The firſt propoſition is to find the meaſures of any propoſed Ratio. This he conſiders in a way ſo ſimple and general, as naturally leads to the notion and definition of a modulus; namely, that it is an invariable quantity in each ſyſtem, which bears the ſame proportion to the increment of the meaſure of any propoſed Ratio, as the increaſing term of the Ratio bears to it's own increment. He then ſhews that the meaſure

died, to the regret of the univerſity in general, and more eſpecially of ſuch as were addicted to

meaſure of any given Ratio is as the modulus of the ſyſtem from whence it is taken, and that the modulus in every ſyſtem is always equal to the meaſure of a certain determinate and immutable Ratio, which he therefore calls the Ratio modularis. He ſhews that this Ratio is expreſſed by theſe numbers 2,7182818, &c. to 1, or by 1 to 0,3678794, &c. ſo that in Briggs's canon, the Logarithm of this Ratio is the modulus of that ſyſtem: In the Logiſtic line, the given ſubtangent is the modulus of that ſyſtem. In the hyperbola, the given parallellogram contained by an ordinate to the aſymptote, and the abſciſs from the center, is the modulus of that ſyſtem, and in other ſyſtems the modulus is generally ſome remarkable quantity. In the ſecond propoſition, he gives a conciſe uncommon method, for calculating Briggs's canon of Logarithms, together, with rules for finding intermediate Logarithms, and numbers, even beyond the limits of the canon. In the third propoſition, he conſtructs any ſyſtem of meaſures by a canon of Logarithms, not only when the meaſure of ſome one Ratio is given, but alſo without that datum, by ſeeking the modulus of the ſyſtem by the rule above-mentioned. In the 4th 5th and 6th propoſitions, he ſquares the hyperbola, deſcribes the logiſtic line, and equiangular ſpiral, by a canon of Logarithms; and ſhews ſome curious uſes of theſe propoſitions in their ſcholia. Take an eaſy example of the logometrical method in the common problem for finding the denſity of the atmoſphere. Suppoſing gravity uniform, every one knows that if altitudes are taken in any arithmetical progreſſion, the denſities of the air in thoſe altitudes will be in a geometrical progreſſion, that is, the altitudes are the meaſures of the Ratio's of the denſities below, and in thoſe altitudes; and ſo the difference of any two altitudes is the meaſure of the Ratio of the denſities in theſe altitudes. Now to determine the abſolute or real magnitude of theſe meaſures, the author ſhews *à priori*, that the modulus of the ſyſtem is the altitude of the atmoſphere, when reduced every where to the ſame denſity as below. The modulus therefore is given (as bearing the ſame proportion to the altitude of the mercury in the barometer, as the ſpecific gravity of mercury does to the ſpecifick gravity of air) and conſequently the whole ſyſtem is given. For ſince in all ſyſtems the meaſures of the ſame Ratio's are analogous among themſelves, the Logarithm of the Ratio of the air's denſity in any two altitudes, will be to the modulus of the canon (that is to the Logarithm of the Ratio modularis defined above) as the difference of thoſe altitudes is to the aforeſaid given altitude of the homogeneous atmoſphere. He concludes the Logometria with a general ſcholium, containing great variety of elegant conſtructions, both logometrical and trigonometrical, ſuch as give the length of curves, either geometrical or mechanical, their area's and centers of gravity, the ſolids generated from them, and the ſurfaces of theſe ſolids, together with ſeveral curious problems in Natural Philoſophy, concerning the attraction of bodies, the denſity and reſiſtance of fluids, and the trajectories of planets. Several of theſe problems have two caſes, one conſtructed by the meaſure of a Ratio, and the other by the meaſure of an angle. The great affinity and beautiful harmony of the meaſures in theſe caſes has given occaſion to the title of the book. The meaſures of angles are defined to be quantities of any kind, whoſe magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Such may be the arcs or ſectors of any circle, or any other quantities of time, velocity, or reſiſtance, analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Every ſyſtem of theſe meaſures has likewiſe it's modulus, homogeneous to the meaſures in that ſyſtem, and may be computed by the trigonometrical canon of ſines and tangents, juſt as the meaſures of Ratio's by the canon of Logarithms; for the given modulus in each ſyſtem, bears the ſame proportion to the meaſure of any given angle, as the Radius of a circle bears to an arc, which ſubtends that angle, or the ſame as this conſtant number of degrees 57,29577 95130 bears to the number of degrees in the ſaid angle. Upon the whole our author expreſſes himſelf thus. 'From 'theſe examples it will lie wholly in the power of able 'Geometricians to form a judgment of our method, 'which if they ſhall approve, they may carry it ſtill 'farther, and thereby conſiderably extend it's uſes. A 'vaſt field lies open, in which they may exert their a-'bilities; but eſpecially if they add to Logometrics, the 'aſſiſtances that may be derived from trigonometry for 'that there is a wonderful affinity and connection be-'tween theſe, I ſhall plainly make appear. I can 'hardly believe that any principles can be deviſed more 'general than theſe; as mathematicks contains ſcarce 'any thing elſe within it's compaſs, than the theory 'of angles and ratio's. Neither will any one deſire a 'more commodious method, who conſiders the facility 'in theſe matters, derived to us from thoſe extenſive 'tables, as well of the logarithms of whole numbers, as 'of ſigns and tangents, which were the valuable 'effects of our predeceſſors, laudable induſtry. To 'this end I have added ſome theorems both logome-'trical and trigonometrical, &c.' The reaſon which induced the author to aſſert his principles to be ſo general, will appear farther by an inſtance or two. In the problem already mentioned, he meaſures the ratio of the air's denſities in any altitudes, by the altitudes themſelves, making uſe of the altitude of an uniform atmoſphere for the modulus. So likewiſe when he conſiders the velocities acquired, and the ſpaces deſcribed, in given times, by a body projected upwards or downwards, in a reſiſting medium with any given velocity; he ſhews that the times of deſcent added to a given time, are the meaſures of ratio's to a given modulus of time; whoſe terms are the ſum and difference of the ultimate velocity and the preſent velocities that are acquired, that the times of aſcent taken from a given time are the meaſures of angles to a given modulus of time, whoſe radius is to their tangents in the ratio of the ultimate velocity to the preſent velocities; and laſtly, that the ſpaces deſcribed in deſcent or aſcent, are the meaſures of ratio's to a given modulus of ſpace, whoſe term are the abſolute accelerating and retarding forces ariſing from gravity and reſiſtance taken together at the beginning and end of thoſe ſpaces. This general account may ſuffice to illuſtrate what I am going to ſay, that ſince the magnitudes of ratio's, as well as their terms, may be expounded by quantities of any kind, the mathematician is at liberty, upon all occaſions, to chuſe thoſe which are fitteſt for his purpoſe, and ſuch are *they without doubt that* are put into his hand by the conditions of the problem. He may indeed repreſent theſe quantities by an hyperbola, or any other logometrical ſyſtem, were not his purpoſe anſwered with greater ſimplicity by the very ſyſtem itſelf which occurs in each particular problem. And the ſame may be ſaid for the ſyſtems of angular meaſures, inſtead of recurring upon all occaſions to elliptical or circular area's. As to the convenience of calculating from our author's conſtructions; he ſhews that the meaſures of any ratio's or angles are always computed in the ſame uniform way, by taking from the tables the logarithm of the ratio, or the number of degrees in the angle, and then by finding a fourth proportional to three given quantities, for that will be the meaſure required. The ſimpleſt hyperbolic area may indeed be ſquared by the ſame operation taught in the author's fourth propoſition, but the ſimpleſt elliptic area requires ſomewhat more: Thoſe that are more complex in both kinds, which generally happens, require an additional trouble to reduce them to the ſimpleſt, to ſquare them by infinite ſeries is ſtill more operoſe, and does not anſwer the end of Geometry. Upon the whole therefore it may deſerve to be conſidered; for what purpoſe ſhould problems, be always conſtructed by conic areas, unleſs it be to pleaſe or aſſiſt the imagination. The deſign of theoretical Geometry differs from problematical, the former conſiſts in the diſcovery and contemplation of the properties and relations of figures, for the ſake of naked truth, but the deſign of the latter is to do ſomething propoſed and is beſt executed by the leaſt apparatus of the former. The Logometria was firſt publiſhed by the author himſelf, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. But his logometrical and trigonometrical thorems abovementioned were not publiſhed till after his deceaſe. Theſe theorems make the ſecond part of the book, and are calculated to give the fluents of fluxions reduced to 18 forms by meaſures of ratio's and angles, in ſuch a manner that any perſon may perfectly comprehend their conſtruction and uſe, though altogether unacquainted with curvilinear figures

to mathematical ſtudies, in the prime of his life, in the thirty third year of his age, June the 5th, 1716, and was buried in the chapel of Trinity College Cambridge, his memory being honoured with an inſcription by the elegant pen of the moſt learned Dr Bentley, maſter of that college, his conſtant friend and patron (*i*).

(*i*) See this inſcription at the end of Dr Smith's Preface to the *Harmonia Menſurarum*.

figures as expreſſed by equations. And this circumſtance alſo renders the ſpeedy application of them to the analyſis and conſtruction of problems extremely eaſy. Of this kind the author has given a great many choice examples both in abſtract and phyſical problems, which make up the third and laſt part of the book. The editor has publiſhed the author's own ſolution of a very difficult problem in fluxions by meaſures of ratio's and angles, and upon this foundation has conſtructed new tables of logometrical and trigonometrical theorems for the fluents of fluxions, reduced to ninety-four forms part rational and part irrational. He has likewiſe added ſeveral notes upon the chief difficulties in the book, together with a method of compoſing ſynthetical demonſtrations of logometrical and trigonometrical conſtructions, illuſtrated by various examples.

The firſt treatiſe in the miſcellaneous works is concerning *the eſtimation of* errors *in mixt Mathematicks*. It conſiſts of twenty eight theorems, to determine the proportion among the leaſt contemporary variations of the ſides and angles of plane and ſpherical triangles, while any two of them remain invariable. An example will ſhew their great uſe in aſtromony. The time of the day or night is frequently to be determined by the altitude of ſome ſtar. Let it then be propoſed to find the error that may ariſe in the time from any given error, in taking the altitude. By applying the 22d theorem to the triangle formed by the complement of the ſtar's altitude and declination, and by the complement of the pole's elevation, the author ſhews that the variation of the angle at the pole, and conſequently the error in time, will be as the error in the altitude directly, as the ſine complement of the pole's inverſely, and as the ſine of the ſtars azimuth from the meridian inverſely. Conſequently if the error in the altitude be given, under a given elevation of the pole; the error in time will be reciprocally as the ſine of the azimuth contained by the meridian, and the vertical which the ſtar is in. This error therefore will be the ſame, whatever be the altitude of the ſtar, in the ſame vertical, and will be leaſt when the vertical is at right angles to the meridian. But will be abſolutely the leaſt in the ſame circumſtance if the obſerver be under the equator. In which caſe, if the error in the altitude be one minute, the error in the time will be four ſeconds. If the obſerver recedes from the equator towards either pole, the error will be increaſed in the proportion of the radius to the ſine complement of the latitude: So that in the latitude of 45 degrees it will be $5\frac{2}{3}$ ſeconds, and in the latitudes of 50 and 55 it will be $6\frac{2}{9}$ and $6\frac{7}{8}$ ſeconds reſpectively. If the ſtar be in any other vertical oblique to the meridian, the error will ſtill be increaſed in the proportion of the radius to the ſine of that oblique angle. Laſtly, if the error in the altitude be either bigger or leſs than one minute, the error in time will be bigger or leſs in the ſame proportion. Much after the ſame manner may the limits of errors be computed in other caſes which ariſe from the inaccuracy of obſervations, and from hence the moſt convenient opportunities for obſerving are alſo determined. The ſecond treatiſe is *concerning the differential method*. The author having wrote it before he had ſeen Sir Iſaac Newton's treatiſe upon that ſubject, has handled it after a manner ſomewhat different. The name of the third treatiſe is CANONOTECHNIA: or *concerning the conſtruction of Tables by differences*. It conſiſts of ten propoſitions, moſt admirably contrived for expeditious computation of intermediate terms in any given ſeries. The laſt propoſition, which contains a general ſolution of the whole deſign, is this. 'Some 'of the equidiſtant terms being given of any ſeries, the 'intervals of which are divided into any number of 'equal parts, let it be propoſed to find the intermediate 'terms.' The book concludes with three ſmall tracts concerning the *Deſcent of Bodies, the motion of Pendulums in the Cycloid*, and *the motion of Projectiles*, delivered in a very natural and eaſy manner. Theſe tracts as the editor informs us, were all compoſed by Mr Cotes, when he was very young. He wrote alſo a *Compendium* of *Arithmetic*, of the *Reſolutions* of *Equations*, of *Dioptricks*, and of the *nature* of *curves*; all which pieces the learned editor declares his intention of publiſhing: Beſides theſe which were in Latin, he compoſed a courſe of Lectures in Engliſh, which were publiſhed by Dr Smith in 1737; ſince which time there has been a ſecond edition; the title of which we ſhall give at large for the reader's ſatisfaction.

HYDROSTATICAL *and* PNEUMATICAL LECTURES, *by* Roger Cotes, M. A. *late Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy at* Cambridge, *the ſecond Edition by* Robert Smith, D. D. *Maſter of Trinity College* Cambridge 1747,8*vo*. The firſt edition was printed as is before obſerv'd in 1737, and both are inſcribed to his royal Highneſs William duke of Cumberland. E

COTTON (Sir ROBERT) a moſt eminent Antiquarian, was born at Denton [*A*], near Connington in Huntingdonſhire, January 22, 1570 (*a*). His father was Thomas Cotton, Eſq; [*B*], the fourth of the name, and his mother Elizabeth daughter of Francis Sherley of Stanton in the County of Leiceſter, Eſq; Where this worthy perſon laid the foundation of that great knowledge of Antiquities he afterwards acquired, or what ſchool he was educated in, is unknown. However, when he was fit for the univerſity, he was admitted into Trinity-College in Cambridge (*b*), where he took the degreee of Bachelor of Arts in 1575(*). From thence he went and lived ſome time in the country with his Father. But finding, he wanted in that retired condition ſeveral opportunities of improvement, which

(*a*) Vita D. Rob. Cottoni Scriptore T. Smitho, p. 1, col. 1.

(*b*) Ibid. p. iv. col. 2. The old College-books being loſt, the exact time of his admiſſion cannot be known.

(*) From the Univerſity Regiſter and ſome of the College-books.

[*A*] *Was born at Denton*] The ancient ſeat of the Family was Connington; but Sir Robert's Grandfather being alive at the time of his Father's Marriage, the young married Couple went and lived at Denton (1).

(1) Vita Cottoni, ubi ſupra, p. 1. col. 1.

[*B*] *His Father was Thomas Cotton, Eſq; &c.*] The Cotton Family has for many Years flouriſh'd in England, even long before the time of King Edward III. They took their ſurname from Cotton in the County Palatine of Cheſter; and from William de Cotton, who lived in that County, are derived all the eminent Families of that name in England. From this William was deſcended, in the fourth degree, William who married Agnes daughter and heir of Walter de Redware in the County of Stafford. His ſon was John, who, 12 Henry IV. married Iſabella daughter and heir of William Falconer of Thurcaſton in the County of Leiceſter. They had Richard who married Elizabeth, ſiſter and coheir of Sir Hugh Venables Knt. Their SECOND ſon was William, who, in the reign of Henry VI. married Mary daughter and heir of Robert Weſenham, Eſq; This William being ſlain at the battle of St Albans May 23, 1455, left his only ſon and heir Thomas great-great-grand-father of Sir Robert Cotton. Mary juſt now mention'd, was grand-daughter of Agnes daughter and coheir of John Brus (or Bruce) of Connington and Exton Eſq; and by her was the Connington Eſtate brought into the Cotton Family. This John Brus was lineally deſcended from Bernard ſecond ſon of Robert Brus Lord of Annandale in Scotland, and Iſabella daughter and coheir of David the ſecond Earl of Huntingdon. From this Robert and Iſabella was the Royal Family of Scotland deſcended; and by this means the Cotton-Family came to be related to the Kings of Scotland and England. On which account King James was wont to call Sir Robert Cotton *Couſin*; and Sir Robert uſed frequently to write his own Name *Robert Cotton Bruce* (2).

(2) Ibid.

which he could have in a more publick place, he came to London; And having ſoon made himſelf known, was admitted into a Society of Antiquaries (*c*), which was compoſed of ſeveral very learned and eminent perſons [*C*]. Here, following the natural bent of his genius, he proſecuted the ſtudy of Antiquities with the utmoſt alacrity, and with uncommon ſucceſs: And, improving the favourable circumſtances that were preſented to him [*D*], he began in the eighteenth year of his age (*d*) to gather together ancient Records, Charters, and other Manuſcripts; and left at his death the choiceſt Collection of this kind that ever was ſeen in any Age or Nation. In 1599, or 1600 (*e*), he accompanied Mr Camden to Carliſle, who acknowledges to have received from his ſingular courteſy great light in thoſe obſcure and intricate matters, he treats of in his Britannia. And, probably, then it was that Mr Cotton brought from the Picts-Wall, ſeveral Roman Monuments ſtill to be ſeen at Connington (*f*). In the ſame year 1600 he writ a *Brief Abſtract of the Queſtion of Precedencie between England and Spaine* (*g*), which was occaſioned by Queen Elizabeth's deſiring the thoughts of the Antiquarian Society on that point, upon her ſending Sir Henry Nevill Embaſſador to Boulogne to treat of a peace with Archduke Albert (*h*). Having, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, rendered himſelf eminent for merit and learning, and being highly in favour with the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton; he was, at the acceſſion of King James I, to the throne of England, created a Knight (*i*). During this whole reign he was very much courted, admired, and eſteemed by the greateſt men in the nation, and conſulted, as an Oracle, by the Privy-Counſellors, and the reſt of the Miniſters, upon every difficult point relating to our Conſtitution: As, namely, about the Union of England and Scotland—the Dignity and precedency of the Knights of the Bath—the Laws of England before the Conqueſt—about embaſing the Coin—the taxes granted from time to time to our Kings, &c (*k*). In 1608, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to enquire into the State of the Navy, which had lain neglected ever ſince the death of Queen Elizabeth (*l*): And drew up a Memorial of their Proceedings, to be preſented to the King (*m*). In 1609 he writ 'a Diſcourſe of 'the lawfulneſs of Combats to be performed in the preſence of the King, or the Con-'ſtable and Marſhal of England (*n*).' And, 'An anſwer to ſuch Motives as were of-'fered by certain Military men to Prince Henry, to incite him to affect arms more than 'peace.' Compos'd at the command of that Prince (†).' For, ſeveral perſons that were about him, knowing his enterpriſing genius, were endeavouring to ſtir up in him an inclination to military affairs; which was not at all agreeable to the King his father's peaceable and timorous temper. But, what moſtly employed Sir Robert's thoughts was, the Collections he was ordered to make relating to the Revenue of the Crown, and the 'Manner and Means how the Kings of England have from 'time to time ſupported, and repaired their eſtates (*o*).' For King James having prodigally exhauſted his Treaſury, new Projects (as they were then called) were to be contrived to fill it up again. Accordingly, our ancient Hiſtories and Records were ſearched, to find out means and methods to repair the King's Revenue, and to diſcover the Courſes uſed by our Kings in raiſing Money (*p*). But of all the methods ſet down by Sir Robert and others, none proved ſo agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called *Baronets* [*E*]. Sir Robert Cotton, who had done great ſervice in that affair (*q*), was choſen to be one, being the twenty-ninth Baronet that was created. He was, ſoon after, employed by the ſame King, to write Animadverſions upon Buchanan's and Thuanus's Accounts of the Behaviour and Actions of Mary Queen of Scots, and to give a different turn to them from what had been done by thoſe two famous Hiſtorians (*r*). What he drew upon that ſubject is ſuppoſed to be interwoven in Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, or elſe printed

(*c*) Ibid. p. vii. viii. ix. Life of W. Camden. Sir H. Spelman's Pref. to his Law-Terms.

(*d*) Vita R. Cottoni, ubi ſupra, p. vii. col. 1.

(*e*) Ibid. p. ix. Life of Camden.

(*f*) Camden's Britannia, col. 506, edit. 1720.

(*g*) It is in Cotton. Libr. Julius, C. IX. 21. See Caſley's Catal. p. 325.

(*h*) See Camden's Ann. ad ann. 1600; and Memorials, &c. publiſhed by E. Sawyer, Vol. I. p. 186, &c.

(*i*) Vita R. Cot. ubi ſupra, p. x. col. 2.

(*k*) Ibid. p. xiii.

(*l*) Ibid. p. xiv. col. 1.

(*m*) It is in Cot. Libr. Julius, F. III.

(*n*) Printed at Lond. 1651 and 1672.

(†) It is in Cotton. Libr. Cleopatra, F. VI. 1.

(*o*) Extant, ibid. and in Cottoni Poſth.

(*p*) Vita R. Cotton. p. xiv. xv. xvi.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Ibid. p. xvi. xvii.

[*C*] *A Society of Antiquaries, &c.*] The firſt riſe of this Society was 1590, when ſeveral ingenious Lovers of Antiquities agreed to meet every Friday in Term-time, at Derby-Houſe, where the Heralds Office is now kept. Two Queſtions were propoſed at every meeting, which were to be handled at the next. But many of the chief Supporters of it either dying, or removing from London, it was diſcontinued for about twenty years. At laſt in 1614, it was reviv'd by Sir James Ley Attorney of the Court of Wards, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Davis his Majeſty's Attorney for Ireland, Sir Richard St George Norroy, William Hackwell the Queen's Sollicitor, Mr Camden, Sir Henry Spelman: To whom may be added ſuch of the old Foundation as were ſtill living, *viz.* Arthur Agard, Lancelot Andrews, Henry Bourchier, Richard Broughton, Richard Carew, William Dethick, Sir John Doddridge, ——— Doyley, William Fleetwood, Abrah. Hartwell, Michael Heneage, Joſeph Holland, Thomas Lake, Francis Leigh, ——— Oldworth, William Patten, John Stow, Thomas Talbot, Francis Thynne, James Whitlock, &c. They met at the ſame place as the former.—The firſt Society petitioned Queen Elizabeth, to be incorporated into a Society, or Academy, for the ſtudy of Antiquities and Engliſh Hiſtory; but for fear That ſhould be prejudicial to our two Univerſities, their Petition was rejected; As it was alſo in the next reign. And at laſt the ſuſpicious Court of King James I. taking umbrage at their Meetings, they diſſolv'd themſelves of their own accord (3). What Subjects they handled, the curious Reader may ſee in Sir Robert Cotton's Life, by Dr T. Smith, prefixed to his Catalogue of the Cottonian Library, p. IX. (See article AGARD (ARTHUR).

(3) Vita D. Rob. Cottoni, ubi ſupra, p. vii. viii. ix. Sir H. Spelman's Preface to Law Terms.

[*D*] *And, improving the favourable circumſtances that were preſented to him, &c.*] For there were many ſuch MSS. diſperſed about, which had been taken out of the Libraries belonging to the Monaſteries, that that were then but newly diſſolv'd.

[*E*] *Of all the methods —— none proved ſo agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called Baronets.*] By which he could eaſily raiſe a hundred thouſand pounds; as each Baronet was to pay, at three payments, as much as would maintain for the ſpace of three years, thirty foot Soldiers, to ſerve in the Province of Ulſter in Ireland, at 8d a day, which amounted to 1095 *l.* This Title was not unknown in our Records, for, 13 Edward III. it was granted to William de la Pole, and his heirs; and mention is made of it in an Agreement between King Richard II. and ſeveral Earls, Barons, and Baronetts, &c (4).

(4) Cotton. Libr. Nero D. VI. 16. & Vita Cottoni p. xvi. col. 1.

printed at the end of Camden's Epiſtles. In 1616 the ſame King, who was always a favourer of the Papiſts, and never cared to put the laws againſt them in execution, finding the Nation uneaſy on account of their ſwarming in the Kingdom, he ordered Sir Robert to examine, Whether, by the laws of the land, they ought to be put to death, or impriſoned? which Sir Robert performed with great learning (*s*), and writ upon that occaſion, 'Twenty-four Arguments, whether it be more expedient to ſuppreſs Popiſh practices againſt the due allegiance of his Majeſty, by the ſtrict executions touching Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts? or, to reſtrain them to cloſe priſons, during life, if no reformation follows (*).' Probably then, likewiſe, he compoſed 'Conſiderations for the repreſſinge of the encreaſe of Preeſts, Jeſuits, and Recuſants, without drawinge of blood (*t*).' He was alſo employed by the Houſe of Commons, when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, to ſhow, by a ſhort examination of the treaties between England and the Houſe of Auſtria, the Unfaithfulneſs and Inſincerity of the latter, and to prove, that in all their Tranſactions they aimed at nothing but univerſal Monarchy (*u*). In 1621, at the requeſt of the Lord Montague of Boughton, he compiled 'A Relation to prove, That the Kings of England have been pleaſed to conſult with their Peeres in the Great Councell and Commons in Parliament, of Marriadge, Peace and War [*F*].' He writ likewiſe a Vindication of our Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, againſt the Innovations that were attempted to be brought in by the Puritans; in 'An Anſwer to certain Arguments raiſed from ſuppoſed Antiquity, and urged by ſome members of the lower houſe of Parliament, to prove that eccleſiaſtical lawes ought to be enacted by Temporal men (*w*).' Being a Member of the firſt Parliament of King Charles I. he joined in the Complaints of the Grievances which the Nation was then ſaid to groan under. But, however, he was always for mild remedies; and intended the King's Honour and Safety, and the Nation's Advantage [*G*], as appeared by the honeſt Advice he gave in 1627. For, being called before the King and Council, to deliver his Opinion, in point of Hiſtory and Law, upon the juncture of affairs then, he declared (*x*), 'That thoſe Engliſh Princes, who had moſt oppoſed [the growing Power of the Houſe of Auſtria,] had always the affections and hearts of their People. That this was the buſineſs of the preſent reign, and the deſire of the Engliſh Nation. That to carry on this deſign the King muſt have Money; and no way to get money with ſpeed, aſſurance, and ſatisfaction but by grant of Parliament: No way to diſpoſe a Parliament to ſuitable Grants but by removing all Jealouſies, eſpecially thoſe relating to Religion and Liberties: And nothing more plauſible than for the Duke of Buckingham to be the firſt adviſer of calling ſuch a Parliament (*y*). He was alſo conſulted about the Impriſonment of thoſe Gentlemen, who had refuſed to contribute to the Loan (*z*): And about a Project then ſet on foot, to enhance the value of the Coin, in order to raiſe money for the King, when he could not obtain any from his Parliaments. This Project Sir Robert oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power, and ſhowed in a Speech before the Privy-Council, Sept. 2, 1626, what a Diſhonour ſuch an Alteration would be to his Majeſty, and how great a Loſs and Prejudice to the Subject (*a*). He writ Books upon ſeveral other ſubjects, that remain in manuſcript; namely, (*b*) Of Scutage—Of Encloſures, and converting arable Land into paſture—The Antiquity, authority, and office of the High-Steward and Marſhall of England—The antiquity, etymology, and privileges of Caſtles—and of Towns—Of the meaſures of Land—The Antiquity of Coats of Arms—Curious Collections—about military affairs—and Trade—Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, different from thoſe printed under his name [*H*]. He likewiſe

(*s*) Vita, ut ſupra, p. xvii. xviii.

(*) Printed at London, among Cottoni Poſthuma, 1672, p. 109.

(*t*) It is in the Royal Library 18 B. xxiv. 4. See D. Caſley's Catal.

(*u*) Vita, ut ſupra, p. xix. It is printed among Cottoni Poſthuma, p. 91, under the title of *A Remonſtrance of the Treaties of Amity, &c.*

(*w*) Ibid. p. xxi. See Cottoni poſthuma, p. 202, *&c.*

(*x*) This ſeems to be the ſubſtance of the treatiſe, intituled, 'The danger 'wherein this 'kingdom now 'ſtandeth, and 'the remedy.' *Cottoni Poſthuma*, p. 308, *&c.*

(*y*) Ruſhworth, Hiſtor. Collect. Vol. I. p. 467.

(*z*) See Ruſhw. ibid. p. 422, 428. Vita R. Cotton, p. xxiii.

(*a*) Vita, *&c.* ubi ſupra. See the whole Speech in Cottoni Poſthuma, p. 285, *&c.*

(*b*) Vita, *&c.*

[*F*] *A Relation to prove, &c.*] This was printed at London in 1651: and 1672 among Cottoni Poſthuma, and in 1679, under the Title of 'The 'Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments' fol. but it is extreamly full of faults. There are good and exact Copies of it extant in manuſcript.

[*G*] *Intended the King's honour and ſafety, and the Nation's advantage.*] A certain writer obſerves, 'That he was no great friend to the Prerogative (4)' that is, he was not inclined to come into all the violent Meaſures of the Court. The Speech he delivered in the lower Houſe of Parliament aſſembled at Oxford, is printed in Cottoni poſthuma (*)

(4) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 616. edit. 1721.

(*) Page 273.

[*H*] *Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, &c.*] In 1657 William Prynne Eſq; publiſhed, *An exact Abridgment of the Records of the Tower of London, from the Reign of King Edward 2. unto King Richard 3. of all the Parliaments holden in each King's reign, and the ſeveral Acts in every Parliament*, &c. collected by Sir Robert Cotton Kt. and Bart. Lond. fol. 1657, (reprinted again 1679). ——— which the ſaid Mr Prynne did reviſe, rectify in ſundry miſtakes, and ſupplied with a Preface, marginal Notes, ſeveral omiſſions, and exact Tables. Tho', after all, it was not done by Sir Robert Cotton, but by Mr Bowyer, Keeper of the Tower Records in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign and begining of King James the firſt's, as Mr Tyrrel aſſerts in the Preface to his 3d vol. of the Hiſt. of England (p. ix.). ——— The other works of Sir Robert Cotton, not already mentioned, are as follows, I. 'A relation of the Proceedings againſt Ambaſſadors 'who have miſcarried themſelves, and exceeded their 'Commiſſion.' II. 'That the Soveraign's perſon is 'required in the Great Councells, or Aſſemblies of the 'State, as well at the conſultations as at the con'cluſions.' III. 'The argument made by the com'mand of the Houſe of Commons (out of the Acts of 'Parliament, and authority of Law expounding the 'ſame) at a conference with the Lords, concerning 'the Liberty of the perſon of every Freeman.' IV. 'A brief Diſcourſe concerning the power of the Peeres 'and Commons of Parliament in point of Judicature.' Theſe four are printed in *Cottoni poſthuma*. V. 'A 'ſhort view of the long Life and Raigne of Henry the 'third, King of England: Written in 1614, and pre'ſented to King James I.' Printed 1627, 4*to*, and reprinted in *Cottoni poſthuma*. VI. 'Money rais'd by 'the King without Parliament from the Conqueſt untill 'this day, either by Impoſition or free Gift, taken 'out of Records, or ancient Regiſters.' Printed in the *Royal Treaſury of England*, or *General Hiſtory of Taxes*, by Capt. J. Stevens 8*vo*. There is alſo publiſhed under his name, 'A Narrative of Count 'Gondamor's Tranſactions during his Embaſſy in 'England, London 1659, 4*to*.' In the Epiſtle Dedicatory, the Publiſher, John Rowland, ſays ——

'It

likewiſe made collections for the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Huntingdonſhire. And had formed this noble Deſign, To write an Account of the ſtate of Chriſtianity in theſe Iſlands, from the firſt reception of it here, to the Reformation. The firſt part of this deſign was executed by the learned Archbiſhop Uſher, in his book, *De Britannicarum Eccleſiarum primordiis*, compoſed probably at the requeſt of Sir Robert Cotton; who left eight Volumes of Collections for the continuation of that work (*c*). J. Speed's Hiſtory of England owes moſt of its value, and its ornaments, to Sir Robert Cotton. For he put in order ſome of the author's indigeſted materials, adding many curious obſervations of his own: As his fine Collection of Seals, Medals, *&c.* furniſhed it with thoſe Coins and Seals wherewith it is adorned (*d*). And Mr Camden acknowledges (*e*), to have received thoſe Coins that are in his Britannia, out of the Collection of the famous Sir Robert Cotton: Who, it ſeems, intended to have writ an account and explanation of them; but was unhappily hindered. To Richard Knolles, author of the Turkiſh Hiſtory, he communicated authentic Letters of the Maſters of the Knights of Rhodes; and the Diſpatches of Edward Barton, Embaſſador from Queen Elizabeth to the Porte: To Sir Walter Raleigh, Books and Materials for the ſecond Volume of his Hiſtory, never publiſhed: And the ſame to Lord Verulam, for his Hiſtory of Henry VII (*f*). The famous J. Selden was greatly indebted, for his learning and reputation, to the books and inſtructions of Sir Robert Cotton, as he thankfully acknowledges in more places than one (*g*). In ſhort, this great and worthy man was the generous Patron of all lovers of Antiquities, and his Houſe and Library were always open to ingenious and inquiſitive perſons. And incredible is the ſervice that hath been done to Learning, eſpecially to the Hiſtory of theſe three Kingdoms, by his ſecuring, as he did, his valuable Library for the uſe and ſervice of poſterity [*I*]: Witneſs the Works of Sir Henry Spelman, Sir William Dugdale, the Decem Scriptores, Dr Gale, Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Strype's Works, Rymer's *Fœdera*, ſeveral pieces put out by T. Hearne; and every Book almoſt that hath been ſince publiſhed, relating to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. So valuable a Perſon, we may imagine, muſt have had many Friends and Acquaintance. The chief of them in the Britiſh Dominions, were, Henry Earl of Northampton, Thomas Earl of Arundel, Archbiſhop Uſher, Henry Earl of Bath, Edward Earl of Mancheſter, Henry Lord Boughton, James Montague Biſhop of Wincheſter, Sir John Dodderidge, Sir John Davis, David Powell, Hugh Holland, Arthur Agard Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Roger Doddeſworth, Richard Carew, William Burton, Sir James Ware, *&c.* And in foreign Parts, Janus Gruterus, Francis Sweertius, Andrew Ducheſne, John Bourdelot, Peter Puteanus, Nicolas Fabricius Peireſkius, *&c* (*h*). Thus Sir Robert Cotton having lived, reſpected and eſteemed both at home and abroad, died of a fever, in his houſe at Weſtminſter, May 6, 1631, aged ſixty years, three months, and fifteen days; and was buried in the ſouth Chancel of Connington-Church. He married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Brocas of Thedingworth in the County of Leiceſter, Eſq; by whom he left one only Son, Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart.

(*c*) Ibid. p. xxiv. They are in Cotton Libr. Cleopatra E.

(*d*) Vita, *&c.* p. xxiv.

(*e*) Britannia, under the title *Romans in Britain*, at the end.

(*f*) Vita R. Cotton. p. xxiv. xxv.

(*g*) Dedicat. Analector. Britan. and of Hiſtory of Tithes.

(*h*) Vita R. Cottoni, ut ſupra, p. xxvi, xxvii.

'It bears in the frontiſpiece the name of that ever-famous Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, who was never wont to treaſure up any thing but what was rare; nor can I certainly ſay, whether it were penn'd by Himſelf or not. I inſiſt the more upon him, becauſe it was my chance to be one whom he vouchſafed to take by the hand a little before his death, I being ſent to him by my Lord Privie-Seal, to acquaint him that by my Lord's mediation, the King was reconciled to him: but his Anſwer was, That his heart was broken, and that it was now too late: whereby it appears, that Princes are ſometimes abuſed, and miſinformed, to the ruin of the beſt men.' —— We find, moreover, that he writ the following things —— 'An Abſtract or memorial of ſuch courſes as have been uſed in military affairs both at land and ſea, under 35 heads (5).—Extracts about Commerce, imperfect (6).— Short Memoranda from 1548 to 1553 (7).—Extracts about the Rights of the Crown and the Parliament (8).—Hiſtorical paſſages taken out of Letters from the year 1551 to 1573 (9). —And the Notes and Collections for the reign of King Henery VIII, in Speed's Chronicle (10).

(5) Cotton. Libr. Julius C. IV.

(6) Ibid. F. VI. 48.

(7) Ibid. Titus B. VI. 13. fol. 45.

(8) Ibid. F. 162.

(9) F. 177.

(10) A Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 530.

[*I*] *He ſecured his Library for the uſe and ſervice of poſterity.*] For he ordered in his will, That it ſhould not be ſold, but paſs to his Family, *&c.* As it was this valuable and curious Library that has rendered Sir Robert Cotton moſt famous, and is likely to perpetuate his name, it will be proper to give a larger Account of it. It conſiſts wholly of Manuſcripts; many of which being in looſe ſkins, ſmall Tracts, or very thin Volumes, when they were purchaſed, Sir Robert cauſed ſeveral of them to be bound up in one Cover. They relate chiefly to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, tho' the ingenious Collector refuſed nothing that was curious or valuable in any point of Learning. He lived indeed at a time when he had great opportunities of making ſuch a fine Collection: when there were many valuable Books yet remaining in private hands, which had been taken from the Monaſteries at their Diſſolution, and from our Univerſities and Colleges at their Viſitations: when ſeveral learned Antiquarians, ſuch as Joſceline, Noel, Allen, Lambarde, Bowyer, Elſinge, Camden, *&c.* died, who had made it their chief buſineſs to ſcrape up the ſcatter'd Remains of our Monaſtical Libraries; and, either by legacy or purchaſe, he became maſter of all that he thought valuable in their ſtudies (11). This Library was placed by Sir Robert Cotton in his own Houſe at Weſtminſter, near the Houſe of Commons, and very much augmented and enlarged by his ſon and grand-ſon, Sir Thomas and Sir John Cotton. In the reign of King William (12), an Act of Parliament was made for the better ſecuring and preſerving that Library in the name and Family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public; that it might not be ſold, or otherwiſe diſpoſed, and embezzled. Sir John, great-grand-ſon of Sir Robert Cotton, having ſold Cotton-Houſe to the late Queen Anne, to be a repoſitory for the Royal as well as the Cottonian Library, an Act was made (13) for the better ſecuring of her Majeſty's purchaſe of that Houſe; and both Houſe and Library were ſettled and veſted in Truſtees: After which the Books were remov'd into a more convenient Room, the former being very damp, and Cotton-houſe was ſet apart for the uſe of the King's Library-keeper, who had there the Royal and Cottonian Libraries under his care. Some years after, the Cottonian Library was remov'd into a houſe near Weſtminſter-Abby, purchaſed by the Crown of the Lord Aſhburnham; where a Fire happening October 23, 1731, one hundred and eleven Books were loſt, burnt, or entirely defaced, and 99 render'd imperfect (14). And it was thereupon remov'd to the new Dormitory, and afterwards to the old Dormitory belonging to Weſtminſter-School.

(11) Chamberlayne's Preſent State of Great Britain, p. 217, 218, edit. 1735.

(12) 12 William III. c. 7.

(13) 5 Anne, c. 30.

(14) Addit. to Catalog. of Cotton. Library, by D. Caſley, p. 313—317.

COVEL (JOHN) a very learned Divine, in the ſeventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth Century, was born at Horningſhearth in Suffolk, in the Year 1638 (a) being the ſon of William Covel of that place (b). He was educated in Grammar-learning at St Edmund's-Bury, under Mr Stephens; and on the 31ſt of March 1654, in the ſixteenth year of his age, admitted into Chriſt's College in Cambridge, of which he was afterwards choſen Fellow (c). In the year 1657, he took the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, and that of Maſter in 1661 (d). Afterwards entering into holy Orders, he had the advantage of going, in 1670, as Chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey (e), Embaſſador from King Charles II. to the Ottoman Porte: where he ſerved, in that quality, both him, and his ſucceſſor, Sir John Finch, for the ſpace of ſeven years (f). Some time after his Return to England he was created Doctor in Divinity, namely in 1679 (g); and the ſame year was choſen Lady Margaret's Preacher in the Univerſity of Cambridge (h). On the 5th of March 1680, he had inſtitution to the Sine-cure-Rectory of Littlebury in Eſſex, to which he was preſented by Dr Gunning Biſhop of Ely (i). And, on the 9th of November 1687, was inſtalled into the Chancellorſhip of York, conferr'd upon him by the King, during the vacancy of that ſee (k). The 7th of July 1688 he was elected Maſter of Chriſt's College (l), in which ſtation he behaved as a good and prudent Governor. He was alſo Rector of Kegworth in Liceſterſhire (m). In the year 1708, he ſerved the office of Vice-chancellor in the Univerſity of Cambridge (n). At length, after having led a kind of itinerant Life, [as he himſelf informs us (o),] at York, in Holland, and elſewhere; he arrived at his long Journey's end, on the 19th of December 1722, in the 85th year of his age: And was buried in the Chapel of Chriſt's College, where there is an Epitaph to his memory [A]. He gave a Benefaction of Three pounds a year to the poor of the pariſh of Littlebury above-mention'd (p). Having, during his ſeven years reſidence at Conſtantinople, had an opportunity of informing himſelf well of the ancient and preſent ſtate of the Greek Church, and collected ſeveral curious obſervations and notices relating thereto; he digeſted them, during the remainder of his Life, into a curious and uſeful Book, publiſh'd not long before his deceaſe. It is intituled, 'Some Account of the preſent Greek Church, with Reflections on their preſent Doctrine and Diſcipline; particularly in the Euchariſt, and the reſt of their ſeven pretended Sacraments, compared with Jac. Goar's Notes upon the Greek Ritual, or EYXOAOTION.' Cambridge MDCCXXII. fol. [B]. As for the Author's

(a) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below.

(b) From Memoirs communicated to us.

(c) From the College-Regiſter.

(d) From the Univerſity Regiſt.

(e) Sir Dan. Harvey was appointed Embaſſador to Conſtantinople in Auguſt 1668. The Hiſtorian's Guide, 8vo, edit. 1688, p. 72.

(f) See Some Account of the preſent Greek Church, &c. by J. Covel, D. D. Cambr. 1722, fol. in the Dedicat. p. 3; and Pref. p. 1.

(g) From the Univerſity Regiſt.

(b) See Catalogue of Preachers at Cambridge, prefixed to the Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon, republiſhed by T. Baker, B.D. Lond. 1708, 8vo.

(i) Repertorium Eccleſ. &c. by R. Newcourt, Vol. II. p. 394.

(k) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 81. See ibid. p. 59.

(l) J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716, fol. p. 432.

(m) Br. Willis, ibid.

(n) J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 409.

(o) Dedication to Account of the preſent Greek Church, as above.

(p) Hiſt. and Antiq. of Eſſex. by N. Salmon, p. 134.

[A] *Where there is an Epitaph to his memory*] As follows.

Lector,
Hic Sepultas habes, beatam Reſurrectionem expectantis, Reliquias venerabilis & eruditiſſimi Viri Johannis Covel S. T. P. nuper hujus Collegij Cuſtodis ſive Magiſtri, nec non Eccleſ. Cathedr. Eborac. Cancellarij.

Obiit Dec. XIX. A°. D. MDCCXXII
Ætat. LXXXV.

i. e. Here lye buried, in hopes of a bleſſed Reſurrection, the remains of that venerable and moſt learned man John Covel D. D. late Maſter of this College, and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of York. He died Dec. 19. 1722 in the 85th Year of his Age.

[B] *Some Account of the preſent Greek Church* &c.] The chief occaſion of that work, was the great Controverſy which for ſeveral years was hotly debated in the laſt Century, by two of the moſt eminent Divines of France, Monſieur *Arnauld* Doctor of the Sorbonne, on the ſide of the Papiſts; and Monſieur *Claude* Miniſter of Charenton, in behalf of the Proteſtants. The former, not being content to ſay, That the Church in all ages believed Tranſubſtantation, did alſo poſitively affirm, That all the Eaſtern Churches do at this very day believe it, in the ſame ſenſe as it was defined by the Council of Trent. Mr Claude, in his anſwer to him, brought moſt authentic proofs of the contrary. Whereupon Arnauld ſet all the Miſſionaries of the Eaſt on work to procure Teſtimonies for him: Which, by bribes and other indirect means, they obtained in ſuch numbers, that there was, ſoon after, a large Quarto in French printed at Paris, full of the names of Patriarchs, Biſhops, and Doctors of thoſe Churches, who all approved the Roman Doctrine (1). But Monſ. Claude having had moſt certain Information, by means of a French Gentleman at Colchis, that ſome of thoſe Teſtimonies were meer Fictions; and others quite otherwiſe than they were told: He ſent ſome Queries into the Eaſt, and deſired the Engliſh Clergymen reſiding there, To enquire of the Greeks, and other Eaſtern Chriſtians of the beſt note, who had no correſpondence with the Romaniſts, nor were Emiſſaries of the Court of Rome, or retainers to them: 'Whether Tranſubſtantiation (μετουσιώσις) *i. e.* the 'real and natural change of the whole ſubſtance 'of the Bread into the ſame numerical ſubſtance as 'the Body of Chriſt which is in heaven, be an ar'ticle of Faith amongſt them, and the contrary be ac'counted heretical and impious.' &c. (2) This ſet therefore Dr Covel upon examining throughly into that point. But, after all, he declares, that the Greeks, and Eaſterlings, are ſo far from being learned and well verſed in that Controverſy, that he never met with one amongſt them, who ever pretended fully to underſtand, much leſs ever offered to clear that matter. 'I have, ſays he, here and there met with an Eaſ'terling brought up in the College *de propaganda* '*fide* at Rome, or elſewhere in Italy, who would 'ſometimes venture at a Solution to ſome difficulties 'about tranſubſtantiation; but it was ever done only 'by ſome ſcraps of the common evaſions and jargon 'of the Schools, and never with any ſatisfactory or ſo'lid reaſon. But from a native Greek, or Eaſterling, 'who was never out of his country, (though he was there 'a man of ſome dignity) I never could meet 'with any tolerable reaſoning or anſwer towards the 'clearing of the point. Many of my acquaintance 'would avoid any ſet diſcourſe about theſe matters. 'Some few who had pick'd up any ſcatter'd notions 'in the Eaſt, or elſewhere, from the Romiſh emiſ'ſaries, would offer them very imperfectly, and as ill 'apply them. But as for the bulk of their Clergy '(the far greateſt part of their Prelates and topping 'Miniſters) I do poſitively aſſert that they are in ge'neral profoundly ignorant in theſe points; and not 'one of a thouſand amongſt the ordinary Prieſts knows 'any thing of the matter. They have no books to 'read, but their Hours of Prayer, and common 'Church-Offices, which are very numerous; and in 'Country-Churches you will rarely find any of theſe, 'except their common Euchologium, their ordinary 'Prayers and Liturgies: and theſe, like parrots, they 'commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and 'uſe them very imperfectly with ſtrange variety and 'confuſion (3).' Afterwards he obſerves, 'That 'we need not wonder at the want of Learning among 'the Greeks, and other Eaſterlings, ſince they have 'no Academies or Schools for inſtructing Students in 'any points of Philoſophy, Divinity, Mathematicks,

'or

(1) Preface to Some Account of the Greek Ch. p. xi.

(2) Ibid. p. ii. &c.

(3) Ibid. p. vi. vii.

Author's Character; we are inform'd, that he was 'a perſon noted for polite and curious 'Learning, ſingular humanity, and knowledge of the World (*q*).' (*q*) T. Baker, ubi ſupra.

'or any other part of the polite Literature of 'Europe (4).' Upon the whole therefore, we may eaſily judge, how incompetent Judges ſuch ignorant perſons are in that and other religious matters; and how little their teſtimonies are to be depended upon. Nor can it be really believ'd, that their Subſcriptions 'contain'd in them the real Faith or Sentiments of the 'whole Eaſtern Church, or the poſitive, firm, and 'clear belief of every particular Subſcriber (5).'

(4) Ibid. p. viii.

(5) Ibid. p. xx.

In order to trace this point to its fountain and original Head, and to place it in a true light, our Author writ the *Account of the preſent Greek Church*, now before us. He divides the whole into *two Books*, whereof the *Firſt* contains *five* chapters,, and the *Second* but two. In the Iſt Chapter, 'he gives his private thoughts 'concerning the Chriſtian Communion in general.' And ſhews, how ſolemn, but withal how ſimple and plain, the celebration of the Euchariſt was in the Primitive Church. In the IId Chapter, he explains, 'How the familiar and primitive way, of breaking 'bread, and drinking wine together like brethren, 'joined with plain and known Forms of Prayer and 'Thankſgiving, in a devout remembrance of Chriſt, 'hath been loaded and clogg'd with amuſing Rites and 'empty Ceremonies.' And here he repreſents in figures the chief Ceremonies uſed by the Greeks at the adminiſtration of the Euchariſt; and gives an Engliſh tranſlation of their form of celebrating it, from St Chryſoſtome's Liturgy, printed in their Euchologium, or Prayer-book. The IIId Chapter contains 'ſome 'Notes upon that Liturgy, which is attributed to 'St Chryſoſtome.' In the IVth he gives his conjecture, 'How the plain and familiar way of the firſt 'adminiſtration of the Euchariſt came to be turn'd into 'the preſent Greeks practice of conſecrating, and partaking of, only a *few little bits and mites of* '*bread*, [μερίδες or portions] and of giving to the 'Laity only *a little Spoonful of wine*.' The Vth Chapter contains 'ſome Obſervations concerning the 'firſt riſe of that new doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, 'and the endeavours uſed to propagate it over the 'whole Chriſtian world.' Under which he ſhews, That it was not introduc'd into the Greek Church, till after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks; that is, till after the Year of Chriſt 1453.——— The Iſt Chapter of the *Second* book treats of 'the Greeks 'ſeven Myſteries or Sacraments:' namely 1. Confirmation; 2. Prieſthood; 3. Orders; 4. Matrimony; 5. Penance; 6. Auricular Confeſſion; and 7. Extream Unction. The IId and laſt Chapter, is, 'Concerning Images, and the worſhip of Saints.'——The author intermixes throughout curious accounts of the Jewiſh, and Mahometan, cuſtoms and Ceremonies. He tells us for inſtance, that 'all over Turkey where 'he happen'd to travel, the common Bread is not 'much unlike our thicker ſort of Pancakes, being very 'ſoft, and ſeldom above a day old; ſo as you may 'wind it round your finger. This flat loaf, or rather 'cake, is round, and about the breadth of one of our 'plates, and about an inch thick at moſt. When we 'eat at an ordinary man's houſe, (be it Turk, Greek, 'Armenian, Jew, &c.) the maſter, or chief of the 'family, or ſome friend by his appointment, takes 'as many of theſe loaves, or cakes, as he thinks ſufficient for the preſent company, and with his hands 'breaks, or rather pulls them into pieces of moderate 'bigneſs, and ſtrews them all upon the table, or whatever elſe they eat upon.'——— Moreover, the 'common food in Turkey, be it boyl'd or roaſted, is 'never cook'd in whole joints, but in ſmall morſels; 'ſo that there is no uſe of knives at the table, but 'every one takes a bit of the bread, and dipping it in 'the diſh, he takes up with it a morſel of meat between his thumb and his two fore fingers, and ſo puts 'all into his mouth together. If theſe morſels be 'boiled (as they often are with their *Churbaw*, or 'Potage) they firſt eat the potage with a wooden ſpoon, 'or ſop it up with bits of the bread, and then take up 'the more ſolid morſels remaining, and eat them (6).' The concluſion of the whole work is written with ſuch an excellent Spirit, that we cannot forbear laying it before the Reader— 'I have ſincerely and impartially, and I hope candidly, ſet down *only my own* '*private thoughts*, and I would not willingly be judged '*an abſolute ſlave to any party*, but, as I really am, *a* '*compaſſionate lover of every good Chriſtian who heartily deſires to ſerve our God in Spirit and in truth*. I 'muſt verily think with myſelf that thoſe great Churches, 'which perfectly differ from us, *have in many things* '*left their firſt Love, and have hewn out unto themſelves many broken ciſterns that can hold no water*. 'But God forbid that I ſhould raſhly return upon them 'their extravagant *anathema's*, or peremptorily '*damn them*, that is, *deliver them unto Satan and adjudge them all to Hell-fire*, as they ſerve *us*; *who am* '*I* (poor, private, obſcure creature) *that I ſhould* '*judge another's ſervant?* For my part I will leave them '*to the righteous Judge of all the world, before whoſe* '*Judgment-Seat we ſhall all one day* ſtand.'

(6) Account of the preſent Greek Church, &c. p. 1.

The Author having made uſe of ſeveral curious (and before, unknown) Manuſcripts, he took care, for the Reader's ſatisfaction, to depoſite them in the late Earl of Oxford's Library, at Wimpole near Cambridge.

C

COVERDALE (MILES), Biſhop of Exeter in the reign of Edward VI, and author of ſeveral Tracts [*A*], was born in Yorkſhire, in the reign of Henry VII [*B*], and, being

[*A*] *He was author of ſeveral Tracts.*] He wrote I. *The Chriſtian Rule or ſtate of all the worlde from the higheſt to the loweſt: and how every man ſhulde lyve to pleaſe god in hys callynge.* II. *The Chriſten ſtate of Matrymonye, wherein huſbandes and wyfes maye lerne to keepe houſe together with loue. The Originall of holy wedloke: whan, where, how, and of whom it was inſtituted and ordeyned: what it is: how it ought to proceade: what he the occaſions, frute, and commodities thereof: contrarywyſe how ſhamefull and horrible a thinge whoredome and aduoutry * is: how one ought alſo to choſe hym a mete and conuenient ſpouſe to kepe and increace the mutual loue, trouth and dewtye of wedloke: and how maried folkes ſhulde bring up theyer chyldren in the feare of god.* III. *A Chriſten Exhortation to cuſtomable Swearers. What a ryghte and lawfull othe is: whan, and before whome it ought to be.* IV. *The maner of ſayenge grace, or gyvyng thankes to god, after the doctrine of holy ſcrypture.* IV. *The old Fayth: an evident probacion out of the holy ſcrypture, that the Chriſten Faith (which is the ryghte, true, olde, and undoubted fayth) hath endured ſens the beginnyng of the worlde. Herein haſt thou alſo a ſhort ſumme of the whole Byble, and a probacion, that al vertuous men have pleaſed god, and wer ſaved through the Chriſten fayth.* Theſe four pieces are printed together in a ſmall *duodecimo*, and a black letter, *an.* 1547. V. *A faythfull and true Pronoſtication upon the year* M. CCCC. xlix. *and perpetualy after to the worldes ende, gathered out of the prophecies and ſcryptures of god, by the experience and practiſe of his workes, very comfortable for all Chriſten hertes; devided into ſeven chapters.* VI. *A Spirituall Almanacke, wherein every Chriſten man and woman may ſee what they ought daylye to do, or leaue undone. Not after the doctrine of the Papiſtes, not after the lernynge of Ptolomy, or other heythen Aſtronomers, but out of the very true and wholſome doctryne of god our almyghty heavenly father, ſhewed unto us in his worde by his prophetes, apoſtels, but ſpecyaly by his dere ſonne Jeſus Chriſt: and is to be kept not onely this newe yeare, but contynualy unto the daye of the lorde's comyng agayne.* Theſe two were printed in a thin *duodecimo*, and a black letter, at London by Richard Kele, 'dwellynge at the longe ſhoppe in the Poultry 'under ſaynt Myldreds church, *cum privelegio ad im*'*primendum ſolum*.' Bale aſcribes ſome other pieces to our author; particularly, *A Confutation of John Standiſh*, a tract on the *Lord's Supper*, *A Concordance to the New Teſtament*, *A Chriſtian Catechiſm*; and ſome *tranſlations* from Bullinger, Luther, Oſiander, Johannes Campenſis, and Eraſmus (1).

(*) Adultery.

(1) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. 9. n. 61.

[*B*] *Born in the reign of Henry* VII.] This I infer from his dying an old man in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

being educated in the Romiſh religion, became an Auguſtin Monk. Afterwards, embracing the Reformation, he entered into holy Orders (*a*) [*C*]. He aſſiſted William Tindal in the Engliſh Verſion of the Bible, publiſhed in 1537, and afterwards reviſed and corrected the edition of it in a larger volume, with notes, in 1540 (*b*). Auguſt the 14th (*c*), 1551, he ſucceeded Dr John Harman in the ſee of Exeter, being promoted *propter ſingularem ſacrarum literarum doctrinam, moreſque probatiſſimos* (*d*), i. e. 'on account of his 'extraordinary knowledge in Divinity, and his unblemiſh'd character (*e*)'. The Patent for conferring this biſhoprick on him, tho' a married man, is dated Auguſt 14, 1551, at Weſtminſter (*f*). Upon the change of religion in Queen Mary's reign, Biſhop Coverdale was ejected from his ſee, and thrown into priſon; out of which he was releaſed at the earneſt requeſt of the King of Denmark, and, as a very great favour, permitted to go into baniſhment. Soon after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion to the throne, he return'd from his exile, but refuſed to be reſtored to his biſhoprick. He died, in a good old age, at London, and lyes buried in the church of St Bartholomew-Exchange (*g*) [*D*].

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. 9. n. 61.

(*b*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 183.

(*c*) Godwin, ubi infra, ſays the 20th.

(*d*) 1 Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 1.

(*e*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 680.

(*f*) Rymer's Fœdera, &c. Vol. XV. p. 283.

(*g*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter epiſc. Exon. an. 1551.

Elizabeth. For, ſuppoſing him to have died about the ſeventieth year of his age, and not many years (as is moſt probable) after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion in 1558, the year of his birth will fall ſomewhere between 1490 and 1500. But Henry VII. began his reign in 1485, and died in 1509.

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *Went into holy Orders.*] Bale tells us (2), he was one of the firſt, who, upon the revival of the Church of England, together with Dr Robert Barns, taught the purity of the Goſpel, and dedicated himſelf wholly to the ſervice of the reformed religion. *Ex primis unus erat, qui renaſcente Anglorum eccleſia, cum Roberto Barnſo, ſuæ profeſſionis doctore, Chriſtum pure docuit. Alii partim, hic ſe totum dedidit ad propagandam evangelii regni Dei Gloriam.*

(3) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 377.

[*D*] *Lyes buried in the Church of St Bartholomew-Exchange.*] Upon his Grave-ſtone is the following Inſcription (3):

Hic tandem requiemque ferens finemque laborum
Oſſa Coverdali mortua tumbus habet:
Exoniæ qui præſul erat digniſſimus olim,
Inſignis vitæ vir probitate ſuæ.
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit et unum,
Indignum paſſus ſæpius exilium.
Sic tandem variis jactatus caſibus iſte
Excipitur gremio, terra benigna, tuo.

I have been obliged to make ſome alterations in this Epitaph, which ſeems to have been faultily tranſcribed in my author: for in the third line he has put *Oxoniæ* for *Exoniæ*; in the ſixth, *indigni* for *indignum*; in the ſeventh, *jactabam* for *jactatus*, and *iſta* for *iſte*; and in the laſt line *excepitur* for *excipitur*, and *ſuo* for *tuo*. T

COURTNEY (William), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of King Richard II, was the fourth ſon of Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonſhire, by Margaret, daughter of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford and Eſſex, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward I (*a*); and was born in the year 1341 (*b*). He had his education at Oxford, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Law. Afterwards, entring into holy Orders, he obtained three Prebends in three Cathedral Churches, *viz.* thoſe of Bath, Exeter, and York (*c*). The nobility of his birth, and his eminent learning, recommending him to public notice, in the reign of Edward III, he was promoted, in 1369, to the ſee of Hereford (*d*), and from thence tranſlated to the ſee of London, September the 12th 1375, being then in the 34th year of his age (*e*). In a Synod, held at London in 1376, Biſhop Courtney diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to the King's demand of a ſubſidy [*A*]; and preſently after he fell under the diſpleaſure of the High Court of Chancery, for publiſhing a Bull of Pope Gregory II, without the King's conſent [*B*]. The next year, in obedience to the Pope's mandate, he cited Wickliff to appear before his tribunal in St Paul's church: but that hereſiarch being accompanied by John of Ghaunt Duke of Lancaſter, and other nobles, who ſecretly favoured his opinions [*C*], the Biſhop

(*a*) Farnes's Life of King Edward III. Cambr. 1688, p. 904.

(*b*) *This appears from his age at the time of his promotion to the See of London.*

(*c*) M. Parker, De Antiq. Eccleſ. Brit. Ed. S. Drake Lond. 1729, fol. p. 398.

(*d*) Id. ib. & Godwin, De Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Hereſ. an. 1369.

(*e*) Regiſtr. Sudbury.

[*A*] *He oppoſed the King's demand of a ſubſidy.*] He laid before the Synod a written account of ſome injuries offer'd to him, and William Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter, and conjured the Clergy not to grant the ſubſidy required, till ſatisfaction was made for them. The Synod hereupon being divided, the King cou'd not obtain a ſubſidy, till he had given hopes of redreſs; which however he thought no more of after the breaking up of the Synod (1)

(1) M. Parker, De Antiq. Eccleſ. Brit. Ed. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 383; and Wharton, De Epiſc. &c. Londin. *Londen*, 1695, *8vo*, p. 137.

[*B*] *He publiſh'd a Bull of Pope Gregory* II. *without the King's conſent.*] The Affair was this: Pope Gregory II. had lately excommunicated the Florentines, and had diſpatched his Bulls every where, ordering their effects to be ſeized. The biſhop of London, without conſulting the King, publiſh'd the Pope's Bull at Paul's Croſs, and gave the populace licence to plunder the houſes of ſuch Florentines as were in the City. The Lord Mayor hereupon, reſtraining the violence of the people, clapp'd a ſeal on the doors of the Florentines, and conducted them to the King, who took them into his protection. Afterwards, by order of the King, the biſhop of Exeter, Lord High Chancellor, ſummon'd the biſhop of London into the Court of Chancery, to anſwer for having dared to publiſh the Pope's Bull, without conſent of the King and council, and contrary to the laws of the land. Courtney pleaded the Pope's authority and command. But the Chancellor gave ſentence, that he ſhould either forfeit his temporalities, or revoke his words with his own mouth. With ſome difficulty the biſhop of London obtain'd, that he might re-call them by one of his officers; and accordingly an Official mounted Paul's Croſs, and addreſs'd the people in theſe words: *My Lord ſaid nothing about the Interdict: it is ſtrange you ſhould miſunderſtand, who hear ſo many ſermons from this place* (2).

(2) Chronic. *Eſſexium* dictum. *Apud* Wharton ubi ſupra, p. 138

[*C*] *The Duke of Lancaſter, and other Nobles, ſecretly favoured* Wickliff's *opinions.*] This appeared openly by their behaviour upon this occaſion. The Duke of Lancaſter, the Lord Marſhal Percy, and others, countenanced Wickliff by their preſence in the biſhop of London's Court. There was a vaſt concourſe of people about St Paul's church, ſo that the Lord Percy could not paſs thro' the crowd without difficulty. Courtney was alarmed at Wickliff's appearance in ſo extraordinary a manner: upon which there enſued the following dialogue between the Biſhop and the two Lords above-mention'd; which I ſhall ſet down in Fox's language (*).

(*) Acts and Monuments.

Biſhop proceeded no farther than to enjoin him and his followers ſilence (*f*). In 1378, it is pretended, Courtney was made a Cardinal [*D*]. In 1381, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England (*g*). The ſame year, he was tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury (*b*), in the room of Simon Sudbury [*E*]; and on the 6th of May 1382, he received the Pall from the hands of the Biſhop of London in the archiepiſcopal palace at Croydon. This year alſo he performed the ceremony of crowning Queen Anne, conſort of King Richard II, at Weſtminſter (*i*). Soon after his inauguration, he reſtrained, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, the bailiffs, and other officers, of the ſee of Canterbury, from taking cognizance of adultery and the like crimes [*F*]. About the ſame time, he held a Synod at

(*f*) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. p. 192. *apud* Wharton, De Epiſc. &c. Londin. *Lond.* 1695, p. 139.

(*g*) Dugdale, Chr. Servient. p. 52.

(*b*) Regiſtr. Courtney.

(*i*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. *Duaci*, 1622, p. 536.

'*Biſhop Courtney.* Lord *Percy*, if I had known before hand what maſteries you wou'd have kept, I wou'd have ſtopt you out from coming hither.

'*Duke of Lancaſter.* He ſhall keep ſuch maſteries here, tho' you ſay nay.

'*Lord Percy. Wickliff*, ſit down, for you have many things to anſwer to, and therefore have need of a ſoft ſeat.

'*Biſhop Courtney.* It is unreaſonable that one cited before his Ordinary ſhould ſit down during his anſwer; he ſhall ſtand.

'*Duke of Lancaſter.* The Lord *Percy*'s motion for Wickliff is but reaſonable. And as for you, my lord biſhop, who are grown ſo proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you only, but of all the prelacy in England. Thou beareſt thy ſelf ſo; brag upon thy parents, which ſhall not be able to help thee; they ſhall have enough to do to help themſelves.

'*Biſhop Courtney.* My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any man elſe, but only in God in whom I truſt, by whoſe aſſiſtance I will be bold to ſpeak the truth.

'*Duke of Lancaſter.* Rather than take theſe words at the biſhop's hands, I'll pluck him by the hair of the head out of the church.

Theſe laſt words, tho' ſpoken ſoftly by the Duke to one next him, were over-heard by the Londoners, who, being enraged to ſee their biſhop thus uſed, would have torn the duke to pieces, had not Courtney interpoſed, and checked their fury. However they could not be reſtrained from marching directly to the Duke of Lancaſter's palace in the Savoy, which they plundered, and were preparing to ſet fire to it; when the biſhop, leaving his dinner, haſtened to the Savoy, and, by his preſence and intreaties, quieted the tumult, and ſaved the duke's houſe (3). And here we cannot but take notice of the generous and Chriſtian temper of the biſhop of London, in appearing thus heartily in behalf of the Duke of Lancaſter, after he had been ſo lately outraged by him. Nor is the zeal of the Londoners, and their affection for their biſhop ſhewn on this occaſion, leſs remarkable.

(3) Harpsfield, Hiſtor. Wickleff. *in calce* Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. *Duaci*, 1622, p. 683; & Walſing. Hiſt. Angl. p. 191, 192. *Apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 138, 139.

[*D*] *It is pretended, he was created a Cardinal.*] This is biſhop Godwin's opinion, which he founds upon the hiſtorian Thomas Walſingham, who writes, that the biſhop of London was one of thoſe, whom Urban VI promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. Ciaconius alſo and Onuphrius affirm, that a biſhop of London was, about that time, created a Cardinal; but his name, they tell us, was Adam. Now it is not to be doubted, that one Adam Eſton, an Engliſhman, was honoured with the red hat; but Bale (*), and other authors, tell us, it was by Gregory II. If therefore a biſhop of London was made a Cardinal by Urban VI. in 1378, it muſt be Courtney (4). You ſee biſhop Godwin's argument: upon which M. Aubery (5) makes the following remark. 'Godwin, a modern 'author, will have it, that Adam Eſton was one of the 'creatures of Pope Gregory II, Urban's predeceſſor; 'and as one abſurdity is uſually followed by another, 'this writer, by his own authority, creates a new Cardinal, whom he calls William Courtney biſhop of 'London, becauſe Thomas Walſingham writes, that 'the biſhop of London was one of thoſe, whom Urban VI promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. It 'muſt certainly be acknowledged, that Godwin does 'not deal fairly in this matter; ſince, for fear of being obliged to recognize Adam Eſton for biſhop of 'London, he has ſet down but half his epitaph, † 'and has purpoſely omitted the other part, by which 'the reader might have been informed, that our Cardinal was actually biſhop of London. It muſt however be obſerved, that S. Contelorio writes, that 'William Courtney, being nominated to the Cardinalate in 1378, would never conſent to his promotion. 'But the Engliſh writers will not agree, that there 'were two biſhops of London created Cardinals ſucceſſively by the ſame Pope Urban VI. So that, 'probably, either Adam Eſton was not biſhop of London, which I cannot aſſent to, ſince his epitaph, 'reported by creditable authors, proves the contrary; 'or William Courtney was not created a Cardinal.' See this queſtion diſcuſſed in the *Article* ESTON ADAM. In the mean time, I ſhall only obſerve here, that neither is Cardinal Eſton acknowledged for biſhop of London by our own writers, nor biſhop Courtney for a Cardinal by foreigners.

(*) De Script. Brit. Centur. 7. n. 15.

(4) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Londinenſ. an. 1375.

(5) Hiſtoire General des Cardinaux. Paris 1642, 4*to*, Tom. I. p. 624, 625.

(†) In his Cardinalium Catalogus, &c. n. 31.

[*E*] *He ſucceeded Simon Sudbury in the See of Canterbury.*] He was elected by the Monks of Canterbury, July the 30th 1380 (6), and confirmed by the Pope's Bull of September the 9th 1381, which was publiſhed January the 9th 1382 (7). Having received the Temporalities, and done homage to the king, he repaired to Lambeth; and on the 12th, a Monk of Canterbury came thither, being ſent by the Prior and Convent with the archiepiſcopal croſs: which he delivered to the Archbiſhop, ſitting in his chapel, with theſe words: 'Reverend father, I am the meſſenger of the ſupreme 'King, who intreats, commands, and enjoins, that 'you take upon you the government of his Church, 'and that you love and protect it: In token of which 'meſſage, I deliver into your hand the banner of the 'ſupreme King.' *Pater Reverende, nuncius ſum ſummi regis, qui te rogat, mandat, et præcipit ut eccleſiam ſuam regendam ſuſcipias, eamque diligas et protegas: In cujus ſignum nuncii, ſummi regis vexillum tibi trado ferendum* (8). The archbiſhop, not having yet received the Pall, was doubtful whether the Croſs might be carried, as uſual, before him, and whether he had a right to crown the new queen. But theſe ſcruples were eaſily removed by the monks of Canterbury, who brought precedents for both. Nevertheleſs the archbiſhop, though, upon the authority of the monks, he ſuffered the Croſs to be carried before him, yet cautiouſly entered a Proteſt, that he did not do it in contempt of the Court of Rome. *Archiepiſcopus autem, accepta a monacho cruce, dubitationem ipſe hanc injecit: An Crucem ante ſe perferri liceat, antequam a Papa pallium accepiſſet. Ex eaque quæſtione alia dubitatio nata eſt. Regis Bohemiæ ſoror regi Angliæ Richardo Secundo nuptura in Angliam hoc tempore venit. Has regias nuptias Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus jure, ut diximus, metropolitico celebrare, et reginam coronare debuit. De quo non minus ante acceptum pallium, quam de cruce gerenda, dubitavit. Qui tam perplexus dubitationis ſcrupulus non à Juriſconſultis et Cauſidicis, ſed à Monachis Cantuarienſibus, qui actus crebros et frequentes rerum ſimiliter ſine pallio geſtarum proferebant, et Cantuarienſis Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem allegabant, facile ſublatus eſt. Et tamen archiepiſcopus, etſi ex monachorum aſſertione, geſta ante ſe cruce, inceſſit, Proteſtationem cautè interpoſuit: Non ſe id in Romanæ Curiæ contemptum facere* (9).

(6) Regiſtr. Eccl. Cantuar.

(7) Regiſtr. Courtney.

(8) Verba Archiv. *apud* M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 398.

(9) M. Parker, ibid.

[*F*] *He reſtrained the officers of the ſee of Canterbury from taking cognizance of adultery, and the like crimes.*] He extended his cenſures to others, who were guilty of the like offence: for, about two years after, we are told (10), he excommunicated one Richard Iſmonger, a Kentiſh-man, for pretending to puniſh crimes, cognizable only in the eccleſiaſtical courts, by meer lay authority. Who, or in what office, this perſon was, we are not told: but, it ſeems, he could not obtain abſolution, but by ſubmitting to be beaten with a cudgel, naked, three ſucceſſive market-days, in the open market-place of Weſt-Maling; to have the ſame puniſhment repeated in the market-places of Maidſtone and Canterbury; and, at the latter place,

(10) Id. ib. p. 400.

at London, in which ſeveral of Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous [*G*]. In 1383, he held a ſynod at Oxford, in which a ſubſidy was granted to the King [*H*]. The ſame year, in purſuance of the Pope's Bull directed to him for that purpoſe, he iſſued his mandate to the Biſhop of London for celebrating the feſtival of St Anne, mother of the bleſſed Virgin (*k*). In 1384, he had a conteſt with the Earl of Arundel, ſome of whoſe ſervants had robbed one of his fiſh-ponds [*I*]. The ſame year, the King, by the advice of his Parliament, put the adminiſtration of the government into the hands of eleven Commiſſioners [*K*], of whom Archbiſhop Courtney was the firſt (*l*). In 1387, he held a ſynod at London, in which a tenth was granted to the King (*m*). The ſame year, it being moved in a Parliament, held at London on occaſion of the diſſenſion between the King and his nobles, to inflict capital puniſhment on ſome of the ringleaders, and it being prohibited by the Canons for Biſhops to be preſent and vote in caſes of blood, the Archbiſhop and his ſuffragans withdrew from the houſe of Lords (*n*), having firſt entered a Proteſt in relation to their Peerage [*L*]. In 1399, he held a ſynod in St Mary's church in Cambridge, in which a tenth was granted to the King [*M*], on condition that he

(*k*) Spelman's Councils, Vol. II. p. 636.

(*l*) H. de Knyghton, *De Eventib. Angliæ*, l. v. *ap.* X. Scriptor. col. 2685.

(*m*) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 401.

(*n*) Regiſtr. Courtney, fol. 174, & Walſingham. Hiſt Angl. *apud* M. Parker, ubi ſupra.

place, to enter naked into the Cathedral Church, and offer a wax taper of five pounds weight at the ſhrine of Thomas Becket.

[*G*] *He held a ſynod, in which Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous.*] A more particular account of this ſynod will be found in the article WICKLIFF. Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, Doctor in Divinity, being ſuſpected of favouring Wickliff's doctrines, appeared before this ſynod, and were obliged to diſclaim thoſe tenets, and ſubſcribe to the contrary. Nicholas Hereford and Philip Repindon, Doctors in Divinity, and John Aſheton, maſter of Arts, were accuſed in the ſame ſynod of hereſy, and, refuſing to purge themſelves, were excommunicated. The King, in ſupport of this eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, directed his letters to the archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, impowering them to ſeize and impriſon all perſons ſuſpected of the aforeſaid hereſy (11).

(11) Id. ib. p. 399.

[*H*] *A ſynod at Oxford, in which a ſubſidy was granted to the King.*] It was held in St Fridiſwide's monaſtery. Archbiſhop Courtney officiated at divine ſervice, and the ſermon was preached by the Chancellor Dr Rigge. After the affair of the ſubſidy was over, the biſhops proceeded to enquire after perſons ſuſpected of hereſy: upon which occaſion, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repindon, and John Aſheton, excommunicated in the laſt ſynod, recanted their opinions, and were abſolved. And, to ſecure the Univerſity from latitude in opinion, all the Graduates were obobliged to ſwear a renuntiation of Wickliff's tenets condemn'd at London (12).

(12) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 193; & M. Parker, ibid.

[*I*] *The Earl of Arundel's ſervants had robbed one of the archbiſhop's fiſh-ponds.*] It was at his mannor of South-Maling in the dioceſe of Chicheſter. The Earl's ſervants had dragged the pond, and cleared it of all the fiſh. The archbiſhop, in a great rage, ordered the biſhop of Chicheſter to excommunicate the robbers, whom he ſtyled ſacrilegious perſons, and violaters of the Church of Canterbury. The Earl hereupon applied to the King, deſiring his majeſty to take cognizance of the affair, that he might not incur the ſentence of excommunication. The King complying with with Earl's requeſt, the archbiſhop wrote to the biſhop of Chicheſter, to revoke the excommunication. And thus the affair dropped. *Archiepiſcopus, qui in Wickliffianos ante vehementiſſimus erat, jam in Arundeliæ comitem magnam controverſiam inſtituit. Hujus ſervuli piſcinam in archiepiſcopi manerio de Southmalling Ciceſtrenſis dioceſis ſublatis piſcibus evacuaverunt. Quo facto archiepiſcopus in magnam actus ſævitiam Ciceſtrenſi Epiſcopo mandavit, ut piſcinæ ſuæ prædones, quos ſacrilegos et Cantuarienſis eccleſiæ violatores nominavit, excommunicatione feriret. Comes autem Regem adiit, petiitque, ut de ea controverſia, ne excommunicationem incurrat, in ſua præſentia tranſigatur. Atque Archiepiſcopus, poſtquam Rex hujus controverſiæ cognitionem ſuſcepiſſet, ad Ciceſtrenſem Epiſcopum ſcripſit, ut latas excommunicationes revocaret* (13).

(13) M. Parker, ib. p. 400, 401.

[*K*] *The King put the adminiſtration of the government into the hands of eleven Commiſſioners.*] Namely, William archbiſhop of Canterbury, Alexander archbiſhop of York, Edmund duke of York, Thomas duke of Gloceſter, William biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas biſhop of Exeter, Nicholas abbot of Waltham, Richard earl of Arundel, John lord Cobham, Richard Le Scroop, and John Devereux. This committee was authorized to receive the publick revenues, to inſpect the King's houſhold and Courts, in ſhort, to direct the government, and make what reformations in the kingdom they thought fit. But their commiſſion expired at the end of one year (14). Henry de Knyghton adds three more commiſſioners to the foregoing, *viz.* the biſhop of Ely Chancellor, the biſhop of Hereford Treaſurer, and John de Waltham Privy-Seal, making the whole number fourteen (15).

(14) Rot. Parl. 10 Ric. II.

(15) De Eventib. Angliæ, l. v. *ap.* X. Sciptor. col. 2685.

[*L*] *The biſhops entered a proteſt in relation to their Peerage.*] The purport of it is to ſet forth, *that the Lords Spiritual, by virtue of their Baronies, and as Peers of the Realm, had a right to ſit, vote, and give judgment with the reſt of the Peers, in all caſes and matters tranſacted in Parliament.* But *ſince Impeachments of High Treaſon, and Tryals for Life, were coming on, and they were forbidden by the Canons of the Church to concern themſelves in matters of that nature*, they proteſted, *that, for this only reaſon they were obliged to withdraw.* And thus having guarded the entireneſs of their Peerage, they concluded with declaring, *that nothing done in their abſence upon this occaſion ſhould be hereafter queſtioned or oppoſed by any of their body.* This inſtrument, at the inſtance and petition of the archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, was read in full Parliament, and entered upon the Parliament Rolls, by the King's command, with the aſſent of the Lords Temporal and the Commons (16).

(16) Regiſtr. Courtney, fol. 174. Rot. Parl. 11 Ric. II. n. 9. See alſo M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 401.

[*M*] *A tenth was granted to the King.*] Speed has particularly dilated upon the circumſtances of this grant, which we ſhall repreſent in that hiſtorian's own words. 'The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden 'at London, had yeelded to ayde the king with a 'Fifteenth, upon condition that the Clergie ſhould ſuc-'cour him with a *Tenth and an Halfe*: againſt which 'unjuſt proportion *William de Courtney*, archbiſhop of 'Canterbury, moſt ſtiffly oppoſed, alleadging, *that the* 'Church ought to be free, nor in any wiſe to be taxed 'by the Laitie, and that himſelf would rather die then 'endure that the Church of England (the liberties 'whereof had by ſo many free Parliaments, in all times, 'and not only in the raigne of this king, beene confirmed) 'ſhould be made a bond-maide. This anſwere ſo of-'fended the *Commons*, that the Knights of the Shires, 'and ſome Peeres of the land, with extreame fury be-'ſought, *That Temporalities might be taken away from* 'eccleſiaſtical perſons, ſaying, *that it was an Almeſdeed, and an Act of Charitie, ſo to do, thereby to humble* 'them. Neither did they doubt, but that their pe-'tition, which they had exhibited to the king, would 'take effect. Hereupon they deſigned among them-'ſelves, out of which Abbey, which ſhould receive 'ſuch a certaine ſumme, and out of which, another. 'I my ſelf (ſaith a * Monk of *St Albans*) heard one of 'thoſe Knights confidently ſweare, that he would have 'a yearly penſion of a thouſand Markes out of the 'Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the 'king, having heard both parts, commanded the Pe-'titioners to ſilence, and the Petition to be razed out, 'ſaying, *He wou'd maintaine the Engliſh Church in the* 'qualitie of the ſame ſtate or better, in which himſelfe 'had known it to be, when hee came to the crowne. 'The archbiſhop hereupon, having conſulted with 'the Clergie, came to the King, and declared, that 'he and the Clergie had with one conſent willingly 'provided to ſupply his majeſties occaſions with a 'Tenth. This Grant the King tooke ſo contentedly,

(*) Tho. Walſingham.

he ſhould paſs over into France with an army before the firſt of October following (o). This year, Archbiſhop Courtney ſet out upon his metropolitical viſitation, in which he was at firſt ſtrongly oppoſed by the Biſhops of Exeter and Saliſbury [N]: but thoſe prelates being at laſt reduced to terms of ſubmiſſion, he proceed in his viſitation without farther oppoſition: only, at the interceſſion of the Abbot of St Alban's, he refrained from viſiting certain Monaſteries at Oxford (p). The ſame year, the King directed his Royal Mandate to the Archbiſhop, not to countenance, or contribute any thing towards a ſubſidy for the Pope [O]. In a Parliament held at Wincheſter 1392, Archbiſhop Courtney, being probably ſuſpected of abetting the papal encroachments upon the Church and State, delivered in an anſwer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons in relation to thoſe encroachments [P]. The ſame year, he viſited the dioceſe of Lincoln, in which, by his vigilance

(o) Walſingh. ib. ap. M. Parker, ibid. p. 402.

(p) Regiſt. Courtney, fol. 86; & Walſ. ib. ap. M. Parker, ib p. 404.

' as he openly affirmed he was better pleaſed with this ' free contribution of one Tenth for the preſent, than ' if he had gotten foure by compulſion (17).' We have much the ſame account, but more briefly deliver'd, by the author of the *Antiquities*, &c. (18), in the following words: *In ſuperiori autem Parliamento, cum Laici Subſidium ſub hac conditione regi conceſſiſſent, ſi Clerus Decimam concederet; Archiepiſcopus cum ſuis Suffraganeis valde iniquum et peſſimi exempli aſſerebant, Cleri in regem donationes, quæ ſpontaneæ gratuitæque eſſe debent, à Laicis tamſtrictis modis et conditionibus alligari: proinde ſe de quacunque cleri conceſſione in Synodo non acturos, niſi illa laicorum conditione deleta. Itaque Rex, qui eo die interfuit, expungi laicorum conditionem juſſit; quod mox publice in Parliamento factum eſt.*

(17) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britaine, &c. Lond. 1632, fol. p. 726.

(18) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

[N] *He was oppoſed by the biſhops of Exeter and Saliſbury.*] The biſhop of Exeter (*) iſſued his mandate, forbidding all perſons in his dioceſe, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the archbiſhop's juriſdiction. Courtney iſſued a mandate in oppoſition thereto, requiring their ſubmiſſion to his authority. The biſhop appealed to the Pope, and fixed up his Appeal upon the gates of his Cathedral. The archbiſhop notwithſtanding proceeded in his Viſitation, and cited the biſhop to appear before him, and anſwer to certain articles exhibited againſt him. The Citation was diſpatch'd by one of the archbiſhop's Officers named Peter Hill; who being met by ſome of the biſhop of Exeter's ſervants in the town of Topſham, they, diſcovering his buſineſs, not only beat him moſt unmercifully, but obliged the poor fellow to chew, and ſwallow down the *Inſtrument*, which was of parchment, wax and all. The King, being informed of this violence ſent an order to the earl of Devonſhire, and others, to apprehend the biſhop's ſervants, and bring them before the archbiſhop. Which being done, Courtney enjoined them the following penance. They were to walk in proceſſion before the Croſs, in their ſhirts only, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands; to pay a certain ſtipend to a Prieſt for ſaying daily Maſs at the tomb of the Earl of Devonſhire; and laſtly to pay twenty ſhillings each towards repairing the walls of the city of Exeter. The biſhop in the mean time proſecuted his appeal in the Court of Rome; but finding the archbiſhop's credit prevail there, and that the King likewiſe eſpouſed his cauſe, he thought it the moſt prudent courſe to withdraw his appeal, and to acknowledge both his own offence and the archbiſhop's juriſdiction (19). The biſhop of Saliſbury (†), when it came to his turn to be viſited, made no leſs reſiſtance, but proceeded, as he thought, with more prudence and caution, than the biſhop of Exeter had done. For being of opinion, that the archbiſhop's viſitatorial power was founded ſolely upon the authority of Pope Urban, who was now dead, he found means to procure from Pope Boniface, his ſucceſſor, an exemption of himſelf and his dioceſe from metropolitical viſitation in virtue of Pope Urban's authority. With this privilege he waited on the archbiſhop at Croydon, but met with an unexpected reception from that Prelate, who declared he would viſit the dioceſe of Saliſbury, notwithſtanding any papal exemption, and commanded the biſhop to be ready to receive him on a certain day in his Cathedral Church. The biſhop, depending on his privilege, took no notice of this order, and, the archbiſhop beginning his viſitation, appealed to the Pope. The archbiſhop immediately excommunicated him, and commenced a proſecution at Law againſt him, for endeavouring to withdraw himſelf from the ſubjection he owed to the See of Canterbury. The biſhop of Saliſbury, terrified by this ſeverity, and the recent example of his brother of Exeter, renounced his appeal, acknowledged the archbiſhop's juriſdiction, and, thro' the interceſſion of the Earl of Saliſbury, and others, obtained Abſolution and Reconciliation (20).

(*) Tho. Brentingham, late Lord Treaſurer.

(19) Regiſtr. Courtney, fol. 86; & M. Parker, ib. p. 402, 403.

(†) Joh. Waltham

(20) Ibid.

[O] *The King commanded him not to countenance, or contribute any thing towards a ſubſidy for the Pope.*] The writ ſets forth, ' that the archbiſhop could not ' be ignorant, that the King was bound by oath to ' maintain the rights and cuſtoms of the kingdom, to ' govern impartially by the Laws, to ſecure the pro- ' perty of the ſubject, and to prevent impoſitions be- ' ing charged or levied upon the people without the ' common conſent of the kingdom.' The King ſuggeſts farther, ' that the Commons, lately aſſembled in ' Parliament at Weſtminſter, had addreſs'd him for a ' remedy againſt the Impoſitions upon the Clergy, at ' that time exacted by the Court of Rome; and had ' petition'd him, that if any perſon ſhould bring in any ' *Papal Bulls* for levying ſuch impoſitions, or ſhould ' actually collect or levy ſuch impoſitions, he ſhould ' be adjudged, and ſuffer, as a traytor to him and his ' kingdom.' His highneſs adds, ' that he had granted, ' with the conſent of the ſame Parliament, that ' nothing ſhould be levied or paid, that might tend ' to the burthen or damage of the ſubject and king- ' dom: That notwithſtanding this legal proviſion, he ' was informed of a new Papal Impoſition upon the ' Clergy, which by his *(the archbiſhop's)* authority, ' or that of his Suffragans by his order, was to be ' levied without the common advice and aſſent of the ' kingdom; which he *(the King)* could not ſuffer ' conſiſtently with his oath.' And therefore in the cloſe he commands the archbiſhop, ' upon his al- ' legiance, and under the higheſt forfeitures, to revoke ' his orders for the levying this tax, and to return ' what had been already paid,' enjoining him ' not ' to pay, or contribute any thing to this ſubſidy, un- ' der the penalties aforeſaid.' *Witneſs the King at Weſtminſter, the 10th day of October* (21). Writs of the ſame purport and date were directed to the archbiſhop of York, to all the biſhops of both Provinces, to the Guardians of the Spiritualities, and to the ſeveral Collectors of this Tax. A like Writ was directed to the Pope's Nuntio, commanding him to deſiſt from exacting this ſubſidy, *ſub forisfactura vitæ et membrorum*, under forfeiture of life and limb. This impoſition was the payment of a *Tenth* laid upon the Clergy by the Pope, as appears by the title of the record, *Decimis Papæ non ſolvendis.*

(21) Rot. Clauſ. 13 Ric. II. P. i. M. 17. *De Decimis Papæ non ſolvendis.*

[P] *He delivered in an anſwer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons*, &c.] The tenor of it was as follows. ' To our Dread Sovereign Lord the King ' in this preſent Parliament, his humble Chaplain, ' *William* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, gives in his An- ' ſwer to the *Petition* brought into the *Parliament* by ' the *Commons* of the Realm, in which Petition are ' contained certain *Articles*: That is to ſay, Firſt, ' *Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, and all his* ' *Liege Subjects, ought of right, and had been always* ' *accuſtomed to ſue in the King's Court, to recover their* ' *preſentations to churches, to maintain their titles to* ' *prebendaries, and other benefices of Holy Church, to* ' *which they have a right to preſent: The cognizance* ' *of which plea belongs ſolely to the Court of our So-* ' *vereign Lord the King by virtue of his antient pre-* ' *rogative, maintained and practiſed in the reigns of* ' *all his predeceſſors Kings of England; and when* ' *judgment is given in his highneſs's ſaid court upon any* ' *ſuch plea, the archbiſhops, biſhops, and other ſpi-* ' *ritual perſons, who have the right of giving In-* ' *ſtitution to ſuch benefices within their juriſdiction, are* ' *bound*

vigilance and activity, he gave a conſiderable check to the growth of Wickliff's doctrines (*q*). In 1395, he obtained from the Pope a grant of four pence in the pound on all eccleſiaſtical benefices; in which he was oppoſed by the Biſhop of Lincoln, who would not ſuffer it to be collected in his dioceſe, and appealed to the Pope (*r*). But, before the matter could be decided, Archbiſhop Courtney died, July the 31ſt 1396, at Maidſtone in Kent, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury [*Q*], under a monument of alabaſter, on the South ſide, near the tomb of Thomas Becket, and at the feet of the Black Prince; the King, who was then going to marry the King of France's daughter, being preſent, with ſeveral of his nobles, at the funeral ſolemnity (*s*). This Prelate founded a College of Secular Prieſts at Maidſtone. He left a thouſand marks for the repair of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury; alſo to the ſame church a ſilver-gilt image of the Trinity, with ſix Apoſtles ſtanding round it weighing 160 pounds; ſome books [*R*], and ſome eccleſiaſtical veſtments (*t*). He obtained from King Richard a grant of four fairs at Canterbury yearly, *viz.* on Innocents Day, Whitſun-Eve, the Eve of Becket's tranſlation, and Michaelmas-Eve; each to continue nine days, and to be kept within the ſite of the Priory (*u*).

(*q*) Knyghton, ubi ſupra, col. 2736, 2737.

(*r*) Walſ. ib. *ap.* M. Parker, ibid. p. 405.

(*s*) Chronic. W. Thorn, *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 2197, 2198. See alſo Dart's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. Lond. 1726, p. 157.

(*t*) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cant. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 61.

(*u*) Dart, ubi ſupra.

'*bound to execute ſuch judgments, and uſed always to make execution of them at the King's command (ſince no lay perſon can make any ſuch execution), and are alſo bound to make execution of many other commands of our Lord the King: Of which right the Crown of England has been all along peaceably poſſeſs'd: Notwithſtanding, of late, divers proceſſes have been made by the Holy Father the Pope, and Excommunications publiſh'd againſt ſeveral Engliſh Biſhops, for making ſuch executions, and acting in purſuance to the King's commands in the caſes above-mentioned; and ſuch cenſures of his Holineſs are inflicted in open diſheriſon of the crown, and ſubverſion of the Prerogative Royal, of the King's Laws, and his whole Realm, unleſs prevented by proper remedies.*' To this article, the archbiſhop, premiſing his Proteſtation, 'that it was not his intention to affirm, that our holy 'father the Pope has no authority to excommunicate a 'biſhop, purſuant to the Laws of Holy Church, de- 'clares and anſwers, that if any executions of proceſſes 'are made, or ſhall be made, by any perſon; if any 'cenſures of excommunication ſhall be publiſhed and 'ſerved upon any Engliſh biſhops, or any other of the 'King's ſubjects, for their having made execution of 'any ſuch commands, he maintains ſuch cenſures to be 'prejudicial to the King's prerogative, as is ſet forth 'in the *Commons Petition:* And that ſo far forth he is 'reſolved to ſtand with our Lord the King, and ſup- 'port his Crown, in the matters above-mentioned, to 'the utmoſt of his power. And whereas it is alledged 'in the Petition, *That complaint has been made, that the ſaid Holy Father the Pope had deſigned to tranſlate ſome Engliſh Prelates to Sees out of the Realm, and ſome from one biſhoprick to another, without the knowledge and conſent of our Lord the King, and without the aſſent of the Prelates ſo tranſlated (which Prelates are very ſerviceable and neceſſary to our Lord the King, and his whole Realm); which tranſlations if they ſhould be ſuffered, the ſtatutes of the Realm would be defeated, and made in a great meaſure inſignificant, and the ſaid Lieges of his Highneſs's Council would be removed out of his kingdoms, without their aſſent, and againſt their inclination, and the treaſure of the ſaid Realm would be exported: By which means the country would become deſtitute both of wealth and counſel, to the utter deſtruction of the ſaid Realm: And thus the Crown of England, which has always been ſo free and independent, as not to have any earthly ſovereign, but to be immediately ſubject to God in all things touching the Prerogatives and Royalty of the ſaid Crown, would be made ſubject to the Pope, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm defeated and ſet aſide by him at pleaſure, to the utter deſtruction of the Sovereignty of our Lord the King, his Crown and Royalty, and his whole kingdom, which God forbid.* 'The ſaid archbiſhop, firſt proteſting, that 'tis not his 'intention to affirm, that our Holy Father aforeſaid 'cannot make tranſlations of Prelates according to the 'Laws of Holy Church, anſwers and declares, that if 'any Engliſh Prelates, who by their capacity and 'qualifications were very ſerviceable and neceſſary to 'to our Lord the King, and his Realm, ſhould be 'tranſlated to any Sees in foreign dominions, or the 'ſage Leiges of his Council were forced out of the 'kingdom againſt their will, and that by this means 'the wealth and treaſure of the kingdom ſhould be 'exported; that ſuch tranſlations are prejudicial to 'the King and his Crown, and that if any ſuch thing 'ſhould happen, he reſolves to adhere loyally to the 'King, and endeavour, as he is bound by his allegi- 'ance, to ſupport his Highneſs in this, and all other 'inſtances, in which the rights of his Crown were 'concerned.' He concluded with praying, that this Declaration might be entered in the *Parliament Rolls*; which was granted (22). This Declaration of archbiſhop Courtney's ſeems to have led the way to the famous *Statute* of *Præmunire* paſſed in this Parliament; and it is evident from hence, that this Prelate was no vaſſal to the Court of Rome, nor aſſerted the Pope's Supremacy ſo far as to weaken his allegiance, or to make him an ill ſubject.

(22) Rot. Parl. 16 Ric. II. N. 20. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 348.

[*Q*] *He was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury.*] It appears by a codicil annexed to his Will, extant in the *Archives* of the church of Canterbury, that, upon his death-bed, not thinking himſelf worthy to lye in his own Metropolitan, or in any other Cathedral or Collegiate Church, he choſe, and deſired, to be buried in the church-yard of Maidſtone-College, in the place deſigned for his Eſquire John Butler. *Languens in extremis in interiori camera Manerii de Maydenſton, voluit et ordinavit, quod quia non reputavit ſe dignum, ut dixit, in ſua Metropolitana, aut aliqua Cathedrali aut Collegiata Eccleſia ſepeliri, voluit et elegit ſepulturam ſuam in Cœmeterio Eccleſiæ Collegiatæ de Maydenſton, in loco deſignato Johanni Botelere Armigero ſuo* (23). But moſt certain it is, Dart tells us (24), that, notwithſtanding this humble thought of his, in his lowneſs of ſpirits, King Richard, being at Canterbury, when he was to be buried, overruled his Will, and ordered him to be interred in that Cathedral.

(23) Verba Archiv. *Apud* Wharton, Angl. Sacra, Vol. I. p. 121.

(24) *Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Cant.* Lond. 1726, p. 157.

[*R*] *— ſome books.*] Theſe were: St Auguſtin's *Milleloquium*, A *Dictionary* in three volumes, and *Doctor de Lira* in two volumes. His nephew Richard Courtney was to have the uſe of them during his life, and his executors to return them after his death, under a penalty of three hundred pounds; for which they gave a bond. My author calls them, *ſex libros precioſos*, ſix valuable books (25).

(25) DiesObitual. Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 62.

T

COWELL (JOHN) a learned Civilian in the latter end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth, century, was born at Ernſborough in the pariſh of Swimbridge in Devonſhire (*a*), and educated at Eaton-School, where he ſo diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his good parts and agreeable induſtry, that he was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge (*b*), in the year 1570 [*A*]. Here he applied himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies, and by

(*a*) Catal. Soc. Col. Reg. Cantab. MS. mentioned in Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. Lond. 1708. *N. B.* It is not paged. Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exon, 1701, p. 194. Fuller's Worthies in Devon, p. 262.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 160, edit. Lond. 1721.

[*A*] *He was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge, in the year* 1570.] And there, in all probability, put under the tuition of his name-ſake and relation John Cowell fellow of that Houſe, who had been one of the Univerſity-Proctors in the year 1561 (1).

(1) Faſti Cantabr. MS.

[*B*] *Among*

by his learning and unblameable courſe of life, grew up to ſo much reputation and intereſt in the Univerſity, that he was elected Fellow of that Houſe: And after he had taken the two degres in Arts, he had the honour to be choſen one of the Proctors for the year 1585 (c). He particularly turn'd his thoughts to the ſtudy of the Civil-Law, by the advice of that active Prelate Richard Bancroft Biſhop of London (d), who had judgment to find the genius of our Author, and knew the great neceſſity the Church was in, to have men of abilities and integrity in that profeſſion. He was regularly admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Laws in his own Univerſity (e); and in 1600 was incorporated into the ſame degree at Oxford (f). His Reputation was now ſo well eſtabliſh'd, that he was made the King's Profeſſor of Civil Law in the Univerſity of Cambridge; and about the ſame time, Maſter of Trinity-Hall; which two ſtations had as much Honour and Profit, as could poſſibly be beſtowed, in that place, on a man of his Profeſſion (g). In 1603 and 1604 he executed the office of Vice-chancellor of Cambridge (h). His chief patron Biſhop Bancroft being advanc'd to the ſee of Canterbury in December 1604, and projecting many things which he thought would be for the intereſt and honour of Church and State, employed ſeveral men in their proper profeſſions; imagining that to be the moſt effectual way to promote the public ſervice (i). Among the reſt, he ſollicited Dr Cowell [B] to ſhow himſelf an antiquary, and a uſeful man, by giving the interpretation of ſuch words and terms, as created moſt difficulty to the Students of our Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Common Laws. This laborious taſk the Doctor performed with ſo much application and diligence, that his work was finiſhed in about three years time, and publiſhed under the title of THE INTERPRETER [C]. By this book the Archbiſhop was ſo well ſatisfied with the author's parts, induſtry, and courage, that upon the death of Sir Edward Stanhope, Vicar General to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which happen'd on the 16th of March 1608, his Grace conferr'd that honourable place on Dr Cowell, who had practiſed before as an Advocate in the Arches (k). In this ſtation, he carried himſelf with that fairneſs and integrity, that equity and honour, as raiſed him no enemies and loſt him no friends. And if he was afterwards invidious as a writer, he was ſtill blameleſs as a judge: For, when the warmeſt objections were made againſt ſome expreſſions in his book, there was not any fault found with his adminiſtration of juſtice (l). For ſome time, his book paſs'd uncenſured; but at laſt great offence was taken at it: Becauſe, as was pretended, the author had ſpoken with too much liberty, and in too ſharp expreſſions, of the Common Law, and ſome eminent profeſſors of it, particularly Littleton. Moreover, he had recited Hottoman's reflections on his treatiſe of Tenures, and by reciting them was thought to make them his own. This eſpecially fired Sir Edward Coke, then chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, who was more particularly concern'd for the honour of Littleton, whom he had commented upon; and valued himſelf as the chief Advocate of his Profeſſion. Another thing ſeems to have put Dr Cowell out of favour with this Judge; namely, within two years after the publication of the Interpreter, Archbiſhop Bancroft ſenſible that the juriſdiction of the Spiritual Courts was perpetually obſtructed by the grant of Prohibitions from Weſtminſter-hall, employed Dr Cowell to draw up Reaſons and Exceptions againſt the too frequent grants of Prohibitions; which were delivered to King James I. in time of Parliament, under the title of *Articuli Cleri*, or the Clergy's Articles. Theſe Articles the King ordered to be argued by the Judges, and their Arguments are printed by Coke in his XIIth Report, who had the chief hand in them: and was now more and more incens'd againſt Dr Cowell, whom he took for a profeſs'd enemy to the Weſtminſter-Courts, and therefore directly or obliquely reflects upon him in ſeveral pages of his works [D]. But paper-reproofs not being ſatisfactory, Sir Edward Coke, who was

(c) Ibid. He was choſen through the recommendation of William Lord Burghley. Strype's Annals, edit. 1728, Vol. III. p. 268, 269.

(d) See Epiſtle Dedicat. to the Interpreter, 1607.

(e) Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. Lond. 1708.

(f) Wood, Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(g) Preface, ubi ſupra.

(h) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 157.

(i) Preface to the Doctor's Interpreter, edit. 1708.

(k) Continuat. of Hatcher's Catal. of Provoſts, Fellows, &c. of King's-college, Cambr. MS.

(l) Pref. to the Interpreter, as above.

[B] *Among the reſt, he ſollicited Dr Cowell —— to give the interpretation of the difficult words in our Laws.*] This the Doctor hints at, in his Dedication of *The Interpreter* to the Archbiſhop, in theſe words. — 'Yet the remembrance of thoſe your honourable 'Provocations, whereby at my coming to your Grace 'from the Univerſity, you firſt put me upon theſe 'Studies, at the laſt by a kind of neceſſity inforc'd me 'to this attempt; becauſe I could not ſee how well to 'avoid it, but by adventuring the hateful Note of 'Unthankfulneſs.'

[C] THE INTERPRETER.] The whole title of it was as follows, 'The *Interpreter*, or Book 'containing the ſignification of Words: wherein is ſet 'forth the true meaning of all, or the moſt part of 'ſuch Words and Terms, as are mentioned in the 'Law-writers, or Statutes of this Victorious and Renowned Kingdom, requiring any Expoſition or Interpretation. A work not only Profitable, but 'Neceſſary for ſuch as deſire throughly to be inſtructed in the Knowledge of our Laws, Statutes, or 'other Antiquities. Collected by *John Cowell* Doctor, 'and the King's Majeſties Profeſſor of the Civil Law 'in the Univerſity of Cambridge. *In legum obſcuritate captio.*' At Cambridge, Printed by John Legate, Anno 1607, 4*to*. It was re-printed in 1609, and ſeveral times ſince, particularly in 1638, for which Archbiſhop Laud was reflected upon, and it was made an Article againſt him at his tryal, as if the impreſſion of that book had been done by his authority, or at leaſt with his connivance, in order to countenance the King's arbitrary meaſures (2). In 1677, and 1684 it was publiſhed, with large Additions, by Tho. Manley of the Middle-Temple, Eſq; and again in 1708 with very conſiderable improvements by another hand. In all theſe later Editions, thoſe paſſages that were dubious or offenſive have been corrected or omitted.

(2) Hiſt. of the Troubles and Tryal of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 235, Lond. 1695.

[D] *Sir Edward Coke reflects upon him in ſeveral pages of his Works.*] Being the grand Oracle of the Common Law, as Dr Cowell was of the Civil, emulation produced ſo great an ill will between thoſe two great men; eſpecially becauſe the Doctor, who was well ſkilled in both Laws, practiſed frequently at Weſtminſter-hall as well as at Doctors Commons; that Sir Edward took all occaſions to affront him, and uſed to call him in deriſion Doctor *Cow-heel*. It is to be obſerved, that at that time the conteſt ran very high between the Civilians and Common-Lawyers, the latter of which were diſcountenanc'd by the Court (*).

(*) Fuller's Worthies; in Devon. p. 262.

[E] *To*

was of some authority with the King, and had good interest in the House of Commons, represented Dr Cowell as an enemy to both (*l*). He knew, nothing would so much excite the jealousy of the King, who was very fond of Power, as to touch upon the point of Prerogative, and therefore he suggested, that Dr Cowell 'had disputed too nicely upon the 'mysteries of this our monarchy, yea in some points very derogatory to the supream power 'of this Crown (*m*):' And had asserted, 'That the King's prerogative is in some cases 'limited (*n*).' The author, by touching upon so tender a point, was in great danger of being ruin'd; but, in all probability, was saved through the Archbishop's interest. His adversaries hereupon turn'd the tables, and resolved to make him a betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the People, thinking this accusation would do more with the Parliament, than the other had done with the King. The Complaint against him in the House of Commons was carried on by men of parts and interest, and it came to this issue, that the author was committed to custody, and his book publickly burnt (*o*). Moreover the Commons complained of him to the Lords, as equally struck at, who resolved to censure his Errors and Boldness [*E*]; but upon the interposition of the King, who declared that the man had mistaken the fundamental points and constitutions of Parliament, and promised to condemn the Doctrines of the book as absurd, together with the author of them, they proceeded no farther (*p*). However, the King published a Proclamation (*q*) on the 25th of March 1610 [*F*], wherein, 'he not only prohibited the buying, uttering, or reading of 'the said book, but also straitly commanded all and singular persons whatsoever, who had 'or should have any of them in their hands or custody, that upon pain of his high dis-'pleasure and the consequence thereof, they deliver the same, presently upon the pub-'lication thereof, to the Lord Mayor of London, if they or any of them were dwelling 'in or near that city; or otherwise to the Sheriff of the county where they should reside; 'and, in the two Universities, to the Chancellor or Vice-chancellor there, to the intent 'that further order might be given for the utter suppressing thereof [*G*].' When Dr Cowell had thus felt the displeasure of the King, and the indignation of the people; he took his leave of the press, and retired to his college and his private studies, where he lived inoffensively and in good repute; but not averse however to serve the publick, either with his advice, or any other way. It was his misfortune to be afflicted with the stone, for which being cut, that operation proved fatal to him: for he died of it on the eleventh of October, 1611; and was buried in the chapel of Trinity-hall under the altar (*r*), where there is an inscription to his memory [*H*]. He writ other things besides *the Interpreter* above-mentioned [*I*]. And he was a considerable benefactor to the college of which he had

(*l*) Preface, as above.

(*m*) King James's Speech, dat. 25 March 1610.

(*n*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*o*) Pref. to the Interpreter, as above. The Commons were very desirous to proceed criminally against him; nay even to hang him, if the King had not interposed. See Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; Lond. fol. 1725, Vol. III. p. 125, 131.

(*p*) Miscellanea Parliamentaria, by W. Petyt, Esq; p. 64.

(*q*) Which is inserted in Preface to the Interpreter, edit. 1708.

(*r*) Preface, as above.

[*E*] *To censure his Errors and Boldness.*] The Errors charg'd upon him, were, That he had asserted, 1. 'That the King was *solutus à legibus*, and not 'bound by his Coronation-oath. 2. That it was not '*ex necessitate*, that the King should call a Parliament 'to make Laws, but might do that by his absolute 'Power; for *voluntas Regis* with him was *Lex populi*. '3. That it was a favour to admit the consent of his 'subjects in giving of subsidies. 4. That he draws 'his Arguments from the Imperial Laws of the Roman 'Emperors, which are of no force in England (3). The Author of the Preface to the Edition of the Interpreter in 1708, observes, That these positions are so gross and intolerable, that no Englishman would defend or excuse them. But he says, that having run over most part of the first edition in 1607, *4to.* he finds no such abominable assertions in words at length, tho' there be many things too unadvisedly express'd, which a wise author would have omitted, and a wise Government might have despised. But when a suspected book is brought to the torture, it often confesseth all, and more than it knows.

(3) W. Petyt's Miscellanea Parl. ubi supra. R. Coke's Detection, edit. 1719 Vol. I. p. 63.

[*F*] *The King published a Proclamation on the 25th of March* 1610.] The beginning of this Proclamation is pretty remarkable, being as follows. 'This latter 'age and times of the World wherein we are fallen, 'is so much given to verbal profession, as well of 'religion, as of all commendable moral virtues, but 'wanting the actions and deeds agreeable to so specious 'a profession, as it hath bred such an unsatiable 'curiosity in many mens spirits, and such an itching in 'the Tongues and Pens of most men, as nothing is 'left unsearched to the bottom both in talking and 'writing. For from the very highest Mysteries in the 'God-head and the most inscrutable counsels in the 'Trinity, to the very lowest pit of hell, and the con-'fused actions of the devils there, there is nothing now 'unsearched into by the curiosity of men's brains. Men 'not being contented with the knowledge of so much 'of the will of God as it hath pleased him to reveal, 'but they will needs sit with him in his most private 'closet, and become privy of his most inscrutable 'counsels: and therefore it is no wonder, that men in 'these our days do not spare to wade in all the deepest 'mysteries that belong to the persons and state of Kings 'and Princes, that are Gods upon Earth: since we 'see (as we have already said) that they spare not 'God himself.——

[*G*] *That further order might be given for the suppressing thereof.*] The reasons alledged in the Proclamation for suppressing that book, are, That the author had fallen into many mistakes; namely —— 'In some things disputing so nicely upon the mysteries 'of this our Monarchy, that it may receive doubtful 'interpretations; yea in some points very derogatory 'to the supream power of this Crown: In other cases 'mistaking the true state of the Parliament of this 'Kingdom and the fundamental constitutions and pri-'vileges thereof: And in some other points speaking 'un-reverently of the Common Law of England, and 'the works of some of the most famous and ancient 'Judges therein: it being a thing utterly unlawful to 'any subject, to speak or write against that Law 'under which he liveth.' — This whole Proclamation is manifestly in the stile of that pedantic Monarch, who then sat upon the throne.

[*H*] *Where there is an inscription to his memory.*] And which runs thus; *Johannes Cowell L. L. D. Custos hujus Collegii, Juris Civilis in hac Academia Cantab. Professor Regius, Vicarius Generalis Cantuarienſis Provinciæ ſub Domino Richardo Bancroft, Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, hic expectat Reſurrectionem. Obiit undecimo die menſis Octob. Ann. Dom.* 1611. i. e. 'John Cowell 'L. L. D. Master of this College, the King's Pro-'fessor of Civil Law in this University of Cambridge, 'and Vicar General of the Province of Canterbury 'under Richard Bancroft Lord Archbishop of Can-'terbury, waits here for the Resurrection. He died 'the eleventh day of October, in the year of our Lord '1611 (4).

(4) Pref. ubi supr.

[*I*] *He writ other things besides the Interpreter.*] In 1605, he published *Institutiones juris Anglicani ad methodum & seriem institutionum Imperialium compositæ & digestæ. Cantab.* 8*vo.* i. e. 'Institutes of 'the

had been Fellow, to the hall of which he was Maſter, and to the Univerſity of which he had been Governor.

'the Laws of England in the ſame method as 'Juſtinian's Inſtitutes (5).' He alſo compoſed 'A 'Tract *De Regulis Juris* [of the Rules of the Law] 'wherein his intent was, by collating the caſes of both 'Laws to ſhew, that they both be raiſed of one 'Foundation, and differ more in Language and Terms 'than in ſubſtance, and therefore were they reduced 'to one method (as they eaſily might) to be attained '(in a manner) with all one pains.' But it doth not appear that this laſt was ever publiſhed (6). C

(5) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 160.

(6) See Pref. to the Reader, in the beginning of The Interpreter.

COWLEY (ABRAHAM), one of our beſt Poets of the XVIIth century, was born at London (in Fleet-ſtreet, near the end of Chancery-lane, in the pariſh of St Dunſtan in the Weſt) in the year 1618, and fifteenth of King James I. His father, who was a Grocer, dying before the birth of this his ſon, his mother, by the intereſt of her friends, procured him to be admitted a King's Scholar in Weſtminſter-ſchool (*a*). His firſt, and early, inclination to Poetry was occaſioned by accidentally reading Spenſer's *Fairy Queen* [*A*], a Poem fitter for the examination of men, than the conſideration of a child: but in him it met with a fancy, whoſe ſtrength was not to be judged by the number of his years (*b*). In the ſixteenth year of his age, being ſtill at Weſtminſter-ſchool, he publiſhed a collection of Verſes, under the title of *Poetical Bloſſoms* [*B*], in which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit [*C*]. It is remarkable of Mr Cowley, what he himſelf tells us (*c*), that he had this defect in his memory, that his teachers could never bring him to retain the ordinary rules of grammar; the want of which however he abundantly ſupplied by an intimate acquaintance with the books themſelves, from whence thoſe rules had been drawn. With theſe extraordinary hopes, he was removed to Trinity-college in Cambridge, being elected a Scholar of that houſe in 1636 (*d*). Here the continuance and progreſs of his wit gained him the love and eſteem of the moſt eminent members of that ſociety. His exerciſes of all kinds were highly applauded, with this peculiar praiſe, that they were fit, not only for the obſcurity of an academical life, but to have appeared on the true theatre of the world. And here it was that he wrote, or at leaſt laid the deſigns of moſt of thoſe maſculine works, which he afterwards finiſhed. In 1638, he publiſhed his *Love's Riddle* [*D*], a paſtoral comedy, and a Latin comedy intitled

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 120.

(*b*) Sprat's Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, edit. Lond. 1721, 12*mo*, p. 3.

(*c*) In his Eſſay on himſelf. See his Works, Vol. II. p. 718.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *His firſt, and early, inclination to Poetry was occaſioned by accidentally reading* Spenſer's Fairy Queen.] This we learn from our poet himſelf. 'I believe, 'ſays he (1), I can tell the particular little chance 'that filled my head firſt with ſuch chimes of verſes, 'as have never ſince left ringing there: for I remember when I began to read, and take ſome pleaſure in 'it, there was wont to lye in my mother's parlour (I 'know not by what accident, for ſhe herſelf never in 'her life read any book but of devotion) but there was 'wont to lye *Spenſer's Works:* this I happened to fall 'upon, and was infinitely delighted with the ſtories of 'the knights, and giants, and monſters, and brave 'houſes, which I found every where (though my 'underſtanding had little to do with all this) and by 'degrees with the tinckling of the rhyme, and dance 'of the numbers; ſo that I think I had read him all 'over before I was twelve years old, and was thus 'made a poet as immediately as a child is made an 'eunuch.'

(1) In his Eſſay on himſelf. See Mr Cowley's Works, Lond. 1721, 12*mo*, Vol. II. p. 719.

[*B*] *He publiſhed a collection of verſes under the title of* Poetical Bloſſoms.] They were publiſhed at London in 1633 (2), and conſequently in Mr Cowley's fifteenth year; ſo that Dr Sprat is miſtaken in ſaying (3) this book came out in the thirteenth year of his age. It contains among other pieces, *Antonius and Melida*, and *The tragical hiſtory of Pyramus and Thiſbe*. The firſt is dedicated to Dr Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, and the other to his maſter Mr Lambert Oſbaldeſton. Before both is his picture, and his age ſet over it, *viz.* 13, but erroneous. There are prefixed ſome recommendatory verſes by ſome of his ſchool-fellows; and at the end are two *Elegies*, one on Dudley Lord Carleton, and the other on his kinſman Richard Clerk of Lincoln's-Inn; and *A Dream of Elyſium* (4).

(2) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 120.

(3) Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, p. 4.

(4) Wood, ibid.

[*C*] — *In which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit.*] Mr Cowley himſelf has given us (5) a ſpecimen in the latter end of an Ode, written when he was but thirteen years of age. *The beginning of it*, ſays he, *is boyiſh, but of this part which I here ſet down, if a very little were corrected, I ſhould hardly now be much aſhamed.*

(5) In his Eſſay on himſelf, ubi ſupra, p. 718.

IX.

This only grant me, that my means may lye,
Too low for envy, for contempt too high.
Some honour I would have
Not from great deeds, but good alone:
The unknown are better than ill known.
Rumour can ope' the grave:
Acquaintance I wou'd have, but when't depends
Not on the number, but the choice of friends.

X.

Books ſhou'd, not buſineſs, entertain the light,
And ſleep, as undiſturb'd as death, the night:
My houſe a cottage, more
Than palace, and ſhou'd fitting be
For all my uſe, no luxury:
My garden painted o'er
With nature's hand, not art's; and pleaſures yield,
Horace might envy in his Sabine field.

XI.

Thus wou'd I double my life's fading ſpace,
For he that runs it well, twice runs his race.
And in this true delight,
Theſe unbought ſports, that happy ſtate,
I wou'd not fear, nor wiſh my fate;
But boldly ſay each night,
To-morrow let my ſun his beams diſplay,
Or in clouds hide them, I have liv'd to day.

You may ſee by it, adds Mr Cowley, *I was even then acquainted with the poets, for the concluſion is taken out of Horace; and perhaps it was the immature and immoderate love of them, which ſtampt firſt, or rather engraved, the characters in me: they were like letters cut in the bark of a young tree, which with the tree ſtill grow proportionably.*

[*D*] *His* Love's Riddle.] It was written at the time of his being a King's ſcholar in Weſtminſter-ſchool,

titled *Naufragium Joculare* [E], or the *Merry Shipwreck*. The firſt occaſion of his entring into buſineſs, was, an *Elegy* he wrote *On the death of Mr William Harvey* [F]; which brought him acquainted with Mr John Harvey, the brother of his deceaſed friend, from whom he received many offices of kindneſs thro' the whole courſe of his life (e). In 1643, being then Maſter of Arts, he was, among many others, ejected his college and the univerſity; whereupon, retiring to Oxford, he ſettled in St John's college, and, that ſame year, under the name of a Scholar of Oxford, publiſhed a Satire (f), intituled *The Puritan and the Papiſt* [G]. His affection to the Royal Cauſe engaged him in the ſervice of the King, and he was preſent in ſeveral of his Majeſty's journies and expeditions. By this means he gained an acquaintance and familiarity with the great men of the Court and the Gown, and particularly had the entire friendſhip of my Lord Falkland, one of the Principal Secretaries of State. During the heat of the Civil War, he was ſettled in the family of the Earl of St Alban's [H], and accompanied the Queen-Mother, when ſhe was obliged to retire into France. He was abſent from his native country about ten years [I]; which were wholly ſpent either in bearing a ſhare in the diſtreſſes of the Royal Family, or in labouring their affairs. To this purpoſe he took ſeveral dangerous journies into Jerſey, Scotland, Flanders, Holland, and elſewhere; and was the principal inſtrument in maintaining a conſtant correſpondence between the King and his Royal Conſort, whoſe letters he cyphered and decyphered with his own hand (g). His Poems intituled *The Miſtreſs* were publiſhed at London in 1647, and his comedy called *The Guardian*, afterwards altered and publiſhed under the title of *Cutter of Coleman-Street* [K], in 1650 (h). In 1656 (i), it

(e) Sprat's Account, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 4, 5.

(f) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(g) Life, &c. p. 5, 6, 7.

(h) Wood, ib.

(i) Id. ibid.

and dedicated by a Copy of Verſes to Sir Kenelm Digby, to whom he thus apologizes for it:

Take it as early fruits, which rare appear,
Though not half ripe, but worſt of all the year;
And if it pleaſe your taſte, my muſe will ſay,
The birch, which crown'd her then, is grown a bay.

(6) Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691, 8vo, p. 82.

Langbain pretends (6), it was firſt printed with his *Poetical Bloſſoms*, in *4to*, London, 1633, and afterwards printed with the ſecond volume of his works in *folio* 1681.

[E] *His Latin Comedy, intitled* Naufragium Joculare] It was acted before the Univerſity of Cambridge by the members of Trinity College, February the ſecond, and printed the ſame year at London, in *octavo* (7).

(7) Id. ib. p. 86; & Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 121.

[F] *His* Elegy on the death of Mr William Harvey.] There appears to have been the ſtricteſt and moſt intimate friendſhip between Mr Cowley and that gentleman (8):

(8) See the Elegy among Mr Cowley's Miſcellanies, in Vol. I. p. 20.

He was my friend, the trueſt friend on earth;
A ſtrong and mighty influence joyn'd our birth;
Nor did we envy the moſt ſounding name
By friendſhip given of old to fame.

Their converſation was chiefly employ'd in the improvement of their minds:

Say, for you ſaw us, ye immortal lights,
How oft unwearied have we ſpent the nights,
'Till the Ledæan ſtars ſo fam'd for Love
Wonder'd at us from above?
We ſpent them not in toys, in luſts, or wine;
But ſearch of deep philoſophy,
Wit, Eloquence, and Poetry,
Arts which I lov'd, for they, my friend, were thine.

Mr Cowley tells us, he communicated his poems, as faſt as he wrote them, to Mr Harvey, for his approbation:

To him my muſe made haſte with ev'ry ſtrain,
Whilſt it was new, and warm yet from the brain:
He lov'd my worthleſs Rhimes, and like a friend
Wou'd find out ſomething to commend.

[G] *He publiſh'd a Satire, intitled* The Puritan and the Papiſt.] It was printed in one ſheet and a half in *quarto*, and re-publiſhed at London in 1682, in *quarto*, in a book intitled, *Wit and Loyalty revived in a Collection of ſome ſmart Satires in verſe and proſe on the late times*. The writer of the Preface to this book complains, that this Satire of Mr Cowley's was not publiſhed by the Editor of his firſt Collection of Poems, for which he aſſigns two preſumptive reaſons. He wonders likewiſe, that the Poem called *Brutus*, and that upon the Biſhop of Lincoln's *Enlargement from the Tower*, which he imagines not to have been written by Mr Cowley (*), had met with ſuch good fortune as to have a place there (9).

(*) They are inſerted in all the editions of his Works.

(9) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[H] *He was ſettled in the family of the Earl of St* Albans.] Dr Sprat tells us (10), Mr Cowley was obliged for this ſettlement to Mr John Harvey, brother of his deceaſed friend Mr William Harvey (11). But Anthony Wood tells us (12), that, when Mr Cowley came to Paris, he fell into the acquaintance of Dr Stephen Goffe, a brother of the Oratory, by whoſe means he was placed and preferred in that noble family.

(10) Life, &c. p. 5.

(11) See the remark [F].

[I] *He was abſent from his native country about ten years.*] I aſſign this ſpace of time for Mr Cowley's abſence upon the authority of Mr Wood, who aſſures us (13), he left Oxford a little before the ſurrender of that city to the parliament; which being in the year 1646, and Mr Cowley returning in 1656, he could *not be abſent a longer term*; tho' the author of his *Life* pretends he was twelve years abroad.

(12) Ubi ſupra; and Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

[K] *His comedy called* The Guardian, *afterwards altered and publiſh'd under the title of* Cutter of Coleman-ſtreet.] The *Guardian* was acted before Prince Charles at Trinity College in Cambridge, March the 12th 1641, and printed at London, in *4to*, in 1650 (14). Mr Cowley, in the *Preface* to his *Poems* (15), complaining of the publication of ſome things of his without his conſent or knowledge, and thoſe ſo mangled and imperfect, that he could neither with honour acknowledge, nor with honeſty quite diſavow them; adds: 'Of which ſort was a Comedy called *The* 'Guardian, made and acted before the Prince, in his 'paſſage thro' Cambridge towards York, at the be'ginning of the late unhappy war; or rather neither 'made nor acted, but rough-drawn only and repeated: 'for the haſte was ſo great, that it could neither be 'reviſed or perfected by the author, nor learned with'out book by the Actors, nor ſet forth in any meaſure 'tolerably by the Officers of the College.' This Mr Cowley thought fit to acquaint the Prince with in the Prologue addreſs'd to him (16), which concludes with theſe lines:

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Printed after his return into England. See his Works, Vol. I. p. 44.

(16) It is printed together with the Epilogue, among his Miſcellanies.

Accept our haſty zeal; a thing that's play'd
E'er 'tis a Play, and acted e'er 'tis made.
Our ignorance, but our duty too we ſhow;
I would all ignorant people wou'd do ſo!
At other times expect our wit and art:
This comedy is acted by the heart.

And in the Epilogue:

But pow'r your grace can above nature give;
It can give pow'r to make abortives live:
In which if our bold wiſhes ſhou'd be croſt,
'Tis but the life of one poor week 't has loſt:
Though it ſhou'd fall beneath your mortal ſcorn,
Scarce cou'd it dye more quickly than 'twas born.

'After

it was thought proper by thoſe, on whom Mr Cowley depended, that he ſhould come over into England, and, under pretence of privacy and retirement, ſhould give notice of the poſture of affairs in this nation (*k*). Upon his return, he publiſhed a new edition of all his Poems, conſiſting of four parts; *viz.* I. *Miſcellanies* [*L*]: II. *The Miſtreſs, or Several Copies of Love-Verſes* [*M*]: III. *Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the Style and manner of Pindar* [*N*]: IV. *Davideis, a ſacred Poem of the troubles of David, in four books.*

(k) Life, &c. P. 7.

(17) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 44.

'After the repreſentation, *ſays our author* (17) (which 'I confeſs, was ſomewhat of the lateſt), I began to 'look it over, and changed it very much, ſtriking 'out ſome whole parts, as that of the *Poet* and the '*Soldier*: but I have loſt the copy, and dare not think 'it deſerves the pains to write it again, which makes 'me omit it in this publication, tho' there be ſome 'things in it, which I am not aſhamed of, taking the 'excuſe of my age, and ſmall experience in human 'converſation, when I made it. But, as it is, it is 'only the haſty firſt-ſitting of a picture, and therefore 'like to reſemble me accordingly.' This Comedy,

(18) Ubi ſupra, p. 81.

Langbaine tells us (18), notwithſtanding Mr Cowley's modeſt opinion of it, was acted, not only at Cambridge, but ſeveral times afterwards privately, during the prohibition of the Stage, and, after the King's return, publickly at Dublin, and always with applauſe. It was this, probably, which put the author upon reviſing it; after which he permitted it to appear publickly upon the Stage, under a new title, as indeed it was in a manner a new Play, calling it *Cutter of Coleman Street*. Under this name, it was acted at his Royal Highneſs's theatre, and printed at London in 1663, in 4*to*. It met with ſome oppoſition at firſt from ſome, who envied the author's unſhaken loyalty: but afterwards it was acted with univerſal applauſe, and was generaly eſteem'd an excellent Comedy.

[*L*] *His* Miſcellanies.] 'Some of theſe, *ſays our author* (†), were made when I was very young, 'which it is perhaps ſuperfluous to tell the reader. I 'know not by what chance I have kept copies of them; 'for they are but a very few in compariſon with thoſe 'I have loſt, and I think have no extraordinary virtue 'in them, to deſerve more care in preſervation, than 'was beſtow'd upon their brethren; for which I am 'ſo little concern'd, that I am aſhamed of the arrogancy 'of the word, when I ſaid *I had loſt them.*' This Collection conſiſts of *Odes, Elegies,* &c. with ſome *imitations* of *Horace* and *Martial*; together with *eleven Anacreontiques*, or paraphraſtical imitations of Anacreon.

(†) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 51.

[*M*] *His* Miſtreſs, or ſeveral Copies of Love-verſes.] Let us firſt hear what our poet himſelf ſays of this part of his compoſitions. 'Poets, *ſays he* (19), 'are ſcarce thought free-men of their company, with-'out paying ſome duties, and obliging themſelves to 'be true to love. Sooner or later they muſt all paſs 'through that trial, like ſome Mahometan Monks, 'that are bound by their order, once at leaſt in their 'life, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

(19) Ibid.

'In furias ignemque ruunt, amor omnibus idem.

'But we muſt not always make a judgment of their 'manners from their writings of this kind, as the 'Romaniſts uncharitably do of Beza for a few laſcivious 'Sonnets compoſed by him in his youth. It is not in 'this ſenſe that Poeſie is ſaid to be a kind of painting: 'it is not the picture of the poet, but of things and 'perſons imagined by him. He may be in his practice 'and diſpoſition a philoſopher, and yet ſometimes 'ſpeak with the ſoftneſs of an amorous Sappho.

'Feret et rubus aſper amomum.

'He profeſſes too much the uſe of fable (though with-'out the malice of deceiving) to have his teſtimony 'taken even againſt himſelf. Neither would I here 'be miſunderſtood, as if I affected ſo much gravity, as 'to be aſhamed to be thought really in love. On the 'contrary, I cannot have a good opinion of any man 'who is not at leaſt capable of being ſo. But I ſpeak 'it to excuſe ſome expreſſions (if ſuch there be) which 'may happen to offend the ſeverity of ſupercilious 'readers: for much exceſs is to be allowed in love, 'and even more in poetry, ſo we avoid the two un-'pardonable vices in both, which are, obſcenity and 'profaneneſs, of which, I am ſure, if my words be 'ever guilty, they have ill repreſented my thoughts 'and intentions.' What opinion Dr Sprat had of Mr Cowley's *Miſtreſs* appears by the following paſſage (20). *If there needed any excuſe to be made that his Love-verſes take up ſo great a ſhare in his works, it may be alledged, that they were compoſed when he was very young. But it is a vain thing to make any kind of apology for that ſort of writings. If devout or virtuous men will ſuperciliouſly forbid the minds of the young, to adorn thoſe ſubjects about which they are moſt converſant, they would put them out of all capacity of performing graver matters, when they come to them. For the exerciſes of all mens wits muſt be always proper for their age, and never too much above it: and by practice and uſe in lighter arguments they grow up at laſt to excel in the moſt weighty. I am not therefore aſhamed to commend Mr* Cowley's Miſtreſs. *I only except one or two expreſſions, which I wiſh I could have prevailed with thoſe that had the right of the other edition, to have left out. But of all the reſt I dare boldly pronounce, that never yet ſo much was written on a ſubject ſo delicate, that can leſs offend the ſevereſt rules of morality. The whole paſſion of Love is intimately deſcribed, with all it's mighty train of hopes, and joys, and diſquiets. Beſides this amorous tenderneſs, I know not how in every copy there is ſomething of more uſeful knowledge very naturally and gracefully inſinuated, and every where there may be ſomething found, to inform the minds of wiſe men, as well as to move the hearts of young men or women.*

(20) See Life, &c. P. 15, 16.

[*N*] *His* Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the ſtyle and manner of Pindar.] The occaſion of Mr Cowley's falling on the Pindaric way of writing, Dr Sprat tells us (21), was, his accidentally meeting with Pindar's works, in a place where he had no other books to direct him. Having then conſider'd at leiſure the height of his invention, and the majeſty of his ſtyle, he tried immediately to imitate it in Engliſh. And he performed it (ſays my author) without the danger that Horace preſaged to the man who ſhould dare to attempt it. Dr Sprat then vindicates the ſtyle and manner of Mr Cowley's *Pindariques*. 'If any, 'ſays he, are diſpleaſed at the boldneſs of his 'metaphors, and length of his digreſſions, they con-'tend not againſt Mr Cowley, but Pindar himſelf, 'who was ſo much reverenced by all antiquity, that 'the place of his birth was preſerved as ſacred, when 'his native city was twice deſtroyed by the fury of two 'conquerors. If the irregularity of the numbers diſ-'guſt them, they may obſerve, that this very thing 'makes that kind of poetry fit for all manner of ſub-'jects; for the pleaſant, the grave, the amorous, the 'heroic, the philoſophical, the moral, the divine. 'Beſides this they will find, that the frequent alteration 'of the rhythm and feet affects the mind with a more 'various delight, while it is ſoon apt to be tired by 'the ſettled pace of one conſtant meaſure. But that, 'for which I think this inequality of numbers is chiefly 'to be preferr'd, is, it's nearer affinity with proſe; 'from which all other kinds of Engliſh verſe are ſo 'far diſtant, that it is very ſeldom found, that the 'ſame man excels in both ways. But now this looſe 'and unconfined meaſure has all the grace and harmony 'of the moſt confined. And withal it is ſo large and 'free, that the practice of it will only exalt, not 'corrupt, our proſe: which is certainly the moſt uſe-'ful kind of writing of all others; for it is the ſtyle 'of all buſineſs and converſation.' Mr Cowley himſelf, ſpeaking of his Pindaric Odes (22), tells us, he is in great doubt whether they will be underſtood by moſt readers, nay, even by very many, who are well enough acquainted with the common roads and ordinary tracks of poeſie. *They either are,* ſays he, *or at leaſt were meant to be, of that kind of ſtyle, which Dion Halicarnaſſus calls* μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ ἡδὺ μετὰ δεινότητος, *and which he attributes to Alcæus. The digreſſions are many and ſudden, and ſometimes long, according to the faſhion of all* Lyriques, *and of* Pindar *above all men living. The figures are unuſual and bold, even*

(21) Ibid. p. 16.

(22) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 52.

books [O]. Soon after his return, he was ſeized on, through a miſtake, the ſearch being intended

even to temerity, and ſuch as I durſt not have to do withal in any other kind of poetry. The numbers are various and irregular, and ſometimes (eſpecially ſome of the long ones) ſeem harſh and uncouth, if the juſt meaſures and cadencies be not obſerved in the pronuntiation. So that almoſt all their ſweetneſs and numeroſity (which is to be found, if I miſtake not, in the roughneſt, if rightly repeated) lies in a manner wholly at the mercy of the reader. Mr Cowley adds: 'I have briefly 'deſcribed the nature of theſe verſes, in the *Ode* intitled *The Reſurrection*: and tho' the liberty of them 'may incline a man to believe them eaſy to be com-'poſed, yet the undertaker will find it otherwiſe:

——— Ut ſibi quivis
Speret idem, ſudet multum, fruſtraque laboret
Auſus idem.

The verſes our author refers to are theſe:

Stop, ſtop, my muſe, allay thy vigorous heat
Kindled at a hint ſo great.
Hold thy *Pindarique Pegaſus* cloſely in,
Which does to *rage* begin,
And this ſteep hill wou'd gallop up with violent courſe.
'Tis an unruly and a *hard-mouth'd* horſe
Fierce and unbroken yet,
Impatient of the *ſpur* or *bit*:
Now *prances* ſtately, and anon *flies* o'er the place,
Diſdains the *ſervile law* of any *ſettled* pace,
Conſcious and proud of his own *natural force*:
'Twill no unſkilful touch endure,
But flings *writer* and *reader* too that ſits not ſure.

Two of our greateſt poets, at the ſame time that they allow Mr Cowley to have been a very ſucceſsful Imitator of Pindar, yet find fault with his numbers. Mr Dryden, having told us (23), that *our author brought* Pindaric *verſe as near perfection as was poſſible in ſo ſhort a time*, adds: 'But if I may be allowed to ſpeak 'my mind modeſtly, and without injury to his ſacred 'aſhes, ſomewhat of the purity of Engliſh, ſomewhat 'of more equal thoughts, ſomewhat of ſweetneſs 'in the numbers, in one word, ſomewhat of a finer 'turn and more Lyrical verſe is yet wanting.' And Mr Congreve, having excepted againſt the irregularity of the meaſure of the Engliſh Pindaric Odes, yet obſerves (24), that *the beauty of* Mr Cowley's *verſes are an atonement for the irregularity of his Stanzas*; and that *tho' he did not imitate Pindar in the ſtrictneſs of his numbers, he has very often happily copied him in the force of his figures, and ſublimity of his ſtyle and ſentiments.*

[O] *His* Davideis, a ſacred Poem of the troubles of David in four books.] Our poet tells us himſelf (25), he deſign'd to have written this poem in *twelve books*, not for the ſake of the *twelve tribes*, but after the pattern of Virgil, and to have cloſed it with that moſt poetical and admirably Elegy of David's on the death of Saul and Jonathan. 'This, *ſays he*, was the *whole* '*deſign*, in which there are many noble and fertile 'arguments behind; as, The barbarous Cruelty of 'Saul to the Prieſts at Nob, the ſeveral flights and 'eſcapes of David, with the manner of his living in 'the wilderneſs, the Funeral of Samuel, the Love of 'Abigail, the ſacking of Ziklag, the loſs and recovery 'of David's wives from the Amalekites, the witch of 'Endor, the war with the Philiſtines, and the Battle 'of Gilboa; all which I meant to interweave upon 'ſeveral occaſions, with moſt of the illuſtrious ſtories 'of the Old Teſtament, and to embelliſh with the 'moſt remarkble Antiquities of the Jews, and of other 'nations before or at that age. But I have had neither 'leiſure hitherto, nor have appetite at preſent to finiſh 'the work, or ſo much as to reviſe that part, which is 'done, with that care, which I reſolved to beſtow 'upon it, and which the dignity of the matter 'deſerves.' After diſplaying the great excellence and dignity of his ſubject, Mr Cowley complains very pathetically of the great proſtitution of poetry to mean and unworthy purpoſes, and recommends the choice of *divine ſubjects* in terms, which, ſurely, merit the ſerious conſideration of every ſon of Apollo. 'It is not 'without grief and indignation, *ſays he*, that I behold 'that *divine Science* employing all her inexhauſtible 'riches of wit and eloquence, either in wicked and 'beggarly flattery of great perſons, or the unmanly 'idolizing of fooliſh women, or the wretched affectation 'of ſcurril laughter, or at beſt on the confuſed antiquated dreams of ſenſeleſs fables and metamorphoſes. 'Amongſt all holy and conſecrated things, which the 'devil ever ſtole and alienated from the ſervice of the 'Deity, as, altars, temples, ſacrifices, prayers, and 'the like, there is none that he ſo univerſally and ſo 'long uſurp'd, as *Poetry*. It is time to recover it out 'of the tyrant's hands, and to reſtore it to the king-'dom of God, who is the father of it. There wants, 'methinks, but the converſion of that, and the Jews, 'for the accompliſhment of the kingdom of Chriſt. — 'I do not wonder, that the old poets made ſome rich 'crops out of theſe grounds (*); the heart of the 'ſoil was not then wrought out with continual tillage: 'But what can we expect now, who come a gleaning, 'not after the firſt reapers, but after the very beggars? 'Beſides, though thoſe mad ſtories of the Gods and 'and Heroes ſeem in themſelves ſo ridiculous, yet they 'were then the whole body (or rather chaos) of 'the Theology of thoſe times. They were believed 'by all, but a few Philoſophers, and perhaps ſome 'Atheiſts, and ſerved to good purpoſe among the 'vulgar (as pitiful things as they are) in ſtrengthning 'the authority of Law with the terrors of conſcience, 'and expectation of certain rewards and unavoidable 'puniſhments. There was no other religion, and 'therefore that was better than none at all. But to 'us, who have no need of them, to us who deride their 'folly, and are wearied with their impertinences, 'they ought to appear no better arguments for verſe, 'than thoſe of their worthy ſucceſſors the Knights-'errant. What can we imagine more proper for 'the ornaments of wit and learning in the ſtory of 'Deucalion, than in that of *Noah*? Why will not 'the actions of *Sampſon* afford as plentiful matter as 'the labours of *Hercules*? Why is not *Jephthah's* 'daughter as good a woman as *Iphigenia*? and the 'friendſhip of *David* and *Jonathan* more worthy 'celebration, than that of *Theſeus* and *Pirithous*? Does 'not the paſſage of *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* into the 'Holy Land, yield incomparably more poetical variety, 'than the voyages of *Ulyſſes* or *Æneas*? Are the 'obſolete thread-bare tales of *Thebes* and *Troy*, half ſo 'ſtored with great, heroical, and ſupernatural actions '(ſince verſe will needs find, or make ſuch) as the wars 'of *Joſhua*, of the *Judges*, of *David*, and divers 'others? Can all the *Transformations* of the *gods* 'give ſuch copious hints to flouriſh and expatiate on 'as the *true miracles* of *Chriſt*, or of his *Prophets* and '*Apoſtles*? Why do I inſtance in theſe few par-'ticulars? All the Books of the *Bible* are either 'already moſt admirable and exalted pieces of Poeſie, 'or are the beſt materials in the world for it.' Mr Cowley's Davideis *was written*, ſays Dr Sprat (26), *in ſo young an age, that, if we ſhall reflect on the waſtneſs of the argument and his manner of handling it, he may ſeem like one of the miracles, that he there adorns, like a boy attempting Goliah. — This perhaps may be the reaſon, that in ſome places there is more youthfulneſs and redundance of fancy, than his riper judgment would have allowed.—But for the main of it, I will affirm, that it is a better inſtance and beginning of a Divine Poem, than ever I yet ſaw in any language. The contrivance is perfectly antient, which is certainly the true form of heroic poetry, and ſuch as was never yet out-done by any new devices of modern wits. The ſubject was truly divine, even according to God's own heart. The matter of his invention, all the treaſures of knowledge and hiſtories of the Bible The model of it comprehended all the learning of the Eaſt. The characters lofty and various: the numbers firm and powerful: The digreſſions beautiful and proportionable: The deſign, to ſubmit mortal wit to heavenly truths. In all there is an admirable mixture of human virtues and paſſions, with religious raptures.* 'The truth is, 'adds the Life-writer (27), methinks, in other matters 'his wit excelled moſt other mens; but in his Moral 'and Divine works it out-did itſelf. And no doubt it 'proceeded

(23) Preface to the firſt Part of Miſcellany Poems, Lond. 1716, 12*mo*, p. 32, 33.

(24) Preface to his Pindarique Ode to the Queen. See his Works, Vol. III. p. 344, 345. edit. Lond. 1716, 12*mo*.

(25) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 53, 54.

(*) The fabulous Stories of Paganiſm.

(26) Life, &c. p. 18.

(27) Ibid. p. 19.

tended after another gentleman of considerable note in the King's party. The Usurpers would fain have brought over Mr Cowley to their interest, but, all their attempts proving fruitless, he was committed to a severe restraint, and with some difficulty at last obtained his liberty, upon the hard terms of a thousand pounds bail, which burthen Dr Scarborough very honourably took upon himself. Under these bonds he continued till the general redemption; when, taking the opportunity of the confusions that followed upon Cromwell's death, he ventured back into France, and there remained in the same station as before, 'till near the time of the King's return (*l*). This account is a sufficient vindication of Mr Cowley's unshaken loyalty, which some endeavoured to call in question [*P*]. During his stay in England, he wrote his *Two Books of Plants*, published first in 1662; to which he afterwards added *four books* more; and all six, together with his other Latin Poems, were printed at London in 1678 [*Q*]. It appears by Mr Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses* (*m*), that our Poet was created Doctor of Physic at Oxford [*R*], December 2, 1657. After the King's restoration, Mr Cowley, being then past the fortieth year of his age, the greatest part of which had been spent in a various and tempestuous condition, resolved to pass the

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Vol. II. col. 120.

'proceeded from this cause, that, in the lighter kinds 'of poetry, he chiefly represented the humours and 'affections of others; but in these he sat to himself, 'and drew the figure of his own mind.' We have the *First Book* of the *Davideis* translated out of English into very elegant Latin verse by Mr Cowley himself.

[*P*] *Mr Cowley's loyalty was called in question.*] (28) Life, &c. p. 8. This, Dr Sprat tells us (28), was occasioned by a few lines in the preface to one of his books. 'The ob- 'jection, *says he*, I must not pass by in silence, be- 'cause it was the only part of his life that was liable 'to misinterpretation, even by the confession of those 'that envyed his fame. In this case perhaps it were 'enough to alledge for him to men of moderate minds, 'that what he there said was published before a book 'of poetry, and so ought rather to be esteemed as a 'problem of his fancy and invention, than as a real 'image of his judgment. But his defence in this mat- 'ter may be laid on a surer foundation. This is the 'true reason to be given of his delivering that opinion. 'Upon his coming over, he found the state of the roy- 'al party very desperate. He perceived the strength 'of their enemies so united, that, 'till it should begin 'to break within itself, all endeavours against it were 'like to prove unsuccessful. On the other side, he 'beheld their zeal for his majesty's cause to be still so 'active, that it often hurried them into inevitable ruin. 'He saw this with much grief; and tho' he approved 'their constancy as much as any man living, yet he 'found their unseasonable shewing it did only disable 'themselves, and give their adversaries great advantages 'of riches and strength by their defeats. He therefore 'believed that it would be a meritorious service to the 'king, if any man, who was known to have followed 'his interest, could insinuate into the usurpers minds 'that men of his principles were now willing to be 'quiet, and could perswade the poor oppressed Roya- 'lists to conceal their affections for better occasions. 'And as for his own particular, he was a close prisoner 'when he writ that against which the exception is 'made; so that he saw it was impossible for him to 'pursue the ends for which he came hither, if he did 'not make some kind of declaration of his peaceable 'intentions. This was then his opinion; and the 'success of the thing seems to prove that it was not 'very ill grounded. For certainly it was one of the 'greatest helps to the king's affairs, about the latter 'end of that tyranny, that many of his best friends 'dissembled their counsels, and acted the same designs, 'under the disguises and names of other parties.' *This Sir*, adds the Life-writer, addressing himself to Mr Martin Clifford, *you can testify to have been the innocent occasion of these words, on which so much clamour was raised. Yet seeing his good intentions were so ill interpreted, he told me, the last time that ever I saw him, that he would have them omitted in the next impression, of which his friend Mr Cook is a witness. However, if we should take them in the worst sense, of which they are capable, yet methinks, for his maintaining one false tenet in the political philosophy, he made a sufficient atonement by a continual service of twenty years, by the perpetual loyalty of his discourse, and by many of his other writings, wherein he has largely defended and adorned the royal cause. And, to speak of him not as our friend, but according to the common laws of humanity, certainly that life must needs be very unblameable, which had been tried in business of the highest consequence, and practised in the hazardous secrets of Courts and Cabinets; and yet there can nothing disgraceful be produced against it, but only the error of one paragraph, and a single metaphor.*

[*Q*] His *Books of Plants*, and his other *Latin Poems*, &c.] The occasion of his choosing the subject of his six books of *Plants*, Dr Sprat tells us (29), was this. When he returned into England, he was advised to dissemble the main intention of his coming over, under the disguise of applying himself to some settled profession: and that of Physick was thought most proper. To this purpose, after many anatomical dissections, he proceeded to the consideration of Simples; and having furnished himself with books of that nature, he retired into a fruitful part of Kent, where every field and wood might shew him the real figures of those Plants of which he read. Thus he speedily master'd that part of the Art of Medicine. But then, as one of the Antients did before him in the study of the Law, instead of employing his skill for practice and profit, he presently digested it into that form which we behold. The *two first* books treat of Herbs, in a style resembling the Elegies of Ovid and Tibullus, in the *sweetness and freedom of the verse*, but excelling them in the strength of the fancy and vigour of the sense. The *third* and *fourth* discourse of *Flowers*, in all the variety of Catullus and Horace's numbers: for the last of which authors he had a peculiar reverence, and imitated him, not only in the numerous and stately pace of his Odes and Epodes, but in the familiar easiness of his Epistles and Discourses. The *two last* speak of *Trees*, in the way of Virgil's Georgicks. Of these the *sixth* book is wholly dedicated to the honour of his country. For, making the British Oak to preside in the Assembly of the Forest Trees, upon that occasion he enlarges on the history of our late troubles, the King's affliction and return, and the beginning of the Dutch War; and manages all in a style, that (to say all in a word) is equal to the greatness and valour of the English nation. Of Mr Cowley's *Latin Poetry* in general the Life-writer gives this character (30), that in them 'he has 'express'd to admiration all the numbers of verse, and 'figures of poesie, that are scattered up and down a- 'mongst the antients;' and that 'there is hardly to 'be found in them any good fashion of speech, or 'colour of measure, but he has comprehended it, and 'given instances of it, according as his several ar- 'guments required either a majestic spirit, or a pas- 'sionate, or a pleasant. This *(he observes)* is the 'more extraordinary, in that it was never yet per- 'formed by any single poet of the antient Romans 'themselves.'

(29) Ib. p. 21.

(30) Ib. p. 19.

[*R*] *He was created Doctor of Physick at Oxford.*] Anthony Wood pretends (31), Mr Cowley had this degree conferr'd upon him by virtue of a *Mandamus* from the then government. 'Afterwards (says he) 'complying with the men then in power (which was 'much taken notice of by the Royal party) he ob- 'tained an order to be created Doctor of Physick.' Allowing this state of the fact to be true, tho' the Life-writer says not a word of it, Mr Cowley's *compliance with the men then in power* could only be *seemingly* such, for the better carrying on the design of his coming over under the pretence of studying Physick.

(31) Ubi supra.

20049

the remainder of his life in a ſtudious retirement [S]. At firſt he was but ſlenderly provided for ſuch a retreat, by reaſon of his travels, and the diſtreſſes of his party, which had put him quite out of the road of gain. But, upon the ſettlement of the peace of the nation, he obtained a plentiful eſtate through the favour of his principal patrons the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of St Albans. Thus furniſhed for his retreat, he ſpent the laſt ſeven or eight years of his life in his beloved obſcurity [T], and poſſeſſed that ſolitude, which (n) Life, &c. p. 10, 11, 12. from his very childhood he had moſt paſſionately deſired (n). He choſe for the ſeats of his declining life, two or three villages on the banks of the Thames (o); particularly Chertſey, (o) Ibid. p. 12. where he had a leaſe of a farm held of the Queen (p). This great Poet died [U] at a houſe (p) Ubi ſupra. called The Porch-houſe, towards the weſt end of the town of Chertſey in Surrey, July 28, 1667, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His body, accompanied by a great number of perſons of the moſt eminent quality, was interred, the third of Auguſt following, in Weſtminſter-abbey, near the aſhes of Chaucer and Spenſer, the two moſt famous Engliſh (q) Life, &c. p. 32, 33; and Wood, ubi ſupra. Poets of former times (q). King Charles II was pleaſed to beſtow upon him the beſt epitaph, when, upon the news of his death, his Majeſty declared, that *Mr Cowley had not left a better man behind him in England* (r). A monument was erected to his memory, in (r) Life, &c. p. 34. May 1675, by George Duke of Buckingham, with a Latin inſcription written by his friend Dr Thomas Sprat [W], author of the *Account of Mr Cowley's Life and Writings*, prefixed to his *Works*, and afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter. Beſides Mr Cowley's Works, already

[S] *He reſolved to paſs the remainder of his life in a ſtudious retirement.*] Anthony Wood (32) aſcribes this reſolution to diſappointment, *in not finding that preferment conferred upon him, which he expected, while others for their money carried away moſt places.* (32) Ibid. But Dr Sprat (33) repreſents his retirement as the effect of choice, not of diſcontent. (33) Life, &c. p. 10. 'He now thought, 'ſays *that author*, he had ſacrificed enough of his 'life to curioſity and experience. He had enjoyed 'many excellent occaſions of obſervation. He had 'been preſent in many great revolutions, which in 'that tumultuous time diſturb'd the peace of all our 'neighbour ſtates, as well as our own. He had nearly beheld all the ſplendor of the higheſt part of mankind. He had lived in the preſence of princes, and 'familiarly converſed with greatneſs in all it's degrees, 'which was neceſſary for one that would contemn it 'aright: for to ſcorn the pomp of the world before a 'man knows it, does commonly proceed rather from 'ill manners than a true magnanimity. He was now 'weary of the vexations and formalities of an active 'condition. He had been perplexed with a long compliance to foreign manners. He was ſatiated with the 'arts of Court; which ſort of life, tho' his virtue had 'made innocent to him, yet nothing could make it quiet. Theſe were the reaſons that moved him to forego 'all publick employments, and to follow the violent 'inclination of his own mind, which, in the greateſt 'throng of his former buſineſs, had ſtill called upon 'him, and repreſented to him the true delights of ſolitary ſtudies, of temperate pleaſures, and of a moderate revenue, below the malice and flatteries of 'fortune.'

[T] *His beloved obſcurity.*] Mr Cowley's Works, eſpecially his *Eſſays in proſe and verſe*, abound with the praiſes of ſolitude and retirement. All his three firſt Eſſays are on the ſubjects of *Liberty*, *Solitude*, and *Obſcurity*; and moſt of the tranſlations are of ſuch paſſages of the Claſſic authors as relate to the pleaſures of a country life: particularly, Virgil's *O fortunatos nimium*, &c., Horace's *Beatus ille qui procul*, &c. The ſame author's *Country Mouſe*; Claudian's *Old Man of Verona*; and Martial's *Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem*, &c. To theſe are ſubjoined the following epitaph, by the author, on himſelf, while living.

Epitaphium Vivi Auctoris.

Hic, O Viator, ſub Lare parvulo
Couleius hic eſt conditus, hic jacet
Defunctus humani laboris
Sorte, ſupervacuaque vita;
Non indecora pauperie nitens
Et non inerti nobilis otio,
Vanoque dilectis popello
Divitiis animoſus hoſtis.
Poſſis ut illum dicere mortuum,
En terra jam nunc quantula ſufficit!
Exempta ſit curis, viator,
Terra ſit illa levis, precare.
Hic ſparge flores, ſparge breves roſas,
Nam vita gaudet mortua floribus;
Herbiſque odoratis corona
Vatis adhuc cinerem calentem.

[U] *He died.*] His ſolitude, from the very beginning, had never agreed ſo well with the conſtitution of his body, as of his mind. The chief cauſe of it was, that, out of haſte to be gone away from the tumult and noiſe of the city, he had not prepared ſo healthful a ſituation in the country, as he might have done, if he had made his choice more at leiſure. Of this he ſoon began to find the inconvenience at *Barn-elms*, where he was afflicted with a dangerous and lingring fever. After that he ſcarce ever recovered his former health, tho' his mind was reſtored to it's perfect vigour. Shortly after his removal to *Chertſey*, he fell into another conſuming diſeaſe. Having languiſhed under this for ſome months, he ſeemed to be pretty well cured of it's *ill* ſymptoms. But, in the heat of the ſummer, by ſtaying too long amongſt his labourers in the meadows, he was taken with a violent defluxion, and ſtoppage in his breaſt and throat. This he at firſt neglected as an ordinary cold, and refuſed to ſend for his uſual phyſicians, 'till it was paſt all remedies; and ſo, in the end, after a fortnight's ſickneſs, it proved mortal to him (34). 'Who can here forbear exclaim- (34) Ibid. p. 32. 'ing on the weak hopes, and frail condition of human 'nature? For as long as Mr Cowley was purſuing the 'courſe of ambition, in an active life, which he 'ſcarce eſteemed his true life, he never wanted a conſtant health and ſtrength of body. But as ſoon as ever 'he had found an opportunity of beginning indeed to 'live, and to enjoy himſelf in ſecurity, his content'ment was firſt broken by ſickneſs, and at laſt his death 'was occaſioned by his very delight in the country and 'the fields, which he had long fancied above all other 'pleaſures (35). (35) Ibid.

[W] *An inſcription on his monument, written by his friend Dr Thomas Sprat.*] It is this:

Abrahamus *Couleius*, Anglorum Pindarus, Flaccus, Maro, Deliciæ, Decus, Deſiderium, ævi ſui, hic juxta ſitus eſt.

Aurea dum volitant late tua ſcripta per orbem,
Et fama æternum vivis, divine Poeta,
Hic placida jaceas requie: cuſtodiat urnam
Cana Fides, vigilentque perenni lampade Muſæ.
Sit ſacer iſte locus, nec quis temerarius auſit
Sacrilega turbare manu venerabile buſtum.
Intacti maneant, maneant per ſæcula, dulcis
Couleii cineres, ſerventque immobile ſaxum.

Sic vovit, votumque ſuum apud poſteros ſacratum eſſe voluit, qui viro incomparabili poſuit ſepulchrale marmor *Georgius* Dux *Buckinghamiæ*.

Exceſſit e vita anno ætatis ſuæ 49, et honorifica pompa elatus ex ædibus Buckinghamianis, viris illuſtribus omnium ordinum exequias celebrantibus, ſepultus eſt die 3 M. Auguſti, Anno Domini 1667.

already mentioned, we have by the ſame hand, *A Propoſition for the Advancement of Experimental Philoſophy* [*X*]; *A Diſcourſe by way of Viſion concerning the government of* Oliver Cromwell [*Y*]; and *Several Diſcourſes by way of Eſſays in proſe and verſe* [*Z*]. Mr Cowley had deſigned alſo a *Diſcourſe* concerning *Style* [*AA*], and a *Review* of the *principles* of the *primitive Chriſtian Church* [*BB*], but was prevented by death (*s*). A ſpurious piece, intituled *The Iron Age*, was publiſhed under Mr Cowley's name [*CC*], during his abſence; and, in Mr Dryden's *Miſcellany Poems* (*t*), we find *A Poem on the Civil War*, ſaid to be written by our author [*DD*], but not extant in any edition of his works. Dr Sprat mentions,

(*s*) Ib. p. 30, 31.

(*t*) P. iii. p. 225, edit. 1716.

[*X*] A Propoſition for the advancement of Experimental Philoſophy.] It is by a *College*, conſiſting of *Profeſſors*, *Scholars*, *Chaplains*, and other officers. Their buſineſs, to uſe Mr Cowley's own words (36), ſhould be, *to ſtudy the improvement and advantage of all other profeſſions, from that of the higheſt General, even to the loweſt artiſan——to employ their whole time, wit, learning, and induſtry, to theſe four, the moſt uſeful that can be imagined, and to no other ends: Firſt, to weigh, examine, and prove, all things of nature delivered to us by former ages; to deteſt, explode, and ſtrike a cenſure thro' all falſe monies, with which the world has been paid and cheated ſo long, and, as I may ſay, to ſet the mark of the college upon all true coins, that they may paſs hereafter without any farther tryal: Secondly, to recover the loſt inventions, and, as it were, drown'd lands of the antients: Thirdly, to improve all arts, which we now have; and laſtly, to diſcover others, which we yet have not.*

(36) Works, &c. Vol. II. p. 577.

[*Y*] A Diſcourſe by way of Viſion concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell.] Our author, having been a ſpectator of Cromwell's funeral proceſſion (*which*, to his thinking, *ſomewhat repreſented the life of him for whom it was made: much noiſe, much tumult, much expence, much magnificence, much vain-glory; briefly a great ſhow, and yet, after all this, but an ill ſight*); tell us, he was rocked aſleep by the different motions and agitations of his mind, and at laſt fell into this viſion. He finds himſelf on the top of a famous hill in the iſland of *Mona*, from whence he had a proſpect of Great Britain and Ireland. After ſome melancholy reflections, and a poetical complaint of the preſent unhappy condition of theſe kingdoms, he is interrupted by a ſtrange and terrible apparition of the figure of a man, *riſing out of the earth, taller than any giant.* This phantom, which is there deſcribed at length, calls himſelf the *North-Weſt Principality*, and *Protector* of the *Common-wealth* of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and undertakes the defence of Cromwell's character and government, againſt the ſevere cenſures and keen invectives of the author, who repreſents both in the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable colours. At laſt, the Evil Angel's fury being raiſed, the author is in great danger, but is preſerved by the deſcent of a good Angel, the poetical deſcription of which concludes the viſion.

[*Z*] Several Diſcourſes, by way of Eſſays, in proſe and verſe.] Theſe, which are upon ſome of the graveſt ſubjects that concern the contentment of a virtuous mind, he intended, Dr Sprat tells us (37), 'as a real character of his own thoughts upon the point of his retiring (38). Accordingly, it is obſervable, that, in the proſe of them, there is little curioſity of ornament; but they are written in a lower and humbler ſtyle than the reſt, and, as an unfeigned image of the ſoul ſhould be drawn, without flattery. He deſigned to have added many others to them, and to have dedicated them all to the Earl of St Alban's, as a teſtimony of his entire reſpects to him, and a kind of apology for having left human affairs in the ſtrength of his age, while he might ſtill have been ſerviceable to his country.

(37) Life, &c. p. 24.

(38) See the remark [*T*].

[*AA*] *He deſigned* A Diſcourſe *concerning* Style.] In this he had deſigned to give an account of the proper ſorts of writing, that were fit for all manner of arguments; to compare the perfections and imperfections of the authors of antiquity with thoſe of the moderns; and to accommodate the whole to the particular uſe of the Engliſh Genius and Language (39). 'This 'ſubject, *adds* Dr Sprat, he was very fit to perform, 'it being moſt proper for him to be the judge, who had 'been the beſt practiſer. But he ſcarce lived to draw 'the firſt lines of it. All the footſteps that I can find 'remaining of it, are only ſome indigeſted characters of 'antient and modern authors. And now for the future, I almoſt deſpair ever to ſee it well accompliſh'd.'

(39) Life, &c. p. 30.

[*BB*]——*and a* Review *of the* principles *of the* primitive Chriſtian Church.] Tho' Mr Cowley was in his practice exactly obedient to the uſages and precepts of the Church of England, nor was inclined to any uncertainty and doubt, as abhorring all contention in indifferent things, and much more in ſacred; yet, beholding the diviſions of Chriſtendom, and obſerving how many controverſies had been introduced by zeal and ignorance, and continued by faction; he had therefore an earneſt intention, for the eſtabliſhing his own mind in the faith he profeſs'd, to look back to the original principles of the primitive Church; believing that every true Chriſtian had no better means to ſettle his ſpirit, than that which was propoſed to Æneas and his followers, to be the end of their wandrings, *Antiquam exquirite matrem.* This examination he purpoſed ſhould reach to our Saviour's and the Apoſtles lives, and their immediate ſucceſſors, for four or five Centuries, till intereſt and policy prevailed over Devotion. He hoped to have abſolutely compaſſed it in three or four years, and, when that was done, there to have fixed for ever, without any ſhaking or alteration in his judgment (40). 'Indeed, *adds* 'Dr Sprat, it was a great damage to our Church, that 'he lived not to perform it. For very much of the 'primitive light might have been expected from a 'mind that was endued with the primitive meekneſs 'and innocence. And beſides, ſuch a work, coming 'from one that was no Divine, might have been very 'uſeful for an age, wherein it is one of the principal 'cavils againſt religion, that it is only a matter of intereſt, and only ſupported for the gain of a par'ticular profeſſion.'

(40) Ibid. p. 31.

[*CC*] *A ſpurious piece*, intituled The Iron Age, *was publiſhed under Mr Cowley's name.*] He ſpeaks of it himſelf (41), with ſome aſperity and concern. 'I wondered, *ſays he*, how one, who could be ſo fooliſh to 'to write ſuch ill verſes, ſhould yet be ſo wiſe to ſet them 'forth as another man's rather than his own; though 'perhaps he might have made a better choice, and not 'father'd the baſtard upon ſuch a perſon, whoſe ſtock 'of reputation is, I fear, little enough for maintain'ance of his own numerous legitimate off-ſpring of 'that kind. It would have been much leſs injurious, 'if it had pleaſed the author to put forth ſome of my 'writings under his own name, rather than his own 'under mine. He had been in that a more pardonable 'Plagiary, and had done leſs wrong by robbery, than 'he does by ſuch a bounty: for no body can be ju'ſtified by the imputation even of another's merit: 'our own coarſe cloaths are like to become us better 'than thoſe of another man, tho' never ſo rich. But 'theſe, to ſay the truth, were ſo beggarly, that I my 'ſelf was aſhamed to wear them. It was in vain for 'me, that I avoided cenſure by the concealment of my 'own writings, if my reputation could be thus exe'cuted in effigy; and impoſſible it is for any good 'name to be ſafe, if the malice of witches have the 'power to conſume and deſtroy it in an image of their 'own making. This indeed was ſo ill made, and ſo 'unlike, that I hope the charm took no effect.'

(41) In the Preface to his Poems. See his Works, Vol. I.

[*DD*] *A* Poem on the Civil War, *ſaid to be written by our author.*] It was printed, firſt, at London, in *quarto*, in 1679 (42). The publiſher tells us (43), that, meeting accidentally with this poem in manuſcript, and being informed that it was a piece of the incomparable Mr Abraham Cowley's, he thought it unjuſt to hide ſuch a treaſure from the world. 'I *remembred*, ſays 'he, *that our author, in the Preface to his Works, makes mention of ſome poems, written by him on the late Civil Wars, of which the following is unqueſtionably a part. In his moſt imperfect and unfiniſhed pieces you will diſcover the hand of ſo great a maſter. And (whatever his own modeſty might have adviſed to the contrary) there is not one careleſs ſtroke of his, but what ſhould be kept ſacred to all poſterity. He could*

(42) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(43) In the Pref.

mentions, as very excellent in their kind, Mr Cowley's *Letters to his private friends* [*EE*], none of which were publiſhed (*u*). That author gives us a moſt advantageous character of Mr Cowley, both as a man [*FF*], and as a Poet [*GG*]. Mr Addiſon has celebrated his praiſes with a mixture of blame [*HH*]. Sir John Denham has given us a fine copy of verſes

(u) Life, &c. p. 23.

' *could write nothing that was not worth the preſer-*
' *ving, being habitually a poet, and always inſpired.*
' *In this piece the judicious reader will find the turn of*
' *verſe to be his; the ſame copious and lively imagery of*
' *fancy, the ſame warmth of paſſion, and delicacy of*
' *wit, that ſparkles in all his writings. And cer-*
' *tainly no labour of a Genius ſo rich in itſelf, and ſo*
' *cultivated with learning and manners, can prove an*
' *unwelcome preſent to the World.*' The paſſage of Mr Cowley's Preface, here pointed at, is this. ' I have caſt away all ſuch pieces as I wrote during the ' time of the late troubles, with any relation to the ' differences that cauſed them; as among others, *Three* ' *Books of the Civil War* itſelf, reaching as far as the ' firſt Battle of Newbury, where the ſucceeding miſ- ' fortunes of the party ſtopped the work.'

[*EE*] *His* Letters to his private friends.] Let us hear Dr Sprat. ' In theſe he always expreſſed the native ' tenderneſs and innocent gaiety of his mind. I think, ' Sir (*), you and I have the greateſt collection of this ' ſort. But I know you agree with me, that *nothing of* ' *this nature ſhould be publiſhed:* and herein you have ' always conſented to approve the modeſt judgment of ' our countrymen, above the practice of ſome of our ' neighbours, and chiefly of the French. I make no ' manner of queſtion, but the Engliſh, *at this time*, ' are infinitely improved this way, above the ſkill of ' former ages, nay of all the countries round about us, ' that pretend to greater eloquence. Yet they have ' been always judiciouſly ſparing in printing ſuch com- ' poſures, while ſome other witty nations have tired ' all their preſſes, and readers, with them. The truth ' is, the letters that paſs between particular friends, ' if they are written as they ought to be, can ſcarce ' ever be fit to ſee the light. They ſhould not conſiſt ' of fulſome compliments, or tedious politicks, or ' elaborate elegancies, or general fancies: but they ' ſhould have a native clearneſs and ſhortneſs, a do- ' meſtic plainneſs, and a peculiar kind of familiarity; ' which can only affect the humour of thoſe for whom ' they were intended. The very ſame paſſages which ' make writings of this nature delightful among friends, ' will loſe all manner of taſte, when they come to be ' read by thoſe that are indifferent. In ſuch letters ' the ſouls of men ſhould appear undreſſed: and in that ' negligent habit they may be fit to be ſeen by one or ' two in a chamber, but not to go abroad into the ' ſtreets (44).'

(*) Addreſſing himſelf to Mr Clifford.

(44) Life, &c. p. 23, 24.

[*FF*] *His character, as a man*] He had a perfect natural goodneſs, which neither the uncertainties of his condition, nor the largeneſs of his wit could pervert. Nothing vain or fantaſtical, nothing flattering or inſolent, appeared in his humour. Nor was there any thing affected or ſingular in his habit, or perſon, or geſture. He underſtood the forms of good breeding enough to practiſe them, without burthening himſelf or others. He never had any emulation for fame, or contention for profit, with any man. His modeſty and humility were ſo great, that, if he had not had many other equal virtues, they might have been thought diſſimulation. His converſation was ſuch, as was rather admired by his familiar friends, than by ſtrangers at firſt ſight. In his ſpeech, neither the pleaſantneſs excluded gravity, nor was the ſobriety of it inconſiſtent with delight. He governed his paſſions with great moderation. Whatever he diſliked in others, he only corrected it by the ſilent reproof of a better practice. His wit was ſo tempered, that no man had ever reaſon to wiſh it had been leſs. He never willingly recited any of his writings; and none but his intimate friends ever diſcovered he was a great poet by his diſcourſe. His learning was large and profound, and ſat exceeding cloſe and handſome upon him: it was not emboſſed on his mind, but enamelled. He never guided his life by the whiſpers, or opinions of the world. He was a paſſionate lover of liberty, and freedom from reſtraint both in actions and words: But what honeſty others receive from the direction of laws, he had by native inclination. He performed all his natural and civil duties with admirable tenderneſs. His friendſhips were inviolable: his thoughts never above nor below his condition. In a word, he was accompliſhed with all manner of abilities, for the greateſt buſineſs, if he would but have thought ſo himſelf (45).

(45) Ibid. p. 36, 37, 38.

[*GG*] —*as a* Poet.] In all the ſeveral ſhapes of his ſtyle, there is very much of the likeneſs and impreſſion of the ſame mind; the ſame unaffected modeſty, and natural freedom, and eaſy vigour, and chearful paſſions, and innocent mirth, which appeared in all his manners. If he was not wonderfully curious in the choice and elegance of his words, on the other ſide he had no manner of affectation in them, but took them as he found them made to his hands. If his verſes in ſome places ſeem not as ſoft and flowing, as ſome would have them, it was his choice, not his fault. Where the matter required it, he was as gentle as any man; but where higher virtues were chiefly to be regarded, an exact numeroſity was not then his main care. He had a perfect maſtery in both the languages in which he writ, and excelled both in proſe and verſe. Tho' his fancy flowed with great ſpeed, he never runs his reader, nor his argument, out of breath, but always leaves off in ſuch a manner, that it appears it was in his power to have ſaid more. His invention is powerful, but ſeems all to ariſe out of the nature of the ſubject, and to be juſt fitted for the thing of which he ſpeaks. The variety of arguments that he has managed is ſo large, that there is ſcarce any particular of the paſſions of men, or works of nature and providence, which he has paſſed by undeſcribed: yet to all theſe matters, ſo wide aſunder, he ſtill proportions a due figure of ſpeech, and a proper meaſure of wit (46). Whether Mr Cowley's works have been always viewed in the ſame favourable light, will be ſeen in the following remark.

(46) Ibid. p. 13, 14, 15.

[*HH*] *Mr* Addiſon *celebrates his praiſes with a mixture of blame.*] It is in his *Account of the greateſt Engliſh Poets*, addreſſed to Mr Henry Sacheverell, April 3, 1694 (47). The Lines are theſe.

(47) See Mr Addiſon's Works, edit. 12mo, 1726, Vol. I. p. 35.

Great Cowley then, a mighty Genius, wrote,
O'rerun with wit, and laviſh of his thought:
His turns too cloſely on the reader preſs;
He more had pleaſed us, had he pleaſed us leſs.
One glittering thought no ſooner ſtrikes our eyes
With ſilent wonder, but new wonders riſe;
As in the milky way a ſhining white
O'reflows the heav'ns with one continued light;
That not a ſingle ſtar can ſhew his rays,
Whilſt jointly all promote the common blaze.
Pardon, great poet, that I dare to name
Th' unnumbered beauties of thy verſe with blame.
Thy fault is only wit in it's exceſs;
But wit like thine in any ſhape will pleaſe.
What Muſe but thine can equal hints inſpire,
And fit the deep-mouthed Pindar to thy lyre?
Pindar, whom others in a labour'd ſtrain,
And forc'd expreſſions, imitate in vain.
Well-pleas'd in thee he ſoars with new delight,
And plays in more unbounded verſe, and takes a nobler flight.
Bleſt man! whoſe ſpotleſs life and charming lays
Employ'd the tuneful prelate in thy praiſe.
Bleſt man! who now ſhall be for ever known
In *Sprat*'s ſucceſsful labours and thy own.

In one of the *notes* on this author's *tranſlations* from Ovid's *Metamorphoſes* (48), we have the following account of the nature of *mixed wit*, of which Ovid, he tells us, among the antients, was the greateſt admirer, as our Cowley was among the moderns. ' Mr Locke, ' in his *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, has given us ' the beſt account of wit in ſhort that can any where ' be met with. *Wit*, ſays he, *lyes in the aſſemblage of* ' *Ideas, and putting thoſe together with quickneſs and* ' *variety*,

(48) Ib. p. 248.

verſes *on his death and burial among the antient Poets* [*II*]; and Mr Pope has paid the tribute of verſe to his memory, in his *Windſor-Foreſt* [*KK*].

'*variety, wherein can be found any reſemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleaſant pictures and agreeable viſions in the fancy.* Thus does true wit, as this incomparable author obſerves, conſiſt in the likeneſs of Ideas, and is more or leſs wit, as this likeneſs is more ſurprizing and unexpected. But as *true wit* is nothing elſe but a ſimilitude in Ideas, ſo is *falſe wit* the ſimilitude in words, whether it lyes in the likeneſs of letters only, as in anagram and acroſtic; or of ſyllables, as in Doggrel rhimes; or whole words, as Puns, Eccho's, and the like. Beſides theſe two kinds of falſe and true wit, there is another of a middle nature, that has ſomething of both in it: when in two Ideas, that have ſome reſemblance with each other, and are both expreſs'd by the ſame word, we make uſe of the ambiguity of the word, to ſpeak that of one Idea included under it, which is proper to the other. Thus, for example, moſt languages have hit on the word which properly ſignifies *Fire*, to expreſs *Love* by, (and therefore we may be ſure there is ſome reſemblance in the Ideas mankind have of them); from hence the witty poets of all languages, when they have once called Love a Fire, conſider it no longer as the paſſion, but ſpeak of it under the notion of a real fire, and, as the turn of wit requires, make the ſame word in the ſame ſentence ſtand for either of the ideas that is annexed to it. When Ovid's Apollo falls in love, he burns with a new flame; when the Sea-nymphs languiſh with this paſſion, they kindle in the water: the Greek Epigrammatiſt fell in love with one that flung a ſnow-ball at him, and therefore takes occaſion to admire how fire could be thus concealed in ſnow. In ſhort whenever the poet feels any thing in his love that reſembles ſomething in fire, he carries on this agreement into a kind of allegory: but if, as in the preceding inſtances, he finds any circumſtances in his love contrary to the nature of fire, he call his love a fire, and by joining this circumſtance to it, ſurprizes his reader with a ſeeming contradiction.'

(49) Spectator, Vol. I. No. 62.

Mr Addiſon tells us elſewhere (49), that this ſort of wit abounds in *Cowley*, more than in any other author that ever wrote; and he gives us ſome examples of it, all borrowed from our Poet's *Miſtreſs*. He remarks, that 'Cowley, obſerving the cold regard of his miſtreſs's eyes, and at the ſame time their power of producing love in him, conſiders them as burning-glaſſes made of ice; and finding himſelf able to live in the greateſt extremities of love, concludes the torrid zone to be habitable. When his miſtreſs has read his letter written in juice of lemon, by holding it to the fire, he deſires her to read it over a ſecond time by love's flames. When ſhe weeps, he wiſhes it were inward heat that diſtilled thoſe drops from the Limbeck. When ſhe is abſent, he is beyond eighty, that is, thirty degrees nearer the pole, than whan ſhe is with him. His ambitious love is a fire, that naturally mounts upwards; his happy love is the beams of heaven, and his unhappy love flames of hell. When it does not let him ſleep, it is a flame, that ſends up no ſmoke: when it is oppoſed by counſel and advice, it is a fire, that rages the more by the wind's blowing upon it. Upon the dying of a tree, in which he had cut his loves, he obſerves, that his written flames had burnt up and withered the tree. When he reſolves to give over his paſſion, he tell us, that one burnt like him for ever dreads the fire. His heart is an Ætna, that inſtead of Vulcan's ſhop incloſes Cupid's forge in it. His endeavouring to drown his love in wine, is throwing oil upon the fire. He would inſinuate to his miſtreſs, that the fire of love, like that of the ſun (which produces ſo many living creatures) ſhould not only warm, but beget. Love, in another place, cooks pleaſure at his fire. Sometimes the poet's heart is frozen in every breaſt, and ſometimes ſcorched in every eye. Sometimes he is drowned in tears, and burnt in love, like a ſhip ſet on fire in the middle of the ſea.' *The reader may obſerve*, concludes Mr Addiſon, *in every one of theſe inſtances, that the poet mixes the qualities of fire with thoſe of love; and in the ſame ſentence ſpeaking of it both as a paſſion and as a real fire, ſurprizes the reader with theſe ſeeming reſemblances or contradictions, that make up all the wit in this kind of writing.* He acknowledges however, that the poet, out of whom he had taken theſe examples of *mixed wit*, had as much *true wit* as any author that ever writ, and indeed all other talents of an extraordinary genius.

[*II*] *Sir John Denham's verſes* on Mr Cowley's death and burial among the antient poets.] They contain the following Elegy on our bard (50):

(50) Denham's Poems, p. 90.

Old mother wit, and nature gave
Shakeſpear and *Fletcher* all they have;
In *Spenſer* and in *Johnſon*, Art
Of flower nature got the ſtart.
But both in him ſo equal are,
None knows which bears the happieſt ſhare.
To him no author was unknown,
Yet what he wrote was all his own:
He melted not the antient gold,
Nor, with *Ben Johnſon*, did make bold
To plunder all the Roman ſtores
Of Poets and of Orators.
Horace's wit, and *Virgil*'s ſtate
He did not ſteal, but emulate;
And when he wou'd like them appear,
Their garb, but not their cloaths, did wear.
He not from *Rome* alone, but *Greece*,
Like *Jaſon*, brought the Golden Fleece.
On a ſtiff gale (as *Flaccus* ſings)
The *Theban* Swan extends his wings,
When thro' th' ætherial clouds he flies:
To the ſame pitch our Swan doth riſe;
Old *Pindar*'s flights by him new reach'd,
When on that gale his wings are ſtretch'd.

[*KK*] *Mr Pope has paid the tribute of verſe to his memory, in his* Windſor-Foreſt.] The lines are theſe (51):

(51) Pope's Works, 12*mo* edit. 1736, Vol. I. p. 78.

Here his firſt Lays majeſtic Denham ſung;
There the laſt numbers flow'd from *Cowley*'s tongue (‖).
O early loſt! what tears the river ſhed,
When the ſad pomp along his banks was led!
His drooping ſwans on ev'ry note expire,
And on his willows hung each Muſe's lyre.
Since fate relentleſs ſtopp'd their heav'nly voice,
No more the foreſts ring, or groves rejoice.
Who now ſhall charm the ſhades, where *Cowley* ſtrung
His living harp, and lofty Denham ſung?

(‖) Mr Cowley died at Chertſey on the borders of the foreſt.

T

COX (RICHARD) a learned Biſhop in the XVIth century, was born at Whaddon in Buckinghamſhire, of mean parentage (*a*), in the year 1499 (*b*). He had, probably, his firſt education in the ſmall priory of Snelſhall in the pariſh of Whaddon: But being afterwards ſent to Eaton-ſchool, he was thence elected into a ſcholarſhip at King's-college in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow in the year 1519 (*c*). Having the ſame year taken his Bachelor of Arts degree, and being eminent for his piety and learning, he was one of thoſe bright Scholars, who were invited to Oxford by Cardinal Wolſey, to fill up his new foundation (*d*). He was accordingly preferred to be one of the Junior Canons of

(*a*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1730, Vol. II. p. 359. among the Biſhops of Ely.

(*b*) Life of Biſhop Cox, by S. Downes; prefixed to Sparrow's Rationale, p. cxv.

(*c*) Willis, as above; and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 203. He was admitted in King's-college in 1518. Fuller's Worthies, in Buckinghamſh. p. 131. (*d*) Downes, ubi ſupra; and Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 40.

Cardinal-college (*e*); and on the 7th of December, 1525, incorporated Bachelor of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood at Cambridge (*f*). Soon after, performing his exerciſes, he was, on the 8th of February following, licenſed to proceed in Arts, in which he took the degree of Maſter, July 2, 1526 (*g*). He was reputed one of the greateſt ſcholars of his age; and his poetical compoſitions were in great eſteem among the beſt judges. His piety and virtue were not inferior to his learning, and commanded the reſpect of all impartial perſons. But ſhewing himſelf averſe to many of the Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and declaring freely for ſome of Luther's opinions, he incurred the diſpleaſure of the Governors of the univerſity, who ſtripped him of his preferment, and threw him into priſon on ſuſpicion of hereſy (*h*). When he was releaſed from his confinement, he left Oxford; and, ſome time after, was choſen Maſter of Eaton-ſchool, which was obſerved remarkably to flouriſh under his vigilant and induſtrious care (*i*). In 1537, he commenced Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge (*k*). And on the 4th of December, 1540, was made Archdeacon of Ely (*l*): as he was alſo appointed in 1541, the firſt Prebendary in the firſt ſtall of the ſame cathedral, upon the new founding of it by King Henry VIII, on the 10th of September 1541 (*m*). He was likewiſe, the 3d of June 1542, preſented by the ſame King to the prebend of Sutton with Buckingham in the church of Lincoln, and inſtalled the 11th of that month. But this he ſurrendered up in 1547 (*n*). In the year 1543, he ſupplicated the univerſity of Oxford, that he might take place among the Doctors of Divinity there, which was unuſual, becauſe he was not then incorporated into that univerſity, as Doctor in Divinity; nor was he ſo till June 1545 (*o*). When a deſign was formed, of converting the collegiate church of Southwell into a biſhoprick [*A*], Dr Cox was nominated Biſhop of it (*p*). On the 8th of January 1543-4, he was made the ſecond Dean of the new-erected cathedral of Oſney near Oxford; and in 1546, when that See was tranſlated to Chriſt-Church, he was alſo made Dean there (*q*). Theſe promotions he obtained by the intereſt of Archbiſhop Cranmer and Biſhop Goodrich, to the laſt of whom he had been Chaplain: And, by their recommendation, he was choſen Tutor to the young Prince Edward, whom he inſtructed with great care in the true principles of religion, and formed his tender mind to an early ſenſe of his duty, both as a Chriſtian and a King (*r*). On that Prince's acceſſion to the throne, he became a great favourite at Court, and was made a Privy-Counſellor, and the King's Almoner [*B*]. The 21ſt of May 1547, he was elected Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford (*s*); inſtalled July 16, 1548, Canon of Windſor; and, the next year, made Dean of Weſtminſter (*t*). About the ſame time he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to viſit the univerſity of Oxon (*u*), in which he is accuſed of having much abuſed his commiſſion [*C*]. In 1550, he was ordered to go down into Suſſex, and endeavour, by his learned and affecting ſermons, to quiet the minds of the people, who had been diſturbed by the factious preaching of Day Biſhop of Chicheſter, a violent Papiſt (*w*). And when the noble deſign of reforming the Canon Law was in agitation, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners. Both in this and the former reign, when an act paſſed for giving all chantries, colleges, &c. to the King, through Dr Cox's powerful interceſſion, the colleges in both univerſities were excepted out of that act (*x*). Soon after Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Crown, he was ſtripped of his preferments; and on the 15th of Auguſt 1553, committed to the Marſhalſea. He was indeed ſoon diſcharged from this confinement (*y*); but foreſeeing the inhuman perſecution likely to enſue, he reſolved to quit the realm, and withdraw to ſome place, where he might enjoy the free exerciſe of his religion, according to the form eſtabliſhed in the reign of King Edward (*z*). He went firſt to Straſburgh in Germany, where he heard with great concern of the raſh proceedings of ſome of the Engliſh exiles at Franckfort (*a*), who had thrown aſide the Engliſh Liturgy, and ſet up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models [*D*]. On the 13th of March 1555, he came to Franckford in order to

(*e*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra; now ſwallowed up into Chriſt-church.

(*f*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 40.

(*g*) Idem, Ath. col. 203.

(*h*) Downes, as above, p. cxv. cxvi.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Willis, as above, p. 374.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 376.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 248.

(*o*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 68, 70.

(*p*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 403.

(*q*) Wood, Ath. col. 203; & Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 253. He was made Dean of Chriſt-Church, Nov. 4.

(*r*) Downes, ubi ſupra, p. cxvi.

(*s*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 71. He held it till the year 1552.

(*t*) Idem, Athen. col. 203.

(*u*) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 269, 270, &c.

(*w*) Downes, ubi ſupra, p. cxvii.

(*x*) Downes, ibid.

(*y*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. He ſays, the Dr was diſcharged 19 Aug. 1559, inſtead of 1553 or 1554.

(*z*) Downes, as above, p. cxvii.

(*a*) A brief Diſcourſe of the troubles begonne at Franckford, Anno Domini 1554. Printed in 1575, 4*to*, p. vi, vii.

[*A*] *When a deſign was formed, of converting the Collegiate Church of Southwell into a Biſhoprick*, &c.] For, after the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, beſides the ſix new erected Biſhopricks of Oxford, Peterburgh, Glouceſter, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Weſtminſter, the King intended to have erected new Biſhopricks; at Dunſtable in Bedfordſhire, with 1140 l. 5 d. yearly revenue; Colcheſter in Eſſex with 1003 l. 5 d; Shrewſbury in the County of Salop; Bodmin with Launceſton in Cornwall; and Southwell in Nottinghamſhire. But, either the King's luxury and extravgance, or the greedineſs of his courtiers, ſwallowed up the revenues wherewith they were to be endowed (1).

(1) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 402, 403, in Oxford.

[*B*] *And the King's Almoner*] This office was granted him *durante beneplacito*, during the King's pleaſure: And he had afterwards a further grant made him, of all the Goods and Chattels of Felons, as well within liberties as without, for the augmentation of the King's alms. *In augmentationem Eleemoſynæ ſuæ, omnia Bona & Catalla Felonum de ſe tam infra Libertates quam extra, infra Regnum Angliæ habend. quamdiu in Officio prædict. ſteterit* (2).

(2) Dyer's Reports, fol. 77.

[*C*] *In which he is accuſed of having much abuſed his commiſſion*] For he, and the reſt of the commiſſioners, made a dreadful havock among the Libraries; deſtroying, burning, or ſelling for the vileſt uſes, all the illuminated books, ſuch as had in them mathematical figures or other diagrams, under pretence that they tended to Popery or Conjuration: And alſo books of School-Divinity; and, in general, ſparing very few that had been compoſed by Roman-Catholic authors (3).

(3) See Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 271, 272, and l. ii. p. 50; and Catalogue of MSS. in England and Ireland, fol. 1697.

[*D*] *Set up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models*]. Of which we have this account, 'After having peruſed the Engliſh Liturgy, 'it was concluded amongſt them, That the anſwering 'aloud after the Miniſter ſhould not be uſed; the Li- 'tany, ſurplice, and many other things alſo omitted, 'becauſe in the reformed Churches abroad ſuch things 'would ſeem more than ſtrange. It was farther a- 'greed upon, that the Miniſter, in the room of the 'Engliſh Confeſſion, ſhould uſe another, both of more 'effect, and alſo framed according to the ſtate and 'time. And the ſame ended, the people to ſing a

'pſalm

to oppoſe this innovation, and to have the Common-Prayer-Book ſettled among the Engliſh congregation there (*b*), which he had the ſatisfation to accompliſh [*E*]. Then he returned to Straſburgh for the ſake of converſing with Peter Martyr, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendſhip at Oxford, and whom he loved and honoured for his great learning and moderation (*c*). After the death of Queen Mary he returned to England; and was one of thoſe divines who were appointed to reviſe the Liturgy (*d*). And when a diſputation was to be held at Weſtminſter between eight Papiſts and eight of the Reformed Clergy, he was the chief champion on the Proteſtants ſide (*e*). He preached often before Queen Elizabeth in Lent; and, in his ſermon at the opening of her firſt Parliament (*f*), exhorted them in moſt affecting terms, to reſtore religion to its primitive purity, and baniſh all the Popiſh innovations and corruptions. Theſe excellent diſcourſes, and the great zeal he had ſhewn in ſupport of the Engliſh Liturgy at Franckford,

(*b*) Ib. p. xxxviii.

(*c*) Downes, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 430.

(*e*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, in beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. 2d edit. p. 388. Strype's Ann. of the Reformat. Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 87, &c. See COLE (HENRY).

(*f*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 636.

' pſalm in metre in a plain tune, as was and is ac-
' cuſtomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spaniſh,
' and Scottiſh Churches: that done, the Miniſter to
' pray for the aſſiſtance of God's holy Spirit, and ſo
' to proceed to the Sermon. After the ſermon, a ge-
' neral prayer for all eſtates, and for England, was
' alſo deviſed: at the end of which prayer was joined
' the Lord's prayer, and a rehearſal of the Articles of
' the belief; which ended, the people to ſing another
' pſalm as afore. Then the Miniſter pronouncing this
' bleſſing, The peace of God &c. or ſome other of like
' effect, the people to depart. And as touching the
' miniſtration of the Sacraments, ſundry things were
' alſo by common conſent omitted, as ſuperſtitious and
' ſuperfluous (4).'

(4) Brief Diſcourſe of the troubles begonne at Franckford, &c. p. vi. vii.

[*E*] *Which he had the ſatisfaction to accompliſh.*] The particulars of theſe remarkable tranſactions, were as follow. After the ſettling of the Form and Diſcipline mentioned in the laſt note, the Exiles adverti ſed their diſperſed countrymen at Straſburgh, Zuric, Weiſel, Emden, &c. of the ſingular benefit they enjoyed, of having a Church granted them, and endeavoured to perſwade them, to come and joyn with them. Thoſe at Straſburgh anſwered, That they had conſidered the contents of their letter, and perceiv'd the effect of it was, to have one or two take the chief government of the congregation. And in caſe they could get Dr Poinet, Mr Scory, Dr Bale, or Dr Cox, or two of them, *they ſhould be well provided; if not, they would appoint one at Straſburgh, and another ſhould come from Zuric.* Accordingly Mr Grindall writ to Mr Scory at Emden, to deſire him to accept of the office; but before his anſwer came, the congregation had choſen Mr Knox, Haddon, and Lever, for their Miniſters: not liking to have any Superintendent, as thoſe at Straſburgh propoſed, but to be governed by two or three Miniſters of equal authority (5). In the mean time, ſeveral members of the congregation were for retaining the Engliſh Liturgy, and did not approve of the Form ſet down in the laſt Note. This occaſioning very great contention, it was at length agreed, on the 6th of February 155⅗, That another Form ſhould be drawn up out of the Engliſh Liturgy with ſome additions, to be uſed till the laſt day of April following. But Dr Cox, and ſome others coming to Franckford on the 13th of March, reſolved to ſtand up for the Engliſh Liturgy. Accordingly, they anſwered aloud after the Miniſter; for which being reprov'd by the Seniors of the Congregation, they made anſwer, That they would do as they had done in England, and would have the face of an Engliſh Church. And, the Sunday following, one of Dr Cox's company going up into the pulpit without the conſent of the congregation, read the Litany, whilſt Dr Cox and his company made the reſponſes aloud. The ſame Sunday in the afternoon, Knox preaching, and reflecting upon thoſe proceedings, was by Dr Cox ſharply rebuked for it. The tueſday following was appointed to talk of thoſe things more at large. When they were aſſembled, requeſt was made, that Dr Cox and his company ſhould be admitted to have votes in the congregation. The others anſwered, That matters ſtill in diſpute amongſt them ought firſt to be determined; and Dr Cox and his friends ſubſcribe to the Diſcipline, as the reſt had done, before they were admitted into the congregation (6). Knox at laſt began to make intreaty, that they might have votes among the reſt: to which ſome yielding, the majority came thereby to be on their ſide, and they were accordingly admitted. But immediately after, Dr Cox forbad Mr Knox to meddle any more in that congregation (7). The next day, complaint of this being made to one of the Magiſtrates, he ordered, That two on each ſide ſhould conſult and agree upon ſome good order for divine ſervice, and make report of it to him. For that purpoſe, Dr Cox and Mr Lever were choſen on one ſide, and Mr Knox and Whittingham on the other. But, when they came to a Conference, before they had gone through the Morning-ſervice (Dr Cox being very earneſt for reſtoring the Liturgy, and the others as violent againſt it) they parted without coming to an agreement. The Puritans thereupon addreſſed the Senate, highly complaining of the others for endeavouring to force the Engliſh Liturgy upon them; and ſo far prevailed, that the Magiſtrates ordered the Congregation to agree with the French Church both in Doctrine and Ceremonies. Dr Cox not being able to withſtand the torrent, ſaid, ' He had read the ' French order, and thought it to be both good and ' godly in all points, and therefore deſired the con-' gregation to obey the Magiſtrates commandment.' Requeſting the magiſtrate at the ſame time, to ſhew unto him and his friends, his accuſtomed favour and goodneſs, notwithſtandidg their ill behaviour. Nevertheleſs, theſe did not reſt here; but ſeeing that Knox was in great credit with many of the congregation, they accuſed him to the Senate of high-treaſon againſt the Emperor, his Son, and Queen Mary, on account of ſome virulent expreſſions of his againſt thoſe Princes, in a book intituled *An Admonition to Chriſtians*. Whereupon, the Senators commanded he ſhould preach no more till their pleaſure were farther known; and ſoon after ordered him to depart the city of Franckford (8). The 26th of March, Dr Cox and his friends preſented a petition to the Magiſtrates, ſubſcribed by three Doctors, thirteen Bachelors of Divinity, and others, for the full uſe of the Engliſh Liturgy; which accordingly was eſtabliſhed. When Whittingham was acquainted with it, he ſaid, he did not doubt, but it might be lawful for him and others to join themſelves to ſome other church. But Dr Cox deſired that it might not be ſuffered. Whereunto Whittingham anſwered, that it would be too great cruelty to force men, contrary to their conſciences, to obey all their diſorderly proceedings; offering, if the magiſtrate would be pleaſed to give them the hearing, to diſpute the matter againſt all the contrary party, and prove, that the order which they ſought to eſtabliſh, ought not to take place in any reformed Church: But herein they were not indulged. The 28th of March, Dr Cox aſſembled all the Engliſh Clergy to his lodgings, and having declared to them, how the Magiſtrates had granted them the uſe of the Engliſh Liturgy, he ſaid, That he thought it requiſite they ſhould conſult together, whom they thought fitteſt to be Biſhop, Superintendant, or Paſtor, with the reſt of the officers, as Seniors, Miniſters, and Deacons (9). When that was ſettled, Dr Cox proceeded to form a kind of Univerſity, and appointed a Greek, and a Hebrew Lecturer, a Divinity-Profeſſor, and a Treaſurer for the contributions remitted from England (10). The Puritans offered, as their laſt refuge, to refer the whole matter to four arbitrators, two choſen on each ſide; that it might appear where the fault lay, and they might have an opportunity of vindicating themſelves from the guilt of Schiſm. But that propoſal being rejected, they departed in a rage, and withdrew, ſome to Baſil, and others to Geneva (11).

(5) Ib. p. xiii. xiv.

(6) Ib. p. xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix.

(7) Page xl.

(8) Page xliv. xlv.

(9) Page xlvi, xlvii.

(10) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 396.

(11) Troubles at Franckford, as above, p. lv—lix.

[*F*] *His*

ford, ſo effectually recommended him to the Queen's eſteem (*g*), that in June 1559, ſhe nominated him to the biſhoprick of Norwich (*h*), but her mind altering, ſhe preferred him to the See of Ely, in the room of Dr [illegible]by, who was deprived (*i*). His *congé d'eſlire* bore date July 15, 1559. He was elected the 28th day of the ſaid month, had the royal aſſent December the 18th, was confirmed in the church of St Mary le Bow the 20th of the ſame month, conſecrated at Lambeth the next day, and received the temporalities the 23d of March following (*k*). Before his conſecration, he joined with Dr Parker elect Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhops elect of London, Chicheſter, and Hereford, in a petition to the Queen, againſt an Act lately paſſed, for the alienating and exchanging the lands and revenues of the Biſhops: And ſent her ſeveral arguments from Scripture and reaſon againſt the lawfulneſs of it; obſerving withal, the many evils and inconveniences both to Church and State that would thence ariſe (*l*). He enjoyed the epiſcopal dignity about twenty-one years and ſeven months, reckoning from the time of his conſecration; and was, all that time, one of the chief pillars and ornaments of the Church of England. Both to Archbiſhop Parker, and his ſucceſſor Grindal, he was very ſerviceable; and, by his prudence and induſtry, contributed to the reſtitution of our Church in the ſame beauty and good order, it had enjoyed in King Edward's reign. He was indeed no great favourite of the Queen; but that is to be imputed to his zealous oppoſition to her retaining the crucifix and lights on the altar of the Royal Chapel [*F*], and his ſtrenuous defence of the lawfulneſs of the marriage of the Clergy, againſt which the Queen had contracted a moſt inveterate and unaccountable prejudice. He was a great patron to all learned men, whom he found well affected to the Church; and ſhewed a ſingular eſteem for Dr Whitgift, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he made his Chaplain, and to whom he gave the rectory of Teverſham in Cambridgeſhire, and a Prebend of Ely (*m*). He did his utmoſt to get a body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, (which was drawn up by Archbiſhop Cranmer, and other learned Divines, of whom himſelf was one, in the latter end of King Edward's reign) eſtabliſhed by authority of Parliament [*G*]; but through the unreaſonable oppoſition of ſome of the chief Courtiers, this noble deſign miſcarried a third time. As he had, in his exile at Franckford, been the chief champion againſt the innovations of the Puritans; ſo he now continued, with the ſame vigour and reſolution, to oppoſe their attempts, againſt the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Eſtabliſhed Church. At firſt he tried to reclaim, or win them over, by gentle means: But finding, that, inſtead of behaving themſelves with due moderation, they only grew more audacious, and reviled both Church and Biſhops in ſcurrilous libels, he thought timely ſeverities neceſſary (*n*). Therefore he writ to Archbiſhop Parker, to go on vigorouſly in reclaiming or puniſhing them, and not be diſheartened at the frowns of thoſe Court-favourites who protected them; aſſuring him, that he might expect the bleſſing of God on his pious labours, to free the Church from their dangerous attempts, and to eſtabliſh uniformity. And when the Privy-Council interpoſed in favour of the Puritans, and endeavoured to ſcreen them from puniſhment, he wrote a bold letter to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh; wherein he warmly expoſtulated with the Council, for meddling with the affairs of the Church, which, as he ſaid, ought to be left to the determination of the Biſhops; admoniſhed them to keep within their own ſphere; and told them he would appeal to the Queen, if they continued to interpoſe in matters not belonging to them (*o*). He is blamed by ſome (*p*) for giving up ſeveral manors and other eſtates belonging to his See [*H*], but he rather, in ſome reſpects, deſerves commendation, for his great firmneſs in

(*g*) Downes, as above.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 689.

(*i*) Godwin, de Præſul. edit. 1616, 4to, p. 334.

(*k*) Convent. Foedera, &c. publiſhed by Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 537.

(*l*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

(*m*) Life of Whitgift, &c. by J. Strype, fol. 1718, p. 7. The Biſhop gave Whitgift that Prebend, Dec. 5. 1568, ibid.

(*n*) Downes, ubi ſupra; from Mr Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Willis, Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 360, among the Biſhops of Ely.

[*F*] *His zealous oppoſition to the Queen's retaining the Crucifix and Lights on the altar of the Royal Chapel.*] He ſcrupled for a great while to officiate there upon that account; and when he did it, 'twas *with a trembling conſcience*, as he ſaid. To excuſe himſelf, and to give his humble advice to the Queen, he writ to her a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter (12); wherein he ſets down 'certain conſiderations, why he could not yield to 'have Images ſet up in Churches.' And concludes in theſe words, 'yet my meaning is not hereby to enter 'into conſideration of ſuch as are otherwiſe minded, 'much leſs of your Majeſty (God forbid) who I believe 'meaneth not to uſe the thing to any evil end.—— 'Bear with me, moſt gracious ſoveraign; for the 'tender mercy of God, force not my conſcience ſo 'ſore (13).'

(12) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 175.

(13) Appendix to Vol. I. No. xxii. p. 59, 60, 61.

[*G*] *He did his utmoſt to get a body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws —— —— eſtabliſhed by authority of Parliament.*] That was, the famous book intitled *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, compiled, by order of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. out of the Canon and Civil Law. Thirty two perſons were commiſſion'd for that work, but the perſon who had the chief hand in it, was Archbiſhop Cranmer: and it was put into proper and elegant Latin, by Sir John Cheke, and Dr Haddon Regius Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the univerſity of Cambridge. For a further account of that work, ſee Dr Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, 2d Edition, Part I. p. 330. Part II. p. 141, 196. and Part III. p. 208. and Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, vol. II. p. 303. and Life of Cranmer, book I. ch. 30. It was firſt publiſhed, in 1571, by Archbiſhop Parker, or John Fox, with a preface; and again in 1640, 4*to*. The moſt probable reaſon why thoſe Laws were never ſuffered to be confirmed by Parliament, is that aſſigned by Dr Burnet (14), becauſe it was found more for the greatneſs of the Prerogative and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep thoſe points undetermined.

(14) Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 330.

[*H*] *Giving up ſeveral manors and other eſtates belonging to his ſee.*] In 1562, he alienated to Queen Elizabeth, the manors of Hatfield, Little Hadham, and Kelſhall. Moreover, he gave up Eaſt Dereham, Pulham, Bridgeham, the Hundred and manor of Mitford, the manors of Terrington, Walpole, Weſt-Walton, Brandon, Weſteringate, Battleſden, Hecham, Harthurſt, Berking, and Totteridge, in the counties of Norfork, Suffolk, Hertford, and Bedford, of the yearly value of 695*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* in lieu of which, the Queen granted him, the tenths of his Dioceſe amounting to 384*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* *per Annum*, and the Impropriations of Gildon-Morden, Swaffham-Bulbeck, Stokequi, Waterbech, St Giles Cambridge, Comberton, Hinxton, Harleſton, Swaveſey, and Drayton, of the value of 207*l.* 10*s.* So that, as Browne Willis, Eſq; obſerves, he parted with about 700*l.* a year of the old Demeſnes, being a third part of the Revenues of the Biſhoprick (15). Before, whilſt he was Dean of Chriſt-Church, he had alienated the Parſonage-glebe, and a manor, at Harrow on the hill; and the Rectory and Advowſon of Preſton on Stour in Glouceſterſhire, and Priory of Clatercote in Oxfordſhire (16).

(15) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. edit. 1730, p. 248, 338, in Ely.

(16) Ibid. p. 429, 550.

[*I*] *He*

in reſolving to part with no more, and for being proof againſt the ſtrongeſt ſollicitations, and moſt violent attacks. Several he had to encounter, even from thoſe which were moſt in favour at Court, and were backed by royal command and authority. In the years 1574 and 1575, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, a noted favourite of the Queen, endeavoured to wreſt Ely-Houſe in Holbourn from him (q); for that, in order to preſerve it to his See, he was forced to have a long and chargeable ſuit in Chancery, which was not determined in 1579 (r). The Lord North alſo attempted, in 1575, to oblige him to part with the manor of Somerſham, in Huntingdonſhire, one of the beſt belonging to his biſhoprick; and with Downham Park (s): which he refuſing to yield, that Lord endeavoured to ſtir up the Queen's indignation againſt him, and do his utmoſt to have him deprived. For that purpoſe, North, and ſome others of the Courtiers, examined and ranſacked his whole conduct ſince his firſt coming to his See, and drew up a large body of articles againſt him, which he was to give anſwers to before the Privy-Council (t). But the Biſhop, in his replies, ſo fully vindicated himſelf from all aſperſions, and ſo clearly confuted the groundleſs and malicious calumnies of his enemies, that the Queen was forced to acknowledge his innocence (u); though the Lord North boaſted, he had found five *Præmunire*'s againſt him (w). However, vexed and wearied with the implacable malice of the Lord North, and other his adverſaries, he deſired, in 1577, leave to reſign his biſhoprick (x), but the Queen put him off (y). North, though diſappointed in his former attempt, yet not diſcouraged thereby, brings three actions againſt the poor old Biſhop for felling of wood (z); whereupon the Biſhop offered again, in 1579, to reſign; provided he had a yearly penſion of two hundred pounds out of his See, and Donnington, (the leaſt of five country houſes belonging to Ely-biſhoprick) for his reſidence during life (a). The Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, at the Biſhop's earneſt deſire, obtained leave of the Queen for him to reſign; and in February 1579-80, upon the Biſhop's repeated deſires, forms of reſignation were actually drawn up (b). But the Court could not find any Divine of note, who would take that biſhoprick on their terms, of ſurrendering up the beſt manors belonging thereto. The firſt offer of it was made to Freak Biſhop of Norwich; and, on his refuſal, it was proffered to ſeveral others: But the conditions were ſo ignominious and baſe, that they all rejected it: By which means Biſhop Cox enjoyed it till his death, which happened on the 22d (c) of July 1581, in the 82d year of his age (d). By his will he left ſeveral legacies, amounting in all to the ſum of nine hundred and forty-five pounds; and died worth, in good debts, two thouſand three hundred and twenty-two pounds (e). He had ſeveral children [I]. His body was interred in Ely-cathedral, near Biſhop Goodrich's monument, under a marble-ſtone, with an inſcription; which having been defaced, there are only four verſes of it [K] now legible (f). Divers things, of which he was author, have been publiſhed chiefly ſince his deceaſe [L]. As to his character; He was a man of a ſound judgment, and clear apprehenſion, and attained to great perfection in all polite and uſeful learning. He wanted no advantages of education, and improved them with ſuch diligence and induſtry, that he ſoon became an excellent proficient both in divine and human literature. The

(q) Strype's Annals, as above, Vol. II. p. 337, 338, 360; and Appendix to B. i. No. xlvii. p. 84.

(r) Strype, in the ſame Volume, p. 579.

(s) Ibid. p. 361. The Queen ſent a letter to the Biſhop, to requeſt him to make a demiſe of Somerſham, to North. Ibid.

(t) Ibid. p. 361—370.

(u) Ibid. and Appendix to B. i. No. xlviii. xlix. l. li.

(w) Ibid. p. 364.

(x) Ibid. p. 488, 489.

(y) With a *Nondum hoc fiet*, i. e. Not yet; as he expreſſes it himſelf. Append. to B. ii. of Annals, &c. as above, No. xiv. p. 117.

(z) Strype, Vol. II. p. 580.

(a) Ibid. p. 581, 582, 583.

(b) Ibid. p. 583.

(c) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 360. Wood, Athen. col. 204. Stow ſays, it was July 13. Annales, edit. 1631, p. 694.

(d) This appears from the time of his birth mentioned above.

(e) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. edit. 1728, p. 26, 27.

(f) Willis, ubi ſupra.

[I] *He had ſeveral children.*] Namely, *John*, whom he made his executor. *Richard*, who was knighted, and a Juſtice of Peace for Ely: After his father's deceaſe, he had a Grant from the Crown of Dodington manor and palace. The Biſhop had alſo *two daughters*, married, to John Parker, and John Duport, Prebendaries of Ely: Beſides other children, whoſe names are not mentioned (17).

(17) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 360.

[K] *Which having been defaced, there are only four verſes of it legible.*] Being theſe;

Vita caduca vale, ſalveto vita perennis;
Corpora terra tegit, Spiritus alta petit.
In terra Chriſti Gallus Chriſtum reſonabam;
Da, Chriſte, in coelis te ſine fine ſonem.

i. e. 'Farewel, frail life, hail, life eternal; The 'earth covers my body, but my ſoul aſcends to heaven. 'I, who was Chriſt's Cock*, made Chriſt's name 'found on earth. Grant, O Chriſt, that I may without 'end make thy praiſes reſound in heaven (18).' His monument was defaced in twenty years after his death; which ſome (19) look upon as a ſign of his being little beloved.

(*) Alluding to his name of Cocks or Cox.

(18) Willis, ibid. & Godwin. de Præſul. p. 335.

(19) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, by Sir J. Harrington, 8vo, Lond. 1653, p. 77.

[L] *Divers things, of which he was author, have been publiſhed chiefly ſince his deceaſe.*] They are, I. 'An Oration at the beginning of the Diſputation of 'Dr Treſham and others with Peter Martyr.' II. 'An Oration at the concluſion of the ſame.' Theſe two Orations, which are in Latin, were printed in 1549, 4to. and afterwards among Peter Martyr's works. The ſecond is alſo printed in the Appendix to the Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype (20). III. He had a great hand in compiling the firſt *Liturgy of the Church of England*: and was one of the chief perſons employed in the review of it in 1559 (21). IV. He turned into verſe the Lord's prayer, commonly printed at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins's pſalms. V. When a new Tranſlation of the *Bible* was made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, now commonly known by the name of *the Biſhops Bible*, the *Four Goſpels*, the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and the *Epiſtle to the Romans*, were allotted to him, for his portion (22). VI. He writ 'Reſolutions of ſome Queſtions concern-'ing the Sacraments;' in the collection of Records at the end of Dr Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation (23). VII. He had a hand, in the 'Declaration concerning 'the Functions and Divine Inſtitution of Biſhops and 'Prieſts (24):' And in the Anſwers, to the 'Queries 'concerning ſome abuſes of the Maſs (25).' VIII. Several Letters, and ſmall pieces of his, have been publiſhed by the induſtrious Mr Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation: namely, 1. A Letter to Wolfgang Weidner at Wormes, 20 May 1559 (26). 2. To the Queen, wherein, he excuſes himſelf for refuſing to miniſter in the Royal Chapel, on account of the Crucifix there (27). 3. To Bullinger, on occaſion of his anſwer to the Pope's Bull againſt the Queen (28). 4. To the Queen, upon her requiring his houſe in Holbourn for Mr Hatton (29). 5. To the ſame, upon her deſiring him to ſurrender Somerſham (30). 6. Reaſons ſent to the Lord Burghley to tender the ſtate of God's Miniſters (31). 7. Anſwers to the accuſations of the Lord North, and others againſt him (32). 8. To the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's having ordered Archbiſhop Grindall to be ſuſpended (33). 9. Letter congratulatory to the Queen in her progreſs, and to excuſe himſelf for not waiting upon her (34). 10. To the

(20) Edit. 1694, fol. No. [xliv.] p. 119.

(21) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 204.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Appendix to P. i. 2d edit. p. 207, No. xxi. of Book iii.

(24) Ibid. among the Addenda p. 321.

(25) Appendix to B. i. of P. ii. No. 25, p. 133, &c.

(26) Appendix to Vol. I. B. i. No. xxi. p. 54.

(27) Ibid. p. 59.

(28) Ib. p. 100.

(29) Appendix to Vol. II. p. 84.

(30) Ib. p. 85.

(31) Ib. p. 87.

(32) Ibid. p. 87—100.

(33) Ib. p. 111.

(34) Ib. p. 117.

The Holy Scriptures were his chief ſtudy; and he was perfectly well verſed in the original language of the New Teſtament. He was extremely zealous for the true intereſt of our Reformed Church, and a conſtant and vigorous defender of it againſt all the open aſſaults of its Popiſh adverſaries, and the no leſs dangerous deſigns of the Puritans (*g*). He is accuſed by ſome (*b*) of having been a worldly and covetous perſon; and is ſaid to have made a great havock and ſpoil of his woods and parks, feeding his family with powdered veniſon to ſave expences. Several complaints, and long accuſations, were exhibited againſt him and his wife, in 1579, to Qu. Elizabeth, upon thoſe accounts, by ſome falſe and evil diſpoſed perſons; but the Biſhop fully vindicated himſelf, and ſhowed, that all thoſe complaints were nothing but malicious calumnies, and groundleſs imputations (*i*). It is likewiſe ſaid, that he appears to have been of a vindictive ſpirit, by reaſon of his proſecution of, and ſeverity to, the deprived Catholicks in his cuſtody; and eſpecially by his complaints againſt Dr Feckenham the laſt Abbot of Weſtminſter (*k*). But the Biſhop alledges in his own excuſe, that the Doctor was a very troubleſome gueſt, and good for nothing (*l*): and that his endeavours to convert him, were by order of the Court (*m*). It muſt be remembered of this Biſhop, that he was the firſt who brought a wife to live in a college (*n*). And that he procured a new body of Statutes for St John's college in Cambridge, of which, as Biſhop of Ely, he was viſitor (*o*).

(*g*) Willis, as above, p. 359, 360; and Sir J. Harrington, p. 77.

(*b*) Downes, ubi ſupra, p. cxxx.

(*i*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. Append. p. 87—100.

(*k*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 360. See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. Append. p. 73; and Vol. II. p. 658.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 658.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 525, 526.

(*n*) Willis, p. 359.

(*o*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 372, 373, 664; and Appendix, p. 156.

(35) Ib. p. 131. the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's granting him leave to reſign his Biſhoprick (35). 11. To the ſame, informing him he had received intelligence, that twelve thouſand Spaniards were to be ſent by the Pope and

(36) Ib. p. 139. Spaniard againſt the realm, 1580 (36). 12. Account

(37) Ib. p. 142. of his conference with Dr Feecknam (37). 13. To the Lord Burghley, of the ill ſtate of St John's college Cambridge, for want of Statutes (38). 14. Proofs and Evidences from ancient Grants, to ſhow, that his Manor and Houſe in Holbourn is exempt from the juriſdiction of the city of London (39). He alſo had a hand in Lily's grammar.

(38) Ib. p. 156.

(39) Appendix to Vol. III. B. i. No. 57. p. 124.

C

CRANMER (THOMAS) the moſt eminent Archbiſhop that ever ſate in the See of Canterbury, was the ſon of *Thomas* Cranmer, Eſq [*A*]; and Agnes daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby in Nottinghamſhire (*a*). He was born (*) Aſlacton in that county July 2, 1489 (*b*), and educated in Grammar-learning under a rude and ſevere Pariſh-Clerk, of whom he learned little, and endured much (*c*). In 1503, at the age of fourteen, he was admitted into Jeſus College in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (*d*). Here, he ſtudied the Sophiſtry, and uſeleſs learning of thoſe times, till the age of twenty two: For the next four or five years he applied himſelf to polite Literature: And for three years more, to the ſtudy of the Scriptures (*e*). After he was Maſter of Arts, he married a gentleman's daughter, named Joan (*f*), living at the Dolphin, oppoſite to Jeſus-Lane (*g*). Loſing by that his Fellowſhip, he went and lived with her at the Dolphin, and became Reader of the common Lecture in Buckingham, now Magdalen, College (*h*). But his wife dying in child-bed within a year, he was again admitted Fellow of Jeſus College (*i*). Upon Cardinal Wolſey's foundation of his new college at Oxford, Cranmer was nominated to be one of the Fellows; but he refuſed the offer (*k*). In 1523, and the 34th year of his age, he was made Doctor of Divinity, Reader of the Theological Lecture in his own college, and one of the Examiners of thoſe that took the degrees in Divinity (*l*). The moſt immediate cauſe of his advancement to the greateſt favour with King Henry VIII. and, in conſequence of that, to the higheſt dignity in the Church of England, was the Opinion he gave in the matter of that King's Divorce. For having, on account of the plague at Cambridge, retired to Waltham-Abbey in Eſſex, at the houſe of one Mr Creſſy, whoſe wife he was related to, and whoſe ſons were his pupils at the univerſity; Edward Fox the King's Almoner, and Stephen Gardiner the Secretary, happened accidentally to come to that houſe (*m*). Here, the converſation turning upon what then moſtly employed the Nation's thoughts, namely, the King's Divorce; Cranmer, who was well known to the two others, being deſir'd by them to ſpeak upon that point, deliver'd it as his opinion, that 'it would be much better, to have this queſtion, *Whether a man may marry his 'brother's wife, or no?* decided and diſcuſſed by the Divines, and by the authority 'of the word of God, than thus from year to year to prolong the time by having recourſe 'to the Pope. That there was but one truth in it, which the Scripture would ſoon declare 'and manifeſt, being handled by learned men; and that might be done as well in England 'in the Univerſities here, as at Rome, or elſewhere (*n*).' This opinion being communicated by Dr Fox to the King, his Majeſty approved of it much; ſaying, 'that that 'man (meaning Cranmer) had the ſow by the right ear (*o*).' Whereupon Cranmer was ſent for to Court, made the King's Chaplain, ordered to write upon the ſubject of the Divorce, furniſh'd with books for that purpoſe, and plac'd in the family of Thomas Boleyn Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond (*p*). When he had finiſh'd his book [*B*], he went to

(*a*) Memorials of T. Cranmer, &c. by J. Strype, fol. Lond. 1694, p. 1, 2, 419.

(*) Or Arſelacton.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 2.

(*d*) Ibid. and Fox's Acts and Monumen's, Vol. II. p. 1860, edit. 1583.

(*e* Memorials, &c. by Strype, p. 2.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 2, 417.

(*g*) Ibid. and Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1860, 1877. She was related to the miſtreſs of the inne.

(*h*) Fox, p. 1860. and Antiquitat. Britannicæ, edit. Hanov. p. 331.

(*b*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 3. Fox, p. 1860. The author of *Antiquitat. Britannicæ*, ſays, he was upon the road to Oxford, but was perſuaded to return back to Cambridge, p. 331

(*l*) Strype and Fox, ibid.

(*m*) Godwin, de Præſul. edit. 1616, p. 196. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1860.

(*n*) Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1860.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 1861. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 79.

(*p*) Fox, ibid. and Strype's Mem. of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 4, 5.

[*A*] *Son of Thomas Cranmer, Eſq;*] That Family is ſaid to have come in with William the Conqueror, and to have been fixed for many generations in Nottinghamſhire, and in Lincolnſhire where there is a Houſe ſtill called Cranmer-hall. There were ſtill in France ſome of his name and family in King Henry the VIIIth's time; one whereof came in company with the French Embaſſador: To whom, for name, or relation, ſake, our Biſhop gave a noble Entertainment. The Family's Arms, were, Three Cranes; but King Henry the VIIIth altered them to Three Pelicans (1).

[*B*] *When he had finiſh'd his book.*] In that book, he ſhowed, by the authorities of the Scriptures, of general Councils, and ancient writers, that the Biſhop of

(1) Fox, Acts and Monum. p. 1859. Strype's Memorials, &c. p. 1, 126. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 336.

to Cambridge to diſpute upon that point, and brought ſeveral over to his opinion (q). About this time he was preſented to a Living, and made Archdeacon of Taunton (r). In 1530 he was ſent, with ſome others, into France, Italy, and Germany, to diſcuſs the affair of the King's Marriage (s). At Rome he got his book preſented to the Pope, and offered to diſpute openly againſt the [illegible]ity of King Henry's Marriage; but no one choſe to engage him (t). While he [illegible] at Rome, the Pope conſtituted him his Pœnitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales (u). In Germany he was ſole Embaſſador upon the foremention'd affair: And in 1532 concluded a Treaty of Commerce between England and the Low-Countries (w). He was alſo employ'd on an Embaſſy to the Duke of Saxony, and other Proteſtant Princes (x). During his reſidence in Germany, he married, at Norimberg, a ſecond wife, named Anne, niece of Oſiander's wife (y). Upon the death of Archbiſhop Warham in Auguſt 1532, Cranmer was nominated for his ſucceſſor; but he refus'd to accept of that Dignity, unleſs he was to receive it immediately from the King without the Pope's intervention (z). Before his conſecration, the King ſo far engaged him in the buſineſs of his Divorce, that he made him a party and an actor almoſt in every ſtep he took in that affair (a). It was he that pronounc'd the ſentence of Divorce between King Henry and Queen Catharine at Dunſtable May the 23d, 1533; and he likewiſe it was who married him to Anne Boleyn [C], and confirm'd her marriage on the 28th following. March the 30th, 1533, he was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury (b), by the Biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St Aſaph, when he made an unuſual Proteſtation [D]. The Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick were reſtored to him the 29th of April following (c). Soon after he forbad all preaching throughout his Dioceſe, and viſited it this year in December (d). The Pope threatning him with excommunication, on account of his ſentence againſt Queen Catharine, he appeal'd from his Holineſs to a general Council; And, in the enſuing Parliaments, ſtrenuouſly diſputed againſt the Pope's ſupremacy (e). All along he ſhow'd himſelf a zealous promoter of the Reformation: And, as the firſt ſtep towards it, procur'd the Convocation to petition the King that the Bible might be tranſlated into Engliſh. When that was obtain'd, he diligently encourag'd the printing and publication of it, and cauſed it to be recommended by Royal Authority, and to be diſpers'd as much as he poſſibly could (f). Next, he forwarded the diſſolution of the Monaſteries [E], which were one of the greateſt obſtacles to a reformation (g). And, in every point, endeavour'd by all gentle and human means to reſtore the Church of England to its true and original purity. In 1535 he perform'd a Provincial Viſitation, in order to recommend the King's Supremacy (h); and preach'd upon that ſubject in ſeveral parts of his Dioceſe [F]. In 1536, he divorced King Henry from Anne Boleyn (i). In 1537 he viſited his Dioceſe, and endeavoured to aboliſh the ſuperſtitious obſervation of Holidays (k). In 1538, he was in a commiſſion againſt the Anabaptiſts, and viſited the Dioceſe of Hereford (l). The next year, he and ſome of the Biſhops fell under the King's diſpleaſure, becauſe they could not be brought to give their conſent in Parliament, that the *Monaſteries ſhould be ſuppreſs'd for the King's ſole uſe* (m). *He alſo ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the Act for the ſix Articles, in the Houſe of Lords, ſpeaking three days againſt it* (n); and upon the paſſing of that Statute ſent away his wife into Germany (o). In 1540 he was one of the Commiſſioners for inſpecting into matters of Religion, and explaining ſome of its chief Doctrines (p). The reſult of their commiſſion was, the book intitled 'A neceſſary 'Erudition of any chriſtian man.' After Lord Cromwell's death, (in whoſe behalf he had written to the King,) he retired, and lived in great privacy, meddling not at all with State-affairs (q). In 1541, he gave orders, purſuant to the King's directions, for taking away ſuperſtitious Shrines: And exchanging Biſhopſbourn for Bekeſbourn, united the latter to his Dioceſe (r). In 1542, he procured the 'Act for the advancement of true Religion, 'and the aboliſhment of the contrary;' which moderated the rigour of the Six Articles (s). But, the year following, ſome enemies preferring accuſations againſt him [G], he had like to

(g) Strype, ibid. p. 5, 6.

(r) Ibid. p. 14.

(s) Ibid. p. 11.

(t) Ibid. p. 9. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1861.

(u) Godwin, de Præſul. Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 197. Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 95.

(w) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(x) Ibid. p. 13.

(y) Ibid. p. 417. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1870.

(z) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 16. Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 128.

(a) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 17. Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 131; and Collect. of Records, p. 120, 121.

(b) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 128, 129. Strype's Memorials, &c. p. 18. Fuller's Church Hiſt. B. v. p. (185).

(c) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIV. p. 456.

(d) Strype, ibid. p. 21.

(e) Ibid. p. 22, 23. and Fox, ubi ſup. p. 1862.

(f) Strype, ibid. p. 24, 57, &c. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 171, &c. 249, &c.

(g) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 35. Burnet, ubi ſupr. p. 190.

(b) Strype, ibid. p. 30, 32.

(i) Ibid. p. 49.

(k) Ibid. p. 55.

(l) Ibid. p. 70.

(m) Ibid. p. 72.

(n) Fox, ubi ſup. p. 1185. Antiquit. Britan. p. 332.

(o) Strype, ibid. p. 72.

(p) Idem, p. 77; and Burnet, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 286, &c.

(q) Strype, ibid. p. 86.

(r) Ibid. p. 97, 93.

(s) Ib. p. 99; and Burnet, ubi ſupr. Vol. I. p. 321.

of Rome (or the Pope) had no ſuch authority, as that he might diſpenſe with the word of God (2).

(2) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1861. Strype, ubi ſupr. p. 394.

[C] *He likewiſe it was who married him to Ann Boleyn.*] This is expreſsly aſſerted by the author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ* (3). But the Lord Herbert ſays (4), they were privately married by Rowland Lee afterwards Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield; none being preſent but the Lady Ann's father, mother, and brother; Dr Cranmer, and the Duke of Norfolk.

(3) Edit. Hanov. p. 329. See Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 18.

[D] *When he made an unuſual Proteſtation.*] The curious Reader may ſee the form of it, in the Appendix to Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer N°. V. p. 9. His Deſign was by this expedient to ſave his Liberty, to renounce every clauſe in his Oath which barr'd him doing his duty to God, the King, and his Country. A certain Church Hiſtorian (5) who loves upon all occaſions to blacken our firſt Reformers, thinks there was ſomething of human infirmity in this management, becauſe it was not made at Rome to the Pope, nor by Cranmer's proxies there, before the obtaining of the Bulls.

(4) Hiſt. of King Henry VIII.

(5) Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 74.

[E] *He forwarded the diſſolution of the Monaſteries.*] Inſtead of thoſe nurſeries of Idleneſs, and out of their Revenues, he had projected, That there ſhould be a Proviſion made, in every Cathedral, for Readers of Divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of Students to be both exerciſed in the daily worſhip of God, and trained up in ſtudy and devotion; whom the Biſhop might tranſplant out of this nurſery, into all the parts of his Dioceſe. And thus every Biſhop ſhould have had a College of Clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit. But this Deſign miſcarried (8).

(8) Burnet, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 301.

[F] *Preach'd upon that ſubject, in ſeveral parts of his Dioceſe.*] In his Sermons, he ſhowed, 1. That the Biſhop of Rome was not God's vicar upon earth, as he was taken. Here he declar'd by what arts and crafts the Biſhop of Rome had obtained his uſurped authority. 2. That the Holineſs that See ſo much boaſted of, and by which name Popes affected to be ſtiled, was but a Holineſs in name; and that there was no ſuch Holineſs at Rome. And here he launched out into the Vices of the Court of Rome. 3. He inveighed againſt the Biſhop of Rome's Laws: Which were miſcalled *Divinæ Leges*, and *Sacri Canones* (9).

(9) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 30, 31.

[G] *Some enemies preferring accuſations againſt him.*] Theſe enemies were, Richard Thornden Suffragan of Dover, Arthur Sentleger, Richard Parkhurſt, William Gardiner,

to have been ruin'd, had not the King interpos'd in his behalf (*t*). Nay, he was complain'd of in the Houſe of Commons [*H*], and in the Privy-Council [*I*], and was very near being ſent to the Tower; but the King again protected him, and gave him his Ring, as a token that he took the affair into his own hands (*t*). In the year 1545, he undertook to reform the Canon-Law; but the book he compiled on that ſubject was, through Biſhop Gardiner's artifices, never confirm'd by the King. He likewiſe corrected ſome Service or Prayer-books (*w*). Upon King Henry's deceaſe, he was one of the Executors of his Will, and one of the Regents of the Kingdom (*x*). February the 20th, 1545-6, he crowned King Edward VI. to whom he had been godfather; as he was alſo to the Lady Elizabeth (*y*). Soon after, he took out a Commiſſion for executing his office of Archbiſhop (*z*); and cauſed the Homilies to be compos'd, being himſelf the author of ſome of them; and likewiſe encourag'd the tranſlation of Eraſmus's paraphraſe on the New Teſtament (*a*). He alſo labour'd earneſtly in the Reformation of Religion: And, for that purpoſe, procur'd the repeal of the Six Articles; the eſtabliſhment of the Communion in both kinds; and a new office for that Sacrament; the reviſal and amendment of the reſt of the Offices of the Church; frequent preaching; a Royal viſitation to inſpect into the manners and abilities of the Clergy; and viſited his own Dioceſe himſelf for the ſame purpoſe (*b*). He likewiſe ſhow'd himſelf a patron to the Univerſities, in defending their Rights, ſecuring their Revenues, and encouraging the Learning there profeſs'd and taught (*c*). In 1549, he was one of the Commiſſioners for examining Biſhop Bonner, with a power to impriſon or deprive him of his Biſhoprick (*). Upon the inſurrection in Devonſhire, he expreſſed his zeal for Religion and his Prince, by giving an excellent and full anſwer to the Rebels articles, and ordered Sermons to be compoſed and preach'd upon that occaſion (*d*). The ſame year he ordain'd ſeveral Prieſts and Deacons according to the new form of Ordination in the Common-Prayer-Book; which, thro' the Archbiſhop's care, was now finiſh'd and ſettled by Act of Parliament [*K*]. A review was made of this book towards the end of the next year, and ſeveral things changed or amended that were thought to favour too much of ſuperſtition (*e*). In 1552, it was printed again with amendments and alterations, by the Archbiſhop's care, and authorized by Parliament [*L*]. This ſame year, he and ſome others compiled the Articles of Religion, and cauſed them to be enjoyned by the King's authority (*f*). He confined not his care to the Church of England, but extended it alſo to thoſe Proteſtant Foreigners who fled to England [*M*], by obtaining Churches for them, and recommending them to the favour and protection of the Crown (*g*). Another point that much employed his thoughts, was, to preſerve the Revenues of the Church, which the greedy Courtiers were ſwallowing up without mercy, and parcelling out among themſelves (*h*). As the Archbiſhop had in 1534 endeavoured to ſave the lives of Biſhop Fiſher and Sir Thomas More (*i*); ſo now, when Tonſtal Biſhop of Durham came into trouble, and a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords for attainting him for *miſpriſon of Treaſon*, Cranmer *ſpoke freely, nay proteſted*, againſt it, tho' they two were of different perſwaſions (*k*). In 1553, he oppoſed the new ſettlement of the Crown upon Jane Gray, and would no way be concern'd in that affair, (tho' at laſt, through many importunities, he was prevail'd upon to ſet his hand to it,) neither would he join in any of Dudley's ambitious projects (*l*). However, upon King Edward the VIth's deceaſe, he appeared for Jane Gray. Soon after, it being reported that he had offered to ſing maſs at the funeral of the late King, he vindicated himſelf in a Declaration (*m*). But now his Troubles came upon him apace, after Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne. He was, firſt, ordered to appear before the Council, and bring an inventory of his Goods; which he did Auguſt the 27th, when he was commanded to keep his houſe, and be

(*t*) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1866, &c. This whole affair is related at full length in Antiq. Britannic. p. 335—337.

(*u*) Antiq. Britan. p. 334, 336. Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 109—126. Burnet, ibid. p. 327, &c. 342.

(*w*) Strype, ibid. p. 132.

(*x*) Rymer's Fœd Vol. XV. p. 110.

(*y*) Strype, p. 142.

(*z*) Id. p. 141.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 149, 150, &c.

(*b*) Idem, p. 146, 157, &c. 182. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 25, 72, &c.

(*c*) Strype's Memorials of T. Cranmer, p. 162, &c.

(*) Rymer, Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 191.

(*d*) Strype, p. 185, &c.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 193, 210, 289. Burnet, ubi ſupr. Vol. II. p. 71, 72, &c.—79, 155, 169.

(*f*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 272, 293.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 234.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 247.

(*i*) Page 26—28.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 289.

(*l*) Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1870. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 224. Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 454.

(*m*) Ibid.

Gardiner, John Milles, all Canons of Canterbury. And Robert Serles, and Edmund Shether, two of the ſix Preachers there: with Dr Willoughby, the King's Chaplain. The ſum of their Accuſations againſt the Archbiſhop and his Chaplains were, That they oppoſed the ſix Articles, and other parts of Popery. See Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer (10).

(10) P. 109, &c.

[*H*] *He was complained of in the Houſe of Commons.*] By Sir John Goſtwick, one of the Knights for Bedfordſhire; for preaching hereſy againſt the Sacrament of the altar. But the King ſeverely rebuk'd Goſtwick for his impertinence (11).

(11) Ib. p. 123, &c.

[*I*] *And in the Privy-Council.*] The ſubſtance of his Accuſation there, was, 'That he, with his learned 'men, had ſo infected the whole Realm with their 'unſavoury Doctrine, that three parts of the land were 'become abominable hereticks. And that it might 'prove dangerous to the King, being like to produce 'ſuch commotions and uproars, as were ſprung up in 'Germany. And therefore they deſired, that the 'Archbiſhop might be committed to the Tower, till 'he could be examined.' The whole was a contrivance of Gardiner's (12).

(12) Ibid. p. 124. Antiquit. Britan. p. 334.

[*K*] *The Common-prayer-book — — — — was now finiſhed and ſettled by Act of Parliament.*] The perſons by whom it was compos'd, were *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; *Nicolas Ridley*, Biſhop of Rocheſter, afterward of London; *Tho. Goodrich*, Biſhop of Ely; *Henry Holbech* Biſhop of Lincoln; *John Skip* Biſhop of Hereford; *Tho. Thirlby* Biſhop of Weſtminſter, afterwards of Ely; *Geo. Day* Biſhop of Chicheſter; Dr *John Taylor* Dean, afterwards Biſhop, of Lincoln; Dr *Richard Cox* Chancellor of Oxford, and Dean of Chriſt Church and Weſtminſter, afterwards Biſhop of Ely; Dr *William May* Dean of St Paul's; Dr *Tho. Robertſon*, Archdeacon of Leiceſter, afterwards Dean of Durham; Dr *Simon Heines* Dean of Exeter; and Dr *John Redmayne*, Maſter of Trinity college in Cambridge (13).

(13) Appendix, containing an hiſtorical Account of the compiling of the Liturgy, in Sam. Downes's edition of Biſhop Sparrow's Rationale, &c. edit. 1722, p. cxlvii. cxlix.

[*L*] *Authorized by Parliament*] And it was enacted, That it ſhould begin to be uſed every where by All-Saints-day next following (14).

(14) Statut. 5 & 6 Edw. VI.

[*M*] *He extended his care to thoſe Proteſtant Foreigners*, &c.] They were, Martin Bucer, made profeſſor of Divinity, and Paulus Fagius, profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue, at Cambridge: Peter Martyr, profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford: John a Laſco, the firſt miniſter of the Dutch Church at London: Peter Alexander, Bernardine Ochinus, Matthew Negelinus, Immanuel Tremellius, Valerand, &c. (15).

(15) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 195, &c. and Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*N*] *Some*

be forth-coming. September the 13th, he was again ſummoned before the Council, and enjoyned to be at the Star-Chamber the next day, when he was committed to the Tower (*n*); partly, for ſetting his hand to the inſtrument of the Lady Jane's ſucceſſion; and, partly, for the public offer he had made before, of juſtifying openly the religious Proceedings of the late King (*o*). Some of his friends, foreſeeing the ſtorm that was like to fall upon him, adviſed him to fly, but he abſolutely refus'd [*N*]. In the enſuing Parliament, on November the 3d he was attainted, and at Guild-hall found guilty of High Treaſon; whereupon the fruits of his Archbiſhoprick were ſequeſtred. However, upon his humble and repeated application, he was pardoned the Treaſon, but 'twas reſolv'd he ſhould be proceeded againſt for hereſy (*p*). In April 1554, he, and Ridley and Latimer, were remov'd to Oxford, in order for a public diſputation with the Papiſts (*q*); which was accordingly held there towards the middle of the month, with great noiſe, triumph, and impudent confidence on the Papiſts ſide, and with as much gravity, learning, modeſty, and convincing ſufficiency on the ſide of the Proteſtant Biſhops [*O*]. The 20th of April, two days after the end of theſe diſputations, Cranmer and the two others were brought before the Commiſſioners, and aſked, whether they would ſubſcribe (to Popery)? which they unanimouſly refuſing, were condemned as hereticks (*r*). From this ſentence the Archbiſhop appealed to the juſt judgment of the Almighty; And writ to the Council, giving them an account of the diſputation, and deſiring the Queen's pardon for his treaſon, which it ſeems was not yet remitted (*s*). By the Convocation, which met this year, his 'Defence of the true and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our 'Saviour Chriſt,' was ordered to be burnt (*t*). Some of his friends petition'd the Queen in his behalf; putting her in mind, how he had once preſerv'd her in her father's time, by his earneſt interceſſions with him for her [*P*]: So that ſhe had reaſon to believe he loved her, and would ſpeak the truth to her, more than all the reſt of the Clergy. But all his friends endeavours were ineffectual (*u*). The Sentence pronounc'd againſt him by Weſton at Oxford being void in Law, becauſe the Pope's authority was not yet re-eſtabliſh'd in England, a new Commiſſion was ſent from Rome for his tryal and conviction. Accordingly, on September the 12th, 1555, he appeared before the Commiſſioners [*Q*] at St Mary's Church Oxon, where he was accuſed of blaſphemy, perjury, incontinency, and hereſy [*R*], againſt all which he vindicated himſelf (*w*). At laſt, he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, to anſwer in perſon; which he ſaid he would do, if the King and Queen would ſend him, but no care was taken to ſend him. Therefore, the Pope diſpatched, on December the 14th, his Letters executory to the King and Queen, and to Bonner and Thirlby Biſhops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him (*x*). In thoſe Letters, Cranmer was declared contumacious, for not appearing at Rome within eighty days, according to his citation: which was a moſt ſhameleſs and infamous allegation; for, how could he poſſibly appear at Rome, when he was all the while kept a priſoner? However, upon the coming of the letters, Bonner and Thirlby, with Dr Martin and Dr Story the King's and Queen's Proctors, went to Oxford to degrade him. They dreſſed him in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbiſhop, only in mockery every thing was of canvas, and old clouts: And then he was, piece by piece, ſtript of all again. When they came to take the Croſier out of his hand, he refuſed to part with it, and pulled out an Appeal, whereby he appealed to the next general Council (*y*). After he was degraded, they put him on a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare, and a towns-man's cap, and remanded him to priſon (*z*). From thence he writ Letters to the Queen, to give her a true and impartial account of what had paſſed at his degradation, to prevent miſ-reports, and to juſtify himſelf in what he had ſaid and done (*a*). Hitherto the Archbiſhop had manifeſted a great deal of courage, wiſdom, and fortitude in his ſufferings, but at laſt human frailty made him commit ſuch a fault, as was the greateſt blemiſh of his life. For, through flatteries, promiſes, importunity, threats, and the fear of death, he was prevailed upon to ſign a Recantation [*S*], wherein he renounced the Proteſtant Religion, and embrac'd

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 250.

(*o*) Strype, p. 307, 314. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. Collect. p. 249.

(*p*) Strype, p. 320, 321. Burnet, ubi ſupr. p. 257.

(*q*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 334, &c. Burnet, p. 280, &c.

(*r*) Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1871, &c.

(*s*) Strype, p. 341.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 348.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 368. Burnet, ubi ſupr. Vol. II. p. 244.

(*w*) Strype, p. p. 372. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1871, &c. Burnet, ubi ſupr. Vol. II. p. 331.

(*x*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 375.

Feb. 14, 1555-6.

(*y*) Fox, ubi ſup. p. 1882, 1883.

(*z*) Ibid.

(*a*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 377, &c.

[*N*] *Some of his friends — — — adviſed him to fly, but he abſolutely refuſed.*] Saying, 'It would be no 'ways fitting for him to go away, conſidering the poſt 'he was in; and to ſhew, that he was not afraid to 'own all the Changes that were by his means made in 'Religion, in the laſt reign (17).'

(17) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 314.

[*O*] *He, and Ridley, and Latimer, were remov'd to Oxford in order for a public Diſputation,* &c.] The Queſtions there diſputed upon, were theſe, 1. In the Sacrament of the Altar, the natural body of Chriſt conceived of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, are really preſent, under the ſpecies of bread and wine, by virtue of the divine word pronounced by the Prieſt. 2. After the conſecration, there doth not remain the ſubſtance of bread and wine, nor any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of Chriſt, God and man. 3. In the maſs, there is a lively propitiatory ſacrifice of the Church, for the ſins as well of the living as of the dead (*).

(*) Strype, p. 334.

[*P*] *How he had preſerv'd her in her father's time,* &c.] Namely, when the King was reſolved to ſend her to the Tower, and to make her ſuffer as a ſubject: becauſe ſhe would not obey the Laws of the Realm, in renouncing the Pope's Authority and Religion (18).

(18) Strype, p. 368, 431.

[*Q*] *He appeared before the Commiſſioners.*] Brooks Biſhop of Glouceſter was appointed upon this occaſion Subdelegate to Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this proceſs; and Martin, and Story, Doctors of the Civil Law, were the Queen's Commiſſioners (19).

(19) Ibid. p. 371.

[*R*] *Where he was accuſed of blaſphemy, perjury, incontinency, and hereſy.*] He was accuſed of *blaſphemy* and *hereſy* for his writings againſt Popery; of *perjury*, for breaking his oath to the Pope; and of *incontinency*, or *adultery*, on account of his being married (20).

(20) Ibid. p. 372.

[*S*] *He was prevailed upon to ſign a Recantation.*] We are inform'd by the induſtrious Mr Strype (21), That Archbiſhop Cranmer was ſubtilly draw in by the Papiſts

(21) Eccleſ. Mem. Vol. III. p. 232—238.

brac'd again all the Errors of Popery; which Recantation was immediately printed and
(b) Fox, ubi supr. p. 1884. diſpers'd about by his enemies (*b*). Notwithſtanding that, the mercileſs Queen, not ſatiſfied with this conqueſt, reſolv'd to glut her revenge, by committing Cranmer to the flames. Accordingly, ſhe ſent for Dr Cole Provoſt of Eaton, and gave him inſtructions to pre-
(c) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 383. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 334. pare a Sermon for that mournful occaſion (*c*). On the 24th of February a Writ was ſigned for the burning of Cranmer (*d*). The 21ſt day of March, which was the fatal day, he was brought to St Mary's Church, and placed on a kind of ſtage over againſt the pulpit,
(d) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 432. Burnet, ubi ſupr. and Collection of Records, p. 300. where Dr Cole was to preach. While Cole was haranguing, the unfortunate Cranmer expreſſed great inward confuſion; often lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven; and frequently pouring out floods of tears (*e*). At the end of the Sermon, when Cole deſired him to make an open profeſſion of his Faith, as he had promis'd him he would; he, firſt, prayed in the moſt fervent manner: Then made an exhortation to the people
(e) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1886. preſent, Not to ſet their minds upon the world; to obey the King and Queen; to love each other; and to be charitable. After which he made a Confeſſion of his Faith, beginning with the Creed, and concluding with theſe words, 'And I believe every word and 'ſentence taught by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his Apoſtles and Prophets, in the Old and 'New Teſtament. — And now, added he, I come to the great thing, that ſo much 'troubleth my conſcience more than any thing I ever did or ſaid in my whole life; and 'that is the ſetting abroad a writing contrary to the truth, which I here now renounce as 'things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and 'written for fear of death, and to ſave my life if it might be; that is, all ſuch bills and 'papers which I have written or ſigned with my hand ſince my degradation, wherein I 'have written many things untrue. And foraſmuch as my hand offended, writing con-'trary to my heart, my hand ſhall firſt be puniſhed; for, may I come to the fire, it ſhall 'be firſt burned. As for the Pope, I refuſe him as Chriſt's enemy and antichriſt, with all 'his falſe doctrine. And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book
(f) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1887. 'againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter (*f*).' Thunderſtruck as it were with this unexpected Declaration, the enraged Popiſh croud admoniſhed him not to diſſemble: 'Ah, replied 'he with tears, ſince I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falſhood, and a lover of ſim-
(g) Ibid. Strype, ubi ſupr. p. 388. 'plicity, and never before this time have I diſſembled (*g*).' Whereupon, they pulled him off the ſtage with the utmoſt fury, and hurried him to the place of his martyrdom, over-againſt Baliol-College (*h*); where he put off his clothes in haſte, and ſtanding in his ſhirt,
(h) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 334, &c. and without ſhoes, was faſtned with a chain to the ſtake (*i*). Some preſſing him to agree to his former recantation, he anſwer'd, ſhowing his hand, 'This is the hand that wrote 'it, and therefore it ſhall firſt ſuffer puniſhment (*k*).' Fire being applied to him, he
(i) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 389. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1889. ſtretch'd out his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmov'd (except that once with it he wiped his face) till it was conſum'd, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath 'offended;' and often repeating, 'This unworthy right hand (*l*).' At laſt, the fire getting up, he ſoon expir'd, never ſtirring or crying out all the while, only keeping his eyes fix'd
(k) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 389. to heaven, and repeating more than once, 'Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.' Such was the end of the renowned Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age. As to his Character:
(l) Fox, ibid. Strype, ibid. He is repreſented as a man of an open and generous Mind, of great Sincerity and Candor, a lover of Truth, and a declar'd enemy to Falſhood and Superſtition. Humble and affable; and

Papiſts to ſubſcribe ſix different Papers; the firſt being expreſſed in ambiguous words, capable of a favourable conſtruction, the five following were added as explanations of it. That *firſt* Recantation was in theſe words, 'For as much as the King's and Queen's Ma-'jeſties, by conſent of their Parliament, have received 'the Pope's Authority within this Realm, I am con-'tent to ſubmit myſelf to their Laws herein, and to 'take the Pope for chief Head of this Church of 'England, ſo far as God's Laws, and the Laws and 'Cuſtoms of this Realm, will permit.' In the *next*, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Catholic Church of Chriſt, and unto the Pope, ſupreme Head of the ſame Church. In the *third*, he ſubmitted to the King and Queen, and to all their Laws, as well concerning the Pope's ſupremacy, as others: and promiſed, that he would ſtir and move all others to live in quietneſs and obedience to their Majeſties. As for his Book, he was content to ſubmit to the Judgment of the Catholic Church, and the next General Council. This was followed by a *fourth*, wherein he profeſſed firmly, ſtedfaſtly, and aſſuredly to believe in all Articles and Points of the Chriſtian Religion and Catholick Faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe. Moreover, as concerning the Sacraments, he declared he believed unfeignedly in all points as the ſaid Catholic Church did. In the *fifth*
(22) Page 1884. Paper, which is that in Fox (22), and has been thought to be his only Recantation, they required of him, to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian hereſies and errors; to acknowledge the one only Catholic Church, to be that whereof the Pope is the Head; and to declare him Chriſt's Vicar. Then followed an expreſs acknowledgment of Tranſubſtantiation, the ſeven Sacraments, and of all the Doctrines of the Church of Rome in general. A *ſixth* was ſtill required of him, which was drawn up in ſo ſtrong terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it. For it contained a large acknowledgment of all the Popiſh errors and corruptions, and a moſt grievous accuſation of himſelf as a blaſphemer, enemy of Chriſt, and murderer of Souls, on account of his being the author of King Henry's divorce, and of all the calamities, ſchiſms, and hereſies of which that was the fountain. This was ſubſcribed on the 18th of March. Theſe ſix Papers were, ſoon after his death, ſent to the preſs by Bonner, and publiſhed with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to ſpeak at St Mary's, before his Execution: And tho' he then ſpoke to a quite contrary effect, and revoked his former Recantations, Bonner had the confidence to publiſh this to the world, as if it had been approv'd and made uſe of by the Archbiſhop. —— In 1736, William Whiſton M. A. publiſhed a little book entitled, 'An Enquiry into the 'Evidence of Archbiſhop Cranmer's Recantation: or 'Reaſons for a ſuſpicion that the pretended Copy of it 'is not genuine.' In that book he ſuppoſes, that what Cranmer ſigned, was only the firſt part of the Recantation printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as far as the words —— 'without which there is no 'Salvation.' — that the reſt was added by the Papiſts, but that Cranmer never ſet his hand thereto.

and in every condition the ſame. Gentle and mild in his Temper; always ready to forgive, and be reconciled: Not ſoon heated, nor apt to give his opinion raſhly of perſons, or things. And tho' his Gentleneſs often expos'd him to his Enemies, who from it took an advantage to uſe him ill, yet it did not [illegible] him into ſuch a weakneſs of Spirit, as to conſent to every thing that was upper[illegible]: But, in general, he never diſſembled his opinion, nor diſowned his friend. His Charity and Munificence to the indigent was extenſive, and his Hoſpitality well regulated: [illegible] beſtowed upon the Rich and the Powerful, but on his honeſt and poor Neighbours. He had a good Judgment, but no great quickneſs of Apprehenſion, nor cloſeneſs of ſtile, which was diffuſed (*m*). However, he was a man of great Learning in Divinity, and in the Civil and Canon Laws (*n*). He generally ſpent about three parts of the day in ſtudy (*o*); and being of a moſt wonderful Diligence, he drew out of all the Authors he read, every thing that was remarkable, digeſting thoſe quotations into Common-place. He publiſhed, and left behind him in manuſcript, ſeveral works [*T*]. As he was a lover of Learning, ſo was he alſo an encourager of it; allowing yearly Salaries to many Scholars in Germany, and other places (*p*). With regard to ſome of his Opinions: He had the ſame notions as Calvin about Predeſtination and Grace. He alſo was zealous at firſt for the real preſence, but afterwards altered his mind (*q*). And he ſeemed to make Eccleſiaſtical Functions and Offices wholly dependant on the Magiſtrate, as much as the Civil were (*r*). What was moſt blameable in his Conduct (beſides his Recantation) was the part he had in Lambert's death (*s*), and in Joan Bocher's and Van Pare's (*t*). But, notwithſtanding theſe blemiſhes, he muſt be allowed to have been the Glory of England, and one of the chief Founders and Ornaments of the Reformation.

(*m*) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 336.

(*n*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 431.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 431.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 285. Fox, p. 1864.

(*q*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 65, 66.

(*r*) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 172.

(*s*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 253.

(*t*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 111, 112.

[*T*] *He publiſhed, and left behind him in manuſcript, ſeveral Works*] His printed works, are I. An account of Mr Pole's book, concerning K. Henry VIIIth's marriage (23). II. Several Letters, to divers perſons—— To K. Henry VIII—To Secretary Crumwel.——To Sir William. Cecil.——— To foreign Divines (24). III. Three Diſcourſes, upon his review of the King's book, intituled, *The Erudition of a Chriſtian man* (25). IV. Other diſcourſes of his (26). V. The Biſhops Book, in which he had a part. VI. Anſwers to the fifteen Articles of the Rebels in Devon. in 1549 (27). VII. The examination of moſt points of Religion (28). VIII. A Form for the alteration of the Maſs into a Communion (29). IX. Some of the Homilies. X. A Catechiſm, intituled, A ſhort Inſtruction to Chriſtian Religion, for the ſingular profit of Children and young People (30). XI. Againſt Unwritten Verities (31). XII. A Defence of the true and catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt; with a Confutation of ſundry Errors concerning the ſame: Grounded and eſtabliſhed upon God's holy word, and approved by the conſent of the moſt ancient Doctors of the Church. This was tranſlated into Latin by John Young. In oppoſition to it, Gardiner publiſhed, 'An Explication 'and Aſſertion of the true Catholic Faith touching 'the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, with the 'Confutation of a book writ againſt the ſame.' XIII. Cranmer replied in the following book, 'An 'Anſwer by the reverend Father in God, Thomas 'Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, 'and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and ſophiſtical Ca'villation, deviſed by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of 'Law, late Biſhop of Wincheſter, againſt the true 'and godly Doctrine of the moſt Holy Sacrament of 'the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt. Where'in is alſo, as occaſion ſerveth, anſwered ſuch Places 'of the Book of Dr Richard Smith, as may ſeem 'any thing worthy the anſwering. Alſo a true Copy 'of the book written, and in open Court delivered by 'Dr Stephen Gardiner, not one word added or dimi'niſhed, but faithfully in all Points agreeing with the 'original.' Lond. 1551. reprinted 1580. 'Twas tranſlated into Latin by Sir John Cheke. An Anſwer was alſo made to this book by St. Gardiner, under the feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Conſtantinus*, and entituled, *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus ſacroſanctum Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti ſolet.* Paris 1552. XIV. Cranmer began an Anſwer to this, and finiſhed three parts of it, but lived not to compleat the whole (32). XV. Preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible. XVI. A Speech in the Houſe of Lords, concerning a general Council (33). XVII. Letter to K Henry VIII. in juſtification of Anne Boleyn, May 3, 1535 (34). XVIII. The Reaſons that led him to oppoſe the Six Articles (35). For this he had like to come into great trouble, as may be ſeen in Fox (36). XIX. Reſolution of ſome Queſtions concerning the Sacrament (37). XX. Injunctions given at his viſitation within the Dioceſe of Hereford (38). XXI. A collection of paſſages out of the Canon-Law, to ſhow the neceſſity of reforming it (39). XXII. Some Queries in order to the correcting of ſeveral abuſes (40). XXIII. Concerning a further reformation, and againſt ſacrilege (41). XXIV. Anſwers to ſome Queries concerning Confirmation (42). XXV. Some conſiderations offered to K. Edward VI to induce him to proceed to a further reformation (43). XXVI. Anſwer to the Lords of the Privy-Council (44). XXVII. Manifeſto againſt the Maſs (45).

Thoſe Works of his which ſtill remain in manuſcript, are I. Two large Volumes of Collections out of Holy ſcripture, and the ancient Fathers, and later Doctors and Schoolmen. The firſt Volume contains 545 pages, and the ſecond above 559. They are chiefly upon the points controverted between us and the Church of Rome; namely, about their ſeven Sacraments, Invocation of Saints, Images, Relicks, of true Religion and Superſtition, the Maſs, Prayer, the Virgin Mary, &c. Theſe two Volumes are in the King's Library (46). When they were offered to ſale, they were valued at 100*l.* but Biſhop Beveridge, and Dr Jane, appraiſers for the King, brought down the price to 50 *l.* (47). II. The Lord Burghley had ſix or ſeven Volumes more of his writing (48). III. And Dr Burnet mentions two Volumes beſides, that he ſaw, but they are ſuppos'd to be now loſt (49). IV. There are alſo ſeveral Letters of his in the Collections of Sir Robert Cotton. (59)

(23) Memorials of T. Cranmer, by J. Strype, p. 6. and Append. p. 3.

(24) In ſeveral parts of the ſame book.

(25) Append. ubi ſupra, p. 57.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid. p. 86.

(28) Ib. p. 77; and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. Collect. No. 21, p. 201.

(29) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 139.

(30) Ibid. p. 159.

(31) Page 160.

(32) Ibid. p. 254, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 262, 370. Fox, p. 1870.

(33) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 174.

(34) Ibid. p. 200.

(35) Ib. p. 265.

(36) Page 1185.

(37) Burnet, ubi ſupra, Coll. of Records, p. 201.

(38) Ib. p. 182.

(39) Ib. p. 257.

(40) Addenda to Vol. I. p. 317.

(41) Burnet, Vol. II. Collect. p. 236.

(42) Ib. p. 319.

(43) Ibid. p. 320.

(44) Ibid. Collect. p. 187.

(45) Ibid. p. 249.

(46) Royal Library, 7 B. xi. xii. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 171.

(47) Caſley's Catal. of the Royal Library, p. 124, 125.

(48) Burnet, ubi ſupra.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Cleopatra, E. & F. 20.

C

CREECH (THOMAS), famous for his Tranſlations of *Lucretius* [*A*], *Horace*,

[*A*] *His Tranſlation of* Lucretius.] It is intitled; *T. Lucretius Carus, Of the Nature of Things. Tranſlated into Engliſh verſe by* Thomas Creech, A. M. *and fellow of* Wadham *College in* Oxford. It was printed at Oxford in 1682, in 8*vo*, and recommended by a Latin Diſtich of Dr Edward Barnard, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in that univerſity, and by a copy of Engliſh verſes of Mr Thomas Brown of Chriſt-Church. It was re-printed the year following, with Commendatory verſes by ſeveral eminent hands (1): among which, thoſe, which paſs under the names of Mr Dryden and Mr Waller, we are aſſured from undoubted authority, were not theirs. However Mr Dryden, who himſelf tranſlated ſome parts of *Lucretius*, has given the higheſt character of Mr Creech's performance, in the following words. 'This puts me in 'mind

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1104, 1105.

Horace [*B*], and from other antient authors, both in proſe and verſe [*C*], was ſon of Thomas Creech, Gent. and born, in 1659, at Blandford in Dorſetſhire. He was educated in Grammar learning under Mr Thomas Curganven, maſter of the Free-ſchool at Sherburne; and admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford [*D*], in Lent-Term 1675, under the tuition of Mr Robert Pit, afterwards of Mr Robert Balch, fellows of that College. The 28th of September the year following, he was admitted a ſcholar of that houſe, and acquired the reputation of a good Philoſopher, Poet, and a ſevere Student (*a*). October the 27th 1680, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*). In 1680, he was appointed by his tutor Mr Balch, then one of the Proctors of the Univerſity, his Quadrageſimal Collector of the Bachelors that were to determine the latter end of that year (*c*). June the 13th 1683, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*); and about the beginning of November following was elected a Probationer-Fellow of All-Souls College, having given ſingular proofs of his Claſſical learning and Philoſophy before his Examiners (*e*). In 1701, having taken Holy Orders, he was preſented by his College to the Living of Welling in Hertfordſhire: but, before he had taken poſſeſſion of it,

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col 1104.

(*b*) Id. Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 212.

(*c*) Id. Ath. ib.

(*d*) Id. Faſti, ib. col. 221.

(*e*) Id. Ath. ib.

'mind of what I owe to the ingenious and learned 'tranſlator of *Lucretius*. I have not here deſigned to 'rob him of any part of that commendation, which he 'has ſo juſtly acquired by the whole author, whoſe 'fragments only fall to my portion. The ways of our 'tranſlations are very different: he follows him more 'cloſely than I have done; which became an inter-'preter of the whole Poem. I take more liberty, be-'cauſe it beſt ſuited with my deſign, which was to 'make him as pleaſing as I could. He had been too 'voluminous, had he uſed my method in ſo long a 'work, and I had certainly taken his, had I made it 'my buſineſs to tranſlate the whole. The preference 'then is juſtly his, and I join with Mr Evelyn (*) in 'the confeſſion of it, with this additional advantage to 'him; that his reputation is already eſtabliſhed in this 'poet, mine is to make it's fortune in the world. If 'I have been any where obſcure, in following our 'common author, or if Lucretius himſelf is to be con-'demned, I refer myſelf to his excellent Annotations, 'which I have often read, and always with ſome new 'pleaſure (2).' Mr Creech publiſhed an Edition of *Lucretius* in Latin, intitled; *Titi Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura libri ſex, quibus Interpretationem et Notas addidit Thomas Creech. Oxon.* 1695, 8*vo*. The Annotations on this Latin Edition were afterwards printed at the end of the Engliſh Tranſlation, and all together by themſelves. In the Edition of Mr Creech's *Lucretius*, London 1714, in Two Volumes Octavo, all the verſes of the Text, which Mr Creech had left untranſlated, are ſupplied: particularly thoſe that were omitted towards the end of the 4th book, where the poet treats of the nature of love, are taken from Mr Dryden's tranſlation of that part of the author. The Tranſlator's Notes are diſpoſed in the body of the Book, under the ſeveral places, to which they properly belong; intermixed with ſeveral Annotations by another hand; and all together forming a compleat Syſtem of the Epicurean Philoſophy (3). And here impartiality obliges us not to ſuppreſs the ſevere cenſure paſſed on Mr Creech by a certain writer, who, having obſerved, that *the only book now in being, which from one end to the other is an open defence of Atheiſm, is that of* Lucretius, tells us (4), that 'this moſt impious 'book in Charles IId's reign was with infinite pains 'turned into Engliſh verſe, that the ſmoothneſs and 'ſweetneſs of the metre might ſupply what was wanting 'in the argument; that the elegance of the expreſſion, 'the melodious harmony of numbers, and all thoſe 'other bewitching beauties, which attend good poetry, 'might inſenſibly inſtil the poiſon into the minds of 'unthinking people, eſpecially of the youth, whoſe 'imagination is generally too ſtrong for their reaſon, 'and their fancy too powerful for their judgment. And 'this celebrated Tranſlation was not only made by an 'Oxford Scholar (who was thereupon preferred) but it 'was licenſed by the Univerſity of Oxford, where he 'was looked on as a raw lad, that had not read the '*Lucretius* of Creech, who died, as he lived, like a 'true Atheiſt; but being a High-Church Prieſt, his 'murdering himſelf was not made to paſs for a judg-'ment.' This calumny is ſufficiently anſwered in the Preface to the two volumes.

(*) Mr Evelyn tranſlated the firſt Book of Lucretius.

(2) Preface to the Firſt Part of Miſcellany Poems, &c. edit. 1727, p. 21.

(3) See the Preface to Creech's Lucretius, Lond. 1714.

(4) The nation vindicated from the aſperſions caſt on it in a late Pamphlet, intituled, *A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion*, &c. P. ii. p. 38, Lond. 1712, 8*vo*.

[*B*] *His Tranſlation of* Horace.] It is intitled; *The Odes, Satyrs, and Epiſtles of Horace. Done into Engliſh by Mr Creech.* It is dedicated *To the very much eſteemed* John Dryden, Eſq; In the Preface, having obſerved, that Quintilian was of opinion, that *all* Horace's *Odes* ought not to be interpreted, he adds: 'what he means by *Interpretation* is evident to every 'one that underſtands the extent of the word, and the 'Ancients method of inſtructing: and why this 'caution is reſtrained to the *Odes*, and not applyed to 'the *Satyrs* as well, ſince the reaſon upon which he 'fixes it ſeems common to both, muſt be taken from 'the deſign and ſubject-matter of the Poems. To deſ-'cribe and reform a vicious man neceſſarily requires 'ſome expreſſions, which an *Ode* can never want. The 'paint, which an Artiſt uſes, muſt be agreeable to the 'piece which he deſigns. *Satyr* is to inſtruct, and that 'ſuppoſeth a knowledge and diſcovery of the Crime; 'while *Odes* are made only to delight and pleaſe, and 'therefore ev'ry thing in them that juſtly offends is 'unpardonable.' Theſe *principles*, he ſays, *made* him *cautious of ſome* Odes, *tho'* he omitted to tranſlate *three more upon a different Account*. The *Odes*, not tranſlated by Mr Creech, are; the 6th, 9th, 21ſt, 25th, and 27th of the *Third Book*; the 4th of the *Fourth Book*; and the 12th Epode. As to the *Satires* of Horace, he was adviſed, he tells us, *to turn them to our own time*, ſince Rome *was now rival'd in her vices, and Parallels for Hypocriſy, Profaneneſs, Avarice, and the like, were eaſy to be found.* But thoſe crimes, he declares, 'were much out of his acquaintance, and 'ſince the character is the ſame whoever the perſon is, 'he was not ſo fond of being hated, as to make any 'diſobliging application.' *Such pains*, ſays he, *would look like an impertinent labour to find a dunghill, only that I might ſatisfy an unaccountable humour of dirtying one man's face, and beſpattering another.* He concludes his Preface with acknowledging himſelf indebted to other writers, particularly my Lord Roſcommon, to whoſe admirable verſion he owed the ſenſe, and the beſt lines in the *Art of Poetry*.

[*C*] *His tranſlations from other antient authors, both in proſe and verſe.*] They are: I. *A Tranſlation of the Idylliums of* Theocritus, *with* Rapin's *Diſcourſe of Paſtorals*, Oxford, 1684, 8*vo*, dedicated to Mr Arthur Charlet of Trinity College in Oxford. II. *The* 2d *Elegy of* Ovid's *Firſt Book of Elegies:* and *the* 6th, 7th, 8th, *and* 12th *of* Ovid's *Second Book of Elegies:* and *the Story of* Lucretia, *out of* Ovid de Faſtis. III. The 2d *and* 3d *of* Virgil's *Eclogues*; and *part of* Virgil's *Fourth Georgic*. IV. *The Thirteenth Satire of* Juvenal, *with Notes*. V. *A Tranſlation into Engliſh of the verſes prefixed to* Mr Quintinie's Compleat Gardiner. VI. *The Lives of* Solon, Pelopidas, *and* Cleomenes, *from* Plutarch. VII. *The Life of* Pelopidas *from* Cornelius Nepos. VIII. *Laconic Apophthegms, or Remarkable Sayings of the* Spartans, *from* Plutarch. IX. *A Diſcourſe concerning* Socrates *his Dæmon*, and *The two firſt Books of the Sympoſiacs, from* Plutarch. X. *A Tranſlation of* Manilius's Aſtronomicon.

[*D*] *Admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford.*] The Author of the *Poetical Regiſter* (5) tells us, that his parents circumſtances not being ſufficient to ſupport him in a liberal Education, his diſpoſition and capacity for learning raiſed him a Patron in Colonel Strangeways, whoſe generoſity ſupplied that defect; and that this gentleman ſent him to Wadham-College, where he was admitted a ſcholar on the foundation.

(5) Vol. I. p. 39.

[*E*] *He*

(f) Jacob's Poetical Regiſter, &c. Vol. I. p. 39.

it, he unfortunately put an end to his own life [E], at Oxford (f). He has the character of having been a man of excellent parts and ſound judgment; a perfect maſter of the Greek and Latin Languages; but naturally of a morose temper, and too apt to deſpiſe the underſtandings and performances of others (g).

(g) Id. ibid.

[E] *He put an end to his own life.*] Neither the motives to, nor the circumſtances of, this affair are certainly known. The author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (6), informs us, that, in the year 1700, Mr Creech fell in love with a woman, who treated him with great neglect, tho' ſhe was complaiſant enough to ſeveral others. This affront he could not bear, and reſolved not to ſurvive it. Whereupon he ſhut himſelf up in his ſtudy, where he hanged himſelf about the end of June 1700, and was found in that circumſtance three days after. The *Poetical Regiſter* ſays nothing of the particular manner of his death, but only that he unfortunately made away with himſelf in the year 1701; and aſcribes (7) this fatal cataſtrophe of Mr Creech's life to the moroſeneſs of his temper, which made him leſs eſteemed than his great merit deſerved, and engaged him in frequent animoſities and diſputes upon that account. T

(6) For Septemb. 1701.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

CRESSEY or CRESSY (HUGH-PAULIN, or SERENUS) a celebrated writer, in behalf of the Papiſts, and one of their Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, who flouriſhed in the ſeventeenth Century. He derived his deſcent from an ancient and honourable family, ſeated formerly in Nottinghamſhire, but before his time had removed into Yorkſhire, of which county he was himſelf a native, being born at Wakefield in the year 1605 (a). His father was Hugh Creſſey, Eſq; Barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn, his mother's name was Margery the daughter of Dr Thomas Doylie, an eminent Phyſician in London (b). He was educated at a Grammar-ſchool in the place of his nativity, till ſuch time as he had attained the age of fourteen or thereabout, and then in Lent-term 1619 he was removed to Oxford where he ſtudied with great vigour and diligence, and in the year 1626 was admitted Fellow of Merton-college in that univerſity (c). After taking the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts he entered into Holy Orders, and became Chaplain to Thomas Lord Wentworth, then Lord Preſident of the North, with whom he had the honour to live ſome years (d). About the year 1638 he went over to Ireland with that wiſe and worthy nobleman Lucius Carey, Lord Viſcount Falkland, to whom he was likewiſe Chaplain, and by him much countenanced and eſteemed (e). By the favour of this noble perſon, when Secretary of State, he was in the year 1642 promoted to a Canonry in the collegiate church of Windſor, and to the dignity of Dean of Laughlin in the kingdom of Ireland, but through the diſturbances of the times he never attained the poſſeſſion of either of theſe preferments (f). After the unfortunate death of his patron, who was killed in the battle of Newbury, he found himſelf in a manner deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, and therefore readily accepted a propoſal that was made him of travelling with Charles Bertie, Eſq; (g) afterwards created Earl of Falmouth, a great favourite of King Charles II. unhappily ſlain in a battle at ſea in the firſt Dutch war after the Reſtoration (h). He quitted England in the year 1644, and making the tour of Italy with his pupil, moved by the declining ſtate of the Church of England, he began to liſten to the perſwaſion of the Romiſh Divines, and in the year 1646 made a publick profeſſion at Rome of his being reconciled to that Church (i). He went from thence to Paris, where he thought fit to publiſh what he was pleaſed to ſtile the motives of his converſion, which work of his, as might be reaſonably expected, was highly applauded by the Romaniſts, and is ſtill conſidered by them as a very extraordinary performance [A]. After taking this ſtep he was much inclined to become a Monk of the Carthuſian Order, and had thoughts of entring into the Monaſtery of Engliſh Carthuſians at Newport in Flanders, but from this he was diſſwaded by ſome of his zealous countrymen, who were deſirous that he ſhould continue to employ his pen in defence of their religion, for which the ſevere diſcipline of that Order would have allowed him but little time; and therefore by their advice he laid aſide that deſign, and being recommended to Henrietta Maria, Queen Dowager of England, he was taken under her protection, and being invited by the Benedictine College of Engliſh Monks at Douay in Flanders, he at length reſolved to retire thither, and for the expence of his journey received one hundred Crowns as a bounty from that Princeſs, who could but ill ſpare even ſo ſmall a ſum at that time. Some time after his arrival at Douay he entered into the Benedictine Order,

(a) Thoreſby's Topography of Leeds, p. 184.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 320. Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 394.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 528.

(d) Sir James Ware's Works. Vol. III. p. 356.

(e) Epiſtle apologetical to a perſon of Honour, ſect. vii.

(f) Faſti, Oxon. Vol. I. col. 230. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 356.

(g) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 528.

(h) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 52.

(i) See the Preface to his Exomologeſis. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 529.

[A] *As a very extraordinary performance*]. The author was pleaſed to entitle this work, EXOMOLOGESIS: *or a faithful narration of the occaſions and motives of his Converſion to Catholic Unity.* Paris 1647 *and* 1653, *in* 8*vo.* To the laſt edition is an appendix, *in which are cleared certain miſconſtructions of his* Exomologeſis, *publiſhed by* J. P. *author of the* Preface *to the Lord* Falkland's *diſcourſe of Infallibility.* As ſoon as this was finiſhed, he ſent it over to his dear friend Dr Henry Hammond, as to one whoſe ſincerity he had experienced, and for whoſe judgment he had a high eſteem. That learned perſon wrote him a very kind letter in anſwer; in which he thanked him for his book, but at the ſame time, told him there was a vein of fallacy ran through the whole contexture of it; adding, we are friends, and I do not propoſe to be your antagoniſt; at the cloſe of this epiſtle, he invited him into England, aſſuring him that he ſhould be provided with a convenient place to dwell in, and a ſufficient ſubſiſtence to live comfortably, without being moleſted by any, about his religion and conſcience. This offer, tho' our author did not accept, yet he returned, as became him, an anſwer full of reſpect and gratitude to the kind friend who had made it (1). Few books are more admired than this by the Papiſts, who flatter themſelves, that he has fully anſwered the judicious Mr Chillingworth, and his own kind patron the learned Lord Falkland; but we know that they are ſo apt to magnify the performances of all their converts, that there is no laying any great ſtreſs upon ſuch commendations (2).

(1) This circumſtance is taken from his Apologetical Epiſtle to a perſon of Honour, p. 47.

(2) The Chriſtian Moderator, by John Auſtin, to which an Anſwer was written under the title of *Legenda Lignea*, in the 36th chapter of which our author is very harſhly treated.

Order, and upon that occaſion changed the name he received at his baptiſm of Hugh-Paulin, for that of Serenus de Creſſey, by which he was afterwards known to the learned world (*k*). He remained about ſeven years or more in that college, and during his reſidence there publiſhed a large work, of which the reader will find ſome notice taken at the bottom of the page [*B*]. After the Reſtoration and the marriage of King Charles II. Queen Catherine appointed our author, who was then become one of the Miſſion in England, her Chaplain, and thence forward he reſided in Somerſet-houſe in the Strand (*l*). The great regularity of his life, his ſincere and unaffected piety, his modeſt and mild behaviour, his reſpectful deportment to perſons of diſtinction, with whom he was formerly acquainted when a Proteſtant, and the care he took to avoid all concern in political affairs or intrigues of State, preſerved him in quiet and ſafety, even in the moſt troubleſome times. He was, however, a very zealous champion in the cauſe of the Church of Rome, and was continually writing in defence of her doctrines, or in anſwer to the books of controverſy, written by Proteſtants of diſtinguiſhed learning or figure, and as this engaged him in a variety of diſputes, he quickly gained a great reputation with both parties, the Papiſts looking upon him to be one of their ableſt advocates, and the Proteſtants allowing that he was a grave, a ſenſible, and a candid writer (*m*) [*C*]. But that which of all his performances contributed to make him moſt known, was his large and copious Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which was indeed a work of great pains and labour, and executed with much accuracy and diligence. He had obſerved that nothing made a greater impreſſion upon the people in general of his communion, than the reputation of the great antiquity of their Church, and the fame of the old ſaints of both ſexes, that had flouriſhed in this iſland; and therefore he judged that nothing could be more ſerviceable, to that which he ſtiled the Catholick Intereſt, than compoſing ſuch a Hiſtory as might ſet theſe points in the faireſt and fulleſt light poſſible. He had before him the example of a famous Jeſuit, Michael Alford, alias Griffith, who had adjuſted the ſame Hiſtory under the years in which the principal events happened, in four large volumes, collected from our ancient Hiſtorians, but as this was written in Latin, he judged that it was leſs ſuited to the deſign which he had in view, of bringing it into the hands of common readers, and therefore he ſet himſelf this painful taſk of puting it into Engliſh, with ſuch helps and improvements as he thought neceſſary (*n*). His Hiſtory was very much approved by the moſt learned of his countrymen, of the ſame religion, as appears by the teſtimonies prefixed to it. To ſpeak impartially, the order, regularity, and coherence of the facts contained therein, deſerve to be commended, and the gravity, or rather ſolemnity, of the language is very agreeable to the author's aim and intention, as is likewiſe the care and punctuality ſhewn in citing his authorities (*o*). But, on the other hand, he is juſtly, tho' modeſtly, cenſured by a learned prelate, for giving in to the ſuperſtitious notions of many of our old writers, and tranſcribing from them ſuch fabulous paſſages as have been long ago exploded by the inquiſitive and impartial criticks of his own faith (*p*). Anthony Wood thinks this however excuſable, becauſe he tells us from whence he had them, and perhaps we may render this excuſe rather better, by obſerving that he meant to excite his readers to a zealous imitation of their pious anceſtors, rather than afford them hiſtorical inſtruction, from a nice and critical examination of what the authors, from whom he collected his materials, had delivered. The book however ſtill maintains it's credit amongſt the Romaniſts, is reputed a moſt authentick eccleſiaſtical chronicle, and is frequently cited by their moſt conſiderable authors, as a performance of eſtabliſhed reputation (*q*) [*D*]. He propoſed to have publiſhed another

(*k*) Sir James Ware's Work, Vol. III. f. 330.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 530.

(*m*) See Dr Whitby's Preface to his Reply to S. C's Anſwer to Dr Pierce's Court-Sermon. The Chriſtian Moderator, Lond. 1682, p. 97.

(*n*) This account of his undertaking is collected out of his copious Preface to his Ch. Hiſt. of Brittany.

(*o*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 530.

(*p*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Library, p. 1, 11.

(*q*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 531.

[*B*] *At the bottom of the page.*] This was a treatiſe of the myſtical theology, entituled, SANCTA SOPHIA; *or, Directions for the prayers of contemplation, &c. extracted out of more than* XL *treatiſes, written by the late Reverend Father* Aug. Baker, *a Monk of the Engliſh congregation of the holy order of St* Benedict. *Doway* 1657, *in* 2 vol. in a large 8*vo.* To which are added, *Certain patterns of devout exerciſes of immediate acts and affections of the will.* Of this Father Auguſtine Baker, whoſe true name was David Baker, who had ſtudied the Law in the Middle-Temple, and who from being little better than an Atheiſt, became a convert to Popery, and a very zealous devotioniſt, the Oxford Hiſtorian has given us a very large account (3). He had once it ſeems ſome intention of writing the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England, for which he had made very copious collections, that were of great ſervice to our author, when he entered upon the execution of the ſame project.

(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 8.

[*C*] *That he was a grave, a ſenſible, and a candid writer.*] The firſt work, that he publiſhed after his return to England, bore this title *A non eſt inventus returned to Mr* Edward Baghaw's *enquiry and vainly boaſted diſcovery of weakneſs in the Grounds of the Church's infallibility.* 1662. 8*vo.*

He wrote next, *A letter to an Engliſh gentleman dated July 6th* 1662, *wherein Biſhop Morley is concerned,* and therefore we find it printed amongſt ſome of the treatiſes of that reverend Prelate.

He publiſhed after this, *Roman Catholic Doctrines no Novelties; or, an anſwer to Dr Pierce's Court-Sermon, miſcalled,* The primitive rule of Reformation. 1663, 8*vo.* anſwered by Dr Daniel Whitby.

[*D*] *As a performance of eſtabliſhed reputation.*] The reader will form a very juſt and clear notion of the author's real intentions in compoſing this work, by peruſing the title of it, which, for this reaſon, I ſhall inſert at large. *The* Church Hiſtory *of* Brittany, *from the beginning of* Chriſtianity *to the* Norman Conqueſt; *under* Roman *Governors,* Britiſh *Kings, the* Engliſh Saxon Heptarchy, the Engliſh Saxon and Daniſh *Monarchy.* Containing, I. *The Lives of all our Saints, aſſigned to the proper ages wherein they lived.* II. *The erections of* Epiſcopal Sees, *and Succeſſion of* Biſhops. III. *The celebration of* Synods, National, Provincial, *and* Dioceſan. IV. *The foundations of* Monaſteries, Nunneries, *and* Churches. V. *And a ſufficient account of the Succeſſions of our* Kings, *and of the civil affairs of this Kingdom; from all which is evidently demonſtrated, that the preſent* Roman Catholick *Religion hath from the beginning, without interruption, or change, been profeſſed in this our holy Iſland, &c. By the reverend Father* Serenus Creſſey, *of the Holy Order of St Benedict,* 1668 *fol.* (4) He very fairly acknowledges that the bulk

(4) There is no name of the place in the title page of moſt of the copies, but it was actually printed at Roan.

another volume of this History, which was to have carried it as low as the dissolution of monasteries by King Henry VIII. but before he had proceeded full three hundred years lower than the Norman conquest, his life and labours were together suspended (r). We are not however to suppose from hence, that his whole time was devoted to this large work, on the contrary we find him very warmly engaged in all the controversies of the times, and yet that he had some leisure to bestow upon works of another nature [E]. His last dispute was in reference to a book written by the learned Dr Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, to which, tho' several answers were given by the ablest of the Popish writers, there was none that seemed to merit reply, except that penned by Father Cressey, and this procured him the honour of a very illustrious antagonist, his old friend and acquaintance at Oxford, Edward Earl of Clarendon (s), who, notwithstanding, treated him upon this occasion somewhat severely, which induced our author to pen and publish that letter which is mentioned in the notes. Being now grown far in years and having no very promising scene before his eyes, from the warm spirit that appeared against Popery amongst all ranks of people, and the many excellent books written to confute it by the most learned of the Clergy, he was the more willing to seek for peace in the silence of a country retirement, and accordingly withdrew for some time to the house of Richard Caryll, Esq; a gentleman of an ancient family and affluent fortune, at East Grinstead in the county of Sussex, and dying upon the 10th of August 1674, being then near the seventieth year of his age, was buried in the parish church there (t). His loss was much regretted by those of his communion, as being one of their ablest champions ready to draw his pen in their defence on every occasion, and sure of having his pieces read with singular favour and attention (u). His memory also was revered by the Protestants, as well on account of the purity of his manners, and his mild and humble deportment, as for the plainness, candour, and decency, with which he had managed all the controversies that he had been engaged in, and

(r) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 356.

(s) His Work was called *Animadversions on a book intituled, Fanaticism fanatically imputed*, &c.

(t) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 531.

(u) See the Character of our author by Edward Sheldon, Esq;

bulk and substance of his work, is taken from the three first volumes of the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, written in Latin by Father Griffith, and that for the additions and improvements he has made, he stands chiefly indebted to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, published by Sir William Dugdale, the *Decem Scriptores*, the *Flores Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, by Dr Smith, whom the Papists stiled Bishop of Chalcedon, and the large collection of manuscripts chiefly made by Father Augustine Baker, of whom some account has been given in the former note. He offers some apologies, for the fabulous relations inserted in his History; which however amounts to no more than this; that he did not think himself obliged to believe all that he had taken the pains to collect, and consequently he leaves the same liberty to his reader, who without doubt is not at all bound to have a larger measure of faith than the author. There is one thing very singular in his preface. His education at Oxford had taught him civility, his living at Court had improved it, and the obligations he lay under to several eminent and worthy persons of our religion, compelled him to shew it in the manner of his treating such prelates of our Church, as he had occasion to mention, in reference to the matters recorded in his History. But for this however, he thought himself obliged to make an apology to those of his own communion, which is so very remarkable as to deserve the reader's particular notice.

'But for my excuse, or defence, I must take leave to 'say, I. That herein I follow not only the example 'of the ancient best Fathers in their disputes, even a-'gainst Arians, Photinians, Novatians, &c. but of the 'most learned author of the Protestants Apology. 'II. I am assured, that if my accusers were per-'sonally to converse with these Protestant prelates, 'they would not after such a manner change their 'titles. Now I see no reason, why an obligation 'should be imposed on any, to be uncivil with his 'pen, and not with his tongue. I do not find, that 'ever any Protestants esteemed such civility an ad-'vantage to them in the debate concerning their 'ordinations; for to instance in a case in just reason, 'far less disputable than that, yet not long ago ac-'tually and terribly disputed: If during the late re-'bellion, a faithful subject of the King should have 'petitioned for a pass to go through the rebels quar-'ters, no man would have suspected him of dis-'loyalty, because in his petition to Fairfax, Crom-'well, or Waller, he stiled them Lords Generals. 'Has not the King himself, in addresses to the un-'lawful Parliament, done the like? yet all this sure-'ly without engagement to acknowledge their autho-'rity to be legitimate, particularly as touching the 'forementioned writers, it cannot be denyed but that 'we are much obliged to their diligence in the search 'of publick records, and their sincerity in delivering 'what they found; true it is, that B. Parker, ac-'cording to the impulse of a Calvinistical spirit, often 'inserts malicious invectives against the Catholick 'Chuch, as being indeed the patriarch of Calvinistical 'prelacy. B. Godwin is less cholerick, and may be 'excused, if now and then he seeks some advantage, 'particularly upon the account of married prelates. 'But as for B. Usher, his admirable abilities in Chro-'nological and Historical Erudition, as also his faith-'fulness and ingenuous sincerity in delivering without 'any provoking reflections, what with great labour 'he has observed, ought certainly at least to exempt 'him from being treated by any one rudely and con-'temptuously, especially by me, who am moreover 'always obliged to preserve a just resentment of very 'many kind effects of friendship, which I received from 'him.'

[E] *Some leisure to bestow upon works of another nature.*] We have already taken notice of this inclination to the Mystick Divinity, which lead him to take so much pains about the works of Father Baker, and from the same disposition he also published *Sixteen revelations of divine love, shewed to a devout servant of our Lord, called Mother* Juliana, *an* Anchorete *of* Norwich, *who lived in the days of King* Edward III. printed 1670. 8*vo*. and dedicated to the Lady Blount, of Sodingdon, widow of Sir George Blount, and likewise changed from old into modern English more compendiously. A book written before the change of Religion, entitled, An abridgment of the book called *The cloud of unknowing, and of the counsel referring to the same*. This is not printed, but in MS. and was shewn to Anthony Wood, by Father W. R. a Benedictine Monk (5).

(5) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 531.

The next performance of his was upon occasion of a famous treatise, written by Dr Stillingfleet, against the Church of Rome, which made a very great noise in those days, and put for some time a stop to the encroachments their Missionaries were daily making, which highly provoked those of the Roman communion. This was entitled,

Answer to part of Dr Stillingfleet's *Book, entituled* Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, 1672. 8*vo*. He published also,

Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by Dr Stillingfleet, *and the imputation refuted and retorted*, &c. 1672. 8*vo*.

Question, Why are you a Catholick? Question, Why are you a Protestant? 1673. 8*vo*.

In

and which had procured him in return, much more of kindneſs and reſpect, than almoſt any other of his party had met with, or indeed deſerved (*w*).

(*w*) See Dr Daniel Whitby's Preface to his Reply to our author's Anſwer to Dr Pierce's Court Sermon.

In ſupport of Dr Stillingfleet, the Earl of Clarendon wrote *Animadverſions* upon our author's *anſwer*; in which he very plainly tells him and the world, that it was not devotion, but neceſſity and want of a ſubſiſtence, which drove him firſt out of the Church of England, and then into a Monaſtery; as this noble peer knew him well at Oxford, it may be very eaſily imagined that what he ſaid made a very ſtrong impreſſion, and it was to efface this, that our author thought fit to ſend abroad an anſwer under the title of *A Epiſtle apologetical to a Perſon of Honour, touching his vindication of* Dr Stillingfleet, 1674. 8*vo*. In this work he gives a large relation of the ſtate and condition of his affairs, at the time of what he ſtiles his converſion, in order to remove the imputation of quitting his faith to obtain bread. The laſt work that he publiſhed was entitled,

Remarks upon the Oath of Supremacy. E

CREW (NATHANAEL) Biſhop of Durham in the end of the ſeventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth, century, was the fifth ſon of John Lord Crew of Stene in the county of Northampton [*A*], by Jemima, daughter and coheir of Edward Walgrave of Lawford in Eſſex, Eſq (*a*); He was born at Stene, the 31ſt of January 1633 (*b*): and in 1652 admitted Commoner of Lincoln-college in Oxford (*c*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts the 1ſt of February 1655-6 (*d*); ſoon after which he was choſen Fellow of that college (*e*). The 29th of June 1658, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*f*). At the Reſtoration, he declared heartily in favour of the Crown and Hierarchy (*g*); and in 1663 was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity (*h*). The year following, on the 2d of July, he took the degree of Doctor of Law (*i*): and ſoon after went into holy Orders. Auguſt the 12th 1668 he was elected Rector of Lincoln-college, upon the deceaſe of Dr Paul Hood. On the 29th of April 1669, he was inſtalled Dean Chicheſter, and held with that dignity the Præcentorſhip, in which he had been inſtall'd the day before. He was alſo appointed Clerk of the Cloſet to King Charles II (*k*). In 1671, upon the tranſlation of Dr Blandford to the See of Worceſter, he was elected Biſhop of Oxford in his room on the 16th of June, confirm'd June the 18th, conſecrated July the 2d, and enthroniz'd the 5th of the ſame month; being allowed to hold with it in commendam the Living of Whitney, and the Rectorſhip of Lincoln-college (*l*): But this laſt he reſign'd the 18th of October 1672 (*m*). In 1673 he perform'd the ceremony of the marriage of James Duke of York with Maria of Eſte (*n*). Through that Prince's intereſt, with whoſe meaſures he ſeems to have been very compliant, he was tranſlated, the 22d of October 1674, to the rich Biſhoprick of Durham; which had been kept vacant ever ſince the death of Biſhop Coſin, January 15, 1671-2 (*o*). In the beginning of the year 1675, he baptized Katherina-Laura, the new-born daughter of James Duke of York (*p*). The 26th of April 1676, he was ſworn of the Privy Council to King Charles II (*q*). Upon the acceſſion of King James II. to the Crown, he was in great favour with that Prince, who thought him moſt obſequious to his will: Accordingly, on the 29th of December 1685, he was made Dean of his Majeſty's Royal Chapel in the room of Henry Biſhop of London who had been remov'd; and within a few days after, namely January 8, was admitted into the Privy Council (*r*). In 1686 he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners in the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion erected by King James (*s*), and ſeem'd to be proud of that honour [*B*]. By virtue of that Commiſſion, he appear'd, on the 9th of Auguſt, at the Proceedings againſt Henry Biſhop of London, and was for ſuſpending him during the King's pleaſure; tho' the Earl, and Biſhop, of Rocheſter, and Chief Juſtice Herbert, were againſt it (*t*). Immediately after that Biſhop's ſuſpenſion, Commiſſioners were appointed to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the dioceſe of London, of which Biſhop Crew was one (*u*). The 20th of November following, he was preſent at, and conſenting to, the degradation of Mr Samuel Johnſon (*w*); previous to the moſt ſevere puniſhment that was inflicted on that eminent Divine. In the forementioned quality of an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, he countenanc'd with his preſence a proſecution carried on, in May 1687, againſt Dr Peachey Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, for refuſing to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity, without taking the oaths (*x*). And, in July the ſame year, he

(*a*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 482.

(*b*) From his epitaph.

(*c*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1177.

(*d*) Ibid. Faſti, col. 108.

(*e*) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Faſti, col. 122.

(*g*) Wood tells us, that *he turned about*. But there is no evidence of his having been otherwiſe.

(*h*) Athen. ubi ſupra; & Faſti, col. 150.

(*i*) Faſti, col. 159; and Catalogue of Graduates.

(*k*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra; and J. LeNeve's Faſt. edit. 1716, p. 491, 61, 62.

(*l*) Wood, Ath. ibid. and Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 434.

(*m*) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 491.

(*n*) See Appendix to the Life of King James II. 8*vo*, edit. 1703, p. 41.

(*o*) Willis, ibid. p. 251.

(*p*) Life of King James II. p. 19.

(*q*) Wood, Athen. as above, col. 1177.

(*r*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 442. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 1178.

(*s*) See that Commiſſion, publiſhed in 1688, 4*to*. It is alſo inſerted in the Comp. Hiſt. as above, p. 452, &c. and in The Life of King James II. p. 146, &c. It bore date Aug. 3.

(*t*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 677.

(*u*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 483.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 450.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 501, 502.

[*A*] *Was the fifth ſon of* John *Lord* Crew *of* Stene &c.] This John Lord Crew was ſon and heir to Sir Thomas Crew, Kt. one of the Serjeants at Law to King Charles I. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons 21 Jacob. & 1 Caro. and deſcended from the ancient family of *Crew* in the County Palatine of Cheſter. Having been inſtrumental in the Reſtoration of K. Charles II, he was advanced by that King, in the 13th year of his reign, April 20. 1661, to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Crew of Stene, and to the heirs male of his body (1).——— The elder brother of Sir Thomas Crew above-mentioned, was Sir Randolph Crew Kt. who on the 1ſt of July 1614, was made Serjeant at Law; and the 26th of January 162⅓ conſtituted chief Juſtice of the King's bench, but deprived of the ſame again on the 9th of November 1626, for openly manifeſting his diſlike at King Charles the Iſt's. raiſing money by way of Loan: On his being diſplac'd, we are informed, he diſcovered no more diſcontent, than the weary traveller is offended, when told that he is arrived at his journey's end. He is ſaid, to have firſt brought the model of excellent building into Cheſhire (2).

(1) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *And ſeemed to be proud of that honour*] Biſhop Burnet tells us (3), 'that he was lifted up with it, 'and ſaid, now his name would be recorded in hiſtory: 'And when ſome of his friends repreſented to him, the 'danger of acting in a court ſo illegally conſtituted, 'he ſaid, he could not live, if he ſhould loſe the 'King's gracious ſmiles: ſo low and ſo fawning (adds 'the Biſhop) was he.'

(2) Fuller's Worthies, in Cheſhire, p. 178; and Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, in the Liſts.

(3) Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 676.

[*C*] *And*

he offer'd to attend the Pope's Nuncio at his publick Entry into London; but his coachman refus'd to drive him that way (*y*). His name was put again in a new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion iſſued out this year, in October (*z*): In which he acted, during the ſevere proceedings againſt Magdalen-college in Oxford, for refuſing to elect one Anthony Farmer their Preſident, purſuant to the King's mandate (*a*). The Biſhop continued acting as an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner till October 1688; when that Commiſſion was aboliſhed. Towards the end of the year 1687, he was employed, with the Biſhops of Rocheſter and Peterborough (*b*), to draw up a Form of Thankſgiving for the Queen's being with child (*c*). Thus he complied with the King's deſigns, till he found that the Prince of Orange's party was likely to prevail. But, then, he abſented himſelf from the Council-board, and told the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he was ſorry for having ſo long concurr'd with the Court; and deſir'd now to be reconcil'd to his Grace, and the other Biſhops (*d*). Moreover, in the Convention that met January the 22d, 1688-9, to conſider of filling the Throne, he was one of thoſe who voted, on the 6th of February, that King James II. had abdicated the Kingdom (*e*). Notwithſtanding all this, his thorough compliance with the late Court's arbitrary deſigns, had rendered him ſo obnoxious to the Nation, that he was excepted by name out of the Pardon granted by King William and Queen Mary, May the 23d, 1690 (*f*), which ſo terrified him, that he abſconded for a time, and was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea [*C*]: and offered to compound, by reſigning his Biſhoprick (*g*). However he found means afterwards to make his peace, and to preſerve his Biſhoprick: But, in order to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of that dignity, he was forced to permit the Crown to diſpoſe of, or at leaſt to nominate to, his Prebends of Durham, as they ſhould become vacant (*h*). By the death of his two elder brothers, he became in 1691, Baron Crew of Stene; and, about the 21ſt of December the ſame year, he married, but left no iſſue (*i*). During the reſt of King William's reign, he remain'd quiet and unmoleſted, tho' not much conſidered. In the year 1710, he was one of the Lords that oppoſed the proſecution then carried on againſt Dr Sacheverell, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewiſe proteſted againſt ſeveral ſteps taken in that affair (*k*). He applied himſelf chiefly, in the latter part of his life, to works of Munificence and Charity. Particularly, he was a very great benefactor to Lincoln-college, of which he had been Fellow, and Rector [*D*]; And laid out large ſums in beautifying the Biſhop's palace at Durham (*l*); beſides many other inſtances of generoſity and munificence of a more private nature. At length, his Lordſhip departed this life on Monday September 18, 1722, aged eighty eight: and was buried in his chapel at Stene, the 30th of the ſame month (*m*), with an inſcription on his monument [*E*]. He held the See of Durham forty ſeven years, as he had done that of Oxford three, continuing a Biſhop fifty years, three months, and two days; which was a longer time than any *Engliſhman* ever enjoy'd that honour, except Thomas Bourchier *Archbiſhop* of Canterbury, who held the Sees of Worceſter, Ely, and Canterbury, fifty one years and twenty one days. His Lordſhip dying without iſſue, the title of Baron Crew of Stene became extinct with him.

(*y*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 494; and N. Salmon's Lives of the Engliſh Biſhops, *&c.* edit. 1731. p. 397.

(*z*) See Hiſt. of the Eccleſ. Commiſſion, ed. 1711. 8*vo*, p. 27.

(*a*) See a full account of that whole affair, in Complete Hiſt. as above, p. 502, *&c.*

(*b*) Tho. Sprat, and Tho. White.

(*c*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 496.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 527.

(*e*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) See Statut. 2 Will. & Mary, Seſſ. 1. c. 10.

(*g*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 597, note (*a*); and Burnet, ubi ſupr. p. 822.

(*b*) From private information.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 1178; and Willis, as above, p. 252.

(*k*) See Annals of Queen Anne, ann. 1710; and Hiſtory of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. folio, 1735, p. 428, 429, 444, 445.

(*l*) Magna Britan. *&c.* edit. 1718, 4*to*, Vol. I. p. 639.

(*m*) Willis, as above p. 251.

[*C*] *And was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea*] This particular is variouſly related by two of our Hiſtorians. One of them (4) writes thus; 'The 'Biſhop of Durham had paid ſo much court to the 'King, and to the very Nuncio of the Pope, that he 'deſpair'd of any favour at the Revolution; and he 'was once *got beyond Sea* in a fright: but being 'brought back by the importunity of a domeſtick ſer-'vant, he made a new intereſt in the new Court and 'Parliament, and bought off the complaints of Mr 'Samuel Johnſon, and others, who had ſuffer'd by 'him.' The other Hiſtorian's words are as follows (5) 'The poor biſhop of Durham, who had abſ-'conded for ſome time, and *was waiting for a Ship 'to get beyond Sea*, fearing publick affronts, and had 'offered to compound by reſigning his biſhoprick, was 'now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new 'ſettlement to merit at leaſt a pardon for all that he 'had done: which, all things conſidered, was thought 'very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the reſt 'of his life and character.' He did not attempt to go beyond ſea till after he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity: ſo that the laſt inaccurate writer is miſtaken in that particular.

(4) Kennet, in Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 597, note (*b*).

(5) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 822.

[*D*] *He was a very great Benefactor to Lincoln-College, of which he had been Fellow, and Rector.*] He added Twenty pounds *per annum*, to the Headſhip, or Rectory; and Ten pounds *per annum* to each of the twelve Fellowſhips, for ever. He made up the Bible clerk's place, and eight Scholarſhips belonging to that college, Ten pounds a year each, for ever, which before were very mean. He made an augmentation of Ten pounds *per annum* a-piece for ever, to the Curates of four Churches belonging to the ſaid College, viz. All-Saints and St Michael in Oxford, Twyford in Buckinghamſhire, and Comb in Oxfordſhire. All theſe were to take place from Michaelmaſs 1717. He likewiſe ſettled Twenty pounds a year a-piece on twelve Exhibitioners, which took place at Lady-day 1718. His Lordſhip intended alſo to have rebuilt that College or at leaſt the beſt part of it; but the Fellows having diſobliged him, in refuſing to chuſe for their Rector, a Gentleman whom he recommended to them, upon the death of Dr Fitzherbert Adams; his Lordſhip thought fit to alter his deſign.

[*E*] *With an inſcription on his monument.*] Which is as follows.

Near this Place lyeth the Body
Of the Right Reverend and Right Honourable
NATHANIEL LORD CREW
Lord Biſhop of DURHAM, and Baron of STENE,
Fifth Son of *John* Lord CREW.
He was born *Jan.* 31. 1633.
Was conſecrated Biſhop of OXFORD 1671.
Tranſlated to DURHAM in 1674.
Was Clerk of the Cloſet and Privy Counſellor
In the Reigns of King CHARLES II. and
King JAMES II.
And died *Sept.* 18. 1722.
Aged 88. C

CRISPE (Sir NICHOLAS) an eminent and loyal citizen in the reigns of King Charles the First and King Charles the Second; he was the ſon of a very eminent merchant, and grandſon of an Alderman of London (*a*), born in the year 1598, and bred according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, in a thorough knowledge of buſineſs, tho' heir to a great eſtate (*b*). He made a conſiderable addition to this by marriage, and being a man of an enterprizing genius, ever active and ſollicitous about new inventions and diſcoveries, and, which very rarely happens, wonderfully induſtrious and diligent about things he had brought to bear, he was ſoon taken notice of at Court, knighted and became one of the Farmers of the King's Cuſtoms (*c*). When the trade to Guinea was under great difficulties and diſcouragements, he framed a project for retrieving it, which required a very large ſum of money to bring it about, but his reputation was ſo great, that many rich Merchants willingly engaged with him in the proſecution of the deſign (*d*); and to give a good example, as well as to ſhew that he meant to adhere to the work that he had once taken in hand, he cauſed the caſtle of Cormantyn upon the gold coaſt, to be erected at his own expence (*e*). By this judicious precaution, and by his wiſe and wary management afterwards, himſelf and his aſſociates carried their trade to ſuch a height, as to divide amongſt them fifty thouſand pounds a year (*f*). When the times grew dark and cloudy, and the King's affairs were in ſuch diſtreſs he knew not how to turn himſelf for want of money, Sir Nicholas Criſpe and his partners in the farming of the cuſtoms, upon very ſhort warning, and when their refuſing it, would have been eſteemed a merit with the Parliament, raiſed him ſo large a ſum as one hundred thouſand pounds at once (*g*), and that with ſuch circumſtances of chearfulneſs as might be truly ſaid to double the value of this ſervice [*A*]. After the war broke out, and in the midſt of all the diſtractions with which it was attended, he continued to carry on a trade to Holland, France, Spain, Italy, Norway, Moſcovy, and Turkey, which produced to the King near one hundred thouſand pounds a year, beſides keeping moſt of the ports open and ſhips in them conſtantly ready for his ſervice; all the correſpondence and ſupplies of arms which were procured by the Queen in Holland, and by the King's agents in Denmark, were conſigned to his care, and by his prudence and vigilance ſafely landed in the North, and put into the hands of thoſe for whom they were intended (*h*). In the management of ſo many nice and difficult affairs, he was obliged to keep up a very extenſive correſpondence, in doing of which he diſcovered a moſt ſuprizing dexterity, for he hardly ever made uſe of cypher, but penned his letters in ſuch a peculiar ſtile, as removed entirely his intentions from the apprehenſion of his enemies, and yet left them very intelligible unto thoſe with whom he tranſacted (*i*). He had alſo an incomparable addreſs in bringing any thing to bear that he had once contrived, to which it contributed not a little, that in matters of ſecrecy and danger he ſeldom truſted to any hands but his own, and to facilitate this, he made uſe of all kind of diſguiſes, ſometimes when he was believed to be in one place he was actually at another; letters of conſequence he carried in the diſguiſe of a porter; when he wanted intelligence he would be at the water ſide with a baſket of flounders upon his head, and often paſſed between London and Oxford in the dreſs of a butter-woman on horſeback between a pair of panniers (*k*). He was the principal author of that well-laid deſign for publiſhing the King's Commiſſion of Array at London, which was defeated by another deſign that Mr Waller through fear betrayed, for which Tomkins and Chaloner ſuffered (*l*), and of which we have but a very obſcure account in a very celebrated hiſtory (*m*) [*B*]. It is however very certain that there was nothing diſhonourable

(*a*) Stow's Survey of London, publiſhed by Strype, Vol. I. C. iii. p. 203.

(*b*) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97. Monumental inſcription in the chapel at Hammerſmith.

(*c*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(*d*) Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Trade to Guinea, p. 31.

(*e*) See the monumental inſcription in Hammerſmith chapel.

(*f*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Hiſt. of the Engliſh Trade to Guinea, p. 103.

(*g*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(*b*) Characters of eminent Citizens in London, p. 97.

(*i*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(*k*) Characters of eminent Citizens in London, p. 97. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(*l*) Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 317, 318, 319.

[*A*] *As might be truly ſaid to double the value of this ſervice.*] It was but a ſhort time before the King was obliged to leave London, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of applying to thoſe four eminent citizens, who were then farmers of the cuſtoms, for no leſs a ſum than one hundred thouſand pounds, and that to be advanced immediately (1). Theſe farmers of the cuſtoms, were Sir Nicholas Criſpe, Sir Abraham Dawes, Sir John Jacob, and Sir John Wolſtenholme. When the matter was propoſed to Sir Nicholas, he ſaid, 'it was a large ſum and ſhort warning, but that pro-'vidence had made him able, and his duty made him 'willing to lay down his proportion, whenever his 'Majeſty called for it.' Sir Abraham Dawes had ſome relations, whoſe affections leaned the other way, and who beſides had great expectations from him; they magnified the ſum that was deſired, the incertainty of it's being repaid, and the danger that it would be taken ill by Parliament, who might inſiſt upon the like ſum. 'Well, *ſaid Sir Abraham*, this then is the 'worſt that can happen, and I bleſs God, who has 'made me able to pay my allegiance, and to pay for 'it (2).' Something of the ſame kind was inſinuated to Sir John Jacob, who was not only very ſincerely loyal, but which generally go together, a man of a warm temper and a tender heart, 'What, *ſaid he in 'reply*, ſhall I keep my eſtate, and ſee the King want 'wherewithal, to protect me in it? If it pleaſe God 'to bleſs the King, tho' I give him all I have, I ſhall 'be no loſer, if not tho' I keep all I have, I ſhall be 'no ſaver (3).' Sir John Wolſtenholme, a ſtout and and plain man, advanced his proportion, as he afterwards did larger ſums, without any ſpeeches (4). He and Sir Nicholas Criſpe lived to ſee the Reſtoration, and to be farmers of the Cuſtoms again under King Charles the ſecond, after they and the reſt had paid deeply for this proof of their loyalty.

(1) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(2) From a MS. formerly belonging to Peter Le Neve, Eſq;

(3) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 450.

(4) From the information of the family.

[*B*] *And of which we have but a very obſcure account, in a very celebrated Hiſtory*] We have in the Earl of Clarendon's Work, a very large account of Mr Waller's deſign, and the methods employed by him to bring it to bear, and of the manner in which it was diſcovered. His Lordſhip then takes occaſion to tell us, that the parliament, to magnify their danger, blended this with another deſign that was formed in the King's quarters, and as this relates expreſsly to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, it is neceſſary the reader ſhould ſee it (5). From the King's coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were proſecuted or jealouſly looked upon, in London, had reſorted to the King, and hoping if the winter produced not a peace, that the ſummer would carry the King before that city with an army, they had entertained ſome diſcourſe of raiſing upon their own ſtocks of money and credit, ſome regiments of foot and horſe, and joyning with ſome gentlemen of Kent, who were 'likewiſe

(5) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 318.

honourable in the deſign itſelf, ſo far as Sir Nicholas Criſpe was concerned, or any juſt grounds of throwing reproach, or ſo much as ſuſpicion upon him, for the diſcovery of it; but it ſeems the noble author was not entirely poſſeſſed of the facts relating to it, and either willingly or inadvertently confounds Sir Nicholas Criſpe's deſign of executing the King's Commiſſion of Array in London (*n*), which might have been done as legally as any where elſe, with another deſign ſuperinduced by Mr Waller of ſuprizing the Parliament, in bringing which to bear he proceeded very vigorouſly at firſt, till finding that he had engaged in a matter too big for his management, he ſuddenly loſt his ſpirits, and ſome of the chief men in the Houſe of Commons gaining intelligence that ſomething was in agitation to their prejudice, May 31ſt, 1643 (*o*), they preſently ſeized Mr Waller and drew from him a compleat diſcovery, which, from the account they publiſhed, plainly diſtinguiſhed theſe two projects [*C*]. By the diſcovery of this buſineſs, Sir Nicholas Criſpe found himſelf obliged to

(*n*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of England, l. iii. p. 45.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part. Vol. II. p. 324.

likewiſe inclined to ſuch an undertaking: among theſe was Sir Nicholas Criſp, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active ſpirited man; who had been lately proſecuted with great ſeverity by the Houſe of Commons, and had thereupon fled from London for appearing too great a ſtickler in a petition for peace in the city. This gentleman induſtriouſly preſerved a correſpondence ſtill therein, by which he gave the King often very uſeful intelligence, and aſſured him of a very conſiderable party which would appear there for him, when ever his own power ſhould be ſo near as to give them any countenance. In the end, whether invited by his correſpondents there, or truſting his own ſprightly inclinations and reſolutions too much, and concluding that all who were equally honeſt, would be equally bold, he deſired his Majeſty 'to grant a commiſſion to ſuch perſons whom he would 'nominate of the city of London, under the great ſeal 'of England, in the nature of a Commiſſion of Array, 'by virtue whereof, when the ſeaſon ſhould come, his 'party there would appear in diſcipline and order, and 'that this was deſired by thoſe who beſt knew what 'countenance and authority was requiſite, and being 'truſted to them, would not be executed at all, or 'elſe at ſuch a time, as his Majeſty ſhould receive am-'ple fruits by it, provided it were done with ſecrecy 'equal to the hazard they ſhould run, who were em-'ploy'd in it.' The King had this exception to it. *The improbability that it could do good, and that the failing might do hurt to the undertakers.*' But the promoter was a very popular man in the city, where he had been a commander of the Trained-bands, till, the ordinance of the Militia remov'd him, which rather improv'd than leſſened his credit, and he was very confident it would produce a notable advantage to the King. However they deſired it, who were there, and would not appear without it, and therefore the King conſenting to it, referring the nomination of all perſons in the commiſſion to him, who he verily believed had proceeded by the inſtruction and advice of thoſe that were neareſt the concernment, and for the ſecrecy of it, the King referred the preparing and diſpatch of the commiſſion to Sir Nicholas Criſpe himſelf, who ſhould acquaint no more with it than he found requiſite; ſo without the privity or advice, of any counſellor, or Miniſter of ſtate, then moſt truſted by his Majeſty, he procured ſuch a commiſſion as he deſired, (being no other than the commiſſion of array in Engliſh,) to be ſigned by the King, and ſeal'd with the great ſeal. This being done and remaining ſtill in his cuſtody, the Lady Aubigney, by a paſs, and with the conſent of the Houſes, came to Oxford to tranſact the affairs of her own fortune with the King, upon the death of her huſband, who was killed at Edghill, and ſhe having in few days diſpatched her buſineſs there, and being ready to return, Sir Nicholas Criſpe came to the King, and beſought him 'to deſire that Lady, 'who had a paſs, and ſo could promiſe her ſelf ſafety 'in her journey, to carry a ſmall box (in which that 'commiſſion ſhould be) with her, and to keep it in 'her own cuſtody, until a gentleman ſhould call to 'her Ladyſhip for it, by ſuch a token,' that token he ſaid 'he could ſend to one of the perſons truſted 'who ſhould keep it by him, till the opportunity came 'in which it might executed.' The King accordingly wiſhed the Lady Aubigney to carry it with great care, and ſecrecy, telling her 'it much concerned his own 'ſervice,' and to deliver it in ſuch manner, and upon ſuch aſſurance, as is before mentioned, which ſhe did, and within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a perſon who was appointed to call for it. How this commiſſion was diſcovered, I could never learn, for tho' Mr Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believed by her to be a gentleman of moſt entire affections to the King's ſervice, and conſequently might be fitly truſted with what ſhe knew, yet her Ladyſhip herſelf not knowing what it was ſhe carried, could not inform any body elſe. It is very evident from this account, that the noble Hiſtorian was not much in the ſecret himſelf, and this perhaps might incline him not to entertain a better opinion of it, for it is very apparent, that he looked upon Sir Nicholas Criſpe's zeal as puſhing him a little too far in this buſineſs, that he very much doubted whether that commiſſion, however managed, could turn to the King's advantage, becauſe of the want of ſpirit in thoſe concerned; and that after all, he could never find out how the original commiſſions came into the Parliaments hands; becauſe the Lady Aubigney delivered it, as ſhe was directed, ſo that it was out of her hands before it was diſcovered, and while it was in her hands, ſhe could ſay nothing about it to Mr Waller, becauſe ſhe herſelf did not know what it was.

[*C*] *Which from the account they publiſhed, plainly diſtinguiſhed theſe two projects.*] We have at the cloſe of the laſt note, pointed out the difficulties under *which, from his own account, it is very plain that the* noble Hiſtorian laboured; it is true, that he remarks it as a point of inſincerity in the Parliament, that they kneeded theſe two projects together, which remark of his is very well founded; but then it is very evident, that he does not himſelf diſtinguiſh them ſufficiently, but imputes the failing of Sir Nicholas Criſpe's deſign, to the want of ſpirit, in thoſe who were to manage it. To ſay the truth, there is no one point of ſo great importance, in the Hiſtory of thoſe times, that is ſo darkly, ſo imperfectly, and ſo confuſedly related by all our general hiſtorians. Mr Archdeacon Echard (6) takes all that he ſays about it, from the Earl of Clarendon, and blames the Parliament for blending theſe two deſigns, at the ſame time that he juſtifies them, by not ſhewing how they ought to be diſtinguiſh'd. This afforded occaſion to another writer (7) to attack the ſincerity, or at leaſt the conſiſtency, both of the noble Peer and of the reverend writer; and he thinks that he has fully proved his point, and juſtified the Parliament, by producing ſome paſſages from the dying ſpeeches of Mr Tomkins and Mr Challoner. A little attention to facts and dates will clear up this whole affair, and enable us to ſet it in it's proper light, which is certainly one of the moſt uſeful purpoſes to which this kind of writing can be applied. Sir Nicholas Criſpe remained at London, as long as he could remain there with ſafety, or had any hopes of doing his Majeſty ſervice, but being removed from his command in the Trained-Bands, cenſured for promoting a petition for peace, and ſeeing Sir Richard Gurney then Lord Mayor of London, impriſoned, depoſed, and puniſhed for doing what he took to be his duty, in publiſhing the King's proclamation, which tended to the execution of the Commiſſion of Array, he retired to Oxford (8). As he had the King's ear, it is no wonder that he informed his Majeſty, that there was a ſtrong party for him in the city of London; who were deſirous of acting for his ſervice, and of levying regiments of horſe and foot, at their own expences, which they were the rather induced to do, becauſe while

(6) Hiſt. of England, p. 570.

(7) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 222.

(8) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl p. 570

to declare openly and plainly the courſe he meant to take, and having at his own expence raiſed a regiment of horſe for the King's ſervice, he put himſelf at the head of it, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as remarkably in his military as he had ever done in his civil capacity. When the ſiege of Glouceſter was reſolved on, Sir Nicholas Criſpe was charged with his regiment of horſe to eſcort the King's train of artillery from Oxford, which important ſervice he very gallantly performed (p). In the month of September following a very unlucky accident befel him, in which he was no way to blame, and tho' the circumſtances attending it clearly juſtified his conduct to the world, yet the concern it gave him was ſuch as he could not ſhake off ſo long as he lived. He happened to be quartered at Rouſlidge in Glouceſterſhire, where one Sir James Ennyon, Baronet, of Northamptonſhire, and ſome friends of his took up a great part of the houſe, tho' none of them had any commands in the army, which however Sir Nicholas bore with the utmoſt patience, notwithſtanding he was much incommoded by it. It fell out ſome time after, that certain horſes belonging to thoſe gentlemen were miſſing, upon which Sir James Ennyon, tho' he had loſt none himſelf, came to Sir Nicholas Criſpe on their behalf, inſinuating that ſome of his troopers muſt have taken them, and after a long expoſtulation conceived in pretty rough terms, inſiſted that he ſhould immediately draw out his regiment, that ſearch might be made for them. Sir Nicholas anſwered him with all the mildneſs imaginable, offered him as full ſatisfaction as it was in his power to give, but excuſed himſelf from drawing out his regiment, as a thing improper and inconvenient at that juncture, for reaſons which he aſſigned him (q). This however was ſo far from contenting Sir James, that he left him abruptly, and preſently after ſent him a challenge, accompanied with a meſſage to this effect, that if he did not comply with it he would piſtol him againſt the wall. Upon this Sir Nicholas Criſpe taking a friend of his with him, went to the place appointed, where he found Sir James Ennyon and the perſon who brought him the challenge. Upon their meeting, Sir Nicholas began to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to pacify him, but to no purpoſe, he was determined to receive no ſatisfaction but by the ſword (r), and they accordingly engaged, and in this duel Sir James having received a wound in the rim of the belly,

(p) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Heath's Chron. p. 52.

(q) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 75. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Heath's Chron. p. 52.

(r) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 96.

while they remained under the power of the Parliament, they were obliged to contribute both arms and money, againſt the dictates of their conſciences, and to act in ſome meaſure againſt the ſide to which they wiſhed well. But to enable them to carry their intentions into execution, and to have what they took to be a legal authority to warrant their proceedings, it was neceſſary they ſhould have the King's commiſſion, impowering them to do what they inclined to do, as well as to appoint a General, and to grant commiſſions, which was the purport of the commiſſion under the King's broad ſeal, dated at Oxford, March 16th in the eighteenth year of his Majeſty's reign (9). The perſon, they had in view, to command the men they were to raiſe, was Sir Hugh Pollard, a member of Parliament but at that time a priſoner in the Compter, and a body of the King's forces were to advance within fifteen miles of London, to countenance their proceedings, to ſupport them, if that was found practicable, or to join them in caſe they were forced to retreat (10). This commiſſion was directed to Sir Nicholas Criſpe, Sir George Stroud, Knights; to Sir Thomas Gardiner, Knight, Recorder of London; Sir George Binion, Knight, Richard Edes, and Marmaduke Royden, Eſquires; Thomas Brown, Peter Paſſon, Charles Gennings, Edward Carleton, Roger Abbot, Andrew King, William White, Stephen Bolton, Robert Alden, Edmund Foſter, Thomas Blinkhorne, of London Gentlemen, and to all ſuch other perſons, as according to the true intent and purport of that commiſſion ſhould be nominated and appointed to be Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeant-Majors, or other officers of that council of war. It is very evident, from hence, that this commiſſion was not at all intended to countenance a ſecret conſpiracy, or to cover a dark and private plot againſt the Parliament, but to enable thoſe who, in this diſpute between the King and Parliament, were for the former, to declare themſelves; this buſineſs was carried with ſo much ſecrecy, that it was entirely ripe for execution, and the day fixed for the riſing was the laſt of May (11). But amongſt the perſons truſted in this affair was one Mr Tomkins, an old and faithful ſervant of the King's, who was brother-in-law to Mr Waller, and to him that gentleman communicated his deſigns, which were of another nature, and by his aſſiſtance Mr Waller had likewiſe a conſiderable party in the city, whom he encouraged by aſſuring them that moſt of the Lords, and many members of the Houſe of Commons, wiſhed well to, and would at a proper ſeaſon join with, them. Tomkins depending upon this, got his other friends to poſtpone their inſurrection, and that very day on which it was to have been made, Mr Waller's ſchemes were diſcovered (12). How that happened, is not material to be diſcuſſed here, but it was this that gave occaſion to the ſeizing Mr Tomkins, Mr Challoner, Mr Blinkhorne, and ſeveral others. As to the finding the Commiſſion, tho' the noble Hiſtorian was ignorant of it, it was nevertheleſs a thing very publickly known; for Mr Tomkins was the perſon ſent for it to the Lady Aubigney, and for his own ſecurity buried it in his cellar, as he confeſſed upon his examination; upon which it was immediately dug up, and thus it came into the Parliaments hands (13); yet it does not appear that any great diſcoveries were made of the perſons originally embarked in that deſign, tho' it was, as has been already obſerved, ripe for execution, when Mr Waller's plot was but in embryo. On the 30th of June, a council of war ſat at Guildhall, of which the Earl of Mancheſter was Preſident, before whom Mr Tomkins, Mr Challoner, Mr Blinkhorne, Mr Abbot, and Mr White, were tryed; of whom the four firſt received ſentence of death, Mr Tomkins was executed over againſt his own houſe, and at his death he called the matter for which he ſuffered a *fooliſh buſineſs*, and ſaid he was drawn into it by affection for his brother in-law; which plainly ſhews, that by *fooliſh buſineſs*, he meant Mr Waller's ſcheme. As to Mr Challoner, he was aſſiſted by Mr Peters, and appears to have been a zealot in the Puritan way. He does indeed ſay, that he died juſtly, but then he was acquainted only with Mr Waller's deſign. He was executed the ſame day, before the Royal Exchange, in his dying ſpeech he obſerves, that he had been wrongfully charged, with reſpect to the Commiſſion; he ſaid. he knew nothing of the procuring it, nor of the Commiſſion itſelf, till the friday before the diſcovery (14). The day before theſe men ſuffered, Mr Waller received ſentence of death, at the court-martial, tho' a member of the Houſe of Commons; was reprieved by the Earl of Eſſex, as General, and afterwards pardoned for his diſcoveries (15). Upon the whole it appears, that Sir Nicholas's deſign was open and honourable, and was conducted with great ſecrecy and ſucceſs, and that it was diſappointed by the breaking out of a thing quite different from it in it's nature, of which Sir Nicholas Criſpe had no knowledge, and in the credit or event of which therefore he could have no concern.

(9) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 324—327.

(10) Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359.

(11) See the Original Commiſſion in Ruſhworth.

(12) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 43—45.

(13) Ruſhworth's Collections, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 324—327.

(14) See theſe Dying Speeches at large in Ruſhworth.

(15) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 46.

[D] *Was*

belly, languiſhed for near two days and then expired, but firſt of all ſent for Sir Nicholas Criſpe, and in a manner becoming a Gentleman and a Chriſtian, was ſincerely reconciled to him (s). Upon the 2d of October following Sir Nicholas was brought to a Court Martial for this unfortunate affair, and upon a full examination of every thing relating to it, was moſt honourably acquitted [D]. He continued to ſerve with the ſame zeal and fidelity during the year 1644, and in the ſpring following, when a treaty was ſet on foot at Uxbridge, the Parliament thought fit to mark him as they afterwards did in the Iſle of Wight Treaty, by inſiſting that he ſhould be removed from his Majeſty's preſence (t). A few months after, they proceeded to an act of greater ſeverity, for April 16th, 1645, they ordered his large houſe in Bread-ſtreet to be ſold (u), which had been for many years belonging to his family; neither was this ſtroke of their vengeance judged a ſufficient puniſhment for his offences, ſince having reſolved to grant the Elector Palatine a penſion of eight thouſand pounds a year, they directed that two thouſand ſhould be applied out of the King's revenue, and the remainder made up out of the eſtates of Lord Culpeper and Sir Nicholas Criſpe (w), which ſhews how conſiderable a fortune he had left at their mercy. The King's affairs were now grown deſperate, when Sir Nicholas finding himſelf no longer in a capacity to render him any ſervice, thought it expedient to preſerve himſelf, with which view, in the beginning of the month of April 1646, he embarked with Lord Culpeper and Colonel Monk, and a few days after was ſafely landed in France (x). As he had many rich relations who had a great intereſt with thoſe in power, they interpoſed in his favour, and as Sir Nicholas knew very well that he could be of no ſervice to the Royal Cauſe abroad, he did not look upon it as any deviation from his duty to return and live quietly at home (y). Accordingly having ſubmitted to a compoſition, he came back to London and took all the pains he could to retrieve his ſhattered fortunes. He was indeed a perſon of ſo clear a head, had ſuch thorough and extenſive notions of trade, and withal of ſo quick an invention, that he very ſoon engaged again in buſineſs, with the ſame ſpirit and ſucceſs as before (z). In this ſeaſon of proſperity he was not unmindful of the wants of his Royal Maſter then in exile, but contributed chearfully to his relief, when his affairs ſeemed to be in the moſt deſperate condition (a). Upon the great change that happened after the death of Oliver Cromwell, he was inſtrumental in reconciling many to their duty, and ſo well were his principles known, and ſo much his influence was apprehended, that when it was propoſed the Royaliſts in and about London ſhould ſign an inſtrument ſignifying their inclination to preſerve the publick tranquillity, he was called upon and very readily ſubſcribed it (b). He was alſo principally concerned in bringing the city of London in her corporate capacity, to give the encouragement that was requiſite to leave General Monk without any difficulties or ſuſpicion (c), as to the ſincerity and unanimity of their inclinations. It was therefore very natural after reading the King's letter and declaration in Common-Council May 3d, 1660, to think of ſending ſome members of their own body to preſent their duty to his Majeſty; accordingly, having appointed nine loyal aldermen and their recorder, the next perſon they thought of was Sir Nicholas Criſpe (d), who with ſeveral other worthy perſons they added to that committee, from an aſſurance that the King would receive a double ſatisfaction from the nature of their meſſage, and from it's being brought by ſeveral of thoſe who had ſuffered deeply in his own and in his father's cauſe. His Majeſty received theſe gentlemen very graciouſly in their publick capacities, and afterwards teſtified to them ſeparately the ſenſe he had of their paſt ſervices. Upon the King's return Sir Nicholas Criſpe and Sir John Wolſtenholme, tho' the latter was then near fourſcore, were re-inſtated as Farmers of the Cuſtoms, which they put into very good order (e). As Sir Nicholas was now in years and ſomewhat infirm, he ſpent a great part of his time at his noble country ſeat near Hmmerſmith, where he was in ſome meaſure the founder of the chapel (f). He had now an opportunity of returning the obligation he had received from ſome of his relations, nor did he neglect it, but procured for them that indemnity from the King gratis, for which he had ſo dearly paid during the late confuſion (g). The laſt teſtimony he received of his royal maſter's favour, was his being created a Baronet, April

(s) Heath's Chronicle, p. 52. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 96.

(t) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 81.

(u) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 142.

(w) See Votes and Ordinances of Parliament. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 145.

(x) Hiſt. of the Civil War, p. 395. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 200.

(y) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 26.

(z) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97.

(a) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(b) Kennet's Chr. p. 121.

(c) Skinner's Hiſt. of the Reſtauration, p. 44, 45.

(d) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 133.

(e) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 446.

(f) Antiquities of Middleſex, P. ii. p. 2.

(g) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

[D] *Was moſt honourably acquitted.*] The beſt juſtification of what has been ſaid in the text, is to give the reader the ſentence of the court-martial, by which he was tried, and which was conceived in the following terms (16). 'In the cauſe depending againſt Sir Nicholas Criſpe, Knight, concerning the death of Sir James Enyon, Knight, ſlain by him in a Duel, in September laſt; the court being inform'd that an affixer was duly ſet up upon the court-houſe door, according to their order, of the 28th of September laſt, and the affixer afterwards taken down, and brought into the court, and proclamation being made, and no man appearing againſt him, yet upon examination of all the matter, and difference between them, and that the friends of the ſlain taking notice thereof, the court proceeds to ſentence. That although the court doth, condemn all manner of Duels, and utterly diſallow them; yet in this particular caſe of Sir Nicholas Criſpe, in conſideration of the great injury he received, in his own quarters, and how much he was provoked, and challenged, the court have thought fit to acquit him of any puniſhment in this court, and doth leave, and recommend him to his Majeſty's mercy, for his gracious pardon; the 2d of October, 1643.'

(16) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 97.

Signed Forth Lord Lieutenant-General and Preſident. Dorſet, Briſtol, Northampton, Andover, Dunſmore, Jacob Aſtley, Arthur Aſhton, William Brumchard, and John Byron.

By whom the whole matter was reported to the King, and Sir Nicholas brought to kiſs his hand, from whom he received a gracious pardon, under the great ſeal of England, and was afterwards intruſted in high commands for his Majeſty, both by land and ſea.

April 16th, 1665 (*b*), nor did he long ſurvive it, dying February 26th the ſame year (*i*), in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age (*k*), leaving a very large eſtate to his grandſon Sir Nicholas Criſpe; his corps was interred with his anceſtors in the pariſh church of St Mildred in Bread-ſtreet, and his funeral ſermon preached by his reverend and learned kinſman Mr Criſpe of Chriſt-church, Oxford (*l*), but his heart was ſent to the chapel at Hammerſmith, where there is a ſhort and plain inſcription upon a cenotaph erected to his memory (*m*); or rather upon that monument which himſelf erected in grateful commemoration of that glorious martyr King Charles I, of bleſſed memory, as the inſcription placed there in Sir Nicholas's life-time tells us, under which, after his deceaſe, was placed a ſmall white marble urn, upon a black pedeſtal, containing his heart. As to the character of this active, generous, and loyal perſon, who lived univerſally admired, and died generally lamented, it has been already repreſented from his actions, and if any thing be ſtill wanting to the reader's entire ſatisfaction, it will be found in that exquiſite Eulogy of ſo true a patriot, and ſo loyal a ſubject inſerted in the notes [*E*].

(*b*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. V. p. 279.

(*i*) As appears from the inſcription mentioned in the text.

(*k*) Characters of eminent Citizens, p. 99.

(*l*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(*m*) Antiquities of Middleſex, P. ii. p. 42.

[*E*] *Inſerted in the notes.*] We have taken all poſſible care, to prevent his character from appearing a repetition of what is ſaid, either in the text or notes, by avoiding, as much as we could, the mention of moſt of the particulars that are contained therein (17).

(17) Characters of eminent Citizens, p. 98, 99.

'Amongſt the worthy citizens of thoſe times, who, in 'the midſt of moſt epidemick corruption, eſcaped the 'ſmalleſt ſtain of infection, was Sir Nicholas Criſpe; 'a gentleman deſcended both by father and mother, 'from the richeſt families in the city, in which they 'had borne the higheſt offices, to which, however, Sir 'Nicholas did not aſpire. He came very young in- 'to buſineſs, and with a fortune larger than moſt men 'carry out of it. He had excellent notions of com- 'merce, and he knew how to reduce them to prac- 'tice, and to bring whatever he engaged in up to 'them. He was the moſt general trader of his time, 'but was principally concerned in the commerce to 'Guinea, which was immenſely profitable to him 'and his aſſociates. He was very remarkable for in- 'tereſting himſelf in all domeſtick arts and manu- 'factures, for any improvements, in which he gave 'extraordinary gratuities. All new inventions he al- 'ſo encouraged, and the art of Brickmaking, as ſince 'practiſed, was his own, conducted with incredible 'patience, through innumerable trials, and perfected 'at a very large expence. His principles were equally 'ſound, in religion and politics, and as he derived 'theſe from a good education, ſo their effects not 'only appeared early, but were conſpicious through 'the courſe of his whole life. In 1630, he gave in 'money and materials, towards building the new 'Chapel at Hammerſmith, ſeven hundred pounds; 'beſides being at the expence of adorning the roof, 'with the arms of the crown, and ſprinkling it with 'roſes, thiſtles, and flower de luces all effaced, in 'the troubleſome times that enſued. Himſelf with 'his partners in the cuſtoms, having advanced one 'hundred thouſand pounds to the King, were fined 'one hundred and fifty thouſand to the Parliament, 'which was levied to the laſt farthing upon their 'eſtates. He loved exerciſe, and was remarkable for 'the pains he took to render his company in the Lon- 'don trained-bands, as well diſciplin'd as any troops 'could be; and this natural inclination to military af- 'fairs, proved very ſerviceable to him, when he be- 'came a commander of horſe in the royal army. 'He was baſely betrayed at Cirenceſter, to the Earl of 'Eſſex, who ſurprized him with the ſmall force he 'commanded, and gained thereby an advantage fatal 'to the King's deſign upon Glouceſter, and which, 'to ſay the truth, had a very unhappy influence on 'the general ſtate of his affairs. When Sir Nicholas 'was obliged to quit the kingdom, and fly into parts 'beyond the ſeas, he made his private misfortunes 'turn publick benefits; by making ſuch nice inquiries 'into agriculture, manufactures, and mechanick arts, as 'enabled him, upon his return, to make vaſt improve- 'ments in England of every kind. By his inſtructions, 'and through his encouragement, the farmers and 'gardiners in Middleſex, changed their old ſy- 'ſtem for a better. At his expence, the banks of the 'river were ſecured, and the channel cleanſed; by his 'communication, new inventions, as to water-mills, 'paper-mills, and powder-mills, came into uſe. After 'the Reſtauration, he cauſed to be erected at his own 'expence, in the ſouth-eaſt corner of the chapel at 'Hammerſmith, near the pulpit, a very neat and 'beautiful monument of black and white marble, 'eight feet in length, and near two in breadth, upon 'which he placed a braſs buſto of his beloved maſter, 'with this ſhort and plain inſcription underneath. '*This Effigies was erected by the eſpecial appointment of 'Sir* Nicholas Criſpe, *Knight and Baronet, as a grate- 'ful Commemoration of that glorious Martyr King* 'Charles I. *of bleſſed Memory.* He alſo directed that 'after his deceaſe, his own heart, in token of undying 'affection to his royal maſter, ſhould be here in a 'white urn entombed. He ſpent twenty five thou- 'ſand pounds, in building his noble ſeat, which at- 'tracts all eyes from the river. This houſe was pur- 'chaſed by Prince Rupert, for Mrs Margaret Hughs, 'and was not long ſince ſold to Mr Lannoy, a ſcarlet 'Dyer. It was there he ſpent the calm evening of 'his day, in honour and repoſe, loved by the great, 'prayed for by the poor, univerſally eſteemed by all 'ranks of people; and being full of years and glory, 'with much patience and piety, reſigned his ſoul to 'the mercy of his Creator, in the ſixty-ſeventh 'year of his life.' E

CROFT (HERBERT) an eminent and worthy Divine, as well as venerable prelate of the Church of England, in the ſeventeenth century. He was deſcended, tho' not from a noble, yet of an ancient and honourable family, which had flouriſhed in great wealth and credit in the county of Hereford (*a*) from before the Norman Conqueſt, and amongſt his anceſtors there were many highly diſtinguiſhed by their perſonal reputation and merit, as well in reſpect to arms as arts, whoſe names we find recorded with honour, by authors of unqueſtionable veracity [*A*]. He was the third ſon of Sir Herbert Croft, of Croft-Caſtle, by

(*a*) Camd. Britan. Lond. 1594, 4*to*, p. 477. Pedigree of the Croft family.

[*A*] *By authors of unqueſtionable veracity.*] We have no diſtinct account of the original of this family; only the tradition of the country refers the building of Croft-Caſtle, which has always been the ſeat of it, to the Saxon times, which is the more probable, ſince, from the earlieſt accounts we have, at leaſt with any tolerable degree of certainty, this appears to have been a family of eminence in Herefordſhire, and to have been even then, reputed of great antiquity (1). Thus it occurs in the famous inquiſition taken in the reign of King Henry VI (2). In the reign of his ſucceſſor Edward IV, Sir Richard Croft, of Croft-Caſtle, was High-Sheriff of the county; and at the battle of Tewkſbury, took Prince Edward, eldeſt ſon to Henry VI. priſoner; whom, upon proclamation, and promiſe of ſafety for his perſon, he produced, but had no hand whatever in the barbarous murder of that young Prince, which was committed by the King's two brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter (3). From this Sir Richard Croft, in a direct line, deſcended Sir James Croft, Knight, who

(1) Fuller's Worthies, in Herefordſhire.

(2) See that Liſt as publiſhed in Fuller.

(3) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 535.

by Mary, daughter and coheireſs of Anthony Browne, of Holt-Caſtle in Worceſterſhire (*b*), and was born October 18th, 1603, at Great Milton near Thame in Oxfordſhire, in the houſe of Sir William Green, his mother being then on a journey to London (*c*). He was very carefully educated in his junior years in Herefordſhire, and having pregnant parts, joined to great ſteadineſs of mind and unwearied application, he very early qualified himſelf for academical ſtudies, and in order to his improvement in theſe, he was in the year 1616 ſent to Oxford, and entered as is ſuppoſed of Chriſt-church college (*d*). But he had not been long there before his father unhappily joined himſelf with the Church of Rome, and became a Lay Brother in the Benedictine Monaſtery at Douay, and a moſt zealous advocate for the Romiſh religion (*e*) [*B*]. Upon his father's command he went over to him, and after ſome ſhort ſtay at Douay was ſent to the Engliſh college of Jeſuits at St Omer's, where by the perſwaſion of Father Lloyd he was reconciled to the Church of Rome, and by the inſinuations of the ſame perſon and ſome others, contrary to his father's advice in that particular, was wrought upon to enter into the order (*f*). Some time before his father's death, which happened about five years after his going abroad, he was by him ſent back again to England, in order to manage ſome family affairs, and becoming happily acquainted with Dr Thomas Morton, Biſhop of Durham, he was by his arguments brought back to the Church of England, and ſoon after, at the deſire of Dr William Laud, he went a ſecond time to Oxford, was admitted a Student of Chriſt-church (*g*); and having ſupplicated the univerſity November 21ſt, 1635, that the time he had ſpent in his ſtudies in foreign nations might be reckoned as if he had continued there, and that on performing the exerciſe requiſite by the ſtatutes for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, he might have his grace propoſed in congregation, which was granted; and having performed his exerciſe with applauſe, he was admitted to the ſaid degree, and entering into holy Orders became Miniſter of a Church in Glouceſterſhire, and Rector of Harding in Oxfordſhire (*h*). In the ſpring of the year 1639, he attended the Earl of Northumberland, as his Chaplain, in his expedition into Scotland (*i*); and on the 1ſt of Auguſt following was collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Saliſbury, vacant by the reſignation of Mr William Townſon (*k*). In the year 1640, being then the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, he was admitted to his degree of Doctor of Divinity (*l*). He was employed by his Majeſty upon various occaſions, in thoſe dangerous and difficult times, and always diſcharged his duty with fidelity and credit, tho' ſome times at the hazard of his life. The ſame year he became a Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Worceſter, on the death of Dr Charlet (*m*). July 10th, 1641, he was inſtalled Canon of Windſor in the place of Dr John Pocklington, who was deprived of all his eccleſiaſtical preferments by Parliament (*n*). In the year 1644, upon the death of Dr Jonathan Brown, he was nominated Dean of Hereford, where he married Mrs Ann Brown, the daughter of his predeceſſor. He reſided chiefly in this city, and diſcharged his duty with great punctuality and freedom, even in the worſt of times, at the conſtant peril of his then ſmall fortune, and ſometimes to the imminent endangering of his life (*o*) [*C*]. His circumſtances were but very narrow for ſome years, notwithſtanding he had ſo good preferments, for the diſſolution of Cathedrals following ſo cloſe upon his coming to have any relation to them, he had very little if any benefit from his ſeveral promotions, but at length in the year 1659, by the ſucceſſive deaths of his elder brothers, Sir

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 864.

(*c*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 537.

(*d*) Engliſh Spaniſh Pilgrim, by James Wadſworth, Lond. 1630, 4to, c. 111.

(*e*) Wood's Ath Oxon. Vol. I. col. 469.

(*f*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 538.

(*g*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 864.

(*h*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 539.

(*i*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 865.

(*k*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 529.

(*l*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 284.

(*m*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 676.

(*n*) Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 273.

(*o*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34.

who ſuffered ſeverely in the reign of Queen Mary, upon a ſuſpicion of his having ſome intercourſe with Sir Thomas Wiatt, for which however he had ample amends made him by Queen Elizabeth, to whom he was Comptroller of the houſhold, and a member of the Privy-Council (4). This Sir James Croft married Alice, daughter of Richard Warwick, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue Edward Croft, Eſq; who eſpouſed Mrs Anne Brown, and dying in the life-time of his father, left behind him a ſon Herbert (5), afterwards Sir Herbert Croft, Knight, who was the father of our prelate.

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 567.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 469.

[*B*] *And a moſt zealous advocate for the Romiſh religion.*] This gentleman, Sir Herbert Croft, received the honour of knighthood from King James I, at Theobalds, in the year 1603 (6). And about fourteen years afterwards, turned Papiſt, and went over to Douay, where he died (7). He had four ſons, and two daughters. His eldeſt ſon William, was knighted by King Charles I, in the beginning of his reign, and adhering firmly to the intereſts of that prince, became a colonel in his ſervice, and was killed gallantly fighting againſt the rebels at Stone-Caſtle, near Ludlow in Shropſhire, June the 9th 1645 (8). His loyalty was the more extraordinary, ſince he had been very ill treated by the Court, on account of his oppoſition to the great favourite Buckingham; and therefore the king took particular notice of his fidelity, when he ſaw him putting himſelf at the head of his regiment at the battle of Edge-Hill (9). James, the ſecond ſon, was alſo a knight, and a Colonel in the King's ſervice, and died, as Wood aſſures us, in the year 1659, after ſuffering deeply for his loyalty (10). Robert, the fourth ſon, was a Colonel likewiſe (11), But of him we have no farther account. Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Sir Herbert Croft, married Sir Thomas Cave, of Stamford in the county of Northampton (12). But whether Mary, the other daughter, was married or not, does no where appear; only this we know of her, that ſhe was a zealous Proteſtant, and wrote an anſwer to her father's letter, perſwading her to change her religion, to which Sir Herbert Croft, made a warm reply (13).

(6) Liſt of Knights made by King James.

(7) Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 269.

(8) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(9) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 673.

(10) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 537.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 469.

[*C*] *And ſometimes to the imminent endangering his life.*] He ſhewed upon all occaſions, as far as fell within the compaſs of his power, or the ſphere of his employment, not only the ſame loyalty, but the ſame courageous ſpirit that animated the reſt of his brethren. After Hereford fell into the hands of the rebels, he not only continued to preach, but to preach that kind of doctrine, which how much ſoever they needed to learn, was nevertheleſs what they could hardly bear to hear. Once particularly in the Cathedral, he undook to ſhew them the wickedneſs and impiety of ſacrilege, which he painted in ſuch lively colours, as provoked them to return the argument in their own way; for they primed and preſented their pieces, and aſked their governor, Colonel Birch, whether they ſhould fire upon him in the pulpit; but being reſtrained by him they forbore (14), and Dr Croft ſoon after very wiſely quitted a place, where he was every moment in danger of ſuffering evil, and was thoroughly ſatisfied it was no longer in his power to do any good.

(14) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34.

[*D*] *Where*

Sir William and Sir James Croft, he became poſſeſſed of the eſtate of the family. The provocation he had given to the perſons who were then veſted with power was ſo great, that he did not conceive it ſafe, even after he was poſſeſſed of the eſtate, to live in his own county; and therefore choſe for the place of his retreat the houſe of his good friend Sir Rowland Berkeley, at Cotheridge in Worceſterſhire, where he patiently expected the reſtoration of Church and State, by the reſtitution of his juſt rights to his Royal Maſter, which happening in May 1660, Dr Croft, as well as other loyal ſubjects, came again into poſſeſſion of his livings and ſpiritual preferments (*p*). Upon the death of Dr Nicholas Monk, Lord Biſhop of Hereford, he was promoted to that See December 27th, 1661, and conſecrated on the 9th of February following at the Archbiſhop's chapel in his palace at Lambeth, Dr Jaſper Maine preaching the conſecration ſermon (*q*). He officiated likewiſe in his ſpiritual function frequently in the King's Chapel, and being very remarkable for his plain and practical preaching, and for the correſponding ſanctity of his manners and purity of his life, King Charles II offered him more than once a better See, that which he then poſſeſſed being ſcarce of the value of eight hundred pounds a year, but he very conſcientiouſly refuſed it. He became afterwards about the year 1667 Dean of the Chapel Royal, which he held to 1669 (*r*) and then reſigned it, being weary of a court life and finding but little good effects from his pious endeavours. He then retired to his Biſhoprick where he was exceedingly beloved for his conſtant preaching, edifying converſation, hoſpitable manner of living, and moſt extenſive charity. He gave weekly alms to ſixty poor people at his palace gate in Hereford, whether reſident there or not, and beſides this he augmented ſeveral ſmall livings, ſupported many decayed families, and did various other Chriſtian acts of the ſame nature with ſuch privacy that they were never known till after his deceaſe. His country houſe being conveniently ſituated in the very centre of his Dioceſe, he ſpent a conſiderable part of his time there, where he was no leſs charitable in relieving the poor and viſiting the ſick in all the neighbouring pariſhes. He was very ſtrict in his manner of admitting perſons to holy Orders, and more eſpecially to that of the prieſthood, which gained him ſome ill will, yet but little in compariſon of what aroſe from another method in which however he was inflexible, and that was his refuſing to admit any Prebendaries into his Cathedral Church, except ſuch as live within his dioceſe, that the duty of the Church might not be neglected, and that the addition of a Prebend might be a comfortable augmentation to a ſmall living (*s*). He expreſſed a great deſire to be able to accompliſh this deſign of his, ſo as to ſee all the dignities of his church beſtowed in this manner, and God was pleaſed to grant him his deſire, which he hoped might prove a precedent to his ſucceſſors. He was very modeſt and charitable in his opinions, and tho' a true ſon and a worthy father of the Church of England, yet he had a great abhorrence of whatever carried the aſpect of perſecution, deſiring that his zeal ſhould appear in the ſoundneſs of his doctrines and the holineſs of his life, as the ſureſt and moſt effectual means of ſupporting his authority and drawing reverence to the Epiſcopal character in which no man was more ſucceſsful (*t*). His ſermons preached at court, had given the world a ſpecimen of the fervency of his ſpirit, and at the ſame time of his charity and forbearance, but when the controverſy with the Nonconformiſts came to it's greateſt height, and the quarrel was ſo artificially widened that the Papiſts entertained hopes of entering through the breach, our wiſe and tender conſcienced prelate thought it his duty to interpoſe, and to offer his aſſiſtance for healing theſe wounds in the Proteſtant Church. Accordingly in the year 1675 he publiſhed his truly famous work, which tho' no more than a ſmall pamphlet of four or five ſheets, made a prodigious noiſe in the world, and was read and ſtudied by all people of ſenſe and learning in the kingdom (*u*). It is indeed a moſt extraordinary performance as it was then thought, and has kept it's character to this day, for tho' often reprinted it has never been common, and notwithſtanding the numberleſs volumes written on the ſame ſubject ſince, is yet looked upon as inimitable in it's kind and worthy of all the praiſes that have have been beſtowed upon it. As to the title and the circumſtances attending this piece, the reader will find them at the bottom of the page, where we mention his Lordſhip's works [*D*]. We there likewiſe mention the anſwers that were given

(*p*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 865.

(*q*) Godwin. de Præſul, Lond. fol. 1743, p. 457. Regiſt. Juxon. f. 283.

(*r*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 865.

(*s*) Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 529. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 865, 866.

(*t*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 541.

(*u*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 866.

[*D*] *Where we mention his Lordſhip's works.*] While his Lordſhip continued about the Court, and was generally applauded for his pathetick manner in the pulpit, he was prevailed upon to print two of his ſermons.

I. *Sermon on* Iſaiah *Chap.* XXVII. *the laſt verſe*, preached *before the* Lords *aſſembled in Parliament upon the* Faſt-day, *February 4th* 1673. London 1674. 4*to*.

II. *Sermon preached before the* King *at* Whitehall, *April* 12. 1674. *on* Philippians I. *and the* 21ſt. London 1675. 4*to*.

III. *The* naked truth; *or, the* true ſtate *of the* Primitive Church. London 1675. 4*to*; again in 1680. *fol.* and many times ſince. This is that extraordinary work mentioned in the text, and the preſs being at that time under a licence, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of cauſing it to be printed privately, tho' he intended it for the moſt publick uſe; and for that reaſon, addreſſed it to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament. After having obſerved, that notwithſtanding all the laws made for eſtabliſhing Uniformity in religion, Proteſtants remain ſtill more divided than ever, to the great ſcandal as well as danger of the Church, he proceeds thus. 'Many, who were formerly very 'zealous for our Church, ſeeing theſe our ſad di'viſions, and not ſeeing thoſe of the Roman Church, 'nor their groſs ſuperſtitions, which their prieſts con'ceal till they have got men faſt, are eaſily ſeduced 'by their pretended Unity, and daily fall from us. 'This makes my heart to bleed, and my ſoul with 'anguiſh ready to expire, rather than live to ſee that 'diſmal day of relapſe into their manifold idolatries. 'Wherefore I humbled my ſoul before God, in faſting 'and prayer, begging daily the aſſiſtance of his holy 'Spirit, to direct me to ſome healing ſalve for theſe 'our bleeding wounds; and therefore I have ſome

'reaſon

given to it, and the long and warm controverſy which it occaſioned, tho' it was certain that our

' reaſon to believe that what is contained in theſe fol-
' lowing papers, comes from the great goodneſs, who
' never fails thoſe who ſeek him in humility and ſin-
' cerity, both which I am confident I have done; and
' this I am ſure of, that no worldly deſigns have
' moved me to this, but have often tempted me to
' give it over. I am alſo ſure that there is nothing con-
' tained therein, which is contrary to the laws of the
' land; in this only I confeſs I have tranſgreſſed in
' putting it forth without a licence; and for this I beg
' of God, and you, as Naaman did of Eliſha, *In this
' thing the* Lord *and* you *pardon your Servant*; and I
' hope you will ſay unto me, as Eliſha did unto Naa-
' man, *Go in peace*. And I farther hope, this ſhall not
' caſt ſuch a prejudice upon it, as to make you caſt it
' by, or read it with diſguſt.' In this work he begins with articles of faith, and having ſhewn the danger of impoſing more than are neceſſary, more eſpecially as terms of communion, he proceeds next through all the great points in diſpute between the Church of England, and thoſe that diſſent from her; labouring throughout to prove, that Proteſtants differ about nothing, that can be truly ſtiled eſſential to religion, and that for the ſake of Union compliances would be more becoming, as well as more effectual, than enforcing Uniformity by penalties and perſecution. The whole is written with great plainneſs and piety, as well as with much force of argument and learning. If we conſider however the temper of thoſe times, and the warm diſpoſition of moſt of the divines in the eſtabliſhed Church, we need not at all wonder at the fate this piece met with, which was immediately written againſt with much heat and zeal, not to uſe the harſher terms of fury and reſentment. 'Twas firſt attacked by Dr Francis Turner, Maſter of St John's College in Cambridge, in a piece intituled.

Animadverſions on a Pamphlet, called the Naked Truth, &c. Lond. 1676. *4to.* printed twice the ſame year. This was penned like all the reſt of the writings of the ſame author, in a very elegant and flowing ſtile, which however could hardly atone for that ſeverity, and bitterneſs that is expreſſed in it. But even this fell very far ſhort of the vivacity with which it was replied to, by the famous Andrew Marvel, who entituled his piece, Mr Smirke, *or the Divine in mode*, and in which he ridicules the Animadverter with all that life and ſpirit, of which he was ſo much maſter. In this reply he gives the following character of the original work. ' It is a treatiſe, which if not for it's
' oppoſer, needs no commendation, being writ with that
' evidence and demonſtration of truth; that all ſober
' men cannot but give their aſſent and conſent to it un-
' aſked. It is a book of that kind, that no Chriſtian
' ſcarce can peruſe it, without wiſhing himſelf to have
' been the author, and almoſt imagining that he
' is ſo: the conceptions therein being of ſo e-
' ternal idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy
' of the original of his own mind.' Another anſwer came out with this title:

Lex Talionis; *or, the author of the* Naked Truth *ſtripped* naked, Lond. 1676. *4to.* This was at firſt aſcribed to Dr Peter Gunning, biſhop of Chicheſter, afterwards of Ely; who upon the firſt coming out of the Naked Truth, had preached a warm Sermon at Court againſt it. It was afterwards attributed to Dr William Lloyd, Dean of Bangor, a very learned and pious Divine. But upon better Grounds aſcribed to the Reverend Mr Philip Fell, one of the fellows of Eaton College. There was yet a third anſwer publiſhed to this work of our author's, which was entitled,

A modeſt ſurvey of the moſt conſiderable things in a diſcourſe lately publiſhed, entitled the Naked Truth, Lond. 1676. *4to.* This Anthony Wood affirms (15) was written by Dr Gilbert Burnet afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, upon the credit, as he ſays, of a Bookſeller's Catalogue, at the end of another book, in which this treatiſe is aſcribed to that Prelate.

It was indeed afterwards owned by his Lordſhip, and that upon the following occaſion. The famous Dr Hickes, in a bitter invective he wrote againſt Biſhop Burnet (16), charged him with ſtealing the materials of this anſwer from Biſhop Gunning, who intended to anſwer it, as has been before obſerved, and who upon his communicating the method he intended to purſue in his anſwer, was ſupplanted by the appearance of this of which we are ſpeaking. In his Defence Biſhop Burnet declares that the fact was abſolutely falſe (17). That Biſhop Gunning had indeed great learning, and true piety, but his ideas were ſo confuſed, and ſo over ſubtle, that he could never learn any thing from him, in all the time that he converſed with him. Thus much may ſerve for the anſwers written to this work, we will next ſay ſomewhat of the imitations and copies that it produced, and theſe were what follow, *viz.*

There was *a ſecond part* of *Naked Truth* publiſhed in 1681, in *fol.* which was written by Edmund Hickeringhill, Rector of All-Saints in Colcheſter, who likewiſe wrote *a Vindication* of it. There alſo appeared the ſame year a treatiſe called the *third part* of *Naked Truth*, which was ſaid to be a poſthumous work, written by one Dr Benjamin Worſley. The year following appeared the *fourth part* of *Naked Truth*; *or, the complaint of the Church to ſome of her ſons for breach of their Articles*, &c. The reader may from hence ſee the credit of this work of Biſhop Croft, when ſo many different authors placed the hopes of procuring a reading for their performances, by giving them a likeneſs in their titles to his. This was ſtill farther purſued by perſons of quite different principles, as appears from the following book.

The Catholick Naked Truth; *or, the Puritans Convert to Chriſtianity*. 1676. *4to.* The author ſets the initial letters of his name to his work, *viz.* W. H. which ſtand for William Hubert, alias Berry, who being a Miniſter of the Church of England, went over to the Papiſts, and wrote this and ſeveral other treatiſes for the ſupport of that cauſe. To this we may add,

Naked Truth, *or* Truth *manifeſting it ſelf in ſeveral particulars*, &c. *by way of queſtion and anſwer*, 1677. *8vo.* This piece was written in ſupport of the Quakers, for which reaſon Mr Wood gave it the title of *the* Quakers *Naked Truth*.

As for our author, Biſhop Croft, we have obſerved, in the text, that he wrote no reply to any of his adverſaries, or vindication of his own performance, the deſign of which was to try, whether the legiſlature could be prevailed upon to take any meaſures for reconciling the differences ſubſiſting among Proteſtants for the common benefit of all, and for ſecuring and ſtrengthning the Church againſt the endeavours of the Papiſts, whether by force or fraud, to ſubvert or undermine it. His view was unqueſtionably truly pious, tho' perhaps his ſcheme might not be very practicable, of which he left the determination to the proper judges, fully ſatisfied in his own mind, with having diſcharged what he took to be his duty, and not in the leaſt affected with the warm things that were ſaid by his adverſaries, who treated his performance as if it had been intended to overturn what he ſeemed to maintain, by giving up the cauſe of the Church to thoſe who differed from her, without reaſon. There was however no grounds at all for theſe ſuſpicions, ſince our right reverend author, had upon all occaſions ſhewn an exact and punctual conformity to her canons, and even in this work, profeſſes himſelf fully ſatisfied with her doctrine and diſcipline, tho' he could not prevail upon himſelf, to be abſolutely unconcerned for thoſe who did not ſee the reaſons for being ſatisfied ſo clearly as he did. Therefore it is exceedingly unjuſt, to caſt any aſperſions upon this prelate, for publiſhing in the ſincerity of his heart, what his real ſentiments, were about things indifferent, more eſpecially as it never was pretended, that he had any other view, than that of promoting a real Union, and unfeigned harmony amongſt Proteſtants, and this at a time, when he apprehended no other method could be effectually taken for their preſervation, ſince the meaſure of tolerating, which has been ſince found very practicable, was held to be not ſo, and perhaps might not be ſo at that time. Thus much ſeemed to be neceſſary in reſpect to a work, which however ſmall in it's bulk was then, and will be ever, eſteemed of very great importance, in regard to it's matter, and which, conſidering the ſtation and circumſtances of it's author, was by judicious perſons in thoſe times allowed to be the higheſt mark

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 866.

(16) Some Diſcourſes upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotſon, occaſioned by the Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter, p. 23.

(17) Reflections upon a pamphlet intituled, Some Diſcourſes, &c. p. 93.

our prelate meant nothing leſs than not to enter into a debate, and therefore very prudently declined making any reply to his opponents. What he wrote was with a view to promote charity and peace, and when he ſaw this was not to be done by any kind of writing whatever, he took care to add no new fewel to the fire by labouring to ſupport principles which he had ſtated in ſuch a manner as he thought muſt have rendered them ſelf evident (*w*). We have another pregnant inſtance of his ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs, in the reſolution he took of reſigning his biſhoprick, the motives to which he expreſſed in a long letter to the learned Dr Stillingfleet (*x*), and they are ſuch as ſhew him to have been a truly primitive and pious prelate. He thought the receiving the income of his See, as it roſe in a great meaſure out of impropriate tythes which were withheld from parochial miniſters, was hardly juſtifiable. He was troubled at the power of Lay Chancellors who under pretence of the Biſhop's authority did wrong things, and likewiſe often hindered Biſhops from redreſſing many diſorders. It grieved him to ordain men poorly qualified, tho' it was but to poor livings, which men of better capacities would hardly accept. The law-ſuits to which Biſhops became liable, for the ſake of defending the right of their Sees, was very troubleſome to him, and he was very much diſſatisfied with being obliged to attend the ſervice of Parliament, when ſcarce any thing fit for a Biſhop to meddle with was treated there. His ſcruples taking air, as well as his ſettled reſolution of reſigning, the Papiſts and Nonconformiſts made advantage of it to ſerve their reſpective purpoſes, and this gave him infinite diſquiet; more eſpecially when he found that ſome churchmen alſo reflected deeply upon him for inclining to retire from his biſhoprick in ſo dangerous a ſeaſon, and when his zeal and labours might be as uſeful, as ſuch a deſerting of his charge might give ſcandal to it's members and advantage to it's enemies. The anſwer given by Dr Stillingfleet ſatisfied his conſcience, and diſpoſed him to continue his labours with the ſame earneſtneſs and vigour. He ſaw that various attempts were making to the prejudice of the Church from different quarters, which ſerved only to inſpire him with ſtronger ſentiments of the neceſſity there was, that ſuch as had her cauſe at heart, and were more immediately called upon to eſpouſe it, ſhould do it with chearfulneſs and diligence, and ſhew at once their courage and conſtancy by defending it in their words and writings, and adorning it by their lives. Full of theſe laudable and generous notions he reſumed his former ſpirit, and let no opportunity ſlip of ſignalizing his attention to and affection for the Proteſtant cauſe. He contented himſelf therefore with doing all the good that was in his power, within that ſphere of action which providence had allotted to him, and was more eſpecially attentive to the preſervation of his Dioceſe from the attempts of Popiſh miſſionaries, in order to which he was very aſſiduous in the pulpit, where with great clearneſs he diſcovered, and with much ſolidity refuted, the errors of that religion; but as he grew in years, and yet had no proſpect of leſs danger from that quarter in ſucceeding times, he thought fit to leave theſe diſcourſes which had been delivered to a numerous audience, and received with very uncommon marks of ſatisfaction and attention, under a very endearing title to thoſe for whoſe uſe they had been compoſed (*y*) [*E*]. He continued the ſame pious cares upon particular occaſions, and never failed to ſupply proper antidotes to every kind of ſpiritual poyſons that were ſpread by the different enemies of the Proteſtant religion. In the reign of King James, when the famous Declaration that was ordered to be read in churches was tranſmitted to him,

(*w*) See the Account of this matter at large in the notes.

(*x*) Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes by Dr Stillingfleet, Biſhop of Worceſtr. Lond. 1735, 8*vo*. p. 1—36.

(*y*) Legacy to his Dioceſe, London, 1679, 4*to*.

of candour and unaffected piety that could be given, as well as of the moſt diſintereſted temper and unfeigned humility, virtues highly capable of adorning the epiſcopal character, and of recommending it to the veneration of all, who have a real attachment to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as they are profeſſed and taught by the Church of England, as it is by law eſtabliſhed.

[*E*] *For whoſe uſe they had been compoſed.*] We ſhall here give the reader the title of the ſecond edition, of this work, that we may ſpeak of it, and of the Supplement his Lordſhip thought fit to make at once. It runs thus:

IV. *The* Legacy *of the right reverend father in God,* Herbert *Lord biſhop of* Hereford, *to his Dioceſe; or a ſhort determination of all controverſies we have with the* Papiſts *by* God's holy word. *The ſecond impreſſion corrected, with additions, by the author.* Lond. 1679. 4*to*. This piece contains an epiſtle to all the people within his dioceſe, eſpecially thoſe of the city of Hereford; then comes the Preface, afterwards, three ſermons upon this text, John V. 39, *Seek ye the* Scriptures, *for in them ye think ye have eternal life.* Laſtly, a ſupplement to the preceding ſermons, together with a tract concerning the holy Sacrament of the Lords-Supper promiſed in the Preface. If we take the whole together, we may certainly pronounce it as plain, as clear, and as convincing a defence of the Proteſtant religion, as is to be met with in our own, or any other language. There is one paſſage in the Preface, that is very remarkable; which for that reaſon we will inſert, as it tends to ſhew how difficult a thing it is to decide, who was the author of a certain excellent treatiſe, or of the other treatiſes that were ſaid to be written by the ſame author. The paſſage referred to follows: 'I have this one thing more only to 'trouble the reader with, the firſt of my three ſermons on that text, Search the ſcriptures, was 'preached in September 1677, and in June 1678 comes 'out a little Book to the ſame intent with that ſermon, 'and expreſſing ſeveral things in it, and in the very ſame 'manner, by what means I know not, but this I and 'many others know, that my ſermon was preached 'almoſt a year before that book came forth, and 'therefore I could not have them from that author. 'called the ſame author that wrote *The whole Duty of* 'Man, who it ſeems muſt countenance books to the 'world's end. However I thought it fit, to print 'that ſermon with the other two, firſt becauſe it contains ſeveral things not in that book; and ſecondly, 'the other two would be very defective without it.'

V. *A* ſecond call *to a farther* humiliation, *being a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church in* Hereford, *the* 24th *of* November. Lond. 1678. 4*to*.

VI. *A Letter written to a friend concerning* Popiſh Idolatry, Lond. 1679. 4*to*.

VII. *Some* Animadverſions *on a book entitled,* the Theory of the Earth, Lond. 1685. 8*vo*.

VIII. *A ſhort diſcourſe concerning the reading his Majeſty's late* Declaration *in* Churches. Lond. 1688. 4*to*.

him, he thought fit to digeſt in writing his thoughts upon that ſubject, in which as he clearly expreſſed his willingneſs to give a ſanction to whatever might tend to the indulgence of tender conſciences; ſo he ſhewed with equal plainneſs the danger the Church of England would be in, in caſe of the repeal which was then endeavoured of the penal laws and of the teſt. This, which was the laſt employment of his pen, was ſhewn by a certain courtier to King James, who directed that ſo much of the diſcourſe as concerned the reading of the Declaration ſhould be publiſhed to the world, but ordered the reſt to be ſuppreſſed, as being directly contrary to the views with which that Declaration had been ſet forth (z). At length, full of years and in the higheſt reputation, this venerable prelate ended his days in his palace at Hereford, on the 18th of May 1691 (a), and as he lived ſo he died, a true member and a zealous defender of the Proteſtant Church, as appears from a very remarkable clauſe in the preamble to his will (b) [F]. He had for ſome years before his death paid the ſum of fourteen pounds a year by way of augmentation to the ſmall living of Yarpoll, and the ſum of twelve pounds by way of addition to the living of his own pariſh church at Croft, both which charities were ſettled and ſecured by his will, and lands aſſigned for the payment of them (c). He likewiſe gave the remainder of the produce of twelve hundred pounds, after theſe augmentations were deducted, to the relief of indigent perſons, and other ſuch purpoſes (d). He was buried in his Cathedral Church, where there remains a ſhort and modeſt memorial of him (e) [G]. He ſat almoſt thirty years in the Biſhoprick of Hereford, and in that ſpace of time eſtabliſhed thoroughly the regulations that he had very wiſely contrived, as well for the particular benefit of the Chapter, as the general advantage of his Dioceſe; the people of which regarded him with the utmoſt veneration, and the Clergy, as they had a particular relation to them, ſo in the latter part of his time more eſpecially, they loved and reſpected him for that diligence and care with which he promoted their welfare, by preſerving all the dignities of his Church to the Clergy beneficed in his dioceſe, the conſequences of which at firſt ſome of them did not ſo fully comprehend (f). He married the daughter of his predeceſſor in the Deanery, Dr Jonathan Brown, as we before obſerved, and by her had his only ſon Herbert, who was educated as a Commoner in Magdalen-college in Oxford, and becoming a perſon of great worth and honour, a true patriot, and a warm friend of the Proteſtant religion, he was by his Majeſty King Charles the II, created a Baronet November 18th, 1671, and was twice Knight of the ſhire in the reign of King William (g). He married Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Archer of Umberſlade in the county of Warwick, Eſq; (h) by whom he had the preſent Baronet and ſeveral other children.

(z) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(a) Godwin, de Præſul. p. 497.

(b) See that clauſe in the note.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(d) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals. Vol. II. p. 529.

(e) See this inſcription in the note.

(f) Willis's Survey of Cathedr. Vol. II. p. 529. Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 541.

(g) Dugdale's Liſt of Baronets, p. 113. Parliamentary Regiſt. p. 1, 11.

(h) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 542.

[F] *As appears from a very remarkable clauſe, in the preamble to his Will.*] The paſſage referred to in the text, is conceived in the following terms (18). 'I do 'in all humble manner moſt heartily thank God, that 'he hath been moſt graciouſly pleaſed, by the light of 'his moſt holy Goſpel, to recal me from the darkneſs 'of Popiſh Errors and groſs ſuperſtitions, into which 'I was ſeduced in my younger days, and to ſettle me 'again in the true antient Catholic and Apoſtolic 'Faith profeſſed by our Church of England, in which 'I was born and baptized, and in which I joyfully die, 'with full aſſurance, by the merits of my moſt bleſſed 'Saviour Jeſus, to enjoy eternal happineſs.'

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

[G] *Where there remains a ſhort and modeſt memorial of him.*] The inſcription upon his grave-ſtone, which is within the communion rails runs thus (19). *Depoſitum* Herberti Croft *de* Croft *Epiſcopi*, Herefordenſis *obiit* 18 *die Maii* A. D. 1691 *ætatis ſuæ* 88, *in vita conjuncti*; that is, *Here are depoſited the remains of* Herbert Croft, *of* Croft, *Biſhop of* Hereford, *who died May* 18th. 1691, *in the* 88th *year of his age, in life united.* The laſt words allude to his lying next Dean Benſon, at the bottom of whoſe grave-ſtone is this, *In morte non diviſi*, i. e. *in death not divided.* The two grave-ſtones having hands engraven on them, conjoined, reaching from one to the other, to ſignify the laſting and uninterrupted friendſhip, which had ſubſiſted between thoſe truly pious and venerable perſons in their life-times. Dr Croft was ſucceeded in his biſhoprick by Dr Gilbert Iron ſide. E

(19) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 529.

CROMWELL, or CRUMWELL (THOMAS), an eminent Stateſman in the ſixteenth century, and created by King Henry VIII. Earl of Eſſex, was the ſon of ——— Cromwell, a black-ſmith, at Putney near London, and in his latter days a brewer; after whoſe deceaſe, his mother was married to a Sheerman in London (a). His honeſt parents gave him a good and ſtrong conſtitution; which, accompanied with excellent endowments of mind, and an uncommon induſtry, raiſed him to that high pitch of honour he afterwards arriv'd to. What education he had, was in a private ſchool (b): and all the learning he attain'd to, was, (according to the ſtandard of thoſe times,) only reading, and writing, and a little Latin. When he grew up, having a very great inclination for Travelling, he went into foreign countries; tho' at whoſe expence is not known; and, by that means, he had an opportuntity of ſeeing the world, of gaining experience, and of learning ſeveral languages, which proved of great ſervice to him afterwards. Coming to Antwerp, where was then a very conſiderable Engliſh Factory he was by them retained to be their Clerk, or Secretary. But that office being too great a confinement to his roving and aſpiring mind, he embraced an opportunity, that offered, in 1510 (c), of taking a journey to Rome [A]. Whilſt he remained in Italy, he ſerved for ſome time as a Soldier under the Duke of

(a) J. Fox's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, p. 1177; and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 580.

(b) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1678, p. 58.

(c) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1178.

[A] *He embraced an opportunity that offered——— of taking a journey to Rome.*] That opportunity was as follows. There being at that time a famous Gild of our Lady in the Church of St Botulph's at Boſton in Lincolnſhire, to which ſeveral Popes had granted very large Indulgences, or Pardons, which were then highly valued, and held in the utmoſt veneration, and very much reſorted to; the brethren and ſiſters of that Gild were

of Bourbon, and was at the ſacking of Rome: And at Bologna, he aſſiſted John Ruſſell, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Bedford, in making his eſcape, when he had like to be betray'd into the hands of the French: being ſecretly in thoſe parts about our King's affairs (*d*). An inſtance we have, moreover, at this time of Cromwell's great induſtry, and of his improving every moment; namely, that, in his journey to and from Rome, he learn'd by heart the New Teſtament, of Eraſmus's tranſlation (*e*). After his return from his travels, he was taken into the family and ſervice of the famous Cardinal Wolſey; who obſerving his great parts and diligence, made him his Sollicitor, and often employed him in buſineſs of great importance (*f*). Among other things, he had the chief hand, in the foundation of the two Colleges begun at Oxford and Ipſwich by that magnificent Prelate, and in ſuppreſſing, in 1525, ſmall Monaſteries for the endowment of them (*g*). Upon his maſter, the Cardinal's diſgrace, in 1529, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours and intereſt to have him reſtor'd to the King's favour (*h*): And when Articles of High-treaſon againſt him were ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, of which Cromwell was then a Member, he defended his maſter with ſo much wit and eloquence, that no treaſon could be laid to his charge: which honeſt beginning procur'd Cromwell great reputation, and made his parts and abilities to be much taken notice of (*i*). After the Cardinal's houſhold came to be diſſolv'd, Cromwell was taken into the King's ſervice, upon the recommendation of Sir Chriſtopher Hales, afterwards Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir John Ruſſell, Knt. above mention'd; as the fitteſt perſon to manage the diſputes the King then had with the Pope: tho' ſome endeavoured to hinder his promotion, and to prejudice his Majeſty againſt him, on account of his rude behaviour in defacing the ſmall Monaſteries that were diſſolv'd for endowing Wolſey's Colleges. But he diſcovering to the King ſome particulars that were very acceptable to him [*B*], he took him into the higheſt degree of favour (*k*). Soon after, he was ſent to the Convocation, then ſitting, to acquaint the Clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire (*l*) [*C*]. In 1531 he was knighted; made Maſter of the King's Jewel-houſe, with a ſalary of fifty pounds *per annum*; and conſtituted a Privy-Counſellor (*m*). The next year, he was made Clerk of the Hanaper, an office of good profit and repute in Chancery; and, before the end of the ſame year, Chancellor of the Exchequer (*n*). As alſo, in 1534, Principal Secretary of State; and Maſter of the Rolls (*o*). About the ſame time, he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge: Soon after which followed a general viſitation of that univerſity; whereupon the ſeveral Colleges delivered up their Charters, and other inſtruments, to Sir Thomas Cromwell (*p*). The year before, he aſſeſſed the fines laid upon thoſe, who having forty pounds *per ann.* eſtate, refuſed to take the order of Knighthood (*q*). In 1535 he was appointed Viſitor-general of the Monaſteries throughout England, in order for their ſuppreſſion (*r*): and in that office, is accuſed of having committed ſome illegal acts of violence [*D*]. However, having behaved in that affair, generally

(*d*) Ibid. p. 1179.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 1178, 1179.

(*f*) Ib. p. 1179; and Stow's Annales, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 370; and Fox, as above, p. 1179; and alſo Stow, p. 553. After the Cardinal's fall, he had the care of the new College, now Chriſt-Ch. Oxon. Stow, ibid. Strype's Eccleſ. Memor. Vol. I. p. 117.

(*h*) Life and Reign of King Henry VIII, by Edw. Lord Herbert, in Compl. Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 125.

(*i*) Herbert, as above, p. 129; and Fuller's Hiſt. edit. 1655, B. v. p. (177).

(*k*) Fox, as above, p. 1179.

(*l*) Ibid. See alſo Dr Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, 2d edit. P. i. p. 106 — 112.

(*m*) Pat. 23 Hen. VIII, p. 2. See Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 370.

(*n*) Pat. 24 Hen. VIII. p. 1, 2.

(*o*) Pat. 26 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*p*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambr. ed. 1655, p. 108, &c.

(*q*) Holinſhed's Chron. edit. 1587, Vol. II. p. 929.

(*r*) Herbert, as above, p. 186.

were very deſirous of having thoſe Indulgences renewed, and confirmed, by the then Pope Julius II. They diſpatch'd therefore two perſons to Rome, with a conſiderable ſum of money, to obtain the deſired confirmation: Which perſons taking Antwerp in their way, became acquainted there with Thomas Cromwell: And obſerving that he was as perfectly qualified for procuring eaſily what they wanted from the Court of Rome, as they were themſelves unqualified for it, they perſuaded him to go along with them. Accordingly he was of very great ſervice to them. For, being informed, that Pope Julius was a great lover of delicacies, and dainty diſhes, he preſented him with fine diſhes of Jelly, made after the Engliſh faſhion, then unknown at Rome; wherewith the Pope was ſo delighted, that he very readily granted Cromwell and his companions what they came about. See this whole matter related at full length, in J. Fox's Acts and Monuments (1).

(1) Edit. 1583, p. 1178.

[*B*] *But he diſcovering to the King ſome particulars that were very acceptable to him.*] He acquainted the King, that his princely authority was abuſed within his own realm, by the Pope and his Clergy, who being ſworn to him, were afterwards diſpenſed from the ſame, and ſworn a-new unto the Pope, ſo that he was but a half-King, and they but half his ſubjects in his own Land; which, ſaid he, was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common Laws of his realm: Declaring thereupon, how his Majeſty might accumulate to himſelf great riches, nay as much as all the Clergy in his Realm was worth, if he pleaſed to take the occaſion now offered. The King giving ear to this, and liking right well his advice, aſked, if he could avouch that which he ſpake. All this he could (he ſaid) avouch to be certain: And thereupon ſhewed the King the Oath which the Biſhops took to the Pope at their conſecration; wherein they ſwore 'To help, 'retain, and defend *againſt all men*, the Popedom of 'Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the re-'galities of St Peter, &c. (2).'

(2) J. Fox, Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1179, 1053.

[*C*] *He was ſent to the Convocation then ſitting, to acquaint the clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire.*] When he diſcovered to the King what is mentioned in the laſt note, his Majeſty taking his ring, or ſignet, off his finger, ſent Cromwell with it to the Convocation: who placing himſelf among the Biſhops, began to declare to them the authority of a King, and the office of ſubjects, and eſpecially the obedience of Biſhops and Churchmen under public Laws; which Laws notwithſtanding they had all trangreſs'd, and highly offended in derogation of the King's royal eſtate, falling in the Law of *Præmunire*; in that, they had not only conſented to the power Legatine of Cardinal Wolſey, but alſo becauſe they had all ſworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their ſoveraign Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their goods, chattles, lands, poſſeſſions, and whatſoever livings they had. The Biſhops hearing this, were not a little amazed, and firſt began to excuſe and deny the fact. But after Cromwell had ſhewed them the very copy of the Oath they took to the Pope at their conſecration, the matter was ſo plain, they could not deny it. And to be quit of that Præmunire by Act of Parliament, the two Provinces of Canterbury and York were forced to make the King a preſent of 118,840 pounds (3).

(3) Ib. p. 1179.

[*D*] *Is accus'd of having committed ſome illegal acts of violence.*] For, he and his under-agents are charged, with having forced ſeveral Abbies, by *threats* and other inſtances of violence into a ſurrender: ſome indeed they allured thereunto, by promiſes, and large penſions: but moſt they frighted into a compliance, by encouraging the Monks, not only to accuſe their Governors of the moſt horrid and unnatural crimes, but alſo to inform againſt each other. In particular, we are told, that the Commiſſioners threat'ned the Canons of Leiceſter, 'That they would charge them with adultery and 'buggery, unleſs they would ſubmit.' And Dr London, one of the viſitors, told the Nuns of Godſtow, 'That

generally to the ſatisfaction of the King and his Courtiers, he was, on the 2d of July 1536, conſtituted Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, when he reſign'd his Maſterſhip of the Rolls (*s*). On the 9th of the ſame month he was advanc'd to the dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandſhire; and, ſix days after, took his place in the Houſe of Lords (*t*). The Pope's Supremacy being now aboliſh'd in England, the Lord Cromwell was made, on the 18th of July, Vicar-general, and Vicegerent, over all the Spirituality, under the King [*E*], who was declar'd ſupreme Head of the Church (*u*): In that quality, his Lordſhip ſat in the Convocation holden this year, above the Archbiſhops, as the King's repreſentative (*w*). Being inveſted with ſuch extenſive Power, he made uſe of it for deſtroying Popery as far as he poſſibly could, and for promoting a Reformation in this Kingdom. For that purpoſe, he cauſed certain Articles to be ſet forth and enjoyned by the King's Authority (*x*), differing in many eſſential points from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of the Roman-Catholic Religion [*F*]. Next, in September this ſame year, he put out ſome Injunctions to all Deans, Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, wherein they were ordered, to preach up the King's Supremacy; not to lay out their rhetoric in extolling Images, Relicks, Miracles, or Pilgrimages, but rather exhort their people to ſerve God, and make proviſion for their families: to put parents and other directors of youth in mind, to teach their children the Lord's-prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in their mother-tongue: to provide a Bible in Latin and Engliſh, to be laid in the Churches, for every one to read at their pleaſure; and the like (*y*). He likewiſe encourag'd the tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh [*G*]; and, when it was finiſh'd, injoin'd, that

(*s*) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 1. Stow's Annales, p. 573.

(*t*) Ibid. and Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 371.

(*u*) Stow, ubi ſupra. The Lord Cromwell had a particular ſeal for this his new office. N. Sanders *de Schiſmate Anglicano*, edit. Colon. Agrippin. 1610, 8*vo*, p. 151.

(*w*) See Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformat. P. i. 2d edit. p. 213; and Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtory, Vol. II. ed. 1714, p. 104.

(*x*) Idem, p. 122, *&c.* and Fuller's Church, Hiſtory, Book v. p. 213, *&c.*

(*y*) Fox, p. 1094. Collier, as above, p. 129, 130; and Lord Herbert, as above, p. 204.

'That becauſe he found them obſtinate, he would 'diſſolve the Houſe by virtue of the King's Com'miſſion, in ſpite of their teeth.' The Monks of the Charter-houſe near London, being refractory, were committed to Newgate, where, with hard and barbarous uſage, five of them dyed, and five more lay at the point of death, as the Commiſſioners ſignified (4). —— We are futher informed, that there were ſome agents employed to practiſe on the chaſtity of the Nuns, and afterwards to accuſe them for being guilty of incontinence (5). Several Monaſteries granted Thomas Cromwell large Penſions to ſave them from ruin; *but all in vain* (6).

(4) Sir W. Dugdale's Antiquit. of Warwickſhire, Vol. II. edit. 1730, p. 1112, *&c.*

(5) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. vi. p. 318, edit. 1655.

(6) See Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 155, 157, *&c.*

[*E*] *The Lord Cromwell was made —— Vicar-general, and Vicegerent over all the Spirituality under the King.*] What the deſign and extent of this Commiſſion was, we beſt learn from the following Clauſe of the Act for regulating Precedency —— namely, That 'for the good exerciſe of the ſaid moſt Royal Dignity 'and Office (the Supremacy) his Highneſs hath made 'Thomas Lord Cromwell and Lord Privy-Seal, his 'Vicegerent for a good and due miniſtration of Juſtice, 'to be had in all Cauſes and Caſes touching the 'Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and for the godly re'formation and redreſs of all Hereſies and abuſes in the 'ſaid Church (7).' —— Or, as it is elſewhere expreſs'd to the ſame purpoſe —— *ad exercendum, expediendum, & exerendum omnem & omnimodam Juriſdictionem, Auctoritatem, ſive Poteſtatem Eccleſiaſticam, quæ nobis tanquam Supremo Capiti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ competit* (8).

(7) Statut. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

(8) King Henry VIIIth's Commiſſion in allowance of the Deputation made by Cromwell. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. Collect. of Records, No. XXX, p. 20.

[*F*] *Differing in many eſſential points from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of the Roman-Catholic Religion.*] For, inſtead of the ſeven Sacraments commonly receiv'd in the Church of Rome, theſe Articles mention only three; namely, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar. Then, they enjoyn all Biſhops and Preachers, to teach the people committed to their charge, to believe and defend all thoſe things to be true which are comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible; and in the three Creeds, that of the Apoſtles, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian; without the leaſt mention of Tradition. And, to prevent ſuperſtition and idolatry, that they ſhould reſtrain the people, from 'cenſing, kneeling to, and worſhipping Images; and teach them to do it only to God, and in his honour, though it be done before Images. Finally, Purgatory is therein declared uncertain by Scripture (9).

(9) See Fuller, Burnet, and Collier, as quoted above.

[*G*] *He likewiſe encourag'd the tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh.*] As it will be no ſmall ſatisfaction to the Reader, to know, what tranſlation of the Bible is hereby meant, we ſhall endeavour to give an exact account of it; and likewiſe of ſuch tranſlations as were made about this time. The *firſt* tranſlation of any part of the Holy Scriptures into Engliſh, that was committed to the preſs, was, *The New Teſtament*, tranſlated from the Greek, by William Tyndale, with the aſſiſtance of John Fry and William Roye, and printed firſt in 1526, *in octavo*. Tyndale publiſhed afterwards, in 1530, a tranſlation of the *Five Books of Moſes*; and of *Jonàs* in 1531, in *octavo*— (10). An Engliſh tranſlation of the *Pſalter*, done from the Latin of Martin Bucer, was alſo publiſhed at Argentine in 1530, by Francis Foye, 8*vo*. And the ſame book, together with *Jeremiah*, and the *Song of Moſes*, were likewiſe publiſhed in 1534, 12*mo*, by George Joye, ſome time Fellow of Peterhouſe in Cambridge. But the firſt time *the whole Bible* appear'd in Engliſh, was in the year 1535, fol. The tranſlator and publiſher was Miles Coverdale, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, who reviſed Tyndal's verſion, compar'd it with the originals, and ſupplied what had been left untranſlated by Tyndal. It was printed at Zurich, and dedicated by Coverdale to King Henry VIII. And this was *the Bible*, which by Cromwell's injunctions of September 1536, *was ordered to be laid in Churches.* —— The next year, 1537, whether it was that Archbiſhop Cranmer had a mind to have Tyndal's Prologues and Notes re-printed, which had been left out in Coverdale's edition, or that the Printers thought ſuch an edition would ſell well, the Bible was printed at Paris in folio, with this title, 'The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which 'are contayned the Olde and Newe Teſtament, truelye 'and purelye tranſlated into Engliſh. By Thomas Mat'thewe.' This name of *Matthewe* is fictitious, the real author being John Rogers. In this Edition, from Geneſis to the end of the Chronicles is Tyndal's tranſlation: from thence to the end of the Apocrypha is Coverdale's; except the book of Jonas, which is Tyndal's: as is alſo the whole New Teſtament. In 1538, a reſolution was taken to reviſe this edition of Matthewe's, and to print it again without the Prologues or annotations, at which great offence was pretended to be taken, as containing matters heretical, and very ſcandalous and defamatory. For this purpoſe Grafton and Whitchurch were employed, who, becauſe there were at that time in France better Printers and Paper than could be had here in England, procured the King's Letters to the French King for liberty to print it at Paris. Accordingly they had the Royal Licence for ſo doing, and had almoſt finiſhed their deſign, when by an order of the Inquiſition dated December 17, 1538, the Printers were forbidden under canonical pains to print the ſaid Engliſh Bible, and being carried before the Inquiſition, were charged with hereſy. The Engliſh who were there to correct the preſs, and take care of the impreſſion, were all forced to fly, and the impreſſion, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred books, was ſeized and confiſcated. But by the encouragement of the Lord Cromwell, ſome of the Engliſh returned to Paris, and got the preſſes, Letters, and printing ſervants, and brought them over to London, where they reſum'd the work; which was finiſh'd, and publiſh'd in 1539, with this title, 'The 'Byble in Englyſhe, that is to ſay the content of all 'the

(10) Hall ſays he tranſlated alſo, *Joſhua, Judicum, Ruth*, the books of *Kings*, the books of *Paralipomenon*, and *Nehemiah*, or the firſt of *Eſdras*; but, if he tranſlated theſe, it does not appear they were ever printed. Hall's Chronicle, in Henry VIII. fol. 227.

that one, of the largeſt volume, ſhould be provided for every pariſh-church, at the joint charge of the Parſon and Pariſhioners (z). Theſe ſeveral alterations, made by Cromwell's contrivance in the eſtabliſh'd Religion of thoſe times; together with the diſſolution of the Monaſteries; and, (notwithſtanding the immenſe riches gotten from thence,) his demanding at the ſame time for the King Subſidies, both from the Clergy and Laity, occaſioned very great murmurs againſt him (a). No wonder, therefore, that the rebels of Yorkſhire demanded among other things, that the Lord Crumwell ſhould be brought to 'condigne ponyſment, as one of the ſubverters of the gud lawes of the Realm (b).' However, ſo far was the popular clamour from prejudicing, that it rather ſerved to eſtabliſh him in the King's eſteem. For, in the year 1537, his Majeſty conſtituted him chief Juſtice itinerant of all the Foreſts beyond Trent (c): And on the 26th of Auguſt, the ſame year, he was elected Knight of the Garter (d); as alſo Dean of the Cathedral Church of Wells (e). The year following, he obtain'd a grant of the caſtle and Lordſhip of Okeham in the county of Rutland; and was alſo made Conſtable of Careſbrook-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight (f). In September, he put forth new Injunctions, directed to all Biſhops and Curates (g), wherein he ordered, that a Bible of the largeſt volume in Engliſh, ſhould be ſet up in ſome convenient place in every Church, where the pariſhioners might moſt commodiouſly reſort to read the ſame: That the Clergy ſhould, every ſunday and holiday, openly and plainly recite to their pariſhioners, twice or thrice together, one article of the Lord's Prayer, or Creed, in Engliſh, that they might learn the ſame by heart: That they ſhould make, or cauſe to be made, in their Churches, one Sermon every quarter of a year at leaſt, wherein they ſhould purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpel of Chriſt, and exhort their hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith; not to pilgrimages, kiſſing or licking of Images, &c. That they ſhould forthwith take down all Images, to which pilgrimages or offerings were wont to be made: That in all ſuch Benefices whereupon they were not themſelves reſident, they ſhould appoint able Curates: That they, and every Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, ſhould for every Church keep one book of Regiſter, wherein they ſhould write the day and year of every Wedding, Chriſtening, and Burying, within their Pariſh; and therein ſet every perſon's name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtened, or buried, &c [H]. Having been thus highly inſtrumental in promoting a Reformation, and in pulling down, for the three years paſt, the Monaſteries in this Kingdom; he was amply rewarded by the King, in 1539, with many noble Manors and large Eſtates [I] that had belonged to thoſe diſſolv'd Houſes (h). On the 17th of April, the ſame year, he was advanc'd to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex (i); and ſoon after conſtituted Lord High Chamberlain of England [K]. The ſame day he was created Earl of Eſſex, he procured Gregory his ſon to be made Baron Cromwell of Okeham (k). On the 12th of March 1540, he was put in commiſſion with others, to ſell the Abbey-Lands, at twenty years

(z) Collier, ibid. p. 150.

(a) Lord Herbert, p. 205.

(b) Speed's Chr. edit. 1614, p. 775.

(c) Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, p. 1.

(d) Stow's Annales, p. 575.

(e) Whart. Angl. Sacra, edit. 1691, Vol. I. p. 590; and Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 177.

(f) Pat. 30 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(g) Fox, as above, p. 1096. Collier's Eccleſ. Vol. II. p. 150.

(h) Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 371.

(i) Ibid. p. 372.

(k) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. edit. 1655, B. v. p. 236. But Sir W. Dugdale ſays, he was not created Baron till Decemb. 18, 1540. Baronage, Vol. II. p. 374.

'the holy Scripture, bothe of the olde and newe Teſtament, truly tranſlated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes by the dylygent ſtudye of dyverſe excellent learned men, expert in the forſayde tonges.' Printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. fol.— This was *the Bible of the largeſt Volume*, which was ordered to be ſet up in every Church. The Pſalms in our Liturgy, are of this tranſlation, with ſome few alterations (11).

(11) This account is taken from Mr J. Lewis's Hiſt. of the Engliſh tranſlations of the Bible, prefixed to his edit. of J. Wickliff's tranſlation of the New Teſtament, fol. Lond. 1731, p. 15—31.

[H] *Every perſon's name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtened, or buried.*] There are among them two other Injunctions, that deſerve to be taken notice of. One is, 'Item, yee ſhall diſcourage no man, prively nor apertly, from the reading or hearing of the Bible, but ſhal expreſly provoke, ſtirre, and exhort every perſon to reade the ſame, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Chriſten perſon is bounden to embrace, beleeve, and follow, if he looke to be ſaved.'—The other is as follows, 'Item, foraſmuch as by a lawe eſtabliſhed, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man ſhall, by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, deteine their Tithes, and ſo redub one wrong with another, or be his owne judge, but ſhall truly pay the ſame as hath ben accuſtomed to their parſons and curates, without any reſtraint or diminution (12).'

(12) J. Fox, p. 1096, 1097.

[I] *He was rewarded by the King, in* 1539, with *many noble Manors, and large Eſtates.*] For, on the 10th of April, he obtained a grant from the King, in fee, of the diſſolv'd Monaſtery of St Oſythes in Eſſex, with all the houſes, buildings, Church, and other appurtenances thereunto belonging: as alſo of the manors and Lordſhip of Chich St Oſythes, Barnton, Coketwyke, Wigburgh, Erles-hall, Weſtwyke, Howyke, Lewyke, Wyerſhall alias Withſton-hall; Cannon, alias Can, hall; Abbots-hall, Coſt, or Coſted, hall; Mileend-hall, Broke-hall, and Birch-hall; with Horſey, and all and ſingular their members, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the ſame monaſtery of St Oſythes. Likewiſe, of the manor or Lordſhip of Chalwedon in Eſſex, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the hoſpital of our Lady, without Biſhopſgate in London: as alſo of the manors and Lordſhips of Jolleſbury, High-hall, Abbeſſe-hall, and Hockley, in the ſaid County of Eſſex, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the monaſterey of Berkyng. And of the manor of Gorewells in Toleſbury, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the monaſtry of Bileigh near Maldon in Eſſex. Likewiſe of the manors of Wileghe, Brykelſey, Picheſaye, Mondone, and Grynſtede in the ſame County, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the monaſtery of St John in Colcheſter. Alſo of the manors of Dedham, and Langham in the ſame county, with the manor and Lordſhip of Stratford in Suffolk. And alſo of the whole ſcite of the Grey Friers in Yarmouth in Norfolk, with all the houſes and buildings thereunto belonging; together with a multitude of other Lands, and advowſons of Churches, which did belong to ſome one or other of the then ſuppreſſed Religious Houſes (13).

(13) Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, p. 5. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 372.

[K] *He was advanc'd to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex, and ſoon after conſtituted Lord High-Chamberlain of England.*] Henry Bourchier, the laſt Earl of Eſſex of that ſurname, broke his neck, March the 12th 1539, by a fall from a young unruly horſe; leaving only one daughter: And the 19th of the ſame month, died John de Vere Earl of Oxford Lord Chamberlain (14). But Cromwell's aſpiring after, or even accepting of, theſe two great Honours, procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will. For there were ſeveral branches of the noble family of Bourchier then in being, who might think they had a right to the Dignity of Earl of Eſſex. And, the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England had been for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable Family of the De Veres Earls of Oxford; ſo that the heirs of it could not but be highly incens'd againſt the Lord Cromwell, for robbing them of what their Anceſtors had ſo long enjoyed.

(14) Stow's Annal. p. 579.

[L] *During*

years purchaſe (*l*): which was a thing he had adviſed the King to do, in order to ſtop the clamours of the people; to attach them to his intereſt; and to bring them to a liking of the diſſolution of the Monaſteries (*m*). Hitherto the Lord Cromwell had ſail'd with a proſperous gale, and was arrived to a very high degree of Honour. But an unhappy precaution he took, to ſecure (as he imagin'd) his greatneſs, prov'd his ruin; and the higher he was rais'd, the more ſudden and dangerous was his fall. Obſerving that ſome of his moſt inveterate enemies, particularly Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, began to be more in favour at Court than himſelf, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to procure a marriage between King Henry and Anne of Cleves: For he expected a great ſupport from a Queen of his own making; and as her friends were all Lutherans, it tended very much, as he imagined, to bring down the Popiſh party at Court, and again to recover the ground, he and Cranmer had now loſt (*n*). But, ſee the ſhortneſs of human policy! this very thing wherein he plac'd his ſafety, was his certain deſtruction. For the King, who was very nice in love-affairs, not liking the Queen, he took an invincible averſion to Cromwell the great promoter of the marriage; and ſoon found an opportunity to ſacrifice him to his own reſentment, and to the malice and revenge of his enemies. Many circumſtances concurr'd to his ruin. He was odious to all the Nobility by reaſon of his low birth: hated particularly by Stephen Gardiner, and the Roman Catholicks, for having been ſo buſy in the diſſolution of the Abbies: the Reformers themſelves found he could not protect them from burning: and the nation in general was highly incens'd againſt him, for his having lately demanded and obtained (*o*) a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound from the Clergy, and one Tenth and one Fifteenth from the Laity; notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums that had lately flowed into the Treaſury out of the Monaſteries. King Henry conſidering this, and having beſides divers Articles brought againſt him, reſolved to give him up, judging him no longer neceſſary. Therefore he gave way to all his enemies accuſations, which could not but be material; it being impoſſible, that any man who meddled ſo much in great and public affairs, ſhould not in ſeveral inſtances ſo miſtake, forget, and err, as to lay himſelf open to the law, when ſevere inquiſition was made againſt him. The King having gotten ſufficient proof againſt Cromwell, cauſed him to be arreſted at the Council-table, by the Duke of Norfolk, on the 10th of June, when he leaſt ſuſpected it. However, he obey'd, and was committed to the Tower, though judging his ruin the more certain, becauſe the Duke was uncle to the Lady Catharine Howard, whom the King began now to be in love with (*p*). During his impriſoment he writ a Letter to the King [*L*], to vindicate himſelf of the guilt of treaſon, whereof he was accuſed (*q*); and another to the ſame (*r*), concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves [*M*]. But all his entreaties, and endeavours for pardon, were

(*l*) Fœdera, Conventiones, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 653.

(*m*) See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. 2d edit. p. 222.

(*n*) Burnet, as above, p. 271.

(*o*) He extorted it from them, *extorſit ab ordinibus*, ſays Sanders, *de Schiſmate Anglicano*, as above, p. 183. He ſays in the ſame place, that it was one Tenth and four Fifteenths; but the Rolls of Parliament are more to be credited than ſuch a prejudiced writer.

(*p*) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 222, 223. Stow's Annales p. 580. This laſt author ſays, he was arreſted the 9th of July. And Fox places it under the year 1541, p. 1189. But they are both miſtaken.

(*q*) The original is in Cotton Libr. Titus B. 1; and thence printed in Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

(*r*) From the original in Cotton. Libr. Otho C. 10. 'tis printed in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. Collect. of Rec. to B. iii. p. 193, 2d edit.

[*L*] *During his impriſonment he writ a Letter to the King*] Wherein he ſtrenuouſly vindicates himſelf of the Crimes laid to his charge, in the following words. ——— 'Wher I have bene accuſyd to your 'Majeſtye of Treaſon. To that I ſay, I never in alle 'my lyfe thought wyllingly to do that thyng that 'myght or ſholde diſpleaſe your Majeſty; and much 'leſſ to do or ſay that thyng, which of itſelf is ſo 'high and abhominable offence; as God knowyth, 'who I doubt not ſhall reveale the trewthe to your 'Highnes. Myne accuſers your Grace knowyth, 'God forgive them: For, as I ever have had love to 'your honor, perſon, lyfe, proſperitye, helthe, 'welthe, joy, and comfort; and alſo your moſt dere 'and moſt entyerly belovyd ſone, the Prynce his 'Grace, and your proceedyngs; God ſo helpe me in 'this myne adverſitie, and confound me yf ever I 'thought the contrary. What labours, paynes, and 'travailes I have taken, according to my moſt boun-'den deutye, God alſo knowyth. For, yf it were 'in my power, (as it is Godds) to make your Ma-'geſtye to live ever young, and proſperous, God 'knowyth I woolde. If it hadde bene, or were in 'my power to make yow ſo ryche, as ye myght en-'rych alle men, God helpe me, as I wolde do hit. 'If it had bene, or were in my power to make your 'Mageſty ſo puyſſant, as alle the world ſholde be com-'pellyd to obey yow, Chriſt he knowyth I wolde; for 'ſo am I of alle othyr moſt bounde: for your Ma-'geſtye hath bene the moſt bountiful Prynce to me, 'that ever was Kyng to his Subject: ye, and more 'like a dere Father (your Mageſtye not offendyed) 'than a Maſter. Such hath bene your moſt grave and 'godly counſayle towards me, at ſundry tymes. In 'that I have offendid I axyow mercy. Should I now, 'for ſuch exceeding goodneſſ, benygnyte, libera-'litie and bounty be your Traytor, nay then the great-'eſt paynes were too little for me. Should any faccyon, 'or any affeccyon to any point make me a Traytor to 'your Mageſtie, then all the Devylls in Hell confound 'me, and the Vengeance of God light upon me, yf 'I ſholde once have thought yt, moſt gracious 'Soverayn Lord. ——— ——— 'Sir, as to your Common welthe, I 'have aftyr my wytte, power, and knowledge, tra-'vayled therein, havyng had no reſpect to perſons '(your Mageſtye only except) and my dewtye to the 'ſame: but that I have don any Injuſtice, or Wrong, 'wylfully, I truſt God ſhall bere my wytnes, and the 'world not able juſtly to accuſe me. ——— ——— 'Nevertheles, Sir, I have medelyd in ſo many 'matyers, under your Highnes, that I am not able to 'anſwer them all. But one thyng I am well aſſured of 'of; that willingly and wyttingly I have not had 'wille to offend your Highneſs: but hard it is for me, 'or any other, medelyng, as I have done, to live un-'der your Grace, and your Laws, but we muſt daylie 'offend.' ——— After which, he proceeds to clear himſelf of ſome particular matters laid to his charge. — And concludes the whole in theſe words. — 'Wryten with the quaking hand, and moſt ſor-'rowful heart of your moſt ſorrowful Subject, and 'moſt humble ſervant and pryſoner, this Saturday at 'your Tower of London.' (15). The King cauſed this Letter to be thrice read, and ſeemed touched with it. But the charms of Catherine Howard, and the endeavours of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, prevailed (16).

(15) Cot. Libr. Titus B. i. See Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

[*M*] *He writ another Letter to the King, concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves*:] This he writ by the King's expreſs order, on purpoſe to declare, what he knew of that marriage. Among other things, he ſays, That after the King had ſeen her at Rocheſter, he told him [Cromwell] 'That if he had known ſo 'much before as he then knew, ſhe ſhould not have 'come within this realm.' Saying by way of lamentation, 'what remedy?' And, the day after the marriage, his Majeſty told him, 'I liked her before not 'well, but now I like her much worſe; for, I have 'felt her belly, and her breaſts, and thereby, as I can 'judge, ſhe ſhould be no maid; which ſtruck me ſo 'to the heart when I felt them, that I had neither 'will

(16) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. P. i. p. 284.

were ineffectual. And, as he had himſelf ſervilely complied with the King's pleaſure, in procuring ſome to be attainted without being admitted to anſwer for themſelves, ſo he now fell under the ſame unjuſtifiable ſeverity. For, whether it was that his enemies knew, if he were brought to the Bar, he would ſo juſtify himſelf, by producing the King's orders and warrants for what he had done (*s*), that it would be very difficult to condemn him: or that they blindly reſolved to follow that moſt vile precedent (*t*), of condemning a perſon unheard; the bill of Attainder was brought into the Houſe of Lords the 17th of June, and read the firſt time, and on the 19th was read the ſecond and third times, and ſent down to the Commons. Here it did not paſs with the ſame rapidity as it had done in the Upper Houſe, but ſtuck ten days. At laſt, a new Bill of Attainder was ſent up to the Lords, framed in the Houſe of Commons: And they ſent back at the ſame time the Bill, the Lords had ſent to them (*u*). What were the grounds of his condemnation, as expreſſed in the Bill of Attainder, may be ſeen in the Note [*N*]. Like other falling favourites, he was deſerted by moſt of his friends, except the worthy Archbiſhop Cranmer, who writ to the King very warmly in his behalf (*w*) [*O*]. But the Duke of Norfolk, and the reſt of the Popiſh party, prevailed; and, accordingly, in purſuance of his attainder, the Lord Cromwell was brought to a Scaffold erected on Tower-hill, where, after having made a Speech [*P*], and prayed, he was beheaded, July the 28th 1540 (*x*). Thus fell Thomas Lord Cromwell,

(*s*) *Sanderus de Schiſmate Anglic.* as above, p. 187.

(*t*) A precedent ſet them by Cromwell himſelf, in the attainders of the Marchioneſs of Exeter, the Counteſs of Saliſbury, Elizabeth Barton, &c. Burnet, as above, P. i. p. 359, 360.

(*u*) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 277, of the 2d edit.

(*w*) June 14, Lord Herbert, as above, p. 223.

(*x*) J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.

' will nor courage to proceed any farther in other mat-
' ters; ſaying, I have left her as good a maid as I
' found her.' This Letter concludes with theſe words,
' ——— beſeeching moſt humbly your Grace to
' pardon this my rude writing, and to conſider that
' I a moſt woful priſoner, ready to take the death,
' when it ſhall pleaſe God and your Majeſty; and yet
' the frail fleſh inciteth me continually to call to your
' Grace for mercy and grace for mine offences; and
' thus Chriſt ſave, preſerve, and keep you.

' Written at the Tower this Wedneſday, the laſt of
' June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand,
' of your Highneſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable
' priſoner, and poor ſlave. T. C. Moſt gracious
' Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy (17).'

(17) Cot. Libr. Otho C. 10, and Burnet's Collect. of Rec. to Hiſt. of the Ref. P. i. B. iii. No. 17, p. 193. Beſides theſe two letters there are others printed in the ſame Collect. of Records: and in Strype's Eccl. Mem. Vol. I.

[*N*] *The grounds of his condemnation are expreſſed in the bill of Attainder.*] And are as follows. 1. That his Majeſty having received Thomas Cromwell, a man of very baſe and low degree, into his ſervice, advanc'd him to the eſtate of an Earl, and very much enriched him, yet the ſaid Tho. Cromwell had proved the moſt falſe and corrupt Traitor and Deceiver that had been known in that reign. 2. That he had ſet at liberty, without the King's command or aſſent, ſeveral perſons convicted and attainted of miſpriſion of Treaſon, and others that were impriſoned for ſuſpicion of treaſon. 3. That he had, for money, granted great numbers of Licences or paſſports, for carrying money, corn, horſes, tallow, metals, &c. out of the kingdom, without any ſearch. 4. That he had appointed, and deputed, Commiſſioners, in many great, urgent, and weighty affairs, without the King's knowledge or conſent. 5. That he pretended to have ſo great a ſtroke abont the King, as that he did not ſcruple boaſting, ' That he was ſure of him.' 6. That being a deteſtable Heretic, he had ſecretly ſet forth and diſperſed throughout the Kingdom, great numbers of falſe erroneous Books, written againſt the Sacrament of the altar. 7. That being the King's Vicegerent, he had, without his Majeſty's aſſent and knowledge, licenſed under the Seal of his office, ſeveral perſons detected and ſuſpected of hereſies, to preach openly within this realm. 8. That he had cauſed Sheriffs, and other perſons, to ſet at large many Hereticks, ſome of whome were indicted, and others apprehended, and in cuſtody: and being a maintainer and ſupporter of Heretics, had divers times terribly rebuked their accuſers, and perſecuted and impriſoned ſome of thoſe accuſers. 9. That he had great numbers of Retainers, which he had infected with Hereſies. 10. That when Robert Barnes, and others of the new Preachers, were proſecuted and impriſoned, he the ſaid Thomas Cromwell, hearing of it, ſaid, on the laſt day of March 1539, ' If the King would
' turn from it*, yet I would not turn; And if the King
' did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the
' field in mine own perſon, with my ſword in my hand
' againſt him and all others.' And then pulling out his dagger, and holding it up, he added, ' Or elſe this
' Dagger thruſt me to the heart, if I would not die in
' that quarrel againſt them all: And I truſt, if I live
' one year or two, it ſhould not lie in the King's
' power, to reſiſt or let it, if he would.' And then ſwearing a great oath, he ſaid, ' I will do ſo indeed.'
11. That on the laſt day of January, 1539, being put in mind, how others guilty of the ſame treaſon as himſelf (†), had been ſerved by the Parliament, he declared, ' That if the Lords would handle him ſo, he
' would give them ſuch a Breakfaſt as never was made
' in England, and *That* the proudeſt of them ſhould
' know.' 12. Finally, That he had acquired innumerable ſums of Money and Treaſure, by oppreſſion, bribery, and extortion, which made him deſpiſe the reſt of the Nobility (18).

(*) *i. e.* The new preaching, or the Doctrine of Proteſtants.

(†) Cardinal Wolſey, &c.

(18) Parliament Rolls, 32 Hen. VIII. Act 60. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Collect. of Rec. at the end of P. i. p. 187, 2d edit.

[*O*] *Archbiſhop Cranmer writ very warmly to the King in his behalf.*] In his Letter he hath theſe expreſſions——— ' Who cannot but be ſorrowful and
' amaz'd that he ſhould be a Traitor againſt your Ma-
' jeſty? He that was ſo advanc'd by your Majeſty; he
' whoſe ſurety was only by your Majeſty; he *who*
' *lov'd your Majeſty* (as I ever thought) *no leſs than*
' *God*; he who ſtudied always to ſet forward what-
' ſoever was your Majeſties will and pleaſure; he that
' car'd for no man's diſpleaſure to ſerve your Majeſty;
' he that was ſuch a ſervant, in my judgment, in Wiſ-
' dom, Diligence, Faithfulneſs, and Experience, as
' no Prince in this realm ever had; he that was ſo vi-
' gilant to preſerve your Majeſty from all Treaſons,
' that few could be ſo ſecretly conceiv'd, but he de-
' tected the ſame in the beginning? If the noble Prin-
' ces of happy memory, K. John, Henry II. and
' Richard II. had had ſuch a Counſellor about them,
' I ſuppoſe they ſhould never have been ſo traiterouſly
' abandoned, and overthrown, as thoſe good Princes
' were (19)'.

(19) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 223.

[*P*] *After having made a Speech.*] Which was as follows. ' I am come hether to dye, & not to purge
' myſelf, as maie happen ſome thynke that I will, for
' if I ſhould ſo do, I wer a very wretche & miſer: I am
' by the Law condempned to die, & thanke my Lord
' God that hath appoynted me this deathe, for myne
' offence: For ſithence the tyme that I had yeres of
' diſcretion, I have lived a ſinner, & offended my
' Lorde God, for the whiche I aſke hym hartely for-
' gevenes. And it is not unknowne to many of you,
' that I have been a greate traveler in this worlde, and
' beyng but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate,
' and ſithens the tyme I came thereunto, I have of-
' fended my prince, for the which I aſke hym hartely
' forgevenes, & beſeche you all to praie to God
' with me, that he will forgeve me. O father for-
' geve me. O ſonne forgeve me. O holy ghoſt for-
' geve me. O thre perſons in one God forgeve me.
' And now I praie you that be here, to beate me re-
' cord, I die in the Catholike faithe, not doubtyng in
' any article of my faith, no nor doubtyng in any Sa-
' crament of the Churche. Many hath ſclaundered me,
' & reported, that I have been a bearer of ſuch as
' have mainteigned evill opinions, whiche is untrue,
' but I confeſſe, that like as God by his holy ſpirite
' doth inſtruct us in the truthe, ſo the devill is redy to
' ſeduce us, and I have been ſeduced: but beare me
' witnes that I dye in the Catholicke faithe of the
' holy Churche. And I hartely deſire you to praie
' for

Cromwell, under the weight of his fickle and cruel Maſter's diſpleaſure, King Henry VIII; after he had ſerv'd him, with great faithfulneſs, courage, and reſolution, in the moſt hazardous, difficult, and important Undertakings. But, it was that Prince's method, to take Favourites from the meaneſt of people, who being leſs ſcrupulous than others, and wholly intent upon their own advancement, obey'd his will without reſerve; and then, to content his ſubjects, he would readily ſacrifice them to their reſentment. As for the Lord Cromwell's character, 'tis no wonder, that, betweeen Papiſts and Proteſtants, it ſhould be ſo various. The firſt repreſent him, as a crafty, cruel, ambitious, and covetous man; and a heretic (*y*). The latter aſſure us, that he was a perſon of great wit, and excellent parts, joined to extraordinary diligence and induſtry (*z*): That his apprehenſion was quick and clear; his judgment methodical and ſolid; his memory ſtrong and rational; his tongue fluent and pertinent; his preſence ſtately and obliging; his heart large and noble; his temper patient and cautious; his correſpondence well laid and conſtant; his converſation inſinuating and cloſe: None more dexterous in finding out the deſigns of men and courts; and none more reſerved in keeping a ſecret (*a*). Tho' he was raiſed from the meaneſt condition to a high pitch of honour, he carryed his greatneſs with wonderful temper (*b*); being noted in the exerciſe of his places of judicature, to have uſed much moderation, and in his greateſt pomp to have taken notice of, and been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance (*c*) [*Q*]. In his whole behaviour, he was courteous and affable to all; a favourer in particular of the poor in their ſuits; and ready to relieve ſuch as were in danger of being oppreſſed by their mighty adverſaries (*d*); and ſo very hoſpitable and bountiful, that above two hundred perſons were ſerved, at the gate of his houſe in Throgmorton-ſtreet London, twice every day, with bread, meat, and drink ſufficient (*e*). He was one of the chief inſtruments in the Reformation of Religion; and tho' he could not prevent the promulgation, he ſtopp'd the execution as far as he could, of the bloody Act of the Six Articles (*f*). But when the King's command preſſed him cloſe, he was not firm enough to hazard his own intereſt, or perſon; as was manifeſt, from his concurring in the condemnation and cruel burning of John Lambert (*g*). As he was good abroad, ſo was he alſo at home; calling upon his ſervants yearly, to give him an account of what they had got under him, and what they deſired of him; warning them to improve their opportunities; becauſe he ſaid, he was too great to ſtand long; providing for them as carefully, as for his own ſon, by his purſe and credit, that they might live as handſomely when he was dead, as they did when he was alive (*h*). In a word, we are aſſured, that for piety towards God, fidelity to his King, prudence in the management of affairs, gratitude to his benefactors, dutifulneſs, charity, and benevolence, there was not any one then ſuperior to him England (*i*).

(*y*) *Fuit Thomas Cromuelus homo vafer, crudelis, ambitioſus & avarus, hæreſi etiam deditus.* Sanders, as above, p. 91.

(*z*) Stow's Annales, p. 580, 581.

(*a*) D. Lloyd, *&c.* as above, p. 59. from the notes of T. Cromwell, Eſq; one of his poſterity.

(*b*) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reform. P. i. p. 284.

(*c*) Lord Herbert, p. 225.

(*d*) Holinſhed, Chron. p. 952.

(*e*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's addit. Lond. 1720, Vol. I. B i. p. 245, and B. ii. p. 117.

(*f*) Burnet, as above, P. i. p. 265, 266. Strype's Eccl. Memor. Vol. I. p. 353.

(*g*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 180; and Fox, as above, p. 1123.

(*h*) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 64, 65

(*i*) *Quo non fuit aut religione erga Deum, aut fidelitate in regem, aut prudentia in Rempublic. aut in benemeritos gratitudine, aut in omnes pietate, charitate, ac benevolentia majore tunc in Anglia quiſquam.* De Antiq. Britan. Eccl. Hanoviæ, 1605, p. 334, 335.

'for the Kynges grace, that he maie long live with 'you, in healthe and proſperitie. And after him that 'his ſonne Prince Edward, that goodly ympe maie 'long reigne over you. And once again I deſire you 'to pray for me, that ſo long as life remaigneth in 'this fleſhe, I waver nothyng in my faithe (20).'

(20) Hall's Chr. edit. 1550, in Heh. VIII. fol. ccxlii. and J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.

[*Q*] *And been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance.*] This is repreſented in a very agreeable and advantagious light by Shakeſpear, under the character of Goodman Seely, and his wife Joan (21): But more truly by J. Fox, in the account he gives of a poor woman that kept a victualling houſe at Hounſlow; to whom Cromwell owing forty ſhillings before he arriv'd to his greatneſs, he not only repay'd her that ſum, but alſo gave a yearly penſion of four pounds, and a livery every year while ſhe lived. He likewiſe takes notice, of his generoſity to the ſon of a poor man, who had given him many a meal's meat in his youth (22). His *Gratitude* was alſo very remarkable, in the caſe of Francis Freſcobald (or Friſkibal, as Shakeſpear calls him). This Freſcobald was an eminent Florentine merchant, who handſomely reliev'd Cromwell in Italy, when he was reduc'd to the utmoſt diſtreſs and poverty, after the defeat of the French Army at Caſtiglione: He not only furniſh'd him with clothes, and a horſe, but alſo with ſixteen ducats of gold, to carry him back to England. Freſcobald being afterwards reduc'd to poverty; Or, as Shakeſpear expreſſes it (23),——

(21) Life and Death of Tho. Lord Cromwell, by W. Shakeſpear.

(22) Acts and Monuments, ut ſupra, p. 1186, 1187.

(23) Ubi ſupra.

Fortune that turns her too unconſtant wheel,
Having turn'd his wealth and riches in the ſea,

he came over to England, where he had had conſiderable dealings, to endeavour to recover fifteen thouſand ducats, that were due to him from ſeveral perſons. The Lord Cromwell finding him out, aſſiſted him in recovering his dues, and not only repaid him the ſixteen ducats above-mentioned, but alſo made him a preſent of ſixteen hundred more (24). However, I cannot conclude the Lord Cromwell's character, without obſerving, That J. Stow the famous hiſtorian complains (25), He took a piece of ground from his father, to enlarge his own garden in Throgmorton-ſtreet, without making him any ſatisfaction. Whereupon he makes this pertinent remark, That the ſudden riſing of ſome men, cauſeth them to forget themſelves.

(24) Fox, p. 1186, 1187.

(25) In his Survey of London.

C

CROMWELL (OLIVER), who raiſed himſelf to the poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power, under the title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, was equally remarkable for his great military ſkill, by which he obtained ſo many victories in the field, and by his amazing abilities in the cabinet, which enabled him to overcome all oppoſition at home, and to ſtrike even the moſt powerful nations abroad with terror. He was very honourably deſcended, both by his father and his mother, from families of great antiquity; and which had produced perſons of diſtinguiſhed reputation, both for arms and arts, as may be ſufficiently proved by indiſputable evidence (*a*) [*A*]. It is the more neceſſary to deliver

(*a*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of England. B. III. p. 79. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

[*A*] *By indiſputable evidence.*] It has been ſo generally ſaid, and authors have ſo frequently tranſcribed it one from another, that, if no check be given to it in time, it will paſs for an unqueſtionable truth with poſterity, not only that the name of this family was originally Williams, but that Sir Richard Cromwell, who

deliver the leſs known points of his hiſtory copiouſly and clearly, becauſe, through envy on one ſide, flattery on the other, and ſtrong prejudices upon both, it may be truly ſaid, that more of falſehood and fable is to be met with in the accounts given of him in our own (*b*), as well as foreign languages (*c*), than of almoſt any other perſon living ſo near our own times [*B*]. He was the ſon of Mr Robert Cromwell, who was the ſecond ſon

(*b*) Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, in the heroick tranſactions of his moſt Serene Highneſs Oliver late Lord Protector, by Mr Dawbeny.

(*c*) La vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par l'Abbe Raguenet. Vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par Gregorio Leti.

who may be eſteemed the founder of it, was ſiſter's ſon to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, Prime-Miniſter and favourite to Henry VIII; and that this Knight owed all his fortunes to the intereſt of that potent nobleman (1). The ſtory commonly told is this, that Morgan Williams, of an ancient family in Wales, married the ſiſter of Thomas Lord Cromwell, by whom he had a ſon, Richard, who took his uncle's name of Cromwell, who was afterwards knighted by King Henry, from whom he received large grants of Abbey-lands in Huntingdonſhire; that this Sir Richard Williams, or Cromwell, married Frances the daughter of Sir Thomas Murfyn, by whom he had a ſon Henry, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, in the ſixth year of her reign; which Sir Henry, marrying Joan, daughter and heireſs of Sir Ralph Warren, became the father of ſix ſons, the ſecond of which was the father of Oliver, of whom we are ſpeaking (2). There is no doubt that this notion prevailed in the life-time of the Protector; for we find it mentioned in that hiſtory of him, which was publiſhed but a year after his death. Some points in this genealogy have been filed and brightened up by that eminent Antiquary Sir William Dugdale (3); yet he ſeems to be not at all clear as to the very beginning of the tale: for he takes notice that ſome ſaid, the Lord Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Eſſex, married a Williams, but he rejecting this, without citing authority, ſuppoſes, that one Mr Williams married Lord Cromwell's ſiſter, and ſo goes on with the ſtory, which has been already told. Dr Goodman, Biſhop of Gloucester, who turned Papiſt, and was very deſirous of making his court to the Protector, dedicated a book to him (4); and beſides, preſented him with a printed paper, by which he pretended to ſcrape kindred with him, as being himſelf ſome way allied to Thomas, Earl of Eſſex; but the Protector, with ſome paſſion, told him, that Lord was not related to his family in any degree (5). If therefore he knew any thing of his own family, this ſtory, though ſo very well told, cannot be true. It is much more probable, that the father of Sir Richard Cromwell, ſuppoſed to be the nephew of the Earl of Eſſex, was Thomas Cromwell, Eſq; who was Sheriff of Cambridgeſhire and Huntingdonſhire in the 28th of Henry VIII (6); and, indeed, four years afterwards we find this Sir Richard, Sheriff of the ſame counties (7), and from him there is no doubt at all that the genealogy runs right. It muſt be confeſſed, that this Gentleman had very large grants of Abbey-lands in Huntingdonſhire, to the amount, as they were then rated, of at leaſt three thouſand pounds (8) a year; but it does not follow from thence, that he muſt be related to the Lord Cromwell. Some of theſe grants are as early, in point of time, as the high favour of that great Miniſter, but none of them ſo early as the year in which Thomas Cromwell, Eſq; was Sheriff, which makes it probable he was his father, and that, upon his demiſe, Richard came to have an eſtate in the county (9). Another reaſon, which inclines me to think that Sir Richard Cromwell was no near relation or dependant upon the Earl of Eſſex, in King Henry the VIIIth's time, is this, that he received the honour of Knighthood, and ſeveral large grants, preciſely at the time of that famous Miniſter's fall, and others in ſo conſtant and regular a ſucceſſion, that there is no appearance he was ever out of King Henry's favour (10). If it be aſked, how any account can be given of the tradition, that Cromwell was ſome way related to the Earls of Eſſex, by the females, and how his family came by the name of Williams, which is unqueſtionably matter of record; my anſwer is, that a probable account may be given of both; at leaſt, a more probable account than hitherto has been given of either. It is not at all unlikely, that in Cromwell's family, more eſpecially after he became Protector, there might be frequent mention made, of a deſcent from the Earls of Eſſex by the females: but this muſt be underſtood not of himſelf, but of his wife, who was really deſcended from the Bouchiers, Earls of Eſſex (11). In reference to the ſirname of Williams, it might poſſibly ariſe from the marriage of a Gentleman of that name with the heireſs of Thomas Cromwell of Huntingdonſhire; and Sir William Dugdale renders this more probable than his own ſtory; for, in ſpeaking of John Lord Williams, of Thame in Oxfordſhire, he tells us, that he was of the ſame family with that Sir Richard Williams, who took the ſirname of Cromwell, and both of them the ſons of John Williams, of Burfield in the county of Berks (12): now this has nothing to do with Morgan Williams the Welſhman, whom he ſuppoſes to have married Lord Cromwell's ſiſter, or with the Lady of the ſame country, whom Brooke (13), and other writers, aſſert was married to Cromwell Earl of Eſſex. Neither will it be any anſwer to ſay, that this is only the miſtake of a Berkſhire family for a family of Wales, ſince there is direct evidence to prove, that Cromwell was ſo far from being any way allied to Williams of Berkſhire, that he was an enemy to, and an oppreſſor of, that family (14). Upon the whole, therefore, I ſhould rather incline to think, that this family deſcended by the females from Ralph Lord Cromwell, of Tatterſhall in Lincolnſhire, the laſt heir-male of which was Lord High-Treaſurer in the reign of King Henry the VIth; and one of his coheireſſes married Sir William Williams (15), whoſe deſcendants might afterwards take the ſirname of Cromwell, in hopes of obtaining that title which Humphry Bouchier, a younger ſon of the then Earl of Eſſex, who married the eldeſt of the coheireſſes, actually had, and was killed at Barnet field, fighting on the ſide of King Edward the IVth (16). However, if we conſider only thoſe anceſtors of Oliver Cromwell, of whom there is no diſpute, we may ſupport all that has been ſaid in the text; for Sir Richard Cromwell was a great favourite with Henry the VIIIth, and an eminent Commander in his wars (17). His ſon Sir Henry was four times Sheriff of his county, and univerſally eſteemed: as for Sir Oliver Cromwell, he gave King James the Firſt the greateſt feaſt that had been given to a King by a ſubject (18), when his Majeſty paſſed by his houſe in his way to London; and, in return, King James made him a Knight of the Bath at his coronation (19). He had a very large eſtate, and was a very loyal worthy Gentleman; lived high, and ſpent a great part of his fortune, dying in the year 1654 (20), without receiving any favours from his nephew.

[*B*] *So near our own times*] It is no great wonder, that, in the life-time of the Protector, or immediately after his deceaſe, thoſe, who had ſuffered by his power, ſhould endeavour to avenge themſelves upon his character, and even a little at the expence of truth; in this the Cavaliers, if we abate the ſtory of Colonel Lindſey, who was eye and ear-witneſs to Oliver's contract with the Devil (21), were by far the moſt modeſt; for the republican party, whom he had likewiſe humbled, kept no meaſures, but vented their ſpleen in all the malicious and groundleſs fictions they could invent. On the other hand, the courtiers of thoſe times, as in moſt other times, were egregious flatterers, ready to magnify him to the ſkies, and to ſay whatever they thought might pleaſe, though it lay ever ſo much out of the reach of truth. Amongſt others, one Mr Dawbeny undertook, in a book (22) which he dedicated to the moſt Serene Highneſs of Richard, by the Grace of God Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to draw a parallel, in thirty different ſteps, between Moſes the Man of God, and Oliver late Protector. This Gentleman, foreſeeing that ſome might object to this the profaneneſs of the deſign, apologizes for it thus, in his preface. 'Certainly, ſays he, this 'piece is not the firſt that has gone that way; we have 'very ſufficient precedents, and authority too, to warrant us. Have we not ſeen a compleat parallel be-'tween Elias and Dr Luther, even to the chariots of 'Iſrael and the horſemen thereof? and another be-'twixt his ſucceſſor Eliſha and Mr Calvin, to the double 'portion of his ſpirit? and many of our modern 'Doctors

(1) Carrington's Hiſtory of the Life and Death of Oliver, Lord Protector, Lond. 1659, 12mo. p. 3.

(2) See the Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 2, 3.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 374.

(4) The title of this book is, *The two great myſteries of Chriſtian Religion, the ineffable Trinity, and wonderful Incarnation, explicated*, Lond. 1653.

(5) Fuller's Worthies in Cambridgeſhire, p. 169.

(6) See the liſt of theſe Sheriffs in Fuller.

(7) See the ſame liſt in Fuller.

(8) Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 190, 191, 192, 193.

(9) By comparing the dates in the two authors laſt mentioned, this fact is aſcertained.

(10) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 22.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 132.

(12) Idem, ibid. p. 393.

(13) Catalogue of the Nobility, by R. B. p. 83.

(14) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 132.

(15) Idem, ibid. Vol. II. p. 46.

(16) Diſcovery of errors in Brooke's Catalogue, by Vincent, p. 184.

(17) Stowe's Survey, p. 494.

(18) Fuller's Worthies in Huntingdonſhire, p. 54.

(19) Stowe's Annals continued, by Edmund Howſe, p. 827.

(20) Fuller's Worthies, Huntingdonſhire, p. 54.

(21) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 691.

(22) The title of this book at large runs thus: *Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, in the heroic tranſactions of his moſt Serene Highneſs Oliver, late Lord Protector, from his cradle to his tomb, declaring his ſteps to princely perfection, as they are drawn in lively parallels to the aſcents of the great Patriarch Moſes, in thirty degrees, to the height of honour, by H. D.* Lond. 1659. 12mo.

ſon of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke in the county of Huntingdon, Knight, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Stewart, of the iſle of Ely, Knight (*d*), both of them perſons of great worth, and no way inclined to diſaffection, either in their civil or religious principles; but remarkable for living upon a ſmall fortune, with much decency, and maintaining a large family handſomely by their frugal circumſpection [*C*]. He was born

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

'Doctors put in ſcale with ſome of the Apoſtles themſelves. Nor has this way of compariſon been taken up only by Divines, in honour of their own function, but many parallels we find in print, between ſome of our late Kings, how well deſerving I ſay not, and ſome of thoſe holy Princes and Prophets of God's own people, as David, Solomon, Joſiah, Hezekiah, *&c.* And one very expreſs parallel between Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, and that great Princeſs and Propheteſs Deborah. Then why ſhould not our late incomparable Prince and Protector ſtand as well placed in line parallel with that glorious Patriarch Moſes.' The firſt ſtep in this parallel, or, as the author calls it, the firſt aſcent, is, as to nobility of birth; and, upon this ſubject, he is very clear as to Moſes, and ſets forth his pedigree at large from the Scriptures; one would have imagined from hence, that this writer ſhould have taken care to have been perfectly maſter of Cromwell's pedigree: but, to ſhew the reader how little help is to be expected from ſuch writers, we will tranſcribe what he ſays upon this ſubject. 'I cannot ſay his late Highneſs was extracted from ſo prieſtly a family, but altogether as princely, being lineally deſcended from the loins of our moſt antient Britiſh Princes, and tied in near alliances to the blood of our later Kings, as by that thrice noble family of the Barringtons, and divers others, which, to make a pedigree of, would take up more paper than we intend for our volume, and make me appear more a Herald than an Hiſtorian. Nay, indeed, ſhould I but go about to prove his Highneſs's moſt illuſtrious houſe noble, I ſhould commit a ſacrilege in the temple of honour, and only violate his moſt glorious family with a more ſolemn infamy.' I will treſpaſs ſo far on the reader's patience, as to give him another inſtance, from an author (23) who attempted to make court to the Protector upon this ſubject, in his lifetime, but in the ſame vague incoherent ſtile, promiſing mighty things, but performing nothing. 'He is well born, and of a noble and ancient extract; and hath ſo much piety of his own, ſuch virtues and honours of his own acquiſition and getting, ſo much ſplendor and glory, as might illuſtrate and dignify not only his progenitors, had they been never ſo mean and inferior, but alſo his poſterity for all ages to come, ſhould they be never ſo low and degenerated. He hath deſerved highly, and merited for all that can lay claim to his blood, or any ways derive from the ſtock and lineage of his houſe, and will leave them all very great legacies, and patrimonies of glory.' On all other topics theſe authors write juſt at the ſame rate, ſo that it is not eaſy to diſcern their ſenſe, and hardly poſſible to collect any facts from them, that are worth preſerving; yet their conduct, bad as it is, deſerves commendation rather than cenſure, when compared with the books that ſome foreigners have publiſhed. The Abbe Raguenet (24) has written a hiſtory full of faults and miſtakes, in reference to the dates and circumſtances of events, and more erroneous ſtill in the remarks and the reflections, which are very often preciſely the reverſe of what they ought to be, and what it is very apparent they would have been, had the author had a competent knowledge of the ſubject upon which he was writing. This hiſtory, however, is equally authentic and exact, in compariſon of that of Gregorio Leti (25), which is a maſter-piece in it's kind; for whereas in other works there is a greater or a leſs mixture of error, there is in this ſcarce a ſprinkling of truth; and one would really conceive it an impoſſibility for any man, capable of putting a book ſo well together, to contrive that there ſhould be ſo very little in it, I will not ſay of veracity, but of probability. He makes Oliver a prodigy of learning at the univerſity, exceedingly admired by the Biſhops, a great favourite with King James; he then ſends him over to France upon his travels, gives us a particular account of his galantries, introduces him to an audience of the French King, and an intimacy with Cardinal Richlieu. Upon his return he aſſures us, that Cromwell was highly in the good graces of Dr Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, to whom, he ſays, he was nearly related, whereas, in fact, no man ſaw ſo early into Cromwell's bad deſigns as that Prelate, though he had no more than a general acquaintance with him. But, what is ſtill more extraordinary than all this, Mr Leti lets us into the ſecret, that the Biſhop had an amour with Cromwell's wife; though an author of the higheſt character has aſſured us, that Dr Williams was altogether incapable of any criminal act of that kind; and in the ſame ſtile, and with the like attention to truth, he perſeveres through the whole work, aſſuring us, that he wrote it during his ſtay in England; and that he took care to be perfectly well informed as to every thing which he relates; nor does he ſcruple to name the Earl of Angleſey, the Earl of Ayleſbury, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, for the authors of thoſe notorious falſehoods, which no man of common underſtanding would venture to repeat in public company, with any ſhew of giving them credit; yet weak and ſilly as it is, this book is in ſome eſteem abroad, writers very frequently borrow from it, and ſometimes we ſee it cited, which ſhews how neceſſary it is to ſet this article in a proper light, more eſpecially as we have not hitherto had any diſtinct or clear account of Cromwell's government, notwithſtanding there has been ſo much controverſy about it; for as to what we find in ſatires, panegyricks, or declamations, we ſhould be careful of miſtaking that for hiſtory, which ought to be compoſed of unqueſtionable facts, related with ſimplicity rather than ornament.

(23) Unparallelled Monarch, p. 69.

(24) Hiſtoire d'Olivier Cromwell, juſqu-a ſa mort in 1658, avec quelques pieces pour ſervir de preuves. Paris 1691. 4to.

(25) La vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par Gregorie Leti. Amſterdam 1708. 2 Vol. 12mo.

[*C*] *By their frugal circumſpection.*] The father of the Protector, Robert Cromwell, Eſq; lived moſtly at Huntingdon; and though a man of very good ſenſe, and of competent learning, yet ſo fond of a private life, that it does not appear he ever ſought or affected farther than being a juſtice of peace, a public ſtation (26). As to the Lady he married, ſhe has been ſaid, and not without ſome degree of truth, to have been deſcended from the royal houſe of Stuart. Her great uncle Robert Stuart, the laſt Prior of the Monaſtery, and the firſt Dean of the Cathedral Church of Ely, left behind him a very full account of his family, which is ſtill preſerved (27); and from thence it appears, that Sir James Stuart, being one of the retinue of James, Prince of Scotland, was detained with him in the year 1406, and afterwards choſe to ſettle in England; and was preferred and taken into the ſervice of Henry IV. His ſon Sir John Stuart was created a Knight of the Bath at the marriage of Henry V. His ſon Thomas Stuart addicted himſelf to the ſea, and, by the daughter of Sir John Hamerton, Knight, had Richard Stuart, Eſq; who married the daughter of John Burleigh, Eſq; by whom he had Nicholas Stuart, a very learned Lawyer of the Middle-Temple, who was the father of Dr Robert Stuart before-mentioned, as alſo of Simeon Stuart, Eſq; (28) who married Joan, daughter and heireſs of Edward Beſteney, of Soham in the county of Cambridge, by whom he had eight ſons, and amongſt theſe Thomas, who was the father of Sir Richard Stuart, Knight, whoſe daughter Elizabeth married Robert Cromwell (29), of whom we have been ſpeaking. It was commonly ſaid by the Cavaliers, in the life-time of the Protector, that he was a Brewer, or the ſon of a Brewer; nor was this altogether without foundation; for his mother, finding it hard to breed up ſo large a family, out of the narrow income of Mr Cromwell's ſmall eſtate, and being too well acquainted with his temper, to expect that he ſhould take any meaſures for augmenting it, thought proper to engage in the brewing trade herſelf, which ſhe managed with great ſkill and prudence (30), and without the leaſt aſſiſtance, either from the father or the ſon. Out of the profits of this trade, and her own ſmall jointure of ſixty pounds a year, ſhe provided fortunes for her daughters, ſufficient to marry them into good families. The eldeſt was the wife of Mr John Deſborough, afterwards one of the Protector's Major-

(26) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459. Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 11.

(27) Wharton's Anglia ſacra, Vol. I. p. 686.

(28) Fuller's Worthies in Cambridgeſhire, p. 169, 170.

(29) Vincent's Collections, and their continuation, by R. W.

(30) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459. Flagellum, p. 15.

born in the parish of St John, in the ancient borough of Huntingdon, April 24th (e), or, as most writers say, April 25th, 1599 (f), in the forty-first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; so that what a foreign writer says, in reference to his birth upon the same day that Queen Elizabeth died (g), is like many other facts in his book, absolutely false and groundless. He was christened in the parish church, on the 29th of the same month, when his uncle Sir Oliver Cromwell, a very worthy Gentleman, gave him his name (h). It is said, that he received the first tincture of learning from the Rev. Mr Long (i); but it is very certain, that his father, who was highly attentive to his education, put him, as soon as he was fit to go to school, under the care of Dr Thomas Beard (k), a very learned and sensible man, who was, at that time, master of the free school at Huntingdon. We have very different accounts of his behaviour, while he remained in the hands of this Gentleman; some say that he shewed very little propensity to learning, and others that he made a great proficiency in it (l). It is highly likely, that both are in the wrong; and that he was not either incorrigibly dull, or wonderfully bright, which might also be owing to the levity or fickleness of his temper; for that he was an unlucky boy, and of an uneasy and turbulent temper, is reported by authors of unsuspected veracity (m). It would be tedious, and beside the design of this work, to mention the several stories that have been told of him, even in this early part of life, as to the proofs he gave of a very singular and extraordinary disposition; but there are two, of which the reader might justly blame us in case of omission. The first respects a kind of a vision he saw, or fancied he saw, for which, at the desire of his relations, Dr Beard corrected him severely (n) [D]. As to the other, it relates to a part he acted in the comedy of LINGUA, when performed by himself, and the rest of the boys at Huntingdon school (o), which, it is pretended, filled his mind with the desire of obtaining the crown, and affording him also what he always understood to be an omen of future success [E]. He was from thence removed

(e) Collection of Nativities, by Sir Richard Napier, M.S.

(f) Carrington's life of Cromwell, p. 3. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88. Dugdale, Fuller, &c.

(g) Vie de Cromwell, par Leti, Vol. I. p. 145.

(h) Life of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, Lond. 1741, 8vo. p. 3. From the information of the late Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's College in Cambridge.

(i) Collections relating to the family of Cromwell, by John Vincent, M.S.

(k) Flagellum, or the life and death, &c. of Cromwell, p. 12.

(l) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 25. Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 13.

(m) Perfect Politician, or, Full view of the life of Cromwell, p. 2, 3. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

(n) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(o) Winstanley's lives of English Poets, p. 115.

Major-Generals; another married first Roger Whetstone, Esq; and afterwards Colonel John Jones, who was executed for being one of the King's Judges; the third espoused Colonel Valentine Walton, who died in exile; the fourth Mrs Robina Cromwell, married first Dr Peter French, and afterwards Dr John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, a famous Preacher, and a celebrated Mathematician. It may not be amiss to add, that an aunt of Cromwell's married Francis Barrington, Esq; another aunt John Hampden, Esq; of Buckinghamshire, by whom she was mother to the famous John Hampden; a third aunt was the wife of Mr Whaley, and the mother of Colonel Whaley, in whose custody the King was while he remained at Hampton Court. He had two other aunts, but of their marriages we have no account (31).

(31) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 90.

[D] *Dr Beard corrected him very severely.*] There is reason to believe, that Oliver was not a little unlucky in his youth; for one of his panegyrists says, that he had several escapes in his infancy from fire, little less wonderful than the deliverance of Moses out of the water: but of these, as we can say nothing with certainty, we shall be silent (32). In reference to his vision, it happened, while he was a boy, in the daytime, when lying melancholy upon his bed, he thought he saw a spectre, and that it told him, that he should be the greatest man in this kingdom; which having related to his father, he was very angry, and desired his master to correct him severely; which, however, had no great effect, for he was still persuaded of the thing, and would sometimes mention it, notwithstanding his uncle Stuart told him, *it was traiterous to repeat it* (33). Sir Philip Warwick tells us, that he was well acquainted with one Dr Simcot, who was Cromwell's Physician, in the earlier part of his life, and who assured him, that he was a very fanciful man, that he had been often called to him at unseasonable hours, when he imagined himself to be dying; and that, in these black fits of the vapours, he had many whimsical notions about the cross that stood in the town of Huntingdon (34). Nor was he altogether free from these fits during the whole course of his life, not even in the highest of his prosperity; of which many instances might be given, if the bounds prescribed to this article would permit.

(32) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 20.

(33) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 13.

(34) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

[E] *To be an omen of future success.*] We have different reports concerning the author of this play from Winstanley and Langbaine, with which it does not seem requisite to trouble the reader; it is sufficient to observe, that it was originally printed in 1607, and afterwards with this title, LINGUA, *or, The combat of the tongue and the five senses for superiority, a pleasant comedy, first acted at* Trinity-College *in* Cambridge, *after at the free-school at* Huntingdon (35). Winstanley says that it was at Cambridge (36), but it is more likely that it was at Huntingdon, that Cromwell performed the part of *Tactus*, which affected him strangely. The scheme of the play is, that Lingua gives a crown and a robe to be contested for by the senses; the two following scenes will shew what gave rise to this notion of Cromwell's being so much struck by his playing this part (37).

(35) Lond. 1657. 24mo.

(36) Lives of the English Poets, p. 114.

(37) The reader must be content with the citation of the act, and scene, for this comedy is printed without pages.

ACT I. SCENE V.

MENDACIO. TACTUS.

MEND. Now, chaste *Diana*, grant my nets to hold.
TACT. The blasting childhood of the chearful morn
Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs
Yonder gilt eastern hills, about which time
Gustus most earnestly importuned me
To meet him hereabouts; what cause I know not.
MEN. You shall do shortly, to your cost, I hope.
TACT. Sure, by the Sun, it should be nine o'clock!
MEN. What a Stargazer, will you ne'er look down?
TACT. Clear is the Sun, and blue the firmament:
Methinks the heavens do smile
——— MEN. At thy mishap,
To look so high, and stumble in a trap.
[TACTUS *stumbleth at the Robe and Crown.*
TACT. High thoughts have slippery feet, I had well nigh fall'n.
MEN. Well doth he fall, that riseth with a fall.
TACT. What's this?
MEN. O! are you taken? 'tis in vain to strive.
TACT. How now!
MEN. You'll be so entangled straight.
TACT. A Crown!
MEN. That it will be heard.
TACT. And a Robe!
MEN. To lose yourself.
TACT. A Crown and Robe!
MEN. It had been fitter for you to have found a fool's coat, and a bauble, hey, hey.
TACT. Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here?
MEN. O! Sir, Jupiter is making thunder, he hears you not; here's one knows better.
TACT. 'Tis wond'rous rich: ha! but sure it is not so: ho!
Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha?
No, I am awake, and feel it now.
Whose should it be? [*He takes it up.*
MEN. Set up a *si quis* for it.
TACT. *Mercury!* all's mine own; here's none to cry half's mine.
MEN. When I am gone.

SCENE

removed to Sidney-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted, April 23d, 1616, under the tuition of Mr Richard Howlett (*p*), who, by a very ſtrict attention to his pupil's diſpoſition, very quickly diſcovered, that he was leſs addicted to ſpeculation than to action. We have very different accounts of the progreſs he made in his ſtudies while a member of the univerſity. As for thoſe wild ſtories that a foreign writer tells us, of his amazing proficiency, and which he loads with ſo many falſe authorities (*q*) and contradictory circumſtances; they are not only unworthy of belief, but of notice; and, on the other hand, it is not eaſy to give credit to what ſome report, of his being ſcarce maſter of the Latin tongue, becauſe it is certain that he was well read in the Greek and Roman hiſtory (*r*); but whether he acquired this knowledge at Cambridge, is a point that may be doubted. His father dying he returned home, where his conduct was far enough from being regular, inſomuch that it gave his mother, who was a notable and prudent woman, much uneaſineſs. She was adviſed by ſome near relations to ſend him up to London, and to place him in Lincoln's-Inn (*s*); which ſhe accordingly did, but without any extraordinary effects, ſince it ſerved only to bring him acquainted with the vices of the town, by way of addition to thoſe to which he had been addicted in the country. It does not at all appear, that he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Laws, which was what his friends aimed at; on the contrary, he continued to purſue his pleaſures, and gave himſelf up to wine, women, and play, in which laſt, though he was ſometimes fortunate, yet, taking all his expences together, they ſo much exceeded his income, that he quickly diſſipated all that his father left him (*t*); but, after a few years ſpent in this manner, he ſaw plainly the conſequences of his follies, renounced them ſuddenly, and began to lead a very grave and ſober life (*u*) [*F*]. This, however, ought not to be imputed to his falling in with the Puritans, ſince it is very certain, that he remained then, and for ſome time after, a zealous member of the Church of England, and entered into a cloſe friendſhip with ſeveral eminent Divines, who looked upon his reformation as very extraordinary, and ſpoke of him as a man of ſtrong ſenſe and great abilities (*w*). As he was nearly related to Mr Hampden, of Buckinghamſhire, to the Barringtons of Eſſex, and other conſiderable families, they intereſted themſelves in his favour, and were very deſirous of ſeeing him ſettled in the world; in order to which a marriage was propoſed, which ſoon after took effect (*x*). The Lady he married was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Eſſex, Knight, a woman of ſpirit and parts, and, being deſcended from an ancient

(*p*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. Lib. vii. num. 22.

(*q*) Vie d'Cromwell, par Leti, Vol. I. p. 149, 150, 151.

(*r*) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8vo. Vol. XIII. p. 147.

(*s*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 16.

(*t*) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459.

(*u*) Perfect Politician, p. 2, 3.

(*w*) See the life Oliver Lord Protector, p. 3.

(*x*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 20. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89.

SCENE VI. A SOLILOQUY.

TACT. *Tactus*, thy ſneezing ſomewhat did portend,
Was ever man *ſo fortunate* as I?
To break his ſhins at ſuch a ſtumbling-block.
Roſes and bays pack hence: this *Crown* and *Robe*
My brows and body circles and inveſts,
How gallantly it fits me; ſure the ſlave
Meaſur'd *my head* that wrought this *Coronet*.
They lye that ſay complexions cannot change;
My blood's *ennobled*, and I am *transform'd*
Unto the *ſacred temper* of a KING.
Methinks I hear my noble paraſites
Stiling me *Cæſar*, or great *Alexander*,
Licking my feet, and wond'ring where I got
This precious ointment; how my pace is mended,
How princely do I ſpeak, how ſharp I threaten:
Peaſants, I'll curb your headſtrong impudence,
And make you *tremble* when *the lion* roars:
Yea earth-bred worms: O for a looking-glaſs!
Poets will write whole volumes of *this change*:
Where's my attendants? Come hither, Sirrah, quickly,
Or by the wings of *Hermes* ——

[*F*] *And began to lead a very grave and ſober life.*] We are informed by ſome writers, that while he was at the univerſity, he ſpent much of his time at football, cricket, and other robuſt exerciſes, for his ſkill and expertneſs in which he was very famous (38). In all probability, it might be this that led him into ill company, and drew him into extravagancies of another kind; and this will, in ſome meaſure, account for his mother's being ſo deſirous to remove him out of the country, in hopes that, when he was at a diſtance from his old companions, he might loſe the ill habits they had taught him. His ſtay at Lincoln's-Inn could not be long, nor was this ſeaſon of wildneſs and diſſipation of much continuance. It appears, by the entry in the regiſter of Sidney-College, that he came thither when he was but two days ſhort of ſeventeen (39); and it is very certain, that he was married by that time he was one-and-twenty; ſo that if he ſtaid but two years at the univerſity, and it is very probable that he did not ſtay there longer, there was not above two years more for his going to Lincoln's-Inn, and running through the whole circle of his follies (40). It is very likely that, after he married and ſettled at Huntingdon, he fell into thoſe fits of melancholy in which Dr Simcot attended him; and this is the more probable, if what many writers tell us be true, that he ſhewed a very deep concern for the idleneſs of his former conduct, and readily offered to make ſatisfaction to every perſon whom he had wronged during the time that he lived ſo freely (41). Theſe circumſtances, and the noiſe made by his converſion, recommended him to the notice of the Nonconformiſts, who, by degrees, drew him over to their intereſt, ſo that he frequently attended Dr Williams, then Biſhop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and was very importunate with him to diſpenſe with the ſeverity of the law, when theſe eccleſiaſtical friends of his came into any trouble for their conduct (42). This gave that Prelate an opportunity of judging of him ſo early; and, as he was a man of very extraordinary ſagacity, and ſingular penetration, ſo, at that time, he ſaw clearly into Mr Cromwell's ſpirit, which he found to be haſty, and yet obſtinate, very quick in reſenting, but very ſlow in forgiving injuries. It does not appear on what account he differed with his uncle Sir Thomas Stuart, or at what time; but it ſeems he made a complaint againſt him at court, in which he had not the ſucceſs that he expected; and this gave him the firſt diſtaſte to the King; which, however, upon certain occaſions, he might diſſemble, as upon ſome he certainly did, even before things came to extremities, of which we ſhall have occaſion to take notice; but he never forgot this ſuppoſed injury, notwithſtanding he afterwards, by his mother's intereſt, compromiſed matters with that uncle. We have likewiſe an account of an odd exploit of his at Sir Oliver Cromwell's, which drew upon him very rough uſage, and which, with other things, ſo thoroughly diſobliged that old Knight (43), as to deprive him entirely of his good opinion. Theſe are matters that might perhaps be better cleared up, if any one ſhould take the trouble of writing his hiſtory at large, with that induſtry and care that it deſerves; but, conſidering the nature of our deſign, it may probably be thought, that we have beſtowed too much notice upon particulars of ſo trivial a nature already, and therefore we will forbear them for the future.

(38) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 15.

(39) That entry is in theſe words, *Oliverus Cromwell, Huntingdonienſis*, admiſſus ad commeatum ſociorum *Coll. Siden.* Aprilis 23, 1616, Tutore M. *Ricardo Howlet.*

(40) This appears from the pariſh regiſter of St John in Huntingdon, in which we find, that his eldeſt ſon Robert who died a child, was born October 13th, 1621.

(41) Perfect Politician, or life of Cromwell, p. 2.

(42) Biſhop Hacket's life of Archbiſhop Williams, P. ii. p. 212.

(43) Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 18, 19.

ancient family, did not want a conſiderable portion of pride (*y*). Mr Cromwell ſoon after returned to his own country, and ſettled at Huntingdon till the death of his uncle Sir Thomas Stuart, who left him an eſtate of between four and five hundred pounds a year, induced him to remove into the iſle of Ely (*z*). It was about this time that he began to fall off from the Church, to converſe moſtly with thoſe who were then ſtiled Puritans, and by degrees to affect their notions, as indeed he did every thing which he affected at all, with great warmth and vehemence. He was elected a member of the third parliament in the reign of Charles I, which met January 20th, 1628 (*a*), and was of the committee for religion, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal againſt Popery, and by complaining of Dr Neile, then Biſhop of Wincheſter's licenſing books, which had a very dangerous tendency (*b*). After the diſſolution of that parliament, he returned again into the country, where he continued to expreſs much concern for religion, to frequent ſilenced miniſters, and to invite them often to lectures and ſermons at his houſe; by which he again brought his affairs into a very indifferent ſituation (*c*); ſo that he judged it requiſite to try what induſtry might do towards repairing theſe breaches, which led him to take a farm at St Ives, and this he kept about five years; though, inſtead of repairing, it helped to run out the reſt of his fortune; and had totally undone him, if he had not thrown it up (*d*). Some have charged this upon his enthuſiaſm, and being religious over-much, which induced him to have long prayers with his family in a morning, and again in the afternoon, at which his ploughmen, and all his country ſervants, always attended (*e*). But granting this to be true, it was a proof of his ſincerity, of which indeed he gave many; amongſt others, he gave publick notice, that he was ready to make reſtitution to any from whom he had won money at play; and he actually did return thirty pounds to Mr Calton, from whom he won it ſeveral years before (*f*). His diſappointments being ſuch as allowed him very little reaſon to hope he ſhould either make any great figure in his country, or ſecure a reaſonable proviſion for his children, great part of his uncle's eſtate being now gone, he revived, in his own mind, a ſcheme, which his bad circumſtances firſt put into his head while at Lincoln's-Inn, of going over to New England (*g*). This was in 1637, and this deſign, it is thought, he would certainly have executed, if he had not been hindered by the iſſuing out a proclamation for reſtraining ſuch embarkations (*h*). The next year he had leſs time upon his hands; for the Earl of Bedford, and ſome other perſons of high rank, who had large eſtates in the fen country, were very deſirous of ſeeing it better drained; and though one project of this ſort had failed, they thought it expedient nevertheleſs to ſet on foot another, countenanced by the royal authority, and which, without doubt, was intended for the publick benefit; but for all that it was violently oppoſed, under pretence, that it was injurious to private property, though in reality it gave much more to private people than it took away, and made thoſe rents ſafe and ſecure, which before were very precarious (*i*). At the head of this oppoſition Mr Oliver Cromwell placed himſelf, and puſhed things with great ſpirit and vigour, as he did every thing in which he once embarked, ſo that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble (*k*) [G]. It was the vigour and vigilance which he ſhewed upon this occaſion, that firſt rendered him conſpicuous and conſiderable, and gave occaſion to his friend and relation Mr Hampden to recommend him afterwards to his friends in parliament, as a perſon capable of contriving and conducting great things (*l*). But for all this, he was not very ſucceſsful in the matter of which we have been ſpeaking; and, as his private affairs were ſtill declining, he was in a very neceſſitous condition at the approach of the long parliament (*m*). In theſe circumſtances one might wonder how he ſhould form a deſign, at a time when elections were conſidered as things of the utmoſt conſequence, of getting himſelf choſen, more eſpecially for the town of Cambridge, where he was ſo far from having any intereſt, that in reality he was not ſo much as known, and if he

(*y*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p 3.

(*z*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 20. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, B. III. p. 79.

(*a*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 12.

(*b*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 3.

(*c*) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 460.

(*d*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 21.

(*e*) Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, p. 32, 33. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(*f*) Perfect Politician, p. 2, 3.

(*g*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4. Neal's Hiſtory of New England.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XIX. p. 646. Ruſhworth, Part ii. p. 298.

(*i*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

(*k*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 579.

(*l*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89. Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5. Flagellum, &c. p. 22.

[G] *So that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble.*] The Earl of Bedford living at that time, was one of the wealthieſt, and alſo one of the wiſeſt, men in England; he had a very large eſtate in the fen country (44), and a very great influence over moſt of thoſe who had great eſtates in that neighbourhood; it was no wonder therefore that he patronized a ſcheme for improving the great work of draining, which, in a country where there are millions of acres depending upon it, muſt be always a point of very high importance. He found himſelf however, after great pains taken, and much money laid out, obliged to abandon one very probable and profitable project, for want of the power requiſite to carry it into execution (45). It was this which induced that noble Peer, and thoſe who concurred with him, in ſo great and good a deſign, to apply themſelves to the Crown for that aſſiſtance, which was requiſite to perfect the great ſcheme they had formed, and for the carrying on of which they deſired, that ſuch commiſſions of ſewers might from time to time be iſſued, as might prove neceſſary: they likewiſe, for the honour of the buſineſs, thought fit to ſtile it a royal undertaking, and, as was highly reaſonable, ſettled a ſhare of the profits upon the Crown (46). But, as it was impoſſible to manage an affair of this nature, without levying a kind of land-tax upon thoſe who were to have the benefit of it, and providing that no man's private property ſhould impede the carrying on the works that were requiſite, this furniſhed a ſubject for clamour, not only againſt the undertakers, but againſt the King; which, however groundleſs and unreaſonable, was carried to a very great height; and, in a meeting held at Huntingdon in 1638, Mr Cromwell, who had a conſiderable intereſt in thoſe parts, was very active, and by his vigilance, and plauſible ſpeeches, created a very formidable oppoſition (47); which, though it did not abſolutely ſubvert, it greatly hindered and retarded the progreſs of the works; for which theſe obſtinate people were ſeverely puniſhed in 1657, when, upon the melting of the ſnows, the banks gave way, and a conſiderable quantity of land was, at leaſt for the preſent, loſt, and a large number of cattle deſtroyed (48).

(44) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 60.

(45) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

(46) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 380.

(47) Coke's Detection, p. 106.

(48) Camden's Britannia, Vol. I. p. 479.

[H] *And*

he had been known, would never have been elected. The whole of that affair was owing to an accidental intrigue, in which himſelf had at firſt no hand; but, from the time he meddled with it, he conducted every thing with ſuch ſagacity and dexterity, that, by the help of the party, who firſt thought of him as a proper inſtrument for carrying on the cauſe, he was, to the wonder of others, and perhaps, in ſome meaſure, of his own, choſen by a great majority (*n*). This, which was the beginning of all his greatneſs, ought to be conſidered as a point of conſequence, and therefore we have taken ſome pains to ſet it in a proper light [*H*]. When he came into parliament he ſhewed himſelf very active, was very conſtant in his attendance, and a frequent ſpeaker; though he did not, at that time, diſcover any of the great qualities which afterwards appeared in him, and which ſeemed to be called out as occaſion required; for had he at firſt been eſteemed ſo conſiderable a perſon in point of abilities as he was afterwards found, thoſe of his own party would have probably been jealous of him, and ſought his deſtruction; but he had an art of concealing his faculties, ſo that he ſeemed always fit for the ſtation in which he was, and for that only (*o*). He affected not only plainneſs but careleſſneſs in dreſs, was very uniform in his conduct, ſpoke warmly and roundly, but without either art or elocution. He was very forward in cenſuring what were called grievances, both in Church and State, though he had not framed to himſelf any plan of reformation. This he frankly acknowledged with reſpect to eccleſiaſtical affairs, when preſſed by Sir Thomas Chicheley and Mr Warwick to declare his ſentiments upon that ſubject; *I can tell*, ſaid Mr Cromwell, *what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would have* (*p*). He was very zealous in promoting the Remonſtrance which was carried on the 14th of November 1641, and which in reality laid the baſis of the civil war; he ſhewed himſelf more ſanguine in his expectations upon that head, than the reſt of his party; for he thought they were ſo ſtrong, ſo ſteady, and ſo well connected; and that thoſe who were for the King were ſome of them ſo timorous, others ſo careleſs, and not a few ſo indolent, that it would have been carried almoſt without a debate; nor had he any regard to the Lord Falkland's opinion, who thought the quite contrary. But when, after a debate which laſted all day and all night, it was at length carried by ſo ſmall a majority as nine, and that rather by diſcipline than argument, for wearineſs and fatigue were really the parents of that dear bought victory; he could not forbear ſpeaking his mind freely (*q*). In ſhort, he told Lord Falkland, that he would take his word another time; and, that if the Remonſtrance had not been carried, he was reſolved to have converted the ſmall remains of his eſtate into ready money the next day, and to have taken the firſt occaſion of quitting the kingdom; and this he affirmed was the ſentiment alſo of ſome of the moſt conſiderable men of the party (*r*). The noble Hiſtorian had reaſon therefore to ſay, upon this occaſion, *that this poor nation was very near it's deliverance*; near it indeed! for if zeal for the Church, or duty to the King, could have kept ten more of thoſe, who made ſuch ſtrong *profeſſions of both, from their ſuppers and their beds for a few hours, all the conſequences* of

(*n*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 528. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89. Flagellum, &c. p. 24, *to* 27. Coke's Detection, p. 160.

(*o*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 248. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 579.

(*p*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 5.

(*q*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 514, 515.

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 102, 103.

[*H*] *And therefore we have taken ſome pains to ſet it in a proper light.*] One reaſon why Mr Cromwell quitted Huntingdon was, a diſpute he had with Mr Bernard, upon his becoming Recorder, about precedency, a point in which he was very nice (49). After he came to Ely, he reſorted entirely to Nonconformiſts meetings, where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gifts, as they ſtiled them in thoſe days, in preaching, praying, and expounding (50). At one of theſe meetings he met with Richard Tims, a tradeſman at Cambridge, who rode every Sunday to Ely for the ſake of pure doctrine, and captivated his heart entirely. This man hearing that a parliament was to be called, and being himſelf one of the common-council, took it into his head, that there could not be a fitter man to be their Burgeſs than Mr Cromwell; and, with this notion in his brain, he went to Mr Wildbore, a draper in the town, who was Cromwell's relation, who agreed with him exactly as to the fitneſs of the perſon, but told him the thing was impoſſible, as he was not a freeman (51). Tims, not ſatisfied with that, addreſſed himſelf next to Mr Evett, a tallow-chandler, who was alſo a Puritan. He too liked the thought, but, as he was not a freeman, pronounced the deſign impracticable: however, Tims was hardly got out of his houſe before he ſent for him back, to give him a whiſper, that the Mayor had a freedom to beſtow; and that one Kitchingman, an Attorney, who had married his wife's ſiſter, and was of their party, had a great influence over him; and therefore he adviſed him to move Mr Kitchingman in it, who was to uſe his intereſt with the Mayor, under colour that Mr Cromwell was a Gentleman of fortune, and had a mind to come and live in the town, then but in a poor condition, but with a ſtrict charge to hide the true deſign, Alderman French, who was then Mayor, being a declared royaliſt. When they came to make this application to him, Mr French ſaid he was ſorry, but that in reality they came too late, for he had promiſed his freedom to the King's fiſherman. Mr Kitchingman eaſily removed this objection, by undertaking that the town ſhould confer a freedom upon the perſon he mentioned; and ſo, at the next court-day, the Mayor declared his intention to beſtow his freedom upon a very worthy Gentleman of the iſle of Ely, one Mr Cromwell, who, being apprized of his friend's induſtry, came to town over night, and took up his lodgings at Mr Almond's, a grocer (52). Thither the mace was ſent for him, and he came into court dreſſed in ſcarlet richly laced with gold, and, having provided a pretty parcel of ſtrong claret and ſweetmeats, they were ſo well circulated amongſt the corporation, that they unanimouſly declared, Mr Mayor's freeman was a very civil worthy Gentleman. When the election came on, the Mayor diſcovered his miſtake, but it was then too late, for the party amongſt the Burgeſſes was ſtrong enough to chuſe him (53), and, at the next election in the enſuing year, he threw out Mr Meawtis, who had ſerved the corporation in every parliament in that reign (54). After the corporation act paſſed in King Charles the Second's time, this tranſaction being called to mind, occaſioned the diſplacing Alderman French, who was then Mayor alſo, which affected him ſo ſtrongly, that he was taken ſick upon it, and died in three days through downright grief; and Mr Richard Tims, who, by this time, was become an Alderman, was degraded, for the pains he took in this tranſaction; which circumſtances occaſioned the preſerving ſo particular an account of it to poſterity (55).

(49) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(50) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 59.

(51) Flagellum, &c. p. 24, 25.

(52) Coke's Detection, p. 160.

(53) Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. p. 164.

(54) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5. Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. p. 164.

(55) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 27. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89.

[*I*] *And*

of that fatal night had been prevented. This ſucceſs in the ſenate ſo much ſtrengthened the courage of the victors, gave ſo much reputation to their cauſe, drew over ſo many that were wavering, and diſpirited ſuch as adhered to the King, ſo ſtrangely, that, from this time, all things went to their wiſh in the Houſe of Commons; and Mr Cromwell's firmneſs recommended him ſo effectually to Mr Hampden, Mr Pym, and the reſt of the leading men on that ſide, that they took him into all their councils; which gave him, in a very ſhort ſpace, ſo clear an inſight into things, and ſo perfect a knowledge of men, that he was not only able to manage when they were removed, but even to contrive the removal of ſeveral, who, at this juncture, looked upon themſelves, and that juſtly too, as very much his ſuperiors (*s*). For to ſay the truth, the circumſtances of his fortune, intereſts, and connections, compared with many who were then members, and of the ſame party, would have made it very improbable, in the ſenſe of the moſt competent judges, that he ſhould ever have opened a paſſage to ſuch greatneſs, as afterwards, in ſpite of theſe very men, he obtained (*t*). As ſoon as the parliament formed any ſchemes of raiſing forces for their ſervice, which was in the very beginning of the year 1642, Mr Cromwell ſhewed his activity, by going immediately to Cambridge, where, in a ſhort ſpace of time, and with very little trouble, he raiſed a very good troop of horſe, which he commanded by virtue of a commiſſion from the Earl of Eſſex, acting, in other reſpects, under the Lord Grey of Wark, who had the power of a Major-General in the aſſociated counties for ſome time (*u*). However, Capt. Cromwell, being a member, and at the head of the committee, knowing very well the ſenſe of the Houſe, and being thoroughly aſſured, that what he performed for their ſervice would be well accepted, did not wait for orders, but took upon him, when his men were once in readineſs, to act as he thought proper (*w*). He fixed his head quarters in Cambridge, where he acted with great ſeverity, towards the univerſity more eſpecially, after he miſſed of ſeizing the plate contributed by St John's, and other loyal colleges, for the King's ſervice (*x*), which many writers affirm he actually did ſeize, but that is a miſtake; though it is very certain, that he did all that in him lay, and was as near ſeizing it as could be (*y*) [*I*]. He was more ſucceſsful in his next enterprize; for being informed, that the King had appointed Sir Thomas Coningſby, Sheriff of Hertfordſhire, and had ſent him a writ, requiring him to proclaim the Earl of Eſſex and his adherents traytors, Capt. Cromwell marched with his troop directly to St Alban's, where he ſeized Sir Thomas Coningſby for that action, and carried him priſoner to London, with which the parliament was highly pleaſed; committed Sir Thomas to the Tower, where he lay ſeveral years, and ſeized his eſtate (*z*). Capt. Cromwell having received the thanks of the Houſe for this, which paſſed in the month of November, was encouraged to perform a more important ſervice; for being informed that Sir Thomas Barker, Sir John Pettus, and other Gentlemen of great families and fortunes, were met at Lowerſtoft in Suffolk, for the King's ſervice, he marched thither early in the ſucceeding ſpring, where he not only ſurprized, and made moſt of thoſe Gentlemen priſoners, but took alſo a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and military ſtores, which they had provided (*a*). This enabled him to increaſe his forces, ſo that we find him ſoon after at the head of a thouſand horſe, with the title of Colonel Cromwell; and it deſerves particular notice, that, entering ſo late in life, for he was in his forty-third year before he had thoughts of appearing in a military character, he ſhould notwithſtanding, in the ſpace of a few months, not only raiſe the reputation of an officer, but really become a very good one (*b*); and, which is ſtill ſtranger, ſhould, by mere dint of diſcipline, make his new raiſed men excellent ſoldiers, and lay the foundation of that invincible ſtrength which was afterwards exerted on the behalf of the parliament. That all this is ſtrictly true, we have

(*t*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 3. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 251. Winſtanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 528.

(*r*) Coke's Detection, p. 161.

(*u*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 3, 4.

(*w*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 32.

(*x*) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 25.

(*y*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 4.

(*z*) Chauncey's Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 462. May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79.

(*a*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 34. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Heath's Chronicle, p. 59.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131. Heath's Chronicle, p. 60. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8vo. Vol. XIII. p. 145.

[*I*] *And was as near ſeizing it as could be.*] The King wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Richard Holdſworth, Maſter of Emanuel College, dated June 29th, 1642, ſignifying the extream want he was then in, ſo as not to have wherewithal to ſubſiſt his private family; upon which the univerſity reſolved to ſend his Majeſty a ſmall ſupply, which, though no way adequate to his occaſions, or to their zeal for his ſervice, was, however, as much as lay in their power; what the ſum might be appears not, only it is certain, that the loyal College of St John's ſent one hundred and fifty pounds in money, and two thouſand ſixty-five ounces of plate. It was for the ſhare they had in this tranſaction that Dr Beale, Maſter of St John's, Dr Martin, Provoſt of Queen's, and Dr Sterne, Maſter of Jeſus College, were by Cromwell carried up priſoners to London, where they ſuffered a long impriſonment in the Tower (56). Many members of the univerſity were much worſe treated, being kept priſoners for a long time in the hold of a ſhip in the river, and that too in very ſevere weather; and the three heads beforementioned ſhared in proceſs of time the ſame fate, and were in danger of ſuffering ſtill worſe, one Rigby, a Lawyer, having twice moved, that they ſhould be ſold as ſlaves at Algiers, or ſent as tranſports to the plantations, becauſe he had contracted with two merchants for the purchaſe of them (57). The perſon intruſted with this ſmall treaſure was Mr Barnaby Oley, Preſident of Clare-Hall, who, being very well acquainted with the bye-ways, ſet out with a ſmall party of horſe the very night in which Cromwell took poſt upon the common road, and had the good fortune to bring it ſafe to his Royal Maſter, at the very time he ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham (58). It was, very probably, not long after this that Mr Cromwell had a very remarkable interview with his uncle, which Sir Philip Warwick had from the good old Gentleman's mouth, and therefore we ſhall give it in his own words. 'Viſiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his houſe at Ramſey, he told me this ſtory of his ſucceſsful nephew and godſon, that he viſited him with a good ſtrong party of horſe; and that he aſked him his bleſſing; and that the few hours he was there, he would not keep on his hat in his preſence; but at the ſame time he not only diſarmed but plundered him, for he took away all his plate (59).'

(56) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of England, B. iii. p. 79. Querela Cantabrigienſis, p. 2, 3, 4. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 41.

(57) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 577.

(58) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 26, 27.

(59) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 251.

[*K*] *Who*

have not only the authority of his own aſſertion to prove, and he was not a vain man, but that likewiſe of the beſt writers on all ſides, who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the principal circumſtances relating to it (c) [K]. In the ſpring of the year 1643, having ſettled all things in the ſix aſſociated counties, *viz.* Eſſex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, he advanced into Lincolnſhire, which was now added to the number, having diſarmed in his paſſage ſuch as he took to be diſaffected in Huntingdonſhire, and increaſed his forces to about two thouſand men (d). Here he did very great ſervice by reſtraining the King's garriſon of Newark, gave a check to the Earl of Newcaſtle's troops at Horncaſtle, and performed many other things, of which mention is made by thoſe who have wrote the hiſtory of this fatal war; which gained him ſtill farther credit with the parliament, and more eſpecially with that party, which meant to proſecute things to extremity, and till they ſhould be terminated by compleat victory on their ſide (e). It was to accompliſh theſe views that new armies, under the Earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller, were ſet on foot, and in the former, though the Earl had the title, yet the power was chiefly in Cromwell; for things were ſo dextrouſly managed between him and his friends at Weſtminſter, that, as they knew they might depend upon all in his power, ſo they took care to put as much in his power as they could (f) [L]. The

(c) Conference on the Parliament's deſiring him to take on him the title of King. Lond. 1680. 8vo. p. 38, 39. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 238, 239. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72.

(d) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 5.

(e) Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 35. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131. Lord Hollis's Memoirs, p. 5.

(f) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 59. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 245. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 45.

[K] *Who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the circumſtances relating to it.*] When he firſt raiſed his troop of horſe, he gave a very ſingular ſpecimen of his ſkill in purging; for, not doubting that ſome of them might prove cowards, he deviſed a moſt effectual method of diſcovering which they were, by poſting twelve men in ambuſcade, who ruſhed out upon them at their firſt muſter. Upon this twenty of them rode out of the field as faſt as their horſes could carry them; and theſe Mr Cromwell diſmiſſed, and liſted bolder fellows in their places (60). We are told, by a writer of great credit, that Cromwell's brave regiment of horſe were his countrymen, moſt of them freeholders, or freeholders ſons, men who had ſomething to loſe beſides their lives, and who, upon all occaſions, gave the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of ſteadineſs and reſolution (61). A learned perſon, who knew him well, and loved him *little, accounts for this clearly, by giving us a ſketch* of his method of managing them (62). 'He uſed 'them, ſays he, daily to look after, feed, and dreſs 'their horſes, and, when it was neceſſary, to lie to-'gether on the ground, and beſides, taught them to 'clean and keep their arms bright, and have them 'ready for ſervice; to chuſe the beſt armour, and to 'arm themſelves to the beſt advantage. Trained up 'in this kind of military exerciſe, they excelled all 'their fellow-ſoldiers in feats of war, and obtained 'more victories over the enemy. Theſe were after-'wards preferred to be commanders and officers in the 'army, and their places filled up with luſty ſtrong fel-'lows, whom he brought up in the ſame ſtrictneſs of 'diſcipline.' But Cromwell's own account is far clearer, and more ſatisfactory, than any, and cannot therefore but be welcome to the judicious reader (63). 'I was, ſaid he, in one of his ſpeeches, 'a perſon that, from 'my firſt employment, was ſuddenly preferred, and 'lifted up, from leſſer truſts to greater. From my 'firſt being captain of a troop of horſe, I did labour, 'as well as I could, to diſcharge my truſt, and God 'bleſſed me, as it pleaſed him. I had a very worthy 'friend then, and he was a very noble perſon, and I 'know his memory is very grateful to all; Mr John 'Hampden was the perſon. At my firſt going out 'into this engagement, I ſaw our men were beaten on 'every hand. I did indeed, and deſired him that he 'would make ſome additions to my Lord of Eſſex's 'army, of ſome new regiments. And I told him, it 'would be ſerviceable to him in bringing ſuch men in 'as I thought had a ſpirit, that would do ſomething 'in the work. Your troops, ſaid I, are moſt of them 'old decayed ſerving-men and tapſters, and ſuch kind 'of fellows; and their troops are Gentlemens younger 'ſons, and perſons of good quality. And do you 'think, that the mean ſpirits of ſuch baſe and mean 'fellows will ever be able to encounter Gentlemen, 'that have honour, and courage, and reſolution, in 'them? You muſt get men of a ſpirit, and, take it not 'ill what I ſay, of a ſpirit that is likely to go on as 'far as Gentlemen will go, or elſe I am ſure you will 'be beaten ſtill: I told him ſo. He was a wiſe and 'worthy perſon, and he did think that I talked a good 'notion, but an impracticable one. I told him I 'could do ſomewhat in it: and I accordingly raiſed 'ſuch men as had the fear of God before them, and 'and made ſome conſcience of what they did. And, 'from that day forward, they were never beaten, but, 'wherever they were engaged againſt the enemy, they 'beat continually.' We are told by Echard (64), that the very firſt time he muſtered his troops, he dealt with them very plainly; that he would not cozen them by the perplexed expreſſion in his commiſſion, to fight for King and Parliament, but that if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as ſoon diſcharge his piſtol upon him, as any private perſon; and if their conſciences would not permit them to do the like, he adviſed them not to liſt themſelves under him. This, as the Archdeacon obſerves, was thought very bold at that time; and yet, whoever conſiders it attentively will ſee, that it was very politickly ſpoken; for, in the firſt place, it let his ſoldiers into the true notion of what was required from them before they came to action, and, conſequently, before it was expected from them; ſo that this commander and his men were never at a loſs about each other's meaning: and, ſecondly, it gave the heads of the party a juſt hint of his reſolution; from whence they ſaw, that he was a man determined, whom they might rely upon in *going all lengths, and whom no propoſitions, how high or extraordinary ſo ever, could aſtoniſh*; agreeable to Mr Hampden's notions of him at the beginning of the troubles (65), and his own behaviour during the continuance and to the very end of the war.

(60) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 33.

(61) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72.

(62) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 239.

(63) Conference on the Parliament's deſiring him to take the title of King, p. 38, 39.

(64) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 579.

(65) Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 193.

[L] *So they took care to put as much in his power as they could.*] It muſt be confeſſed, that how deficient ſoever we are in reſpect to good hiſtories of other periods of time, yet, in reference to this of the civil war, we have as many, and thoſe too as conſiderable lights, as can well be deſired, either in regard to general regular compoſitions, or in reference to private memoirs, and on both ſides of the queſtion; ſo that if any judicious and impartial perſon will carefully read, and give himſelf time cautiouſly to compare, what all theſe authors have advanced on any point, he will not find it extreamly difficult to fix his judgment about it. The matter we will endeavour to explain in this note is, the ſubdiviſion of the views with which the leading members in the Parliament at Weſtminſter began the war; for though themſelves, and their Hiſtorian Mr May, would turn this upon the King (66), yet, from the dates of the commiſſions, and from many other unanſwerable reaſons alledged by Mr Coke (67), who was no very zealous Royaliſt, it is inconteſtibly proved, that the Parliament began the war; and the buſineſs is to know why they began it; for, though numbers of men may concur in one joint reſolution, yet it cannot be inferred from thence, that they are all governed by the ſame reaſons, or all aim to bring about the ſame end. Yet it muſt be allowed, that concurring in one reſolution may ground a preſumption, that ſuch perſons are of the ſame opinion; and the contrary of this can only be made appear from their ſubſequent behaviour: for if, after going a certain ſpace together, theſe people divide, and take ſeparate roads, it is plain they had from the beginning different intentions, which remained ſo long concealed as all parties remained, under the perſwaſion that they might travel with advantage together, and be, at the ſame time, advancing towards that point which each of them deſired to reach (68). This

(66) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. ii. p. 47.

(67) Coke's Detection, p. 149—155.

(68) Remarks on the conduct of the long Parliament, p. 75.

The Scots having been invited into England by that party to whom Cromwell adhered, it was judged highly requiſite that the army under the Earl of Mancheſter, and Cromwell, who was now declared Lieutenant-General of the horſe, ſhould join them, the better to enable them to reduce York, which they had cloſely beſieged: this ſervice, very important in itſelf, was executed with great vigour and diligence, more eſpecially by Cromwell, who, with all his horſe, made a ſwift and ſurprizing march, ſo as to join the Scots unexpectedly (*g*). In the battle of Marſton-Moor, July 3d, 1644, it is unanimouſly agreed, that Cromwell's cavalry, who were commonly ſtiled Ironſides, changed the fortune of the day, as that did of the war; for the King's affairs declined, and the Parliament's flouriſhed, ever after (*b*). It is, I ſay, agreed, that all the ſucceſs here was attributed to Cromwell's forces, and, by many good writers, to him who headed and animated them, whereas others give the honour entirely to his men; and would have us believe, that his behaviour was far from being extraordinary (*i*) [*M*]. However this matter might

(*g*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 60. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 530. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 93.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 402. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 597. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(*i*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 16, 17, 18. Sir Roger Manley's Hiſt. of Rebellions, p. 71.

This then was the caſe of the members who remained at Weſtminſter; they all of them judged, that taking up arms was a thing expedient; and, from the meaſures they afterwards purſued, we may, with great probability at leaſt, if not with certainty, diſcover, what the motives were that lead them to concur in this firſt ſtep. Now, not to perplex ourſelves, or the reader, with too great nicety, or more than neceſſary diſtinctions, we ſhall be content to obſerve, that, from their future conduct, it clearly appears, there were three great parties in this Parliament. The firſt was compoſed of ſuch as meant to reduce the Prerogative within narrower bounds, to ſecure the liberties of the people, and to prevent Miniſters from miſleading the King, or his ſucceſſors, into acts of arbitrary power with impunity. Without doubt theſe Gentlemen were right in their intentions; but, whether they purſued a method conſiſtent with the Conſtitution, is another queſtion; which, however determined, will ſtill leave it certain, that they did not aim to overturn the Conſtitution. The heads of this party were Mr Hollis, Mr Hampden, Mr Pym, Sir John Maynard, Sir Philip Stapylton, *&c.* and, at the beginning of the war, this party had the majority in the Houſe of Commons (69). The ſecond were, from the beginning, bent upon changing the Conſtitution, overturning the Monarchy, and ſettling a Republick; the chief heads of this faction were Mr Oliver St John, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Sir Henry Ludlow, and, after his deceaſe, his ſon, *Mr Liſle*, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr Corbet, *&c* (70). The third party might be ſaid to be without any ſettled principles, as being chiefly bent upon getting what they could for themſelves, and ſteering in ſuch a manner, in this dangerous ſtorm of their own raiſing, as might contribute to their own ſafety and proſperity, with no regard whatever, either to the King or Kingdom. Amongſt theſe Mr Cromwell, Mr Henry Martin, Mr Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and many others, might be reckoned (71). The diviſion that is commonly made in reſpect to religion, making the firſt *Preſbyterians*, and the two laſt parties *Independants*, is not very clear in itſelf, and, at the ſame time, far from being conſiſtent with truth. Some of the firſt party were very well inclined to the eſtabliſhed religion, and, notwithſtanding they diſliked ſome Biſhops, had no averſion at all to Epiſcopacy (72). On the other hand, many of the other two parties were well enough ſatisfied with the the Preſbyterian diſcipline, if it could have been moulded ſo as to ſerve their civil purpoſes (73). If indeed it be neceſſary to aſſign a religion to each of theſe parties, the title of Preſbyterians may well enough become the firſt, that of Independents will ſit better upon the ſecond, but, truly, as to the religion of the third, it wants a name: ſome of them indeed profeſſed they had no religion, ſuch as Chaloner and Martin, and, without breach of charity, one may ſay, there might be others of this ſect in their heart, though they profeſſed a great deal. It is requiſite to obſerve, that there were in reality but two parties among the Lords, that is, ſuch as meant well to the publick, ſuch as the Earls of Bedford, Eſſex, Mancheſter, *&c.* and ſuch as meant well to themſelves, as the Earls of Saliſbury, Warwick, the Lord Grey, and a few others (74). This brief account of parties is the true key to the underſtanding the hiſtory of thoſe times; and, as it may be very uſeful towards forming a right notion of other articles, ſo this would be abſolutely unintelligible without it.

(69) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 3, 4, 5.

(70) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 183.

(71) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(72) See Clarendon, Echard, Bates, Dugdale, Warwick, *&c.*

(73) As appears by their conforming during all the time that Preſbytery was eſtabliſhed.

(74) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 155, 156. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.

[*M*] *That his behaviour was far from being extraordinary.*] In order to juſtify what is ſaid in the text, we muſt produce a very famous paſſage from the work of a noble author, who was himſelf very deeply engaged in theſe affairs, and who wrote this account when the perſon he reflects on was living (75). 'However, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, *ſays he*, had the impudence and boldneſs to aſſume much of the honour of it to himſelf, or rather, Herod like, to ſuffer others to magnify him and adore him for it; for I can ſcarce believe he ſhould be ſo impudent to give it out himſelf, ſo conſcious as he muſt be of his own baſe cowardlineſs; thoſe who did the principal ſervice that day were Major-General Leſley, who commanded the Scots horſe, Major-General Crawfurd, who was Major-General to the Earl of Mancheſter's Brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the Northern Brigade, But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the buſineſs, for I have ſeveral times heard it from Crawford's own mouth; and I think I ſhall not be miſtaken, if I ſay Cromwell himſelf has heard it from him; for he once ſaid it aloud in Weſtminſter-Hall, when Cromwell paſſed by him, with a deſign he might hear him; that when the whole army at Marſton-Moor was in a fair poſſibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he ſaw the body of horſe of that Brigade ſtanding ſtill, and, to his ſeeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them, in a great paſſion reviling them with the name of poltroons and cowards, and aſked them if they would ſtand ſtill and ſee the day loſt? Whereupon Cromwell ſhewed himſelf, and, in a pitiful voice, ſaid, *Major-General, what ſhall I do?* he begging pardon for what he ſaid, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his diſtance, as to his ſuperior officer, told him, *Sir, if you charge not all is loſt*; Cromwell anſwered, *He was wounded, and was not able to charge*; his great wound being a little burn in the neck, by the accidental going off behind him of one of his ſoldier's piſtols; then Crawford deſired him to go off the field, and, ſending one away with him, who very readily followed wholeſome advice; led them on himſelf, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his parties pernicious deſigns. This I have but by relation, yet I eaſily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honour, that was not aſhamed nor afraid to publiſh it in all places. Beſides, I have heard a parallel ſtory of his valour from another perſon, Colonel Dalbiere, not inferior either in quality or reputation to Major-General Crawford, who told me, that, when Baſing-houſe was ſtormed, Cromwell, inſtead of leading on his men, ſtood a good diſtance off, out of gun-ſhot, behind a hedge. And ſomething I can deliver of him upon my knowledge, which makes paſſage for the eaſier belief of both theſe, and aſſures me, that that man is as errant a coward as he is notoriouſly perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was, his baſe keeping out of the field at Keinton battle, where he, with his troop of horſe, came not in, impudently and ridiculouſly affirming the day after, that he had been all that day ſeeking the army, and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, twenty or thirty miles off; ſo that certainly he is far from the man he is taken for.

(75) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 15, 16, 17.

might be, it is very certain, that, on the 19th, Cromwell ſtormed the Earl of Exeter's fine houſe at Burleigh; and the courage and conduct of the Lieutenant-General was the theme of every tongue, and no man's fortune or ſervices ſo much valued at London (*k*). He was alſo in the ſecond battle at Newbury, September 17th, in the ſame year; and is ſaid to have made ſo bold a charge with his horſe upon the guards, that his Majeſty's perſon had been in the utmoſt danger, if the old Earl of Cleveland had not come in to his relief, and preſerved his maſter's liberty at the expence of his own (*l*). In the winter the diſputes in Parliament ran higher than ever, nothing but Cromwell's merit and good fortune were talked of by his party, ſome of whom blaſphemouſly ſtiled him, *the Saviour of the Nation* (*m*). Yet, notwithſtanding this, the wiſeſt men, and the beſt patriots, ſaw very clearly to what theſe exceſſive praiſes tended; and, that the nation might be made as ſenſible in this reſpect as themſelves, the Earl of Mancheſter exhibited a charge againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell, not to be in his debt, brought in another charge againſt the noble Peer in the Houſe of Commons (*n*). It is true, that neither of theſe charges were proſecuted; but it is nevertheleſs true, that General Cromwell and his friends abſolutely carried their point, by bringing in what was called the *ſelf-denying ordinance* (*o*), that excluded the members of either Houſe from having any commands in the army; from which however, on the ſcore of his extraordinary merit, that ſet him above all ordinances, Lieutenant-General Cromwell was at firſt occaſionally, at length abſolutely, exempted. This victory in Parliament was ſtill of greater conſequence than that of Marſton-Moor; for, as that turned the *fortune* of the *war*, ſo this determined the *fate* of the *King* and *Kingdom* (*p*) [*N*]. Upon the introduction of the

(*k*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 65.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 65. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 149.

(*m*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 122.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 66.

(*o*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 283.

(*p*) Hollis's Memoirs, p. 35, 36.

for.' His keeping out of the field at the battle of Keinton has been taken notice of by Sir Roger Manley, who ſays, that Cromwell went to the top of a ſteeple, from whence perceiving part of the Earl of Eſſex's army routed, he was in ſuch haſte to get down, that, inſtead of deſcending the ſtairs, he ſwung himſelf to the bottom by the bell-rope (76). This we find confirmed likewiſe by Sir William Dugdale; yet neither of theſe writers mention this to the prejudice of Cromwell's character for courage; on the contrary, they regard it as an inſtance how much the human temper and diſpoſition may be changed from the effects of boundleſs ambition, and the force of a long continued habit (77). It is alſo to be remembered, that Colonel Dalbiere, one of Lord Hollis's witneſſes, was, at the beginning of the war, a great favourite of Cromwell's, who made uſe of his advice to keep his troops in better order (78); but, as he differed with him afterwards, it is not at all impoſſible that there might be a ſtrong mixture of reſentment in what Dalbiere delivered upon this ſubject (79). Major-General Crawford was likewiſe a competitor with Cromwell, and beſides, a great friend to the Earl of Mancheſter (80), to whom Cromwell was a profeſſed enemy. The accounts we have of the battle of Marſton-Moor from the Royaliſts, unanimouſly attribute the loſs of that day in a manner ſolely to Cromwell.

(76) Hiſt. of the Rebellions of England, p. 49.

(77) Short view of the late troubles, p. 110.

(78) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 31.

(79) It was Cromwell's policy to find fit men for his purpoſes, and when they grew unfit, to diſcard them.

(80) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 15.

[*N*] *So this determined the fate of the King and Kingdom.*] As we have, in a former note, given the reader an account of the ſeveral parties in the Parliament at the breaking out of the civil war, there will be no great difficulty in making him clearly comprehend how this great change was brought about, by which that aſſembly manifeſted an intention at leaſt, inconſiſtent with, if not directly repugnant to, that which they had ſhewn at the beginning. While the *firſt* of the three parties had the majority, they were very deſirous, that as much of the executive power of the government as poſſible might be in the hands of their friends, that they might always know whom they had to truſt. Many of them being, by this means, at a diſtance from Weſtminſter, left the other parties, who generally voted together, much ſtronger than they would otherwiſe have been; and this ſtrength they made uſe of to fill moſt of the Committees with their friends, which procured them great intereſt in the country, drew over many to their party, and, whenever exceptions were taken to a Member's character, they had commonly ſtrength enough to vote him out as a malignant, and to bring one of their own party in (81). Cromwell was the officer in the army in whom theſe people moſt confided, and he was obliged to make great profeſſions of his willingneſs to ſerve them, becauſe, through a ſeries of untoward accidents, he was become very obnoxious to what was ſtiled the Preſbyterian intereſt. He had ſeen enough of the Scots when in Yorkſhire to be ſatisfied, that they by no means meant a change of government in the ſenſe that his friends did, and for this he hated them heartily. His averſion to the Earl of Eſſex was as warm as implacable; he judged that he was but half an enemy to the King, which produced that Nobleman a whole enemy in himſelf; beſides, he was informed, that the Earl of Eſſex had held a private meeting with the Earl of Loudon, the Scotch Chancellor, to concert meaſures for ſeizing and impeaching him, which he could never forgive (82); add to all this, that his quarrel with the Earl of Mancheſter came to a very great height, as appears from what is ſaid in the text, and therefore we ſhall mention but one circumſtance of it here. He propoſed, in diſcourſe to that noble Lord, ſomething of an extraordinary nature, to which his Lordſhip expreſſed a doubt, whether the Parliament might be brought to conſent; to which Cromwell immediately replied, *My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you will find an army at your command that will give law both to King and Parliament* (83). After premiſing theſe points, we may, without fear of being miſunderſtood, proceed to obſerve, that the party to which he adhered in Parliament comprehending perfectly his intentions, and confiding in his attachment to them, reſolved to make an effort to gain ſuch a ſuperiority, as might enable them to end the war in that manner, and with that expedition, which ſuited beſt with their deſign. In order to effect this they began to complain privately, of want of zeal in ſome of their great officers, and publickly of want of diſcipline in their army. To remedy both theſe it was propoſed, that, for the future, ſuch as had ſeats in either Houſe ſhould be diſqualified from having commands in the army; whence the intended law had the title of the SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, and the armies, when put under this direction, were ſaid to be of the *new model* (84). The reader muſt obſerve, with what craft this party improved the abſence of the leading men on the other ſide, to gain a prevalence in Parliament; and now being pretty ſure of that, they made uſe of it to ſecure to their ſide the army. Yet it is not at all impoſſible, that they might have failed in this bold project, if they had not inſiſted upon theſe two popular points, of putting a ſhort end to the war, and of providing againſt civil and military power reſting in the ſame hands; for theſe gained to them the timorous and the weak of the other party, becauſe the former were afraid to oppoſe men who talked in ſo high a ſtrain, and the latter were actually impoſed upon by the ſolemnity of their profeſſions. By the paſſing of the Self-denying Ordinance, and the new modelling of the army, the Preſbyterians loſt their power, and the King all hopes of making a good peace, or, to ſay the truth, any peace at all. The firſt appeared by the little reſpect ſhewn to thoſe members, both Lords and Commons, who had hazarded their lives and fortunes for the Parliament, and the ſeverity with which thoſe were proſecuted, who were ſuſpected of an inclination to return

(81) The whole of this matter is thoroughly diſcuſſed in a treatiſe intituled, *The Myſteries of the two Junto's, Preſbyterian and Independant*, printed in 1648, 4to.

(82) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 116. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 546.

(83) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 561, 562.

(84) Hiſt. Independency, P. i. p. 4. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 422, 435, 443. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 118, 119—138, &c.

the new model, as it was called, the chief command of the army was given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and, from being Lieutenant-General of the horſe, Cromwell became Lieutenant-General of the army; nor was it long before he gave a ſpecimen of his great ſkill in Politicks, by procuring an addreſs from his regiment, declaring their ſatisfaction (*q*) with the change; which was a precedent ſoon followed by the reſt, and upon the heels of this, as ſtrong an inſtance of his military abilities (*r*). For, attacking the Earl of Northampton with a body of the King's forces at Iſlip-Bridge, he routed them entirely, took four hundred horſe, two hundred men, and the Queen's ſtandard (*s*). The ſame good fortune attended him at Radcod-Bridge, where he beat Sir William Vaughan, and took him, and a great part of his troops, priſoners (*t*). He puſhed his good fortune to the utmoſt, and, April 24th, 1645, attacked Blechingdon-Houſe, in which Colonel Windebank had a garriſon; the place indeed was very indifferently fortified; but, as Cromwell had only horſe, he knew it was impoſſible to take it if defended, and thereupon ordered his men, as they approached, to cry out, *fall on foot* (*u*); his very name had terrified abundance of ladies, who came to compliment the Governor upon his marriage, and this cry of *fall on foot* diſconcerted the Colonel himſelf, who, confounded with the cries of the women, and knowing the place was not tenable againſt infantry, ſurrendered; for which he was, ten days after, ſhot at Oxford (*w*). But he had not the like ſucceſs againſt Farringdon-Houſe, where Sir George Liſle commanded, though ſupported by ſix hundred foot, and afterwards received a check from General Goring (*x*). At this time the King threatening the aſſociated counties, which had not been attacked during the war, the Parliament ordered Cromwell into the iſle of Ely, where he had the power, if not the title, of Governor (*y*). At the requeſt of Fairfax however he had orders to return to the army, which he accordingly did; and being informed, that the King intended to march northward, adviſed Sir Thomas Fairfax to prevent that, by fighting his Majeſty; which brought on the battle of Naſeby, June 14th, 1645, in which Cromwell commanded the right wing, and his ſon-in-law Ireton the left; and here it was that the King loſt all through the temerity of Prince Rupert (*z*), and the confeſſed conduct and courage of Cromwell, who, when Ireton was routed, and taken priſoner, charged the King's foot, and, with much danger to his own perſon, entirely broke them (*a*). He proſecuted the ſucceſs of this day with the ſame vivacity which acquired it; in a month's time he defeated General Goring, and reduced moſt of the King's garriſons in Hampſhire and Wiltſhire, defeated and cut to pieces the poor Clubmen (*b*); and, having made himſelf Maſter of the Devizes, Wincheſter, and Baſing-Houſe, with the perſon of the Marquis of Wincheſter, it's maſter, he, for theſe ſervices, received the thanks of both Houſes (*c*). Afterwards joining Sir Thomas Fairfax, he had his ſhare in reducing the Weſt, till, upon the ſurrender of Exeter, April 13th, 1646, he found leiſure to return to London, in order to receive thoſe rewards (*d*) which the party he had ſo effectually ſerved were very willing to beſtow, and of which, as an earneſt, they had voted him the ſum of two thouſand five hundred pounds a year, the greateſt part of which was to be taken out of the eſtate of the Marquis of Wincheſter in Hampſhire (*e*). Upon his taking his ſeat in the Houſe, thanks were returned to him, in terms as ſtrong as words could expreſs; and the prevailing party in the Houſe received from him ſuch encouragement, as induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion (*f*) [O]. But in this they were miſtaken; for,

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 67.

(*r*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 531.

(*s*) The Civil Wars of England, p. 154.

(*t*) The Perfect Politician, p. 9.

(*u*) Flagellum, or life and death of Cromwell, p. 41. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 614.

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74, 75. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 614.

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74, 75.

(*y*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.

(*z*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 150. Ruſhworth, Vol. VI. p. 42, 44. Heath's Chronicle, p. 77. Echard's Hiſt. Engl. p. 615, 616.

(*a*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 200.

(*b*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 163.

(*c*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 189.

(*d*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 46.

(*e*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 180, 181.

(*f*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 202.

return again to the King's obedience; the latter, from the leaving out in the new commiſſion of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the clauſe for the ſecurity of the King's perſon (85). In the courſe of the debates which aroſe upon this ſubject in the Houſe of Commons, for it did not paſs there without very high debates, Mr Cromwell ſpoke vehemently on the ſide of the bill, and, when ſome expreſſed a ſuſpicion, that this new diſcipline, though it made the army better ſoldiers, would go near to make them worſe ſubjects, he undertook for the contrary, more eſpecially for his own regiment, which, he ſaid, would fight or not fight, ſerve or not ſerve, juſt as the Parliament pleaſed, to whoſe orders they owed an implicit obedience, which they never had, or ever would, forfeit in any degree (86). It is thought, and not without reaſon, that many voted for the new model from their credulity in this reſpect, and from the certainty which they thought they had, that Cromwell would loſe his command as well as the Earls of Eſſex and Mancheſter, Sir William Waller, and the reſt. In this however they were ſtrangely diſappointed; for notwithſtanding Cromwell went to make a viſit to the new General, in which he declared his willingneſs to reſign his command; yet that ſubmiſſive, that well-diſpoſed, that implicitly obedient regiment, for whom he had ſo roundly undertaken, mutinied upon this occaſion, and refuſed to ſerve without their old Commander Cromwell at their head (87). Upon this the Parliament diſpenſed with the ordinance in reſpect to him, at firſt for twenty days, then for forty, and at length, Sir Thomas Fairfax being unwilling to loſe ſo able an aſſiſtant, for good and all; and thus, when it was too late, thoſe who had been cheated into an approbation of this ſcheme, ſaw their miſtake, and repented of their deluſion (88). By this refined piece of management the Independants, with the aſſiſtance of Cromwell, triumphed both in the Parliament and in the Army; we ſhall hereafter ſee how, by the aſſiſtance of the latter, he triumphed over them in their turn (89). Theſe are the great points of hiſtory that ought to be ſifted out, and ſet in their true light: theſe are thoſe ſhining particulars that diſtinguiſh Biographical Memoirs; and theſe are thoſe important ſecrets that are ſo ſeldom explained in a ſatisfactory manner in general hiſtories, where the courſe of events is more regarded than the ſprings of action, from whence thoſe events ariſe.

(85) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74.

(86) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.

(87) Flagellum, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 40. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.

(88) Hiſt. of Independency. Hollis and Warwick's Memoirs.

(89) See Clarendon, Heath, Echard, and all the Hiſtorians of thoſe times.

[O] *As induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion.*] It was a maxim with Cromwell, as we may gather from his conſtant practice, whenever he had any extraordinary ſucceſs in the field, to return as ſoon as he had an opportunity, and ſhew himſelf in Parliament, that the hazards he ran in the field might contribute to his victories elſewhere. Another art he practiſed, as in truth what art is there he did not practiſe? which availed him highly; he was exceedingly conſtant in his correſpondence with the Parliament; his letters brought them the news of every conqueſt, nor was any expence thought too great to facilitate the early arrival of his diſpatches; his language too,

for; while they thought the Lieutenant-General busy in doing their business, he was in reality attentive only to his own; but covered all his designs with such wondrous dexterity, that they were discerned only by a few, and of those there were scarce any that durst speak their thoughts plainly; neither did their speaking avail, since the majority were of another mind, and some extraordinary methods were practised, to procure and preserve a majority that should be of that mind always (*g*). That party in the Parliament which began the war for the sake of redressing grievances, and to set some bounds to the Prerogative, were now sincerely desirous of making an end of the war, to which they thought nothing could contribute so much, as having the King's person in their hands; for which reason orders were sent to Sir Thomas Fairfax to besiege Oxford (*h*). Others would have been better pleased with the King's escape, because it was more likely to promote the design of continuing the army. Accordingly, April 27th, the King quitted Oxford, to go and put himself into the hands of the Scots. This was precisely what the Independants wanted, because it made long treaties necessary, not with the King only, but with the Scots (*i*). The latter demanded vast sums of money, under the notion of arrears; but Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and his party, who did not either love or value them, opposed such a negotiation as this, as injurious to the honour of the nation, upon a supposition that this might induce the Scots to join with the King, embark their cause and his on the same bottom, and produce thereby a second war (*k*). It was to promote this that they pushed things so far in Parliament, as to procure an order of the House of Commons, for burning the proposals that had been made them by the Scotch Commissioners, by the hands of the common hangman. This, however, prevented the two nations agreeing with his Majesty, and produced some ill blood on both sides, yet none of those heats and tumults that were expected; for at length a bargain was made in the beginning of August, that the Scots should deliver up the King to the English for the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, to be paid them immediately, and the like sum soon after (*l*). The Parliament Commissioners accordingly received him with very great civility and respect; and this having set open a very wide door, persons of all ages, sexes, and ranks, were assiduous in paying, as far as they were permitted, their duty to him (*m*). To free the people from the burthens under which they laboured, and, at the same time, to strengthen their own authority by lessening that of the army, the Parliament inclined to disband a part of their forces. As no-body better understood the meaning of this than Lieutenant-General Cromwell, instead of openly opposing it, he contrived to turn it in a double manner to his own and his party's advantage; for, in the first place, he insinuated, by his emissaries, to the soldiers, that this was not only the highest piece of ingratitude towards those who had fought the Parliament into a power of disbanding them, but also a crying act of injustice, as it was done with no other view than to cheat them of their arrears (*n*). Secondly, he procured an exemption for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, or, in other words, for his own, the General having that title only and appointments, while Cromwell had the power, and the weight of the reduction fell upon Massey's Brigade in the West, together with the troops which Colonel Poyntz commanded in Yorkshire, men of whom he had good reason to doubt, and upon whom the Parliament might have depended (*o*). Thus he dextrously turned to his own advantage, the means contrived for his destruction. To compleat the triumphs of this year, the Earl of Essex died suddenly, September 14th, at Essex-

(*g*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 172. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 43.

(*h*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 208. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 54.

(*i*) Behemoth, by Thomas Hobbs, p. 217, 218.

(*k*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 62, 63.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 121.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 187.

(*n*) Coke's Detection, p. 177.

(*o*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 81.

too, tho' generally wrapped up in the cant of the times, which no man used more, had in it somewhat peculiarly submissive, and irresistibly insinuating; his soldiers, as he said, were not only dutiful but devoted, and if their courage deserved to be remembered, as at the siege of Bristol, they made it their request to be forgot, they desired only to be considered as God's instruments in the righteous cause of the Parliament (90). By these methods he kept himself continually in their thoughts, and in their votes or resolutions; thus two days after the battle of Naseby, they ordered he should be Lieutenant-General of the horse under Fairfax, during the pleasure of the two Houses, which the Lords changed to three months; August 8th, 1645, he was continued for four months longer, and on the first of December, the same year, they voted him two thousand five hundred pounds a year, and that he should be made a Baron; all which he seemed to accept with much less relish for the honours, than for the good-will shewn him by Parliament, to which, upon these occasions, he professed a reverence superior to that which is paid to the most absolute Monarchs of the East (91). By these contrivances both parties enjoyed, for a time, the highest satisfaction; for Cromwell's friends in Parliament believed him unalterably addicted to their measures, and that they might direct and dispose of him how they pleased; while, on the other hand, he promoted his own interest most effectually, and such propositions as he made, purely with a view to that, were by them interpreted as tending only to the maintenance of their authority, and securing the unlimited obedience of the army to their orders (92). Besides all this, he was likewise very attentive to the establishment of an extensive reputation, and that even among enemies; for some of his own soldiers having broken the articles upon which the city of Winchester was rendered, he caused one of them to be hanged, and sent five more of them prisoners to the Governor of Oxford, to be by him punished as he thought fit; but he very wisely sent them back again (93). At the conferences also which preceded the surrender of Exeter, he entered into a conversation with Sir John Berkeley, of such a nature, as to prove an introduction to a correspondence with that Gentleman when a proper opportunity offered, as afterwards there did. Thus at one and the same time he managed many different interests, creating in all an attention to, and confidence in, his conduct, and yet communicating his real designs to none; for at this juncture, though all the parties in the army and the nation had their eyes particularly fixed upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell's management, in order to penetrate his designs; yet it manifestly appears, from the writings on all sides, that there was not any two of them who concurred in their sentiments. Only the Presbyterians seemed to understand him best; for they judged him as little affected to the Parliament as to the King, and that, for the aggrandizing of his own power, he would make no scruple of conscience to destroy both (94).

(90) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. VI. p. 46, 88, 94.

(91) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 180, 181, 189, 202.

(92) See Ludlow, Whitlocke, Hollis, Fairfax, and Warwick's Memoirs.

(93) See the Mystery of the two Junto's, Presbyterian and Independant. Hist. of Independency, P. i. p. 4.

(94) See Whitlocke, Ludlow, Fairfax, Hollis, Berkeley, and Warwick's Memoirs.

Eſſex-Houſe, and was buried with great pomp, October 22d, at the publick expence (*p*), Mr Cromwell coming poſt to town, in order to attend his funeral (*q*). On the 12th of November following, the army marched triumphantly through London, and, in the beginning of February following, the Scots having received their money, delivered up the King, who was carried priſoner to Holmby (*r*). At this time Lieutenant-General Cromwell had a very nice game to play, what wore the legal appearance of power, was evidently in the hands of the Parliament, in which the Preſbyterian party was ſtill prevalent; and as the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was likewiſe in that intereſt, it looked as if the real power was alſo on their ſide. At the bottom, however, the army, now taught to know their own ſtrength, were in reality the maſters, and they were entirely directed by Cromwell, though they knew it not themſelves (*s*) [*P*]. If the King and Parliament had immediately cloſed, which was the intereſt of both, the Kingdom muſt have been ſettled, which was the point that the army chiefs, and their friends, meant to avoid; and what gave them an opportunity of avoiding it was, the King's inflexible attachment to Epiſcopacy on one ſide, and the Parliament inſiſting as obſtinately on the eſtabliſhment of Preſbytery on the other (*t*). Lieutenant-General Cromwell ſaw the neceſſity of having a ſtrong place, and getting the King's perſon into their power; and he contrived to do both, without ſeeming to have any hand in either. Oxford was, at that time, in a good condition, and well ſupplied with artillery; upon which the army ſeized it with the magazines, and every thing elſe (*u*). And Cromwell, then at London, prevailed upon Cornet Joyce to ſeize the King's perſon, with a ſtrong detachment of horſe, not only without the General's orders, but without any orders at all, except thoſe verbal inſtructions from Cromwell (*w*). This was executed on the 4th of June 1647, notwithſtanding the Parliament's Commiſſioners were then with the King, who was conducted from Holmby to Childerſley (*x*), then the army's head quarters, where he was received not only with reverence but with kindneſs, and treated much more indulgently than while in the hands of the Parliament; chiefly through the management of Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commiſſary Ireton, his ſon-in-law, who, if Major Huntingdon, and others, may be believed, made high profeſſions for his ſervice (*y*). It is very certain, that Sir Thomas Fairfax knew nothing of the taking away of the King; that he diſliked it; that he would have ſent him back again with the Commiſſioners, under the guard of two regiments of horſe; but the Commiſſioners refuſed to act, or the King to move (*z*); nay, to ſuch a degree was that Monarch perſwaded of the ſincerity of his new friends, that he had the

(*p*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 630.

(*q*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 225.

(*r*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 193. Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 234.

(*s*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 189.

(*t*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 297.

(*u*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 96.

(*w*) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 225, 226. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 67.

(*x*) Perfect Diurnal, p. 1612.

(*y*) Coke's Detection, p. 178. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 193. Major Huntingdon's Charge of High-Treaſon againſt Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

(*z*) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 240. See the General's own letter to the Parliament in Heath's Chronicle, p. 131.

[*P*] *Though they knew it not themſelves.*] There are ſome things in the text which ſtand in need of explanation; and indeed it cannot be otherwiſe: but to render this article intelligible, and to make the reader perfectly maſter of the ſubject of which we are treating, it is abſolutely requiſite to go very deep into the hiſtory of theſe times, which, in truth, is no other than the perſonal hiſtory of Cromwell; for his, and his friends intrigues, either moved, or gave motion, to all the parties in the kingdom. But, to come to thoſe difficulties we mention, and to reſolve them; in the firſt place then, it may ſeem ſtrange, that having before intimated more than once, that Cromwell's party was become the ſtrongeſt in the Houſe of Commons, we ſhould now aſſert, that there was a party ſtronger than theirs (95). The anſwer to this is, that the facts are certainly true; neither will it be hard to give a clear account of them. Thoſe might be juſtly called Cromwell's party who framed the new model, continued him his ſon Ireton, and a few more officers, in their commands, notwithſtanding the Self-denying Ordinance; for theſe tranſactions ſhew that they were his party, as their being able to carry them ſhews they were the prevailing party. But, when the war was at an end, a conſiderable number of members, amongſt whom were Mr Pierpoint, Mr Whitlocke, and ſeveral other eminent perſons, altered their conduct, and believing that the army had anſwered the ends which it was propoſed they ſhould anſwer, by entirely ſubduing ſuch as were in arms for the King, were now very ſincerely for a peace; and therefore joined the old Preſbyterian party, that were always for it; with them came back thoſe who had been deluded, and ſuch as had been frighted out of their former principles; and thus, in the latter end of the year 1646, the firſt party in the Houſe was again become the ſtrongeſt, and, for a time, were ſtronger than ever (96). Another difficulty may be raiſed, from conſidering the conduct of Cromwell, and the great officers, who, while the army firſt became mutinous, remained in the Houſe, and not only remained, but ſpoke and voted with the majority; ſo that nothing ſeems to be more unfair, than to charge them, at this juncture, with promoting thoſe bad deſigns, notwithſtanding they afterwards openly concurred in them. Now to remove this difficulty, it muſt be obſerved, that Cromwell and Ireton went down from the Houſe to the army firſt, to diſpoſe them to diſband, but, inſtead of acting ſincerely in this matter, they diſcouraged and brow-beat ſuch officers and ſoldiers, as ſhewed themſelves inclined to it, and gave hints to the reſt how they might avoid it, by ſuggeſting, that they were not mercenaries but military commoners, who, in that reſpect, had a right to apply to their repreſentatives, and, amongſt other things, to inſiſt, previous to their being diſbanded, upon an act of Indemnity with the royal aſſent, that they might not ſuffer as the King's ſubjects for what they had done as the Parliament's ſoldiers (97). This produced the erecting a new council, compoſed at firſt of two private men out of each company and troop in every regiment, under the title of Agitators, who were to frame and diſpoſe the propoſitions of the army to the Parliament. After taking this ſtep, which was the foundation of all that followed, Cromwell, Ireton, and the reſt of the great officers, came up to attend the ſervice of the Houſe, well knowing, that the fire they had kindled would burſt out with violence in their abſence, as accordingly it did. Another difficulty yet remains, and that is as to their conduct in the Houſe, which, it is allowed, was not at all of a piece with their behaviour in the army (98). Now the reaſon of this will quickly appear; for, by the manner of their ſpeaking and voting, they ſecured the confidence of the Parliament to ſuch a degree, that, when the diſobedience of the army became flagrant, they were ſent down to reduce them to their duty, whereas had they uſed another language, or a different conduct, they had been ſent to the Tower. But what followed upon their returning to the army? Why, inſtead of performing what they were ſent for, they joined with the mutineers (99), added a council of Officers to the council of Agitators, erecting thereby Military Houſes of Lords and Commons, and ſent up their reſolutions to give law to the Parliament; which clearly proves the truth and certainty of all that is advanced in the text.

(95) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 6.

(96) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 72. See alſo Clarendon, Whitlocke, and Echard.

(97) See Major Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 55. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 77.

(98) Myſtery of the two Junto's, Preſbyterian and Independant. Whitlocke's Memorials. Memoirs of Hollis and Ludlow.

(99) See Major Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 55.

[*Q*] *Who,*

the indiſcretion to tell Sir Thomas Fairfax, when he made him a tender of his duty and reſpect, with promiſes of fair treatment, that *he thought he had as good an intereſt in the* ARMY *as himſelf* (*a*). The remaining ſix months of this year were the moſt critical of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's whole life; for, in order to ſucceed in his ſchemes, it was abſolutely neceſſary to deceive the King, the Parliament, and the Army, which, in their turns, was effected, though not without danger and difficulty. As for the King, he relied ſo entirely upon Cromwell and Ireton, and they, on the other hand, ſpoke of and acted towards him in ſuch a manner, that they were looked upon as abſolute courtiers; nor is it at all wonderful that the King gave credit to them, when they brought the army to ſend a letter to the Parliament, which was delivered July 9th, 1647, avowing the King's cauſe to be their's (*b*), and that no ſettlement could be hoped for without granting him his juſt rights. In reference to the Parliament, ſo long as they enjoyed their power, Mr Cromwell always ſpoke the language of a Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſhewed a high regard for their privileges, and profeſſed, that he was ſuſpected and diſliked by the Army, for his attachment to the Civil Government (*c*). This did not, however, hinder his being diſbelieved by many, till at length he found it neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to make his eſcape from the Houſe with ſome precipitation (*d*). As to the ſoldiers, and that mutinous ſpirit which they diſcovered againſt the Parliament, it was raiſed, fomented, and managed, by Cromwell and Ireton, the former declaring at Triploe-Heath, when the Parliament had been obliged to eraſe their own declaration out of their Journals, *Now they might be an Army as long as they lived* (*e*). It was owing to this ſpirit that the *eleven* Members of the Houſe of Commons were impeached, the Houſe of Commons purged, and their authority brought ſo low, that the London apprentices came into the Houſe, and forced them to vote what they pleaſed (*f*). It is true, that, when the Earl of Mancheſter and Mr Lenthal, the Speakers, retired to the Army, and the Lord Grey and Mr Pelham were choſen in their places, the Lords and Commons recovered their authority; but they did not hold it for a week, Sir Thomas Fairfax marching directly to London, replacing the old Speakers, Auguſt 6th, and the next day marching in triumph through the city, ſo that now the Army, and not the Parliament, were the Supreme Authority (*g*). Soon after this a new party ſprung up among the ſoldiers, under the title of LEVELLERS, who made no ſecret of their hating equally both King and Parliament; and it was to ſave himſelf from theſe people, whom, as he was informed by Cromwell, ſought his life, the King, November 11th, fled from Hampton-Court to the Iſle of Wight, after having rejected the Parliament's propoſals by Cromwell's and Ireton's advice (*h*). Immediately after this tranſaction General Cromwell altered his behaviour towards the King entirely, as ſome think, out of fear of the Agitators, but, as Lord Hollis and others affirm, in conſequence of his own deſigns (*i*); for, having made uſe of the King's preſence to manage the Army, and of the power which the Army had thereby acquired, to humble and debaſe the Parliament, there was no farther end to be anſwered by keeping meaſures any longer towards the King (*k*). In order to be convinced of this we need only conſider, that the ſame method was practiſed in the Iſle of Wight, while the Parliament was again treating with the King, which had been before practiſed at Holmby, and the very ſame inſtrument employed the famous Cornet Joyce, who, upon very good grounds, is believed to be the very man that cut off the King's head (*l*). The Parliament, now much altered from what it was, upon the King's refuſing to paſs *four* bills which they ſent him, fell into very warm debates, in which it is ſaid, that Cromwell was a principal ſpeaker, and inveighed bitterly againſt his Majeſty; he ſaid, the King was a very able man, but withal a great diſſembler, one in whom no truſt could be repoſed, and with whom therefore they ought to have nothing to do for the future (*m*). However this might be, the Parliament, on the 5th of January, voted that no more addreſſes ſhould be made to the King (*n*), and from that time he was more ſtrictly impriſoned than ever; all which the beſt writers attribute to a new conjunction between Cromwell and the Commonwealth's Men, who, after ſo much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament (*o*) [Q]. It very ſoon appeared, notwithſtanding this agreement between the grandees

(*a*) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 116.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 259. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 195. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 113.

(*c*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 190. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 100.

(*d*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55.

(*e*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 132, 133. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 230, 231. Major Huntington's Charge.

(*f*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 260. Coke's Detection, p. 162, 163.

(*g*) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 264. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 253. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.

(*h*) Major Huntington's Charge. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 203, 204.

(*i*) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 234, 235. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 186, 187.

(*k*) Flagellum, or the life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 63.

(*l*) Behemoth, by Thomas Hobbs, p. 239. Heath's Chronicle, p. 157.

(*m*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 229, 236. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 63.

(*n*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 275.

(*o*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 239, 240. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 97.

[Q] *Who, after ſo much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament.*] It is a point out of all diſpute, ſince there is not a writer of any party but agrees in the fact, that the great inclination ſhewn by the Army to provide not only for the ſafety of the King's perſon, but for his reſtitution to his juſt rights, was, at firſt infuſed, and promoted all along, by Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commiſſary-General Ireton, who, from this merit, aſſumed to themſelves the negotiation with the King; which they carried on ſo much to his ſatisfaction in moſt reſpects, that he thought his condition much mended, and truſted them very much; though he was not ſo weak to confide entirely in their promiſes, as ſome writers have aſſerted. What the methods were by which Cromwell impoſed upon him and his old ſervants, and to how great a height this impoſition was carried, may appear by one paſſage out of many, in the work of a Gentleman of honour, and who was deeply intereſted in this affair; and who was both an eye-witneſs, and very largely concerned in every tranſaction that he mentions (100). After obſerving that the Agitators, on the King's firſt coming to the Army, were very ſincere in his cauſe, and deſired this Gentleman to give them notice if he ſaw any cauſe to ſuſpect the reality of Cromwell's profeſſions, he proceeds thus: 'In all my conferences with him, I 'found no man, in appearance, ſo zealous for a ſpeedy 'blow as he, ſometimes wiſhing that the King was 'more frank, and would not tie himſelf ſo ſtrictly to 'narrow maxims, ſometimes complaining of his ſon 'Ireton's ſlowneſs in perfecting the propoſals, and his 'not accommodating more to his Majeſty's ſenſe, al-'ways doubting, that the Army would not preſerve 'their good inclinations for the King. I met with 'him

(100) Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley, p. 26, 27, 28.

grandees of the Army, and the friends to a Republick, that the nation in general hated the thoughts of ſubmitting to a Stratocracy, Ariſtocracy, or a Democracy, and were reſolved to run any hazard, in order to recover their old Conſtitution (*p*); and this it was that created the ſecond Civil War, in which many, who had formerly fought for the Parliament, took up arms for the King; and part of the fleet under Vice-Admiral Batten, who had been diſplaced to make way for Cromwell's favourite Rainſborough, revolted to Prince Charles (*q*). Yet this was far from being all; the Scots, who now ſaw that their expectations were entirely defeated, fell upon new meaſures, and having, without doubt, ſome ſecret encouragement from the chiefs of the Preſbyterian party in England, fell upon new

(*p*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 170, 171.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 530, 531.

'him about three days after I came to Reading, as he 'was coming from the King, then at Cauſum: he told 'me, that he had lately ſeen the tendereſt ſight that 'ever his eyes beheld, which was, the interview be-'tween the King and his children, and wept plenti-'fully at the remembrance of it, ſaying, that never 'man was ſo abuſed as he, in his ſiniſter opinions of 'the King, who, he thought, was the uprighteſt and 'moſt conſcientious man of his three kingdoms; that 'they of the Independant party, as they were called, 'had infinite obligations to him, for not conſenting to 'the Scots propoſitions, which would have totally 'ruined them, and which his Majeſty's intereſt ſeemed 'to invite him to; and concluded with me by wiſhing, 'that God would be pleaſed to look upon him accord-'ing to the ſincerity of his heart towards his Majeſty. 'I immediately acquainted his Majeſty with this paſ-'ſage, who ſeemed not well edified with it; and did 'believe, that all proceeded out of the uſe Cromwell 'and the Army had of his Majeſty, without whom he 'thought they could do nothing.' This paſſage ſhews at what time Cromwell endeavoured to be thought well affected to the King, and profeſſed his having a good opinion of him. Had theſe been ſincerely his ſentiments, he would never have altered them, for the King gave him no occaſion; ſince it is clearly proved, that his final anſwer to the propoſals which were made him, not only ſpoke the ſenſe of him and Ireton, as the King conceived it, but was altered by their hands till it ſatisfied themſelves (101). Had he been really inclined to reſtore the King, he might have done it now with a high hand, a great majority of the Parliament were for him, the city of London was in their ſentiments; the meaſures taken by the Scots, and the inſurrections in ſeveral counties in his favour, ſhew, that this was alſo the ſenſe of the nation; if therefore Lieutenant-General Cromwell had made uſe of his wonderful capacity, to diſpoſe the Army not to any new deſign, but to have performed their own promiſes; he might have ſettled the government upon it's old foundation, and have made himſelf a very great man (102). He reſolved, however, not to do this, and, having made that reſolution, it became neceſſary to prevent the King's being ſettled by others; and how he contrived to bring this about, a noble Hiſtorian has very fully informed us, after having aſſured us that this was Cromwell's deſign (103). 'The difficulty was, how to bring this about to cozen the King, ſo as to make him act it himſelf, and fly into the cage; carry him by force they durſt not; it would be unhandſome; it might be dangerous: they uſe this ſtratagem; heighten, and ſharpen underhand, the mad humour of their party againſt him, to have it break out all manner of ways in threatning ſpeeches, pamphlets, ſome conſultations, that, whilſt his Majeſty lived in England, he could not be ſafe; meetings to conſider, and come to ſome reſolutions, of taking him out of the way; the Army is again diſquiet, the Officers not obeyed; all things tending to mutiny, and ſome violent eruption. Then does Mr Cromwell, and his Cabinet-Council, ſeem to be extreamly ſollicitous of the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon; cauſe ſome diſcoveries to be given him of his danger; expreſs great indignation and trouble in the Houſe, in the Army, and other places, againſt theſe proceedings; act their parts ſo to the life, as the life of a man muſt go to make up the diſguiſe; an Agitator, whom, at a Council of War, with two more they condemned, was ſhot to death; ſo as the King could not but have a great confidence in theſe men, to believe that they were really for his preſervation. At laſt Cromwell writes a letter to Whalley, who commands the guards about his Majeſty's perſon, to be ſhewn his Majeſty; and other informations are likewiſe brought him, to make him believe, that, if he eſcape not preſently, he will be murdered; and he is adviſed to go to the Iſle of Wight, where they had before-hand provided him a jaylor, Colonel Hammond, one for whom, they ſaid, they could anſwer, that there his Majeſty would be in ſafety, and they able to ſerve him. Here they have the King ſafe enough; and now the Army is preſently quiet, the Agitators as obedient as lambs, and Councils of War are ſet up again to act as formerly. And Sir Thomas Fairfax, with their advice, ſets out a Remonſtrance, to give ſatisfaction to the Army; which he concludes with a proteſtation to adhere to, conduct, live and die with the Army, in the proſecution of ſome things there expreſſed; as namely, to obtain a preſent proviſion for conſtant pay, ſtating of accounts, ſecurity for arrears, with an effectual and ſpeedy courſe to raiſe monies; a period to be ſet to this Parliament; proviſion for future Parliaments, the certainty of their meeting, ſitting, and ending; the freedom and equality of elections, and other things, which he had the impudence and boldneſs to publiſh in print.' It is true, that Lord Hollis, being an enemy to Cromwell, and writing this book to ſhew the cauſe of his enmity, is not a witneſs to be believed entirely from his own aſſertion; but the main fact here is, the letter which had been paſſed over by ſome, denied by others, and, for any thing that I know, never proved upon Cromwell by any; till Colonel Whalley's letter to the Parliament, upon the King's withdrawing from Hampton-Court, was publiſhed; in which it is poſitively ſaid, that Cromwell wrote the letter to him (104), and that he ſhewed it to the King: This letter Ruſhworth had in his power, and might have printed, if he had ſo pleaſed; but truths of all kinds are not welcome to all men. As for the Propoſitions that were ſent to the King in the Iſle of Wight, they were deſtructive not only of his power and honour, but of the Conſtitution; by them he was required to take the guilt of all the blood ſhed in the war upon himſelf, to cancel all his own acts, and to eſtabliſh the independent power of the Parliament and Army; that is, in plain Engliſh, to depoſe himſelf, and, at the ſame time, lend his authority for the eſtabliſhing a new tyrannical power over his people (105). For rejecting ſuch terms, Cromwell declared that he ought to be treated with no more; the Parliament, now under the direction of the Army, voted this; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, without waiting for their directions, ordered the King to be made a cloſe priſoner; and this, though done without their knowledge, was approved by Parliament (106). Theſe indiſputable facts are ſufficient to let us into the motives upon which thoſe men proceeded who did all theſe things, and who, in the Council of War held at Windſor, immediately after, reſolved to do all that they afterwards did, though, from certain unforeſeen circumſtances that fell out, they were hindered from doing it ſo ſoon as they intended (107). As for the coalition between Cromwell and his creatures, and the Commonwealth party in the Houſe of Commons, the hiſtory of it may be found in Whitlocke and in Ludlow (108), much to the honour of Cromwell's abilities, who deceived them with as much dexterity as he had done the King, and for the very ſame reaſon, becauſe there was no other way of working his own purpoſes but by deceiving them; if there had, he would probably have taken it; but, as there was not, he was forced to take it; and the great wonder is, that, having diſſembled and deceived ſo often before, he ſhould be truſted again; to account for which we muſt conſider, that this was not choice in the Commonwealth's men (109), but neceſſity; they did not truſt Cromwell to do their work, but they made uſe of him, becauſe he was the only inſtrument by which their work could be done.

(101) See Major Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell, and the Memoirs of Hollis, Ludlow, and Aſhburnham.

(102) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 60, 61.

(103) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 185, 186, 187.

(104) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. IX. p. 38.

(105) Heath's Chronicle, p. 160, 161. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Hiſt. of Independency, P. i. p. 41.

(106) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 64, 65.

(107) Berkeley's Memoirs, p. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75.

(108) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 361—363. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 271—273.

(109) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 99.

new councils, determined to raiſe an army, and march it into England (*r*), in hopes of being joined by the King's friends in the field, and, upon the firſt advantage gained there, owned and applauded by their old acquaintance in the Parliament (*s*), who were true to their ancient principles, and deſirous of a ſettlement upon a baſis of their own laying, rather than a revolution, taking riſe only from chance and power (*t*). In the mean time there were riſings alſo in Kent and Surrey; and, though theſe were in a manner ſuppreſſed by that part of the Army which lay near London, yet the remains of theſe two bodies forcing a paſſage into the county of Eſſex, took poſſeſſion of Colcheſter, where, under the Earl of Norwich, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, they made a very gallant defence (*u*). As the war was thus revived in all parts of the iſland, there was a neceſſity of dividing the Army, in conſequence of which Cromwell marched into Wales againſt Major-General Langhorn, Colonel Poyer, and Colonel Powell (*w*). Sir Thomas Fairfax beſieged Colcheſter (*x*), and General Lambert marched northward againſt the Scots (*y*). The military power being thus employed, the city of London and the Parliament were left, in ſome meaſure, at liberty to purſue their own ſentiments, and what theſe were quickly appeared; for June 27th, 1648, the city petitioned for a perſonal treaty with the King, which was very well received, and ſome ſteps taken thereupon (*z*). But by the arts of Sir Henry Vane, and thoſe of his party, many obſtacles being raiſed, the city, on the 8th of Auguſt following, petitioned the Houſe of Lords in ſtill ſtronger and more direct terms, which was not only favourably accepted, but the petitioners had alſo the thanks of the Houſe given them; an evident proof, that the ſcope of their petition was alſo the ſenſe of that Houſe (*a*). A few days after the Commons recalled their vote for non-addreſſes, ſet on foot a perſonal treaty with the King at the Iſle of Wight, and at length voted his Majeſty's conceſſions ſatisfactory (*b*). An attempt was alſo made to impeach Cromwell of high-treaſon upon Major Huntington's information, whom he had chiefly intruſted in his negotiation with the King; but this failed (*c*). The great ſucceſs of the Army quickly altered the face of things; for Cromwell having reduced, and, in a great meaſure, deſtroyed thoſe who took up arms in Wales, began his march northward in the middle of July, and, in a month after, routed Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Scots under Duke Hamilton; the terror of which victory forced Colcheſter to ſurrender (*d*): and now the Army returning towards London, November 20th, ſent a Remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons, diſapproving all they had done (*e*). This Remonſtrance was carried by Colonel Ewers, who went next into the Iſle of Wight, where he ſeized the perſon of the King, which was reſented by the Parliament, who commanded the General to recal his orders (*f*). Inſtead of this the Army marched directly to London, and, in the firſt week of December, took poſſeſſion of it, purged the Houſe of Commons, that is, turned out the better part of it's Members, and then forced the remainder to do what they pleaſed (*g*). In moſt of theſe ſteps Cromwell was very active, and is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the reſt (*b*) [*R*]. It is not neceſſary

(*r*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 278, 279.

(*s*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 100.

(*t*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 232.

(*u*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 249, 250.

(*w*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1098.

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192.

(*y*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 233.

(*z*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1167.

(*a*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 647. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. iv. p. 1220.

(*b*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 289. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 647.

(*c*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 325, 327.

(*d*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 178, 179.

(*e*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1331. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 293.

(*f*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 651. Bate's Elenchus Motuum, p. 135.

(*g*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192, 193.

(*b*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 70, 71.

[*R*] *And is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the reſt.*] After Lieutenant-General Cromwell was ſent to reduce thoſe who, deſerting the Parliament's ſervice, had taken up arms in Wales, he proſecuted that expedition with ſuch vigilance, that he did more in a month than could have been well expected from him in ſix; and yet what he did was moſt effectually done alſo, and without the leaſt tincture of paſſion; though he is commended for his clemency by ſome, and as loudly condemned of cruelty by others; but as haſte was all he aimed at, ſo he was either gentle or ſevere as that directed. If he could procure a ſurrender upon terms, no-body gave better, none kept them more ſtrictly; but if he was obliged to make uſe of force, he did not ſpare ſhedding blood; not from particular reſentment, or any barbarous delight in it, but to ſerve his purpoſe, which, in this caſe, was diſpatch (110). This war quickly ended, though at a great expence of men, who had done the Parliament good ſervice, thoſe who fought againſt Cromwell having had a ſhare in moſt of the battles againſt the King; he marched northwards to join Lambert, and came time enough to fall upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Engliſh Royaliſts, who behaved as well as men could do, and were beat by dint of numbers; but for the Scots under Duke Hamilton, they were ſo ill commanded, that, though they had numbers on their ſide, they were rather butchered than beat, ſo that not a tenth part of them got home again (111). Cromwell now changed his maxim, proceeded ſlowly, went into Scotland, concluded a treaty with the dominant party in that kingdom, and left a body of troops with them to maintain it; by which having ſecured that part of the iſland, he was in no pain about the reſt, as knowing that his victorious army muſt make all bend before them. At this diſtance, however, he ſignified to his friends in Parliament, that they ſhould adhere to their vote of making no farther addreſſes to the King (112), which, though they found it impoſſible to do, yet, as the moſt effectual ſtep towards fruſtrating the oppoſite meaſures, they procured Sir Henry Vane the younger to be one of the Commiſſioners in the treaty at the Iſle of Wight, where, by his arts, and in conjunction with the Lord Say, he retarded it very much, which gave Cromwell time to march up to London (113). In this march the Remonſtrance was hammered out directly contrary to the declaration of the Army, in which they had bewailed their former miſcarriages towards the Parliament, offering violence to the two Houſes, and promiſed faithfully and dutifully to acquieſce in their wiſe reſolutions. Upon the very day that Cromwell came to London, Colonel Pride turned one-and-forty Members out of the Houſe, and made them priſoners; and the very ſame day Colonel Ewer ſeized the King in his bed-chamber, and carried him out of the Iſle of Wight to Hurſt-Caſtle (114); both which ſteps are ſuppoſe to have been taken by directions from Cromwell; and that this ſuppoſition was not ill founded, the reader may probably conclude from the following account of it by the General Thomas Lord Fairfax (115). 'In the Iſle of Wight the Parliament treated 'upon propoſitions of peace with the King; but alas! 'the *Envious one* ſowed *tares*, that could not be rooted 'out but by plucking up the corn alſo. The King 'was the golden ball caſt before the two parties, the 'Parliament and the Army; and the conteſt grew ſo 'great, that it muſt again have involved the kingdom 'in blood, but the Army, having the greater power, 'got the King again into their hands, notwithſtanding 'all endeavours to hinder it. The treaty was ſcarce 'ended before the King was ſeized on by the hands of 'the ſame perſons that took him from Holmby, ſoon after

(110) The Perfect Politician, or life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 28, 29.

(111) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 100, 101. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 67.

(112) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 964.

(113) Sir John Bowring's Memoirs. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 44.

(114) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 355, 357.

(115) Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 118, 119, 120.

neceſſary to dwell particularly upon thoſe circumſtances that are well known, in relation to bringing the King before the High Court of Juſtice, and in purſuance to the ſentence paſſed there to his death, ſince the ſhare that Lieutenant-General Cromwell had therein was open and publick; he ſat in the Court, he ſigned the Warrant, and he proſecuted the accompliſhment of it by the King's bloody execution (*i*). It is alſo known, that he threatned Colonel Downs out of that tenderneſs which he ſhewed for his Sovereign, when before the Court; and Colonel Ingoldſby always affirmed, that Cromwell guided his hand in his ſigning the ſentence; what applications were made to him for ſaving the King's life may be found in a multitude of books, and ſome of the paſſages relating to them are undoubtedly worthy of notice (*k*) [*S*]. One remark however is very obvious upon this head, which is, that his power and his principles muſt have been very well known, both at home and abroad, otherwiſe ſuch general applications could have never been made; for though

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 567—569. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 370—375. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 653—661.

(*k*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 200. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 734.

'after followed his trial. To prepare a way to this 'work, this agitating council did firſt intend to remove 'all out of the Parliament who were like to oppoſe 'them; and carried it on with ſuch ſecrecy, as I had 'not the leaſt intimation of it till it was done, as 'ſome of the Members of the Houſe can witneſs, with 'whom I was at that very time, upon ſpecial buſineſs, 'when that attempt was made by Colonel Pride upon 'the Parliament, which I proteſt I never had any 'knowledge of till it was done. The reaſon why it 'was ſo ſecretly carried, that I ſhould have no notice 'of it, was, becauſe I always prevented thoſe deſigns 'when I knew them. By this purging of the Houſe, 'as they called it, the Parliament was brought into 'ſuch a conſumptive and languiſhing condition, that 'it could never again recover that healthful conſtitu-'tion which always kept the Kingdom in it's ſtrength, 'life, and vigour.' When the firſt propoſition was made in the Houſe of Commons, for trying the King, Mr Cromwell roſe up (116), and ſaid, that 'If any man 'moved this upon deſign, he ſhould think him the 'greateſt traitor in the world; but ſince Providence 'and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray 'God to bleſs their councils, though he was not pro-'vided on the ſudden to give them counſel.' But not long after he was: for, being a great pretender to Enthuſiaſms and Revelations, he told them, that, as he was praying for a bleſſing from God on his undertaking to reſtore the King to his priſtine Majeſty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not ſpeak one word more; which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King; and to others he aſſerted, that it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and fraud. If the reader is inclined to purſue this matter any farther, he may meet with the cleareſt information in the work of a late Prelate, who has given ſuch an account of Mr Cromwell's diſpute with the Commiſſioners from Scotland, on the neceſſity of the King's being ſubjected to a capital proſecution, as will leave him without the leaſt colour of doubt, that the whole of this meaſure was of his contriving and conducting, though ſupported by all the Republican party in the Parliament (117).

(116) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 54.

(117) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 365. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 46, 47.

[*S*] *Are undoubtedly worthy of notice.*] Of theſe one of the moſt remarkable is, the tranſaction between the Lieutenant-General and a couſin of his, Colonel John Cromwell, an officer in the ſervice of the States. This Gentleman is ſaid to have been in England while the King was in the hands of the Army; and that in a conference he had with the Lieutenant-General, the latter made uſe of this expreſſion, *I think the King the moſt injured Prince in the world,* and then clapping his hand upon his ſword, added, *But this, couſin, ſhall do him right* (118). The Colonel returning to Holland ſoon after, reported what he took to be truth, that the Lieutenant-General had a great regard and reſpect for the King. When, therefore, the news of the King's trial reached Holland, he was ſent over with Letters Credential from the States, to which was added a blank with the King's ſignet, and another of the Prince's, both confirmed by the States, for Cromwell to ſet down his own conditions, if he would now ſave his Majeſty's life. The Colonel went directly to his kinſman's houſe, who was ſo retired and ſhut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home; that it was with much difficulty he obtained admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually ſaluted each other, the Colonel deſired to ſpeak a few words with him in private; and began, with much freedom, to ſet before him the heinouſneſs of the fact then about to be committed, and with what deteſtation it was looked upon abroad, telling him, That of all men living he could never have imagined he would have had any hand in it, who, in his hearing, had proteſted ſo much for the King. To this Cromwell anſwered, It was not he but the Army, and though he did once ſay ſome ſuch words, yet now times were altered, and Providence ſeemed to order things otherwiſe. And it is ſaid he added, that he had prayed and faſted for the King, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this the Colonel ſtepped a little back, and ſuddenly ſhut the door, which made Cromwell apprehend he was going to be aſſaſſinated, but the other pulling out his papers, ſaid to him, *Couſin, this is no time to trifle with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourſelf but your family, relations, and poſterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwiſe, as they changed their name before from* Williams *to* Cromwell, *ſo now they muſt be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring ſuch an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface.* At this Cromwell pauſed a little, and then ſaid, *Couſin, I deſire you will give me till night to conſider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to bed, till you hear from me.* The Colonel did accordingly; and, about one in the morning, a meſſenger came to tell him, He might go to reſt, and expect no other anſwer to carry to the Prince, for the council of officers had been ſeeking God, a phraſe, it ſeems, very much in uſe at that time, as he alſo had done the ſame, and it was reſolved by them all, that *the King muſt die* (119). All the circumſtances of this relation agree perfectly with the moſt authentic diaries of thoſe times, by which fictitious ſtories are eaſily detected. Lady Fairfax charged the whole deſign of ſeeking the King's death upon Cromwell, at his Majeſty's trial (120). Sir John Bowring told the King himſelf, during the Hampton-Court treaty, what Cromwell's intentions were; and Sir Peter Killigrew likewiſe told him, at the ſame place, that Cromwell meant to fetch him up to London, bring him to a trial there, and put him to death (121). Some have doubted whether the laſt was his original intention or not, for he never loved a Commonwealth, and therefore it is ſuppoſed, that he was the author of that paper-book of propoſals offered to the King the evening before he died; which would have eſtabliſhed the being of the Army moſt effectually, by putting it in their power to pay themſelves, and, at the ſame time, rendering them perpetual (122). If this be true, as indeed I think it cannot be diſproved, the King ſhewed that his great patience did not proceed from want of ſpirit, for he preſently rejected thoſe terms, and reſolved to die a martyr rather than live a cypher (123). But though, without Lieutenant-General Cromwell, this deed could not have been done, yet, when he had brought it ſo far, in order to try whether the King, who, by his laſt treaty, had conſented to a never ending Parliament, might not be brought to change that for an everlaſting Army, yet it might not be abſolutely in his power to go back, nor was it, probably, ever in his will; ſince, how generally ſoever the death of the King was imputed to him, the ſaving of him might, and, in all appearance, would, have been attributed to others; which was ſo repugnant to his ſcheme, if we may judge from his former and future actions (124), that there appears not the leaſt foundation to ſuppoſe he ever had a thought of conſenting to it, nor is there any thing like it ſuggeſted, by any of thoſe who either commend or condemn him.

(118) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 53.

(119) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 658.

(120) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 375. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 991.

(121) Bowring's Memoirs, p. 151.

(122) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 109. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 660. Heath's Chronicle, p. 215.

(123) See the King's ſpeech at his death.

(124) Perinchief's life of Charles the firſt, p. 93.

[*T*] *And*

though it be true, that there were addreſſes alſo to the General, yet thoſe were from ſuch as oppoſed the action, as for inſtance, the Preſbyterian Miniſters, the Scots Commiſſioners, and ſome of the ſecluded Members; but thoſe who were guided entirely by pity and concern, laboured only to move Cromwell, who is ſaid, after this tragedy was acted, to have ſpoke his mind freely by owning, that, if he had not been a King, he might have lived longer (*l*). The government being now entirely changed, for in five days after the King's death the Houſe of Lords was voted uſeleſs, it became neceſſary to think of ſome expedient for managing the executive power; and therefore it was reſolved to ſet up a Council of State, of which John Bradſhaw was Preſident, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell a principal Member (*m*). Before he had well taken poſſeſſion of this new dignity, he was again called to action, and that too as briſk, and at leaſt as hazardous, as any in which he had taken any ſhare. The perſons with whom he was to engage were a part, and certainly, if they had known their own minds, the far greateſt part of the very army which he commanded, and the occaſion this: All the purpoſes for which they were neceſſary being anſwered, it was reſolved the Agitators ſhould aſſemble no more; the Houſe of Commons had deprived the Houſe of Lords of a being, by a vote; but in the Army the contrary method was purſued; the General, and his Council of Officers, would no longer vouchſafe any conference with, or even countenance to, the Agitators, which was what the greateſt part of the Army could not bear, and therefore had themſelves recourſe to a method which their officers had taught them upon other occaſions, and this was, to ſet forth their ſentiments by way of Remonſtrance, which was preſented by five Agitators to the General (*n*). For this high offence they were ſeized, and tried by a Court-Martial, and ſentenced to ride with their faces to their horſes tails, at the head of their reſpective corps, with a paper, expreſſing their crime, fixed on their breaſts, after which their ſwords were to be broke over their heads, and themſelves caſhiered; every circumſtance of which was ſtrictly executed upon the 6th of March, in Great Palace-Yard (*o*). This ſerved only to raiſe the flame higher; for ſeveral regiments of horſe, and amongſt the reſt Cromwell's, mutinied, put white cockades in their hats, and appointed a rendezvous at Ware; where Cromwell appeared when he was leaſt expected, and brought with him ſome regiments quartered at a diſtance, that he could depend on. Here, without any previous expoſtulations, he, with two regiments of horſe, ſurrounded one regiment of the mutineers, and calling four men by name out of their ranks, obliged them to caſt dice for their lives, and thoſe two that eſcaped were ordered to ſhoot the others, which they did, and upon this the tame ſpectators of the tragedy thought fit to ſlip their white cockades into their pockets, and to ſecure themſelves by a ſubmiſſion (*p*). This affair did not end here; for one Lockyer being ſhot in St Paul's Church-Yard for the like offence, his confederates, to the number of a thouſand, attended at his funeral with black and ſea-green ribbons, by way of favours (*q*). This portended a ſtorm, which quickly after broke out; for Scroop's regiment of horſe, quartered at Saliſbury, having firſt ejected their officers, marched to join three other regiments that were in the ſame diſpoſition (*r*); upon which Fairfax and Cromwell, with the troops that adhered to them, moved towards the mutineers with the utmoſt expedition, marching as the neceſſity of the caſe required, forty miles in one day. It is, however, very doubtful, whether all this vigilance, or even the valour of their victorious troops, would have done their buſineſs againſt theſe men, bred in the ſame ſchool, and not at all inferior, either in firmneſs or fame, to themſelves. In ſo nice and dangerous a caſe, therefore, Cromwell ventured upon a ſpecifick which he ſeldom adminiſtred, that is to ſay, he deluded them with a treaty, broke it, and deſtroyed them (*s*) with as little mercy as, in the High Court of Juſtice, he had ſhewn to the King or his friends [*T*]. After this great ſtroke he accompanied the General, firſt to Oxford (*t*), where

(*l*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 74.

(*m*) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 110.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 233.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 386.

(*p*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 81.

(*q*) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 163. Heath's Chronicle, p. 233.

(*r*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 82, 83.

(*s*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 233, 234.

(*t*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

[*T*] *And deſtroyed them with as little mercy, as, in the High Court of Juſtice, he had ſhewn to the King or his friends.*] It is very obſervable, that though, in matters of difficulty and great importance, Cromwell was ſlow in taking his party, and yet more ſo in declaring it when taken, this conduct of his was entirely altered from the time he once declared; for he was then, generally ſpeaking, not only as firm, but more forward than any, and this in matters that would have put the greateſt difficulties upon another man. As for inſtance, he moved for a Committee to look into the proceedings at the trial of the King, in order to teſtify their concurrence and approbation, and actually reported this matter to the Houſe himſelf (125). Upon the trial of Lord Capel, he made a ſpeech as ſenſible as it was ſevere; he acknowledged that Lord had great courage, induſtry, and generoſity; avowed a ſincere perſonal eſteem and reſpect for him; but then added, that the true queſtion was, not Whether they ſhould ſpare the life of a ſingle man? but, Whether they ſhould preſerve the moſt bitter and implacable enemy they ever had (126). When he marched againſt the Levellers, it was not only the Parliament's, but his own cauſe was at ſtake, and therefore he preſſed Lord Fairfax not to loſe a moment's time, and indeed if any time had been loſt, it is very probable that a new Civil War had began; for Capt. Thompſon, who had put himſelf at the head of theſe people, had drawn together near five thouſand men, who, like himſelf, were determined, and the Manifeſto they had publiſhed daily brought in more. To prevent, if poſſible, an action from whence Cromwell foreſaw the worſt conſequences imaginable, Col. Reynolds was allowed to parley with them, and to give them hopes of a treaty. Under the ſenſe of this being ſecure, they took the ſaddles off their horſes, and put them into a meadow to feed; but, about twelve at night, they were attacked on all ſides, and, being unable to form themſelves, were eaſily defeated. A great many ſurrendered upon having quarter given them, who were the next morning ſpectators of the death of three of their Chiefs, one of whom was Thompſon's brother; they all died with great courage and ſpirit. A meſſage was then ſent to the reſt of the mutineers, that they ſhould be decimated, that is, one in ten was to ſuffer death; but upon the heels of this came Lieutenant-General Cromwell,

(125) See the Journal of the Houſe annexed to the King's trial.

(126) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 113. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 670.

where they were made Doctors in the Civil Law, and from thence to London, where they were ſplendidly entertained by the city, and had preſents of great value when they took leave (*u*). At this time England, if not quiet, was totally ſubdued, the Scots were diſcontented but not in arms, ſo that Ireland became the principal object of the Parliament's care, ſince, in that iſland, of three parties which had been for many years ſhedding each others blood, their own was the weakeſt. It was reſolved to ſend over a compleat army of ſeventeen thouſand men, for the ſoldiers were now ſo humbled, they might be ſent any where, and to add weight to the new erected Commonwealth of England, by ſubduing this divided nation (*w*). One only difficulty remained, which was, to find a proper General; Fairfax was unwilling to go, Waller was talked of, then Fleetwood; but, upon naming Cromwell, a ſilent conſent was given, a great majority approved, and the reſt were afraid to oppoſe it (*x*). Hiſtorians ſeem at a loſs for the motives which induced him to accept of this command, but they were, probably, theſe; he was willing to be relieved from the troubleſome fatigue of inventing new ſchemes, to render himſelf uſeful to the Parliament, while, as yet, they had both credit and power; he was deſirous of being at the head of an army in action, wherever it was, and he foreſaw thoſe diſtractions that would make, ſuch as were now glad to be rid, no leſs deſirous to recal him (*y*). The Parliament ſeemed ſtrongly inclined to make this ſervice as acceptable as poſſible, for they gave him the title of Lord Lieutenant, a moſt extenſive commiſſion, and he was ſent out of London with the greateſt pomp imaginable. He embarked for Ireland in the month of Auguſt, and arrived at Dublin ſoon after the ſiege of that city was raiſed, and Ormond defeated (*z*). The great induſtry he had uſed, in providing all things neceſſary for this expedition, made his army wear another appearance than any of thoſe that had been yet ſeen in Ireland, ſo that many places ſurrendered upon his approach; but Sir Arthur Aſton being in Drogheda with two thouſand five hundred men, all old troops, it was believed he would have detained the conqueror ſome time, and have allowed Ormond leiſure to have drawn together a new army. But Cromwell, better acquainted with the real ſtrength of places, and better provided with the means of reducing them than thoſe who had gone before him in this war, declined a regular ſiege, and, obſerving where the place was weakeſt, employed all his artillery to open a paſſage. In a very ſhort ſpace of time two breaches were practicable, which Cromwell immediately ſtormed, September 16th, 1649; and though the garriſon made a gallant defence, yet, by ſome accident, Cromwell's forces gained admittance, and, as he had before reſolved, he put all that were to be met with to the ſword, ſo that, at the out-ſide, there were but thirty eſcaped; the ſtrong town of Wexford had the ſame, or, rather, a worſe fate, for there abundance of unhappy women periſhed (*a*). His ſucceſſes here, as in England, were ſeaſoned with very few diſappointments, though ſome he did meet with; and ſickneſs and action having much reduced his Army, he was once in danger of being attacked with great advantage by Ormond; but that opportunity being loſt, was never recovered (*b*). He did not put his forces into winter-quarters till the month of December; and the rainy ſeaſon made it impoſſible for him to keep the field. He was in motion again in the beginning of February, and reduced ſeveral other places; not a few alſo revolted to him; and at laſt, in the beginning of March, he came before Kilkenny, which had been the chief ſeat of that bloody and barbarous rebellion, which he quickly reduced, and, not long after, took Clonmell, by ſtorm; ſo that by the month of June 1650, all Ireland was, in a manner, ſubdued, and that in ſo ſhort a ſpace as nine months (*c*). A ſtrange concurrence of circumſtances made his preſence now deſired in England, not only by thoſe who wiſhed him well, but by ſuch alſo as wiſhed him worſt; conſtituting therefore his ſon-in-law Ireton his deputy, he took ſhipping for Briſtol, where, after a dangerous paſſage, he ſafely arrived (*d*), leaving ſuch a terror on the minds of the Iriſh, as made every thing eaſy to thoſe who ſucceeded him, and compleated the conqueſt of that country [*U*]. Upon his return to London he

(*u*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 406.

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 237.

(*x*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 406, 407.

(*y*) See Ludlow's Memoirs, Flagellum, or Heath's life of O. Cromwell, and the Hiſt. of Independency.

(*z*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 422.

(*a*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 243, 244. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 301—303.

(*b*) See Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the War in Ireland, and Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond.

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 251. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 459. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 309.

(*d*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 88, 89.

well, to let them know, that with much difficulty he had procured them pardon, by which he recovered the affection of the Army; neither is it at all improbable, that he brought the Lord General with him hither, that he might have an opportunity of doing this, which happened May 15, 1649 (127). As for Thompſon, the Ringleader, he eſcaped the ſlaughter made of his companions, and threw himſelf into a wood, where, though much wounded, he defended himſelf deſperately ſo long as he had any ammunition, and then, abſolutely refuſing quarter, was killed upon the ſpot. This broke the heart of that deſign, which might otherwiſe have given the Parliament a great deal of trouble, notwithſtanding they had voted them rebels, for they were a ſort of people not to be frighted with words. After this Cromwell purſued his point, and prevailed upon thoſe regiments, moſt enclined to join the mutineers, to wipe out the memory of paſt offences, by conſenting to go with him to Ireland, which accordingly they did (128).

(127) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 167. Heath's Chronicle, p. 233, 234.

(128) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 84.

[*U*] *Leaving ſuch a terror on the minds of the Iriſh, as made every thing eaſy to thoſe who ſucceeded him, and compleated the conqueſt of that country.*] We have ſeen the ſhare that Commiſſary-General Ireton had in affairs of the greateſt importance and difficulty, where Cromwell had occaſion for advice, and his hand was chiefly uſed in drawing all papers; for having been bred a Lawyer, he was much more capable in things of that nature than moſt of his party. He was very uſeful to his father-in-law in the courſe of the Iriſh war, and therefore it is no wonder that Cromwell committed the extinction of it to his care. Some writers, and more eſpecially a famous Prelate (129), have indeed ſuggeſted that he was ſo far from being ſecond to Cromwell, that he governed him, and that particularly in the buſineſs of the King's death he was the principal inſtrument, and drove the Lieutenant-General into it whether he would or not. Ludlow does not ſay this, but he ſeems to countenance ſuch an opinion, for he was as great an admirer of Ireton, as he was an implacable enemy to Cromwell. If one could give entire credit to this, it might be reaſonably preſumed, that Cromwell

(129) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 44, 46, 47.

he came, as it were, in triumph, and all ranks of people contended, either from love or fear, who ſhould ſhew him moſt reſpect. At his taking his ſeat in the Houſe he had thanks returned him for his ſervices, in terms as high as the Speaker's eloquence could reach (*e*). Theſe ceremonies once over they proceeded to things of greater conſequence; for, by this time, the Parliament had another war upon their hands, the Scots having invited home King Charles II. and preparing an army to invade England. There is no doubt that the Parliament would have been content to have truſted this war to the conduct of Lord Fairfax, a brave man, and a good officer, though no profound politician; but he had always ſcruples, and, having been often deceived and deluded, was now not ſo eaſily dealt with (*f*). Cromwell made no ſecret of his ſentiments, which were, that they ſhould not wait for an invaſion, but prevent it by an invaſion, and in this, without queſtion, he had the better ſide of the argument; but Lord Fairfax's conſcience could not digeſt this reaſoning; he had taken the Covenant, and, notwithſtanding all the ſeries of tranſactions he had run through, he could not bring himſelf to think of breaking it, by attacking the Scots in their own country (*g*). Cromwell, who had taken meaſure of his capacity, and knew that, as far as that went, he was inflexibly honeſt, carried his diſſimulation to the greateſt height, preſſed him to continue in his command, declared he thought it a greater honour to ſerve as his Lieutenant-General, than to command the fineſt army in the world in chief; and, ſtrange as this declaration was, he ſupported it with ſuch a ſhew of ſincerity, that Mr Ludlow (*b*), who ſuſpected him as much as any man, confeſſes that he was deceived, and that he thought himſelf obliged to interpoſe, and to deſire that the Lieutenant-General would not ſuffer his complaiſance to prove fatal to his country. This famous conference was held June 25th, 1650; and, though a whole month had been now ſpent in trying to get the better of Lord Fairfax's diſtaſte to the expedition againſt the Scots, yet it was all in vain; ſo that June 26th an Ordinance paſſed for repealing his commiſſion, and, at the ſame time, another for appointing Oliver Cromwell, Eſq; General and Commander in Chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth (*i*). He had now as great power as might have ſatisfied the moſt ambitious mind; for, though he offered to reſign his Lieutenancy of Ireland, yet the Parliament would not accept it. Being ſenſible, however, of the neceſſity there was to preſerve the military affairs in that kingdom from falling again into confuſion, and being deſirous to remove out of his way any officer the Parliament might think capable of taking a ſuperior command, he reſolved to follow that impreſſion which he perceived his late conduct had made upon Mr Ludlow, and to procure his being ſent to Ireland in quality of Lieutenant-General of the Horſe; which was accordingly done (*k*). Experience afterwards taught Ludlow the true meaning of this; but, in all probability, he conſidered it, at that time, as a favour; and this the great admirers of Cromwell have juſtly conſidered as an inſtance of his refined policy (*l*) [*W*]. *All obſtructions being now removed, he began his march towards Scotland, much* about

(*e*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 267. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 313, 314.

(*f*) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 127, 128.

(*g*) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 273.

(*b*) Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 315.

(*i*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460—462.

(*k*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 321—323.

(*l*) Modeſt Vindication of O. Cromwell, p. 33.

Cromwell left him his Deputy in Ireland, to prevent his embarraſſing the meaſures he meant to take in England. But whoever conſiders attentively the characters of both theſe men, will not, I perſuade myſelf, diſcover any real grounds for ſuch ſuppoſitions. While Cromwell and Ireton dealt with the King, their behaviour was perfectly the ſame, that is to ſay, they diſſembled alike, or, if there was any difference, Ireton did it the beſt of the two, whence one would naturally infer, that his principles were the ſame with Cromwell's; neither is it at all improbable, that, if they had lived longer together, they would have agreed as well in the latter part of their lives as they did in the former (130). Upon the whole, therefore, the truth ſeems to be, that Cromwell made choice of him for Deputy, becauſe he was at once the fitteſt man for that employment, and the perſon in the world he could beſt truſt with it. If theſe were Cromwell's reaſons, they were fully juſtified in the event; for Ireton did every thing that could be expected from him, he proſecuted the war with all the vigour and vigilance of a great officer, and ſettled alſo the civil affairs of the kingdom upon the beſt foundation poſſible. At the time of his death, there was an Engliſh army in Ireland of eight thouſand horſe and twenty-two thouſand foot, and though the Iriſh had ſtill ſome thouſands in arms, and were poſſeſſed of ſeveral places of conſiderable ſtrength, yet their councils were ſo broken, their forces ſo diſpirited, and they had ſo few reſources left, (Cromwell, from a ſeeming ſpirit of compaſſion, having ſuffered multitudes to be tranſported abroad for the Spaniſh and other ſervices) that notwithſtanding what Ludlow tells us of his own exploits in that kingdom, there was really nothing to be done of any conſequence; and as the reduction of Ireland was firſt rendered practicable by Cromwell, ſo with juſtice one can hardly ſay, it was compleated by any but Deputy Ireton and Lord Broghill, who were both of them, though from very different motives, equally attached to Cromwell and his family (131). We ſhall hereafter ſee that it was his policy to keep Ireland conſtantly in ſuch hands, which, without doubt, was very neceſſary, ſince the army there would have been always formidable, if at the devotion of any but thoſe on whom he could abſolutely depend.

(130) See Sir John Berkeley's Memoirs, Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell, Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 178.

(131) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 67.

[*W*] *As an inſtance of his refined policy.*] It muſt be very clear to ſuch as peruſe what Mr Ludlow has written, and who conſider what General Cromwell had acted, that, if we except their bravery, there could not be two more different men in the world. Ludlow was ſincerely and ſteadily a Republican. Cromwell was not wedded to any kind of government, but of all kinds liked that the leaſt. Ludlow ſpoke his mind plainly, and was never taken for any other than he profeſſed himſelf to be: Cromwell valued himſelf upon acting a part, or rather upon acting ſeveral parts, and all of them equally well; and when he had occaſion to perform that of a commonwealth's-man, he performed it ſo admirably, that though Ludlow knew him to be a player by profeſſion, yet he now thought he had thrown off the maſk, and appeared what he really was (132). Ludlow was entirely devoted to the Parliament as now conſtituted, and would have implicitly obeyed their orders upon any occaſion whatever: it was quite otherwiſe with Cromwell, who marched into Scotland to do his own buſineſs as well as theirs: from all which it may be inferred, that Cromwell ſent Ludlow over to Ireland, that, in caſe of any accident, like that which actually happened of the King's ſudden march into England, the Parliament might not have any officer at hand fit to command a new army, which new army, being alſo compoſed of troops raiſed under their authority, might have given a check to his own. He well knew, that two armies in a country of any thing near equal force, is the ſame thing with having none, in caſe the civil authority and the voice of the people declare on one ſide, for then there will be no way

(132) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. P. 321.

about the ſame time that King Charles appeared there in publick; the army which he commanded conſiſted of about twenty thouſand men, which were the flour of the Parliament Army, and ſuch as, with the change of a very few officers, General Cromwell could well depend upon (*m*). He uſed great expedition, and arrived in a month's time at Berwick, where he publiſhed a Declaration, importing, that the Engliſh had no intention to impoſe any form of government upon the inhabitants of Scotland, but engaged in this war purely upon a principle of ſelf-defence. The Scots had deſtroyed all their own country, and withdrawn as many of their people as they could, ſo that from the time Cromwell entered it, his forces were much diſtreſſed; nor was the progreſs he made attended, for ſome time, with much greater ſucceſs; for at Muſſleborough he was attacked in the night (*n*) with great fury, and was in no ſmall danger of being defeated; notwithſtanding which he continued his march towards Edinburgh, and came to the very walls of that city. The Army of the Scots Preſbyterians, for it could ſcarce be ſtiled the King's Army, ſince they would not ſuffer him to be in it, was commanded by old Leſley, who ſhewed himſelf a very good officer; for being ſenſible, that his new-raiſed troops were not able to contend in the field with Cromwell's ſeaſoned old ſoldiers, kept them ſo well intrenched, that even Cromwell, who put his troops ſometimes upon doing miracles, could not think of attacking him, but depended chiefly upon propagating diſcontents in the Scotch Army, which was eaſily done, and upon provoking them to fight, which he judged muſt, ſome time or other, have it's effect (*o*). The firſt, indeed, Leſley could not prevent, though it gave him a great deal of trouble and diſquiet; but the latter he hindered for ſome time, and thereby brought Cromwell's forces into great ſtraits. They had once retreated to Dunbar, and from thence advanced again to Muſſleborough; but this having no effect, the Scots growing daily ſtronger, and the Engliſh Army dwindling in the ſame proportion, Cromwell marched again to Dunbar, with a deſign, as is generally believed, of ſhipping his foot for England, and breaking through the Scots Army with his horſe (*p*); but while he was meditating either this retreat, or a final attempt before he made it, the Scots changed their reſolution at the requeſt of their Miniſters, who promiſed them, with a moſt enthuſiaſtick vehemence, a compleat victory; in confidence of which, againſt Leſley's advice, they determined to fight (*q*). General Cromwell who, in the night of September 2d, 1650, had alſo reſolved, in a council of war, to attack them, obſerving, with a perſpective glaſs, that they were in motion, declared, as if it had been through a ſpirit of prophecy, but in reality from his military ſkill, That God had delivered them into his hands (*r*). Their attack was furious; but Cromwell's foot ſtood ſo firm, that they were able to make but little impreſſion; and the hurry of their own charge having thrown them into confuſion, the Engliſh horſe eaſily broke, routed, and cut them off with prodigious ſlaughter, only one highland regiment of foot remained firm, and covered with their bodies the ground upon which they were poſted, no more than twenty wounded men being taken priſoners out of eight hundred of which that corps conſiſted (*s*). Such was the famous victory of Dunbar, than which Cromwell never gained any more entire, or that did him greater credit as a Commander (*t*) [*X*]. After

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 269.

(*n*) Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 163.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 466. Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 165.

(*p*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 684. Walker's Hiſt. Diſcourſes, p. 179.

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 54. Walker's Hiſt. Diſcourſes, p. 180, 181.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 54.

(*s*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 471. Walker's Hiſt. Diſcourſes, p. 181. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 424.

(*t*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 684. Rapin, Vol. XIII. p. 53, 54.

way left to keep the other army together, which would have been his caſe if Ludlow had ever had a Parliamentary army, and was actually the caſe of Lambert againſt Monk, for the latter prevailed only by his having the Parliament and the people on his ſide. In Ireland there was no ſuch danger; Cromwell himſelf was Lord Lieutenant, Ireton was his Deputy, and therefore Ludlow could do little harm, for Ireton fooled him there as Cromwell had done in England; but when, through a change of circumſtances, he might have become dangerous, we ſhall find that General Cromwell took notice of it in time, and ſent over another perſon whom he could truſt to take the command out of his hands, of which alſo Ludlow bitterly complained, though he does not ſeem to have apprehended fully the motives of that alteration (133). I have dwelt upon this as a proper inſtance of Cromwell's refined policy, of which alſo many others might be given, but, for the ſake of brevity, theſe are left to the reader's own obſervation.

(133) Modeſt Vindication of O. Cromwell.

[*X*] *Or that did him greater credit as a Commander.*] The moſt ſatisfactory account that is to be met with of this battle, ſeems to be that given by Cromwell himſelf, in his letter to the Parliament, which not being eaſily met with, the reader cannot but be pleaſed to read the moſt remarkable facts in it, as delivered by himſelf (134). 'Upon Monday evening, the enemy, 'whoſe numbers were very great, as we hear about ſix 'thouſand horſe, and ſixteen thouſand foot at leaſt; 'ours, drawn down as to ſound men, about ſeven 'thouſand five hundred foot, and three thouſand five 'hundred horſe. The enemy drew down to their 'right wing about two thirds of their left wing of horſe, 'ſhogging alſo their foot and train much to the right, 'cauſing their right wing of horſe to edge down towards 'the ſea. We could not well imagine but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themſelves 'in a more exact condition of interpoſition. The Major 'General and myſelf coming to the Earl of Roxborough's 'houſe, and obſerving his poſture, I told him I thought 'it did give us an opportunity to advantage to attempt upon the enemy, to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have ſaid the ſame 'thing to me, ſo that it pleaſed the Lord to ſet this 'apprehenſion upon both our hearts at the ſame inſtant. We called for General Monk, and ſhewed 'him the ſame thing, and coming to our quarter at 'night, and demonſtrating our apprehenſions to ſome 'of the Colonels, they alſo chearfully concurred. 'We reſolved therefore to put our buſineſs into this 'poſture, that ſix regiments of horſe, and three regiments and a half of foot, ſhould march in the van, 'and that the Major-General, the Lieutenant-General 'of the horſe, and the Commiſſary-General and Col. 'Monk to command the brigade of foot, ſhould lead 'on the buſineſs; and that Col. Pride's brigade, Col. 'Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments 'of horſe, ſhould bring up the cannon and rear, the 'time of falling on to be by break of day; but, by 'ſome delay, it proved not to be 'till ſix o'clock in 'the morning. The enemy's word was *the Covenant*, 'which they had uſed for divers days; ours *the Lord 'of Hoſts*. The Major-General, Lieutenant-General 'Fleetwood, and Commiſſary-General Whalley, and 'Col. Twiſsleton, gave the onſet; the enemy being 'in very good poſture to receive them, having the advantage, their cannon and foot againſt our horſe, 'and before our foot could come up the enemy made 'a gallant

(134) What is here cited was tranſcribed from Cromwell's letters in Dr Nalſon's M.S. Collections.

After taking the neceſſary precautions, by ſending away the priſoners; he returned to Edinburgh, where he met with no reſiſtance except from the caſtle, which held out to Chriſtmas-Eve, and was then ſurrendered, or, as ſome ſay, betrayed into his hands (*u*). He continued the war all the winter, and, in the beginning of the enſuing year, made diſpoſitions for attacking the King, whom the Scots had now crowned, and provided with another army; but factions ſtill continued amongſt them, of which none knew better how to take advantage than Cromwell. In the ſpring he was ſeverely attacked by an ague, and this gave the Engliſh Parliament an opportunity of ſhewing an equal concern for his perſon and their own intereſts, which they expreſſed by ſending down Dr Wright and Dr Bates, two eminent Phyſicians, to attend him, and large ſupplies of men and money for reinforcing his army (*w*). He quickly recovered his health, and in ſeveral ſmall actions and ſieges was conſtantly ſucceſsful; but the King continued near Stirling with his army, now in a good meaſure under his command, in a ſtrong camp, where Cromwell could not force him, and out of which he was reſolved not to be drawn. At length, tired with this tedious manner of making war, Cromwell attacked and reduced Perth, which threw the King into great perplexity, ſo that, towards the end of July 1651, he reſolved to take that which ſeemed to be his only advantage, a retreat from Cromwell into England, to which he was neareſt (*x*). All who were about him concurred in this advice, excepting only the Marquis of Argyle, who told him, his fate would, in that caſe, depend upon a battle, where if he loſt it, it would be in a country where he had no reſource, and where, without a miracle, his perſon would be alſo loſt; that he might ſtill retire into Argyleſhire, and from thence, if any misfortune happened, into the Highlands, where, while there were men, he would never want an army (*y*). This moved the King, and him only, the reſt were determined, and prevailed upon him to begin his march ſouthward, as he did on the laſt of July (*z*). The news of his coming into England alarmed the Parliament at Weſtminſter exceedingly, and put them upon augmenting their army with many thouſand men. The rapidity of the King's march brought him to Worceſter before Cromwell could overtake him; but in the mean time the gallant Earl of Derby, who was marching to his aſſiſtance, was routed and taken, and ſoon after General Cromwell blocked him up in Worceſter, where, on the 3d of September, he attacked and carried the place, totally defeated the King's forces, and gained that which himſelf called, in his letter to the Parliament, the crowning victory (*a*) [*Y*]. He did not remain long with

(*u*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 280, 281. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 110.

(*w*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 106. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289, 290.

(*x*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 501. Heath's Chronicle, p. 294, 295. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 120.

(*y*) See the article of Campbell, Marquis of Argyle, in this work.

(*z*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 294. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 281.

(*a*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 222. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 281, 282. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507, 508. Echard's Hiſt. Engl. p. 697.

'a gallant reſiſtance. And there was a very hot diſ-
'pute, at ſword's point, between our horſe and theirs.
'Our firſt foot, after they had diſcharged their firſt
'fury, being over-powered with the enemy, received
'ſome repulſe, which they ſoon recovered; but my
'own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-
'Colonel Goff and my Major White, did come ſea-
'ſonably in, and at puſh of pike did repel the ſtouteſt
'regiment the enemy had there, merely with the cou-
'rage which the Lord was pleaſed to give, which
'proved a great amazement to the reſidue of their
'foot, this being the firſt action between the foot:
'the horſe in the mean time did, with a great deal of
'courage and ſpirit, beat back all oppoſition, charg-
'ing through the bodies of the enemies horſe and their
'foot, who were after the firſt repulſe given, made,
'by the Lord of Hoſts, as ſtubble to their ſwords.
'Indeed I believe I may ſpeak it without partiality,
'both your chief commanders and others in their ſe-
'veral places, and ſoldiers alſo, were acted with as
'much courage, as ever hath been ſeen in any action
'ſince this war. I know they look not to be named,
'and therefore I forbear particulars. The beſt of the
'enemy's horſe and foot being broken through and
'through in leſs than an hour's diſpute, their whole
'army being put into confuſion, it became a total rout,
'our men having the chaſe and execution of them near
'eight miles. We believe that upon the place, and
'near about it, were three thouſand ſlain; priſoners ta-
'ken of their officers, you have this incloſed liſt; of pri-
'vate ſoldiers, near ten thouſand; the whole baggage
'and train taken, in which was good ſtore of match,
'powder, and bullet; all their artillery great and
'ſmall; thirty guns. We are confident they have left
'behind them no leſs than fifteen thouſand arms.
'I have already brought unto me near two hundred co-
'lours, which I herewith ſend you. What officers of
'quality of theirs are killed, we yet cannot learn, but
'yet ſurely divers are, and many men of quality are
'mortally wounded, as Col. Lumſdale, the Lord Lib-
'berton, and others; and that which is no ſmall ad-
'dition, I believe we have not loſt twenty men; not
'one commiſſioned officer ſlain as I hear of, ſave one
'Cornet, and Major Rookſby ſince dead of his wounds;
'and not many mortally wounded, Col. Whalley only
'cut in the hand, wriſt, and his horſe twice ſhot, and
'killed under him, but he well recovered another
'horſe, and went on in his chaſe. Thus you have the
'proſpect of one of the moſt ſignal mercies God hath
'done for England and his people this war.'

[*Y*] *The crowning victory.*] In this battle of Worceſter Cromwell gave very high proofs of his perſonal courage, and that for a generous purpoſe, ſince he expoſed himſelf extreamly to offer quarter to the Scots, who defended the Fort Royal, with a view only of preventing the unneceſſary effuſion of blood amongſt his own troops, for his propoſition being refuſed, and the place taken, he directed all that were in it to be put to the ſword (135). He likewiſe ſhewed his impartiality in commending the courage of the King, who charged with the Scots foot, and gained ſome advantage even over Cromwell's guards (136); but the Scots horſe, under the command of Leſley, behaved baſely. There needed not much of conduct in the buſineſs, for beſides that they were certainly better troops, Cromwell had alſo the advantage in numbers, the King's army conſiſting but of ſixteen thouſand, and that of the Parliament of twenty-eight thouſand (137). It is ſaid that Cromwell treated the militia but indifferently, though they contributed much to the victory; but in his letter to the Parliament he acknowledges their great ſervices, in as clear and as ſtrong terms as could be expected. There is no doubt that this was as ſignal and compleat a ſtroke of ſucceſs, as even the ambitious heart of Cromwell could deſire, and therefore it is no great wonder that it took him a little off his guard, as it certainly did. He would have knighted two of his principal Commanders upon the field of battle, and was with great difficulty diſſuaded from it (138). His letter to the Parliament is conceived in more ſtiff and lofty terms than any of his former writings. Ludlow ſays that his behaviour was altered from that day, and that all who were about him obſerved it (139). Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to ſay, it was altered upon that day and the next, for he very ſoon recovered himſelf, and ſhewed as much ſubmiſſion and humility as ever. He treated his priſoners with great ſeverity, and it is thought would have brought Maſſey and Middleton

(135) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 116.

(136) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 123.

(137) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 282. Heath's Chronicle, p. 297.

(138) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 365, 366.

(139) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 447.

with the troops; for having ſeen the walls of Worceſter demoliſhed, and directing ſome thouſands of priſoners to be driven before him, he began his march, as it were, in triumph for London. He met four Commiſſioners from the Parliament not far from Ayleſbury, and, when he came to Acton, the Speaker, the Houſe, and the Council of State, met him in form, as did ſoon after the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and with all this pomp he proceeded to Whitehall, where, having repoſed himſelf a little, September the 16th, he took his place in the Houſe, where his great atchievements were again the ſubject of Lenthall's eloquence; and the ſame day he dined upon a ſolemn invitation in the city (*b*). Yet theſe, though great, were far from being the moſt conſiderable marks of honour that were paid him; a general thankſgiving was appointed for his victory, and the 3d of September appointed an anniverſary State holiday; he had beſides four thouſand pounds a year voted him out of the eſtates of the Duke of Buckingham and Marquis of Worceſter (*c*). When theſe ceremonies and acknowledgments were over, he had leiſure to look about him, and to conſider as well his own condition as that of the nation. He ſaw himſelf at preſent General and Commander in Chief of a great army in England, and, at the ſame time, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but then he knew that all this was derived to him from the Parliament; and he clearly diſcerned that, whether Independents or Preſbyterians ſat there, they would endeavour to perpetuate ſupreme power in their own hands, which, for many reaſons, he diſliked; and therefore he ſifted the moſt eminent perſons, in order to find out their ſentiments about the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom, which was a new phraſe invented to cover the deſign of ſubverting the Parliament (*d*). In reference to this he found, that different men had different opinions, all concurring in part, but not in the whole, with his own [Z]. As it was not yet time for him to declare himſelf plainly, he made it his buſineſs to entertain as fair a correſpondence as poſſible with all parties. He behaved in publick with great decency and duty towards that body of men he was contriving to remove, but held a private correſpondence with every one of the parties that were caballing againſt them, by which he was in all their ſecrets, as they probably thought they were in his, but in that they were deceived; he never

(*b*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 118, 119. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 509.

(*c*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 697.

(*d*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 157.

dleton to the ſcaffold, if they had not had the good luck to eſcape. He was now compleatly maſter of the Army, which expected it's continuance and the payment of all arrears from his weight and influence, which opinion he took care to encourage, and gave them frequent aſſurances, that they might much better depend upon him than upon their old reſource of Agitators (140). All his conduct afterwards was of a piece with this, and he took all the care imaginable to make the Army ſenſible of their own importance, and to let them ſee that nothing could divide their intereſts from his own, which was the true foundation of his growing greatneſs, and of the gradual declenſion of the Parliament's power, which, though they clearly diſcerned, they knew not how to prevent.

(140) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 118.

[Z] *But not in the whole with his own*] After the great victory of Worceſter, General Cromwell took a new text, upon which he preached with wonderful eloquence upon all occaſions, and this was, *the neceſſity of an eſtabliſhment*. There had been a great deal of fighting, and now the fighting was over, he thought the conquerors ought to know what they had been fighting for (141). In a meeting among the principal perſons in power, held about three months afterwards, he propoſed the queſtion fairly (142), when St John, Whitlocke, Lenthall, and Sir Thomas Widdrington, declared plainly for monarchy, Harriſon, Deſborough, and Whalley, as plainly for a commonwealth. Cromwell did not think fit to diſcover his own opinion with the like clearneſs, but expreſſed a deſire of knowing, if a Monarchy was neceſſary, Who was to be that Monarch? Sir Thomas Widdrington anſwered directly, one of the late King's ſons, and propoſed the Duke of Glouceſter then in their power. To this Whitlocke demurred, and was for inviting the two elder brothers; but this being nothing to Cromwell's deſign, he ſoon broke up that conference. Upon the 7th November 1652, meeting the Lord Commiſſioner Whitlocke in the Park, he entered into a long diſcourſe with him upon this important ſubject, in which the part that Cromwell took was this (143): he ſhewed him that the Parliament was now become a faction; that they were reſolved to rule all, and to rule for ever, merely for their own ſakes; that they gave all employments to themſelves, their relations, or friends; that they drew every thing within their own cognizance, by which the ſubject loſt the benefit of the law, and held his property but by a precarious tenure; that, all this conſidered, they had fought themſelves into a worſe condition, and that, inſtead of a Monarch with a prerogative royal, they had now many maſters who made laws and broke them at their pleaſure; that, on the other hand, the Army was very ſenſible of this; that they bore it with great reluctancy; that they too had great diſputes amongſt themſelves; and that it could not be long before theſe miſchiefs broke out into a new flame. Whitlocke very readily agreed, that he had deſcribed both parties truly, but, at the ſame time, acknowledged, that, notwithſtanding he was acquainted with the diſeaſes of the commonwealth, he was entirely ignorant of any right method of cure. What, ſaid Cromwell, if a man ſhould take upon himſelf to be King? Whitlocke undertook to ſhew him, that he would get nothing by it, that he had more power already than former Kings ever had, and that by aſſuming the name he might run a great hazard of loſing the thing. Cromwell then preſſed to know, What he would have done? upon which, as before, the Lord Commiſſioner propounded compromiſing matters with Charles Stuart, the debating of which Cromwell declined, as being a matter of much difficulty. There is no doubt but he had many converſations of this ſort with the moſt intelligent of all parties, but we ſhall mention only one more, and that for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe it ſhews us that he was perfectly aware of what is ſuggeſted in the text, that thoſe who hated each other extreamly, all concurred in ſtill hating him with greater inveteracy; for as the Royaliſts deteſted his perſon, ſo the Republicans abhorred his power. Secondly, becauſe it is reported upon good authority, having been often related by Mr Henry Nevil, a celebrated Politician, and once a Member of the Council of State. He was wont to tell it thus (144): 'That Cromwell upon this great 'occaſion ſent for ſome of the chief city Divines, as 'he made it a matter of conſcience to be determined 'by their advice. Among theſe was the leading 'Mr Calamy, who very boldly oppoſed the project of 'Mr Cromwell's ſingle government, and offered to 'prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell 'anſwered readily upon the firſt head of unlawful, and 'appealed to the ſafety of the nation being the ſupreme 'law. But, ſays he, pray Mr Calamy why impracti-'cable? Calamy replied, Oh 'tis againſt the voice of 'the nation, there will be nine in ten againſt you. 'Very well, ſays Cromwell, but what if I ſhould diſ-'arm the nine, and put ſword into the tenth man's 'hand, Would not that do the buſineſs?'

(141) Heath's Chronicle, p. 301.

(142) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 214, 215.

(143) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 516.

(144) Life of Henry Nevil, Eſq; p. 35.

[AA] *Muſt*

never had but one confident, and that confident was gone. This was his ſon-in-law Ireton, whom he had placed at the head of affairs in Ireland, where he died of the plague (*e*). It was of great importance to him to ſubſtitute another there as much devoted to his ſervice; but the thing was difficult. The Parliament had caſt their eyes upon Lambert, who was to govern with the title of Lord Deputy; but ways and means were found to change their reſolution as to the title, though not as to the man; but as he rightly foreſaw, the change of the one produced the change of the other; for Lambert, who would have been proud of being Deputy, diſdained to go thither as a Commiſſioner (*f*). Under theſe circumſtances the ordinance appointing Cromwell Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom determined, which he very prudently declined to renew, but inſtead of it got the ordinance appointing him Captain-General and Commander in Chief in England, extended by another ordinance to Ireland; and thus he had the power without the name: but as he never meant to go thither again in perſon, he gave his daughter, Mrs Ireton, in marriage to Colonel Fleetwood, a man entirely under his direction, whom he procured to be declared Lieutenant General of the forces in Ireland; by which the great point he aimed at was fully attained (*g*). This dexterity in his management became very ſoon after obvious enough, though little notice was taken of it at the time; which ſhewed the deep reach of his politicks, and how much his abilities were in reality ſuperior to thoſe of the perſons he had to do with, who, with all the good-will in the world to oppoſe him, found themſelves, at every turn, the dupes of his deſigns, which at the bottom were juſt as honeſt as their own (*h*). As a proof of this we may obſerve, that the very perſon worſt treated in this affair, that is, General Lambert, not only miſplaced his reſentment, and grew diſaffected to the Parliament, but ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far cajoled by Cromwell, as to believe, that he thought him worthier than to be ſent to Ireland upon any terms, and that if any thing ſhould happen to himſelf, he ſincerely wiſhed *him* for his ſucceſſor, how eminent ſoever his ſtation might be (*i*). All the winter of the year 1652 was ſpent in cabals and contrivances on both ſides, that is, by the friends of the Parliament, to ſupport and ſuſtain it's authority, and, by their opponents, to bring things into ſuch a ſituation, as might render the neceſſity of diſſolving that aſſembly univerſally apparent. But while all this was doing, General Cromwell neglected nothing that might eſtabliſh hopes of favour from him, and of benefit to their reſpective cauſes in all the parties then ſubſiſting in the nation; which, conſidering the diverſity of principles on which they acted, and their inveteracy againſt each other, muſt appear a thing almoſt incredible (*k*) [*AA*]. As the ſpring advanced this great affair began to ripen, the people in different parts of the nation, and the Army in general, began to murmur at the amazing ſtretch of power which the Parliament, though ſo thin of Members, aſſumed to themſelves, which ſometimes the General encouraged, and at others repreſſed; as for inſtance, when it was debated in the Council of Officers, whether they ſhould petition the Parliament to turn their vote into a bill for their own diſſolution, Cromwell ſent Colonel Deſborough, who had married a ſiſter of his, to put an end to that debate, in which he declared, in expreſs terms, againſt uſing any violence, and at the ſame time ran out into the higheſt commendations of that Aſſembly (*l*). But afterwards perceiving, that the party againſt them in the Army was growing daily ſtronger, and that, on the other hand, the Parliament having got both courage and credit from their ſucceſs in the Dutch war, were contriving to ſet up the Fleet againſt the Army, and to diminiſh the power of the one, and to augment that of the other, had ordered part of the Army on board the Fleet, he found himſelf obliged to make more haſte

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 467.

(*f*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 414.

(*g*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 309.

(*h*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 159, 160. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 125.

(*i*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 414. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 126, 127.

(*k*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 159. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 449, 450.

(*l*) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 451, 452.

[*AA*] *Muſt appear a thing almoſt incredible.*] It cannot but be ſatisfactory to the inquiſitive reader to ſee this point a little more fully explained, the chief difficulty lying in this, that the inveteracy of people in thoſe times was ſo great, as to render it next to impoſſible, to ſhew the leaſt favour to any one party, without irritating all the reſt. The path indeed was narrow, and precipices there were on every ſide; yet Cromwell had the courage to venture himſelf in this path, and ſo great conduct as to paſs through it without making one falſe ſtep. He never courted the Cavaliers directly, but, upon particular occaſions, and under a variety of pretences, he did many of them ſignal ſervices, and generally ſpoke of them as men of honour acting upon miſtaken principles; exclaiming at the ſame time againſt the flagrant acts of injuſtice done to them by the Rump, who, to get at their eſtates, made no ſcruple of diſputing away the force of their own acts, and breaking through the moſt ſolemn capitulations (145). This, with the heat he ſhewed in puſhing the Act of Oblivion after the battle of Worceſter, induced them to wiſh well to him rather than the Parliament. He complained to all ſober and religious perſons, of the ſcandalous lives, and diſſolute manners of ſome of the Republican members; there are, ſaid he, Tom Chaloner and Harry Martin, bleſſed reformers and legiſlators, while they are notorious whoremaſters, and have no more religion than their horſes. He expoſed the pride of ſome, the fraud of others, and the ſelf-ſeeking of all; which gained him great reputation (146). To the Fifth Monarchy men he talked in their own ſtile, and profeſſed his deſire that the ſaints ſhould reign, explaining this to men of ſounder underſtandings, as meaning no more, than that the government ought to be in the hands of men of prudence and probity, which, the then ſituation of things conſidered, was very acceptable doctrine. His real deſign, however, he cloſely concealed; ſo that all who were deſirous of a change expected it from him, and at the ſame time flattered themſelves with the hopes that it would be ſuch a change as they wiſhed. In every thing he ſaid and did, he had a manner that ſeemed to manifeſt the greateſt ſincerity; and yet there was ſo much of caution in all his words and actions, that he knew how to interpret the one, and to account for the other, in ſuch a way, that no hold could be taken of them to his diſadvantage. In ſhort, he never expreſſed reſentment againſt any but it was followed with deſtruction, ſo as to leave them no capacity of revenge; and wherever he conferred obligations, it was in a way ſo high and ſo generous, that as he never beſtowed them on unworthy objects, ſo the memory of them was never loſt, or himſelf deceived as to their effects (147).

(145) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 405.

(146) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 703, 704. Unparalleled Monarch, p. 114.

(147) See Maurice's Memoirs of Lord Broghill, Winſtanley's Select Lives of Engliſh Worthies, p. 596, 597.

haſte (*m*). On the 19th of April, 1653, he called a Council of Officers, once more to debate this point, in which as he had many friends, ſo he had alſo ſome opponents, who inſinuated, that what he did proceeded from ſelf-intereſt and ambition. Major-General Harriſon, a zealous Fanatick, but abſolutely deceived by Cromwell, aſſured the Aſſembly, in the ſincerity of his heart, That the Lord General ſought only to pave the way for the government of Jeſus and his Saints, to which Major Streater briſkly returned, That then he ought to come quickly, for if it was after Chriſtmas, he would come too late (*n*). Upon this Cromwell adjourned the meeting till the next morning, when a new point was ſtarted, whether it might not be expedient for the Houſe and the Army to appoint twenty perſons of a ſide, to be intruſted with the ſupreme power. In the midſt of this diſpute advice came, that the Houſe had under conſideration their own diſſolution, and upon this ſuch as were Members withdrew, and went thither to promote that deſign. But in reality the Parliament had framed a bill, to continue themſelves to the 5th of November in the next year, propoſing, in the mean time, to fill up the Houſe by new elections (*o*). Colonel Ingoldſby came back to the General, and informed him what the Houſe was upon: at which the General, who expected they ſhould have meddled with no other buſineſs but putting an immediate period to their own ſitting, without any more delay, was ſo enraged, that he immediately commanded ſome of the officers to fetch a party of ſoldiers, to the number of three hundred, with which marching directly to Weſtminſter, he placed ſome of them at the door, ſome in the lobby, and others on the ſtairs (*p*). Himſelf going into the Houſe, firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St John, and told him, That he then came to do that which grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears prayed to God againſt; nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it; but that there was a neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation (*q*). Then he ſat down, and heard their debates for ſome time on the fore-mentioned act; after which calling to Major-General Harriſon, who was on the other ſide of the Houſe, to come to him, he told him, That he judged the Parliament ripe for a diſſolution, and this to be the time of doing it (*r*). Harriſon anſwered, Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it, before you engage in it. You ſay well, replied the General, and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an hour; and then the queſtion for paſſing the ſaid act being put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, This is the time, I muſt do it: and ſo ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bad the Speaker leave the chair, and told the Houſe, That they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good; that ſome of them were whoremaſters, looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth; that others of them were drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, and ſcandalous to the profeſſion of the goſpel; and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit as a Parliament any longer, and therefore he muſt deſire them to go away (*s*). He charged them with not having a heart to do any thing for the publick good, and eſpouſing the intereſt of Preſbytery; and the Lawyers, who were the ſupporters of tyranny and oppreſſion, and accuſed them of an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power. When ſome of the Members began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the midſt of the Houſe, and ſaid, Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; then walking up and down the Houſe, he cried out, You are no Parliament, I ſay you are no Parliament, and, ſtamping with his feet, he bad them for ſhame begone, and give place to honeſter men (*t*). Upon this ſignal the ſoldiers entered the Houſe, and he bad one of them take away that bauble, meaning the mace; and Harriſon taking the Speaker by the arm, he came down. Then the General, addreſſing himſelf again to the Members, who were about a hundred, ſaid, 'Tis you that have forced me to this; for I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon the doing of this work. And then ſeizing on all their papers, he ordered the ſoldiers to ſee the Houſe cleared of all Members, and, having cauſed the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall (*u*). With the ſame ſpirit he proceeded to turn out the Council of State, and to take ſuch other meaſures as appeared to him the moſt proper, for the ſupport of that great authority he had attained, preſerving the affection of the Army, and keeping peace and quietneſs in the nation [*BB*]. He continued, for a few days, to direct all things by the advice

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 324, 325. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 160.

(*n*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 126, 127.

(*o*) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 524.

(*p*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 160.

(*q*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 129. Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 230.

(*r*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 455, 456.

(*s*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 554. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 405. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 457.

(*t*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 405. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 161. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 457.

(*u*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 340.

[*BB*] *And keeping peace and quietneſs in the nation.*] When General Cromwell came back to Whitehall he found a Council of Officers ſtill aſſembled, and this grand point yet in debate, upon which he told them roundly, they need trouble themſelves no farther about it, for he had done it. Col. Okey, who was none of his creature, demanded immediately What he had done? and, when he had told him, expoſtulated the point warmly; but Cromwell talked ſo much louder than he, of the glory of God and the good of the nation, the removing of yokes and badges of ſlavery, that he very ſoon thought proper to be ſilent, and to wait for the concluſion of this affair, in order to diſtinguiſh from his actions, what were Cromwell's real intentions in ſo bold an action (148). In the afternoon of the ſame day, Cromwell, attended by the Majors-General Lambert and Harriſon, went to the Council of State, and finding them ſitting, addreſſed them in the following terms: 'Gentlemen, if you are met here as private perſons you ſhall not be diſturbed, but if as a Council of State, this is no place for you. And ſince you cannot but know what was done at the Houſe this morning, ſo take notice, that the Parliament is diſſolved.' Serjeant Bradſhaw boldly anſwered, 'Sir, we have heard what you did at the Houſe in the morning, and, before many hours, all England will hear it. But, Sir, you are miſtaken to think that the Parliament is diſſolved, for no power under Heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves, therefore take you notice of that.' Some others alſo ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe; But the Council finding themſelves to be under the ſame force, they all quietly departed (149).

(148) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 127, 128.

(149) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 461.

The

advice of the Council of Officers, where he profeſſed his own painful ſenſe of the vaſt burthen laid upon his ſhoulders, and how deſirous he was to remove it; but finding, by the ſpeeches of ſome of them, he might probably be taken at his word, he firſt excited them to diſcover, and then ſo effectually expoſed their different, contradictory, and irreconcileable ſentiments as to government, that they were at laſt glad to propoſe a new Council of State, in which the ſupreme authority was veſted (*w*); and then publiſhed a very rational and well-drawn declaration, dated April 22d, in which they gave the faireſt colours poſſible to the late diſſolution, and promiſed that a new repreſentative ſhould be called (*x*). This was accordingly done, by virtue of letters or warrants under the Lord General's hand. This Aſſembly conſiſted of one hundred forty-two perſons, met July the 4th, in the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, where Cromwell told them, that they had a clear call to take upon them the ſupreme authority; which they did without ceremony, and elected Francis Rous, Eſq; Provoſt of Eaton, their Speaker. This, from it's narrowneſs in point of numbers, was ſtiled the little, from it's manner of proceeding, the godly, and from the pragmatical behaviour of one Praiſe-God Barebone, a Leatherſeller in the city, Barebone's Parliament. This Aſſembly ſat long enough to do Cromwell's buſineſs and their own; for the majority of them being Fifth Monarchy-men, threatned total deſtruction to the Miniſtry, and the Lawyers; and took ſuch ſtrange ſteps with regard to the Dutch Ambaſſadors, that they were abſolutely at a loſs how to deal with them; ſo that all parties (except their own ſmall one) being heartily tired with theſe Legiſlators, ſome of themſelves, who were in the ſecret, met early on the 12th of December, and agreed to ſurrender up their power to Cromwell, from whom it came (*y*). Major-General Harriſon, and about twenty more, remained in the Houſe, and ſeeing the reign of the Saints at an end, placed one Mr Moyer in the Speaker's chair, and began to draw up proteſts; but they were ſoon interrupted by Colonel White, with a party of ſoldiers; who aſking them what they did there, they told him, They were ſeeking the Lord: to this he replied, That, to his knowledge, the Lord had not been ſought there many years, and ſo fairly turned them out of doors (*z*). The ſcene thus changed, the ſupreme power was ſaid to be in the Council of Officers again, and they very ſpeedily reſolved, that the Lord General, with a ſelect Council, ſhould have the adminiſtration of publick affairs, upon the terms contained in a paper, intituled, The INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT; and that his Excellency ſhould be Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and have the title of Highneſs; and accordingly he was inveſted therewith on the 16th of December, in the Court of Chancery in Weſtminſter-Hall, with great ſolemnity (*a*). When he had thus reduced the government into ſome order, he proceeded very wiſely and warily; appointed a Privy-Council, in which there were ſeveral great and worthy men, who, he knew, would either not act at all, or not act very long with him; but their names giving a ſanction for the preſent, he proceeded, with the advice of ſo many of this Council as attended upon him, to make ſeveral ordinances that were neceſſary, as alſo to diſpoſe matters for the holding a new Parliament (*b*). Thus, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, he aſſumed ſovereign power, and exerciſed it with great dignity; though he well knew, that all obedience to him roſe from fear, and that his danger was nearly equal from all parties, though, by his prudent management, he left none the capacity of hurting him [CC]. He applied himſelf immediately to the ſettlement of the publick affairs,

(*w*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 136.

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 340, 341, 342, 343.

(*y*) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 475. Heath's Chronicle, p. 353.

(*z*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 139. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 170.

(*a*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 707. Heath's Chronicle, p. 354.

(*b*) Coke's Deteſtion, p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265.

The true reaſon why General Cromwell diſmiſſed, in that manner, this Council of State, was, becauſe he intended to have another of his own conſtruction, theſe as they derived their authority from, being men entirely devoted to the Parliament. It cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch a tranſaction as this ſhould paſs in ſilence, or that the perſons ejected, and their friends and creatures, ſhould not make a very great noiſe, as indeed they did, repreſenting this act of Cromwell's as the moſt inſolent violation of the ſupreme authority that could be practiſed or imagined (150). To prevent any impreſſion that theſe invectives might otherwiſe make, ſome were employed to tell the people, that theſe men had no reaſon to complain, that themſelves had taken pains to ſhew the nation that there was no authority inviolable in it's nature, that they had themſelves fled to the Army, and by the aſſiſtance of the Army purged their own Houſe at their pleaſure; that they had taken away the Upper Houſe of Parliament without any other law than their will, and that in all their proceedings they have been by far more arbitrary, than any Monarch that ever filled the Engliſh throne, and this without any other colour of right than what was derived to them from their own vote. The Royaliſts took this advantage alſo to deſcant upon publick affairs, and without much ceremony treated the diſperſed Parliament as a herd of uſurpers, exhauſting the wealth, and trampling upon the liberties of the people, who could only be delivered by one who had ſuperior power in his hands, and who in this inſtance had made the right uſe of it (151). When ſuch diſcourſes had been thoroughly ſpread, and the General afterwards proceeded to ſome popular acts, ſuch as reducing the tax from one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds to ninety thouſand pounds a month, and had emitted the Declaration mentioned in the text. It was preſently approved by addreſſes from the fleet and army, as well as from different parts of the kingdom, which was called the voice of the nation; and, by the way, it may not be amiſs to take notice, that this was the firſt riſe of addreſſes (152), which very clearly ſhews how great a politician Cromwell was, and how much better ſkilled in the art of giving a fair colour to all his proceedings than is generally imagined.

(150) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 136. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 162.

(151) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 128.

(152) Heath's Chronicle, p. 343.

[C] *Though by his prudent management he left none the capacity of hurting him.*] Immediately after his turning out the Long Parliament, when, as we before obſerved, all parties took the liberty of ſpeaking, and ſome places that of addreſſing, which thoſe who liked the contents called the ſenſe of the people; ſome there were in the counties near London that talked of a King, and this hint ſome people had a mind to improve, for which purpoſe, on Tueſday the ſeventeenth of May in the forenoon (153), about 'Change time, a gentleman extremely well dreſſed came in a coach to the Royal Exchange, where, taking out of his coach the General's picture, he fixed it againſt one of the pillars, and after making two or three turns, took coach again and drove away. Over the head of the pourtrait ſtood theſe words, *'Tis I*; and underneath were the following verſes:

(153) From Dr Nalſon's MS. Collections, Vol. XVI. num. 134.

Aſcend

affairs, both foreign and domeſtick; he concluded a peace with the States of Holland, in which the point of the flag was carried pretty high, ſatisfaction was promiſed for the barbarous maſſacre at Amboyna, the reſtitution of Polleroon, and other things that were never complied with (*c*). In this treaty the King of Denmark got himſelf included; the Lord Commiſſioner Whitelocke made a firm peace with Sweden; the King of Portugal alſo, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed between him and the Parliament, was obliged to accept of peace upon his terms; but matters were not ſo eaſily adjuſted with France, though, from the very beginning, that crown paid the Protector great court, from an apprehenſion, it is ſaid, that he meant to marry one of his daughters to the Prince of Conde, which would have engaged him on the ſide of the Spaniards (*d*); but for this, perhaps, there never was any great foundation; by degrees, however, he impreſſed ſuch an opinion of the great importance of his friendſhip, both upon France and Spain, that the two crowns contended for it, with an earneſtneſs that made them both ridiculous [*DD*]. In reference to affairs at home, he filled the courts in Weſtminſter-Hall with very able Judges; and directed the Lawyers themſelves to make ſuch corrections in the practice of their profeſſion, as might, in ſome meaſure, free them from publick odium; which had a good effect. The ſame moderation he practiſed in Church affairs, affecting to carry himſelf

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 357. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 487.

(*d*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 358, 359. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 5—12—31.

Aſcend three thrones, great Captain and Divine,
By the will of God, (*) *O Lyon, for they're thine:*
Come Prieſt of God, bring oil, bring robes, bring gold,
Bring crowns and ſceptres; 'tis high time t' unfold
Your cloiſter'd bags, ye State Cheats, leſt the rod
Of ſteel and iron, of this your King and God,
Pay you in's wrath with intereſt; kneel and pray,
To Oliver, the Torch of Sion! the Star of day!
Shout then ye Merchants, City and Gentry ſing,
And all bare-headed cry, God ſave the King!

(*) Alluding to the Protector's arms.

As ſoon as exchange time was over the Lord Mayor cauſed the picture to be taken down, and carried it directly to the Lord General at Whitehall. Some writers mention this as a libel upon Cromwell (154), but in thoſe days, when the thing was moſt likely to be underſtood, it was believed that the fox was the finder, and that the Lord Mayor himſelf, not without the privity of the Lord General, ſet up this picture on the Royal Exchange by way of a political weather-cock, to ſee in what corner the popular wind ſat (155). Indeed, why might not my Lord Mayor aſk the citizens upon 'Change the ſame queſtion that Cromwell did Whitlocke in St James's Park, *What if a man ſhould take upon himſelf to be King?* When it was found this ſcheme could not be brought to bear, then the calling an aſſembly by way of Parliament was the next ſtep, and for this the Lord General had three good reaſons; the firſt was, that it might appear that he made a diſtinction between diſliking the Rump, and diſcarding Parliaments: the next, that upon their ſinking again into nothing, he might receive his power back from them, as it were by form of law; and, laſtly, that by making the Fifth Monarchy men, who were predominant in this Parliament, both odious and ridiculous, he might have the leſs to fear from them, and withal the greater ſupport from the Clergy and Lawyers, for that Parliament had fairly voted that tythes were a relict of Judaiſm, that the Common-Law was a badge of ſlavery, and, on the other hand, that the Court of Chancery ought to be aboliſhed; and thus, to all the thinking part of the world, it was made evident that the Saints, having no ſenſe, were not fit to govern (156). The taſk he now undertook, of governing as a Monarch with a Council, was ſtill harder than all the reſt; and yet he ſeemed to manage it with the ſame eaſe, for he ſtill continued to practiſe upon all parties by their hopes and fears. As to the Cavaliers, he intimated that he was not irreconcilable to thoſe who ſhould give proofs of their affection to his government; that he meant not to hurt or oppreſs thoſe who were inclined to live quietly, but that if any attempted to aſſaſſinate him, he had thoſe at his command who ſhould immediately repay that by taking off whole families (157). He encouraged and protected the Preſbyterians that ſubmitted, and delivered up thoſe who oppoſed him to be worried by the ſectaries. He maintained his old language to the Fifth Monarchy men; he ſaid things were not ripe for the Saints to take the rule of the earth, and that in the mean time he was ſo far from taking the ſceptre, that he had only taken the Conſtable's ſtaff, in order to keep the peace, and prevent the people from cutting one another's throats. As for the ſenſible Republicans he knew them to be irreconcilable, and therefore he ſignified to them, that if they would live quietly they might, but that if they diſturbed his government he would make them feel the weight of his power, which he knew by experience was the only way to keep them in order (158).

(154) Grey's Examination of Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 153.

(155) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 249.

(156) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 164, 165.

(157) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 257, 258.

(158) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 471—488.

[*DD*] *That made them both ridiculous.*] In this note we ſhall give ſome account of the Protector's conduct with reſpect to foreign courts, at his firſt entering on that office. His peace with Holland has been very much magnified by ſome, whereas others affirm, that he was bribed by the Dutch to make it upon the terms he did (159). Theſe facts are certain, that the Parliament ſtood upon higher terms, that the Engliſh fleet beat that of the States twice after the Parliament was turned out, and that the expulſion of King Charles and his followers, with the excluſion of the Prince of Orange, were points particularly inſiſted on by Cromwell (160). The Queen of Sweden paid great reſpect to the Rump, and as great to Oliver, who, to expreſs his regard for her on the other ſide, hung her picture in his bed-chamber, which the laughers in thoſe times ſaid, made the Lady Elizabeth Cromwell, the Protector's conſort, not a little jealous (161); and yet it was not long after, that one of his agents wrote the Protector a very ſerious account of Queen Chriſtina's being inclined to marry Charles Stuart, but that was after her abdication, and no queſtion one ſtory was as true as the other (162). The Kings of Denmark and Portugal the Protector treated very haughtily, and obliged the Ambaſſador of the latter to come and ſign the peace at Whitehall the very morning his brother was executed on Tower-hill. He refuſed the title of couſin from the French King, expecting that of brother; and ſo artfully played the Spaniard againſt him at a very critical conjuncture, when the French were laying the ground-work of that power which has been ſince ſo fatal to Europe, that both Ambaſſadors made ſuch extraordinary advances, with ſo many ſingular acts of ſubmiſſion, that the Dutch ſtruck a medal (163) with the buſt of Cromwell and his titles on one ſide, with Britannia on the other, and Cromwell thruſting his head in her boſom, with his breeches down and his backſide bare, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſtooping to kiſs it, while the French Ambaſſador holds him by the arm with theſe words inſcribed, *Retire toi l'honneur apartient au Roi mon maitre*, i. e. Come back, that honour belongs to the King my maſter. It is true this medal was not ſtruck till two years afterwards, but as the ſtructure of this work obliges us to place together things of a like nature, we choſe to mention it here, the rather, becauſe I find no mention of it in any of the Hiſtories of Cromwell; but there is reaſon to ſuſpect it might occaſion that miſtake, which appears in a private letter intercepted in thoſe times, where it is ſaid, that a print had been handed about beyond the ſea, repreſenting Cromwell ſitting upon a cloſe-ſtool, the King of France on the right hand, and the King of Spain on the left, offering each a ſupply of paper for his preſent occaſions (164). There have been many curious collections of prints made ſince, but I never heard of any ſuch thing amongſt them, whereas the medal is yet preſerved in ſeveral Dutch cabinets.

(159) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 709.

(160) Coke's Detection, B. iii. p. 44, 45, 46.

(161) As appears by an intercepted letter in Dr Nalſon's Collection.

(162) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 468.

(163) Catalogue des Medailles qui ſe trouvent dans le Cabinet de Nicolas Chevalier, à Amſterdam, p. 7.

(164) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 658.

himſelf equally between the Preſbyterians and Independants, but profeſſing an unalterable reſolution of maintaining liberty of conſcience (*e*). He laboured by degrees to purge the Anabaptiſts out of the army, diſmiſſing from their commands ſuch officers as he could not confide in. He gave the command of all the forces in Scotland to General Monk, and ſent his ſon Henry to govern Ireland (*f*). He by an ordinance, dated April 12th, 1654, united England and Scotland, fixing the number of repreſentatives for the latter at thirty, and ſoon after he did the ſame by Ireland (*g*). He ſhewed great zeal for juſtice, in cauſing the brother of the Ambaſſador from Portugal to be executed for murder, occaſioned by a quarrel that he had with one Colonel Gerrard. Upon pretence of a conſpiracy againſt himſelf, he procured ſeveral perſons to be convicted and condemned by a High Court of Juſtice, of which Major Liſle was preſident; and it is very remarkable, that the Portugueſe Gentleman before-mentioned, who murdered another Gentleman by miſtake, never ſaw his antagoniſt Colonel Gerrard again till they both came to loſe their heads together on a ſcaffold at Tower-Hill, July the 10th, the former for that murder, the latter for this conſpiracy, which he denied with his laſt breath; and ſhewed as much courage upon that melancholy occaſion, as his fellow-ſufferer did the want of it (*h*). The ſame day one Mr Vowell, a ſchoolmaſter, was executed for the plot at Charing-Croſs; which he likewiſe denied, dying with heroic conſtancy, and reproaching the guards for being inſtruments of tyranny and injuſtice, by aſſiſting at his execution, which, he aſſerted, was againſt law, becauſe without a crime (*i*). But, notwithſtanding all theſe ſucceſſes, and all the pains the Protector could take to conciliate the affections of the people, he found a great ſpirit ſtirring againſt him in all the three kingdoms, and his government ſo crampt for want of money, that he was under an abſolute neceſſity of calling a Parliament, according to the form which he had preſcribed in the *Inſtrument of Government* (*k*); and which though it put much in his power, and left the deciſion of diſputed elections to his council, yet, as it remained ſtill ſome ſort of repreſentative of the nation, he was not without apprehenſions of their not proving ſo tractable as he could wiſh; and the event proved, that his ſuſpicions were not without grounds (*l*). He fixed upon the third of September for the day on which they were to aſſemble, eſteeming it particularly fortunate to him; and to this he peremptorily adhered, though it happened to fall upon a Sunday. The Parliament was accordingly opened on that day, after hearing a ſermon at Weſtminſter-Abbey, to which the Protector went in very great ſtate (*m*). He received this Houſe of Commons in the Painted Chamber, where he made them a very long and a very ſenſible ſpeech, in which he gave them a large account of the nature of that government which he had thought fit to eſtabliſh, the ends he propoſed, and the means he had uſed to compaſs thoſe ends; he took great pains to ſhew them the folly of extravagant notions about liberty, civil and religious; told them to what purpoſe he had called them together, and promiſed to allow them *all imaginable freedom in their debates on publick affairs* (*n*). When they came to their Houſe, they elected Mr William Lenthall their Speaker, but did not preſent him; next they fell to debating, whether the ſupreme legiſlative power of the kingdom ſhould be in a ſingle perſon, or a Parliament? This alarmed the Protector, who found himſelf in danger of being depoſed by a vote of this new Parliament; to prevent which, on the twelfth of the ſame month, he cauſed a guard to be ſet at the door, to prevent their going into the Houſe of Commons, then ſent for them into the Painted Chamber, where he gave them a very ſharp reproof; nor were any permitted to go into the Houſe afterwards, before they had taken an oath to be faithful to the Protector, and his government; and tho' this excluded a great number, yet the new courtiers were ſtill a minority (*o*). While this Parliament was ſitting, an odd accident happened to the Protector; he had received a ſet of Friezland horſes from the Duke of Holſtein as a preſent, and would needs drive his Secretary Thurloe in his coach, drawn by theſe horſes, round Hyde-Park; but the horſes proving as ungovernable as the Parliament, threw his Highneſs out of the box, and, in his fall, one of his pocket-piſtols went off, notwithſtanding which he eſcaped without either wound or broken bones (*p*). By the *Inſtrument of Government* the Parliament was to ſit five months, which the Protector took the liberty of computing by his ſoldiers almanack, in which months conſiſt only of twenty-eight days; and, finding they were about to take away his power, and would give him no money, he, on the 22d of January, ſent for them once more into the Painted Chamber, where, in a very long, ambiguous, and bitter ſpeech, having told them his mind, he diſſolved them (*q*). Theſe were the principal events of the firſt year of his Protectorate, for of the principal events only we can, in this place, take notice [*EE*]. The opening of the year 1655 proved but cloudy;

(*e*) Coke's Detection, P. ii. p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265.

(*f*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 724. Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. II. p. 149.

(*g*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 497. Heath's Chronicle, p. 358.

(*h*) Echard's Hiſt. England, 710. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 179.

(*i*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 360. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 645.

(*k*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 186.

(*l*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 375.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 363.

(*n*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 186.

(*o*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 500, 501. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 647.

(*p*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 212. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 508.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 648. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365.

[*E E*] *We can in this place take notice.*] It muſt appear very ſtrange to the reader, that Cromwell and his Council having a power to levy money by virtue of their ordinances, he ſhould, notwithſtanding, be ſo much diſtreſſed for it, as to be under the neceſſity of calling a Parliament; ſtill ſtranger, that with all the powers he had given himſelf in the inſtrument of government, he ſhould not have it in his power to pack one for his purpoſe; and ſtrangeſt of all, that he who formerly purged the Houſes ſo effectually by his army, when it was chiefly for other men's ſervice, ſhould not be able to do it as effectually for his own. We will endeavour to explain all theſe points. His ordinances had indeed the force of laws, and it was under colour of them that he raiſed thoſe monthly aſſeſſments which enabled him to carry on his government; yet theſe were not ſufficient for his expences, and almoſt all the caſual revenue of the publick had been granted away by the Rump, or rather ſhared amongſt themſelves (165). He was unwilling to hazard raiſing new taxes without the conſent of Parliament, becauſe he had promiſed the contrary in his inſtrument of government, and he had

(165) Hiſt. of Independency, the third and fourth parts throughout.

cloudy; the diſſolution of the Parliament ſtirred all the ill blood in the kingdom, ſo that he found himſelf at once beſet with conſpiracies on all ſides, and by all parties; but he had the good luck to diſcover them before thoſe concerned were ready to put them in execution. His firſt ſtep was to put the city in good humour, by reſtoring to them their militia, under the command of their old officer Major-General Skippon; then, February 13th, he went to Guild-hall, and declared the Republicans and Cavaliers had formed deſigns againſt his perſon (*r*). Of the former Major John Wildman, who had been an intimate friend of his, was ſeized, while penning a paper, intituled, *A Declaration of the People of* England *againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwell, *Eſq*; ſome other violent men of that party he impriſoned, but was afraid of doing more (*s*). As to the Royaliſts, he ſuffered them to go on a little; for by the help of one Manning (*t*), who was his ſpy in the court of King Charles II. he was ſo well acquainted with their projects, as to put themſelves upon ſuch meaſures as entirely defeated them; and this is a true account of that inſurrection which broke out at Saliſbury, where the King was proclaimed, and Cromwell's Judges ſeized; which act of open force left no doubt with the publick, that there were ſome deſigns againſt the Protector, which, otherwiſe, they were ready enough to diſbelieve (*u*) [*FF*]. For this inſurrection Colonel Penruddock, Mr Grove, and ſeveral other perſons, ſuffered death; and from hence the Protector, who had hitherto ſhewn an inclination to have governed as a lawful Prince if he could, ſeemed to lay aſide this diſpoſition, and no longer to make any difficulty of ſupporting his authority in any manner, and by any means; ſo that from the time the firſt publick diſturbance broke out into a civil war, the people of this kindom in general never underwent ſo great oppreſſion, either in their properties or perſons; were deprived to ſuch a degree of the benefit of the laws, or had ſo melancholy a proſpect before them, of unrelenting and irreſiſtible dominion, ſupported by an armed force (*w*) [*GG*]. In the ſpring of this year was carried into execution that famous expedition,

(*r*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii p. 200. Flagellum, or life of Cromwell, p. 161, 162.

(*s*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 713

(*t*) Heath's Chr. p. 368. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 185. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 668—671.

(*u*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 372, 373. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 163.

(*w*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 676. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 519.

had equal reaſon to doubt whether the people would pay, or the army levy, ſuch taxes; to avoid which he took very extraordinary ways of coming at money, ſuch as ſeizing four hundred thouſand pounds belonging to the King of Spain, though as yet there was no war declared; but the want of money was not the only reaſon which drove him upon this meaſure, he wanted to have his own power and the *Inſtrument of Government* confirmed by Parliament, and flattered himſelf with many good turns from them, which could not with any decency be done by his own power (166). In his endeavours to model the Parliament before they ſat, he puſhed every thing to the utmoſt; but an act of cunning that had been very ſerviceable to him before, rendered all his contrivances abortive now, for in the plan of Parliament ſettled by the inſtrument, the counties, inſtead of having two, had moſt of them five, and ſome more, repreſentatives, a thing very right in itſelf, and therefore very wrong with reſpect to him, ſince he could introduce in that quality but very few of his creatures. Scotland and Ireland indeed, ſent for the moſt part officers of the army, and therefore the Patriots in the Parliament treated it as a ſoleciſm, firſt to enſlave countries, and then to enable them to ſend up their jailors and tyrants to ſit amongſt, and become a part of, the repreſentatives of a free nation (167). What was worſt of all, many of his own creatures fell off, for the free ſpeakers in the Houſe unmaſked his policy ſo effectually, that they ſaw they were forging chains for themſelves. His purges, however ſharp, came a little too late, the body of this Houſe of Commons being pretty well ſeaſoned to them; ſo that many of them took the Engagement in order to get into the Houſe, and explained it away as ſoon as they were got in. He was obliged to truſt the management of the Parliament to Lambert, who deſired to have the *Inſtrument of Government* confirmed, in hopes of becoming his ſucceſſor; but the true ſecret of their haſty diſſolution was, a deſign diſcovered to the Protector by Col. Pride, which many of the inferior officers of the army had formed, of ſeizing and delivering him priſoner to the Parliament (168). In the midſt of theſe publick perplexities his domeſtick quiet was interrupted by the death of his mother, November 18, 1654, ſhe lived with him at Whitehall, ſhared in the ſplendor of his Court, but enjoyed it not, for though ſhe troubled him but little with her remonſtrances, yet her fears were ſo ſtrong, that ſhe could not believe he was ſafe if ſhe did not ſee him twice a day, and if by accident ſhe heard a piſtol at any time diſcharged, ſhe could not help crying out, *My ſon is ſhot* (169)! The Protector, contrary to her deſire, who foreſaw they would never reſt there in peace, cauſed her remains to be interred in King Henry VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter abbey (170).

(166) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 423. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 498.

(167) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 152, 153. See the Inſtrument of Government in Whitlocke and in Bates.

(168) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 500, 501—503.

(169) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(170) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 488, 489.

[*FF*] *They were ready enough to diſbelieve.*] It is very certain that Mr Thurloe, who, from being Secretary to Oliver St John in his embaſſy to the States, was raiſed to be Secretary and Prime-Miniſter to Cromwell, had a great deal of the old Walſingham ſpirit, and knew how to manage a great number of buſy intriguing ſpirits ſo dextrouſly, as by the help of ſham plots of his own contriving, to find out and diſappoint the true. Here we muſt obſerve the wiſe diſtinction made by Cromwell for the preſent, between the Republicans and the Royaliſts, who were equally enemies to the Protector, though he did not care to ſhow himſelf equally an enemy to them; he contented himſelf therefore for the preſent, with diſplacing Major-General Harriſon, Col. Rich, Col. Okey, *&c.* and with the ſeizing Major-Gen. Overton and ſome others, that expreſſed themſelves in terms of dangerous reſentment; nay, to ſuch a degree was he maſter of his paſſions, though naturally no man was more paſſionate, that when Colonel, the ſame who was formerly Cornet Joyce, reproached him to his face with his ſervices, he only bid him *Be gone* (171). But he did not think himſelf obliged to treat the Royaliſts ſo favourably, and therefore being quite maſter of their projects, he made, or rather his Secretary Thurloe made, ſome of his creatures give out falſe times for a general inſurrection, by which the deſign was effectually defeated, and yet there were ſo many appeared in arms, as to ſhew that there really was ſuch a deſign, and thereby afford a colour for putting ſuch to death, as were unluckily involved in it; and they had the leſs reaſon to hope for mercy, ſince they pleaded in their own defence, that they could not be guilty of any treaſon, becauſe thoſe againſt whom they acted were not a legal government, and indeed the Chief Juſtice Rolle did not care to try them, and Mr Ludlow very frankly owns, that their defence was well founded (172).

(171) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 161.

[*GG*] *Supported by an armed force.*] To lay a foundation for all this violence, the Protector, with the advice of his Council, publiſhed an Ordinance, importing, that all who had borne arms for the King, or who at any time had declared themſelves of his party, ſhould be decimated, or pay a tenth part of the income of their eſtates for the expence of thoſe extraordinary forces that they obliged his Highneſs to to keep up. Commiſſioners were appointed in every county to receive the money ariſing from this new eſtabliſhment, which brought in a prodigious ſum of money, as the Commiſſioners had power to compound all demands for three years purchaſe (173). This ordinance

(172) Heath's Chron. p. 367, 368. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 518, 519.

(173) Heath's Chron. p. 373.

expedition, by which the Protector hoped to make himself master of a great part of the Spanish West-Indies, having sent thither a powerful fleet, under the command of Admiral Penn, and the greatest body of land-forces that had been ever seen in America, commanded by General Venables; and though, in the main part of their design, these officers were utterly unsuccessful, yet they made themselves masters of the island of Jamaica, which has remained ever since part of the dominions of the British crown (*x*). We have different accounts of this great transaction in our general histories, and many circumstances there are which have not been hitherto fully explained [*HH*]. He was very desirous of bringing most of those projects to bear, that he knew had a tendency to please the people; and therefore thought he could not make a better use of his power, than to restrain some things that were thought exorbitant in the proceedings of the High Court of Chancery; upon which, however, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Mr Whitlocke, and Mr Lenthall, desired to resign their offices, who had kept them through such a variety of changes, and when most people thought the Constitution had received greater injuries than this (*y*). They were permitted to do this without any offence taken, as appears from the Protector's making the two former Commissioners of the Treasury, and the regard he shewed to Lenthall as long as he lived. As for the great seal, it went into such hands as had scarce been intrusted with it before, *viz.* Major Lisle and Colonel Fiennes (*z*). The new King of Sweden sent over an Ambassador, to compliment the Protector, who was most graciously received, and great pains were taken to make this instance of respect from a foreign court as publick as it was possible; but the visit that Queen Christina was inclined to have paid him, he judged proper to avoid, which was certainly an argument of his great prudence (*a*). That alliance, which had been so long in treaty with the crown of France, was signed November 24th, 1655, and proclaimed the 28th of the same month; by which it was stipulated, that Cromwell should send over a body of English troops, to act in conjunction with the French against the Spaniards in the Low-Countries, and that, on the other hand, the French King should oblige the Royal Family to quit his dominions (*b*). This treaty has been much magnified by some, but certainly without any great cause, since it was entirely destructive of the balance of power, and became, in it's consequences, the real cause of most of those wars that have cost us so much blood and treasure [*II*]. The glorious successes of the great Admiral Blake in the Mediterranean,

(*x*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 206, 207, *&c.* Heath's Chronicle, p. 376. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

(*y*) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 321, 322. Echard's Hist. England, p. 716.

(*z*) See list of honors and offices conferred by O. Lord Protector.

(*a*) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 323.

(*b*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 210.

dinance was so penned, that it took in all that should disturb his government, or rather be suspected of disturbing it, upon any principle whatever. At this time county troops were established, every private man having eight pounds a year given him, not for military service, but for informing; a Captain had a hundred pounds a year, and other officers in proportion. And finally to provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people as in the army, he divided England as it were into so many cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of Major-General, which Major-Generals were in the nature of Prefects, or Governors of provinces (174). These men were to have the inspection and government of the inferior Commissioners in every county, to commit to prison all such persons as they suspected, to levy all monies which were ordered by his Highness and his Council to be collected for the publick, to sequester all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution such farther directions as they should receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the Protector himself (175). For the management of the affairs relating to this commission they had an office at London, where recognizances were entered, and their proceedings filed, by which the Protector hoped to obtain a distinct account of the quality of every person in the Royal interest, and of the value of his estate, throughout the kingdom; for as to these Christian Bashaws, they were impowered by their commissions to take an account of all suspected persons of the King's party, and such as were actually so to receive security of them, in which they were to be bound to act nothing against the government, and to reveal all plots that should come to their knowledge; they were to suppress all horse-races, cock-matches, and other concourses of people; to secure the high-ways; to take Engagement from Cavaliers for their servants and children; and those that did not so, nor give security, to commit to prison, and to rate and receive the money arising from this decimation (176). These Major-Generals carried things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleased, interrupting the proceedings at law upon petitions of those who thought themselves aggrieved, and threatening such as would not readily submit to their orders, with transportation to the West Indies.

(174) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 676. Heath's Chron. p. 378.

(175) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 164, 165.

(176) Coke's Detection, B. iv. p. 59.

[*HH*] *Which have not been hitherto fully explained.*] It is not to be expected that in a short note, any competent account should be given of a very long expedition, the preparatives for and proceedings in which might well employ a small volume, without inserting any thing that could be esteemed tedious by the reader; all therefore that I propose, is, to offer a few hints of circumstances worthy of being thoroughly examined. The motives to this expedition were none of the most honourable, since they were plainly avarice and fear. The Protector had just tasted the Spanish treasures, and he had a mind to take a full meal; for whoever consults his instructions will find, that it was not the particular island of Hispaniola, but the Continent also that he had hopes of conquering, and yet the embarkation of the troops was from time to time deferred, so that the end of the expedition was no secret, even before the ships sailed from England (177). In the next place it was fear, for Venables, who commanded the land forces, had never been well affected to Cromwell, and before this time was reconciled to the King, of which it is not impossible the Protector might be informed; the troops too were composed of men discharged out of all the regiments in his service for disaffection, and if at last they had not been hurried on board at Portsmouth, when they least expected it, Venables had marched up to London, in order to try if it had not been possible to dethrone the Protector (178). There was a great deal of mismanagement on all sides in the setting out, a very high misunderstanding between the Commanders in Chief from the very beginning, the additional forces they took on board at Barbadoes were the most profligate and worthless people in the world; so that, upon the whole, it is much more wonderful that ever these people became masters of Jamaica, than that they were disappointed at Hispaniola, for which, however, Cromwell had no body to thank but himself; for there was such a narrowness and selfishness in his instructions as dispirited the soldiers, who found, that after all the hazards they had run, and dangers they had endured, they were to fight, not for themselves, but to fill the Protector's privy purse (179).

(177) Burchett's Naval History, p. 385—395.

(178) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185, 186.

(179) Burchett's Naval History, p. 385.

[*II*] *That have cost us so much blood and treasure.*] The conjuncture of those times, and the high struggle between the crowns of France and Spain, was very favourable for the Protector, who might, if he had pleased, have taken the ballance of power in Europe entirely

Mediterranean, and the great ſums that he recovered from ſeveral powers, for depredations committed by their ſubjects on the Engliſh trade, did much honour to the Protector's government; and, to conclude the tranſactions of this year, it muſt be allowed, that, how much ſoever he might be diſliked at home, his reputation, at this time, was very great abroad (c) [KK]. The loſs he ſuſtained in the diſcovery of Manning, whom King Charles cauſed to be ſhot for correſponding with Thurloe, was moſt effectually repaired by the aſſiſtance he received from a perſon of ſuperior character, who was Chancellor Hyde's great correſpondent, and ſuppoſed to be one of the moſt active and determined Royaliſts in England. The war with Spain, which had hitherto produced only vaſt expectations, began now to bear ſome fruit; for the gallant and fortunate Blake, falling in with the Plate Fleet, almoſt at the mouth of the harbour of Cadiz, attacked and deſtroyed it, to the irreparable damage of the Spaniards, and of the no ſmall gain of the Protector, who received two millions in ready money out of the prizes that were taken (d). The Protector, in the midſt of all that he poſſeſſed, ſtill felt ſome wants, which he judged nothing could ſupply but a Parliament; and, having concerted more effectual methods, as he conceived, for bending them to his will, than had been practiſed before the laſt; he directed writs to iſſue for the meeting of that aſſembly September 17th, 1656, at which time they met accordingly, but with a guard poſted at the door of the Houſe, who ſuffered none to enter till they had ſwallowed the oaths that were ready prepared for them, by which about two hundred were excluded, who ſigned a proteſt againſt this proceeding, and againſt all that ſhould be done by thoſe who ſat without them (e). The Parliament, however, choſe Sir Thomas Widdrington their Speaker, paſſed an act for diſannulling the King's title, another for the ſecurity of his Highneſs's perſon, and ſeveral money-bills; for all which the Protector gave them his moſt gracious thanks (f). It was apprehended, that ſome difference might have ariſen upon a motion in the Houſe, againſt the exorbitant power of the Majors-General; but, as they began to be formidable now to the Protector himſelf, they were fairly given up by Mr Claypole, who had married the Protector's daughter, in a ſpeech, which ſet all things right again (g). About the cloſe of the year a new plot was either diſcovered, or made, for which one Miles Sindercombe was condemned, and that by the ordinary forms of juſtice; but he diſappointed the Protector, and was found dead on the morning intended for his execution, which gave birth to many conjectures (h) [LL]. However, a publick thankſgiving was appointed for the happy

(c) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 326.

(d) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 212. See the article of Blake in this Dictionary.

(e) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 651. Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 450. Heath's Chronicle, p. 382.

(f) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 653. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 213.

(g) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 338.

(h) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 654, 655. Heath's Chronicle, p. 385.

entirely into his own hands, and not only have held it during life, but have fixed it for the reſt of that century at leaſt. But after much deliberation he reſolved, or rather his affairs compelled him, to break with Spain, in hopes of filling his Exchequer by that war, and this made him join with France, as well as for two other reaſons; the firſt, that he might procure the Royal Family to be driven out of that country by treaty, as they had been before out of Holland; the ſecond, that he might have a port upon that Continent the expediency of which was firſt ſuggeſted to him by the Spaniards, who, if he would have joined with them, promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of Calais (180). It is aſſerted by Dr Welwood, on the credit of Puffendorff, that in the negotiation of theſe treaties he carried himſelf very haughtily; that in the inſtrument he cauſed his own name to be put before the French King's; that he would not allow him to ſtile himſelf King of France, but of the French, though at the ſame time he ſtiled himſelf Protector of France as well as England. It would be very difficult to make any of theſe points good, for in Milton's Letters it will be found, that Cromwell, writing to Lewis XIV, gave him the title of King of France (181), not in the ſuperſcription only, but in the body of his letter; not does it any where appear that Cromwell ever took the title of Protector of France at all, but of the republick or commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and therefore this is as much to be relied on as another fact laid down as notoriouſly true, that Cromwell was born on the third of September, though it is notoriouſly otherwiſe (182).

(180) See Thurloe's account of the negotiations of Cromwell with France and Spain, delivered to the Earl of Clarendon, at the end of the firſt Vol. of his State Papers.

(181) Milton's Works, Vol. II. p. 455, 457, 469.

(182) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 113.

[KK] *Was very great abroad.*] It would be a very eaſy thing to prove this, from what is ſaid of him by a multitude of foreign authors, but it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that at this time there was a print of the Protector on horſeback publickly ſold at Paris, with theſe Latin verſes under it (183).

(183) From the MS. of the late Rev. Mr. Knight, Fellow of Chriſt-Church, Oxford.

Cernimus hic omni caput admirabile mundo:
Regibus hic frater; populis pater, hoſtis multum,
Nullius ille timet quam ſummi numinis arma.
Quis dubitat ſacro hoc ſi pergat Flamine Victor,
Quod Reges, Populi, Barbarieſque ſtupent.
Barbariem, vera religione domat
Non timet, at pacem cuilibet eſſe parat:
Quin ſubita Meretrix de Babylone cadet.

Which have been rendered thus:

We know that face, which all with wonder ſee,
Brother to Kings, parent to nations, He
Unmov'd all foes beholds; nor fears ſave one,
The Lord of Hoſts on his cœleſtial throne.
Who doubts, victorious, over all who riſe,
Where armies reach, or where his navy flies,
Kings, States, nay barb'rous lands, ſhall own his ſway,
And, to his equal laws, obedience pay?
By true religion led, he'll force his foes
To ſigh for quiet, and beſeech repoſe;
Then, when this work by his great hand is done,
Tremble thou ſcarlet Whore *in* Babylon.

[LL] *Which gave birth to many conjectures.*] The caſe of this Miles Sindercombe was very extraordinary; he was drawn in to conſpire againſt the Protector by Col. Edward Sexby, formerly a famous Adjutator, and one in great confidence with Cromwell, afterwards his moſt violent and bitter enemy; that Colonel again was an agent of the Spaniards, and ſo well ſupplied by them, that, as he confeſſed, he furniſhed Sindercombe at ſeveral times with five hundred pounds (184). But as in conſpiracies of this ſort a man cannot act without aſſiſtance, Sindercombe found out one Toope (185), who was of the Protector's guard, and withal one of Mr Thurloe's ſpies, to whom he communicated his deſign, and three different methods were contrived and attempted; one was, to ſhoot him in his paſſage through Hammerſmith in his way to Hampton Court; another, to fire Whitehall; and a third, to ſhoot him as he was going to Weſtminſter-abbey. Theſe attempts having miſcarried, he was ſeized, and brought to his trial in the Upper Bench, before the Lord Chief Juſtice Glynn, Feb. 19, 1656 (186): but whereas ſome writers ſay, that he was tried upon a law made by Cromwell's Parliament, that is a miſtake, for he was

(184) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. VI. p. 530, 553.

(185) A further narrative of the paſſages of theſe times in the Commonwealth of England, p. 21.

(186) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 372.

happy deliverance of his Highneſs's perſon, and the Speaker and Parliament were ſplendidly regaled at Whitehall (*i*). In the ſpring of the year 1657 it plainly appeared what the Protector drove at, by all the pains he had taken with his Parliament, in which a kind of legiſlative ſettlement of the government was brought upon the carpet, under the title of *The Humble Petition and Advice*, in which there was a blank for the ſupreme Governor's title, and a clauſe prepared to countenance the eſtabliſhing ſomething like Peers, under the name of the Other Houſe (*k*). At length the whole came to light; for one Alderman Pack, a forward, time-ſerving, money-getting fellow, and deep in all the jobbs of the government, moved, that the firſt blank might be filled up with the word King, which was violently oppoſed by the army members; but at length, after various debates, it was carried, as well as the clauſe impowering him to make ſomething like Lords; and in this form the petition was preſented to his Highneſs, who deſired ſome time to conſider before he gave his anſwer. The Parliament appointed a Committee, with their Speaker at the head of it, to confer with and ſatisfy the Protector; and, in this conference, they, with great learning and eloquence, proved, that, notwithſtanding all the faults they had formerly found with the office of a King, yet, after all, they were now perfectly ſatisfied, the four letters, of which that word was compoſed, were as harmleſs and inoffenſive as any in the whole alphabet (*l*). The Protector, who was not of a narrow way of thinking, but had as comprehenſive ſentiments as they upon this point, would have been content to have had the Kingſhip forced upon him, but that he found, that ſome of his beſt friends and neareſt relations, ſuch as his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, his brother-in-law Deſborough, and many others, were utterly againſt it, and carried their oppoſition ſo far, as to promote a petition from the Army to the Parliament againſt this meaſure (*m*); which though, to countenance parliamentary authority, laid aſide, yet chiefly determined Cromwell to refuſe that honour which he had been ſo long ſeeking; and accordingly, May 8th, 1657, he told them, in the Banquetting-houſe, that he could not, with a good conſcience, accept the government, under the title of King (*n*). The Parliament then thought proper to fill up the blank with his former title of Protector; and his Highneſs himſelf, that all the pains he had taken might not be abſolutely thrown away, reſolved upon a new inauguration; which was accordingly, with great ſolemnity, performed on the 26th of June, 1657, in Weſtminſter-Hall, with all the pomp and ſplendor of a coronation (*o*). After this the Houſe of Commons adjourned to the 20th of January following, in order to give the Protector time to regulate all things according to the new ſyſtem; with a view to which he ſummoned his two ſons, and many other perſons, to take their ſeats in the other Houſe (*p*). About this time it was, that Major-General Lambert loſt his favour; which, however, does not ſeem to have been an act ſo much of the Protector's will, as a ſcheme of his own; for he utterly diſliked the deſign that Oliver had formed of making himſelf King; *and told him plainly, that, if he perſiſted in it, he could give him no aſſurance of the fidelity of the army.* The neceſſary and immediate cauſe of his diſgrace was, refuſing to take the oath appointed by *The Humble Petition and Advice*; upon which the Protector removed him from all his commands, but, at the ſame time, granted him a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year, to keep him quiet (*q*). The ſenſe of this, and ſome other untoward accidents, was, in ſome meaſure, qualified by the news of Admiral Blake's great ſucceſſes at the Canaries, and in the Mediterranean, by which Spain felt very ſeverely the weight of the Engliſh arms, the Protector's coffers drew conſiderable ſupplies, but the honour and intereſt of the nation ſuffered

(*i*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 450.

(*k*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 657.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 386, 387. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 214, 215, 216.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 587. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 175, 176.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 389. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 312.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 601, 662.

(*p*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 594, 595, 596.

(*q*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 185. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 593.

was tried upon the common ſtatute of treaſon, the Chief Juſtice taking upon him to inform the jury, that by the word King the ſupreme magiſtrate was intended, whether he had that title or not (187). The jury, upon very full evidence, found him guilty; and Friday the fourteenth of the ſame month was appointed for his execution. He went to bed well, but when they came to call him up he was dead, and as appeared by a paper he left under his cloſe-ſtool, he deſtroyed himſelf by poiſon (188). It was given out however at that time, and believed by many, that Cromwell cauſed him to be poiſoned, being afraid of bringing him to a publick execution (189). The reader will underſtand this better from what the Noble Hiſtorian (190) ſays upon this ſubject: 'Sindercombe was a very ſtout man, 'and one who had been much in Cromwell's favour, 'and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been diſappointed in the minute 'he had made ſure to kill him. And when Cromwell 'had cauſed him to be apprehended, his behaviour 'was ſo reſolute in his examination and trial, as if he 'thought he ſhould ſtill be able to do it; and it was 'manifeſt that he had more aſſociates who were undiſcovered, and as reſolute as himſelf; and though 'he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were ſuch, as if he knew well how 'to avoid the judgment, which made Cromwell believe that a party in the army would attempt his reſcue. Whereupon he gave ſtrict charge that he 'ſhould be carefully looked to in the Tower, and 'three or four of the guard always with him day and 'night. At the day appointed for his execution, 'thoſe troops Cromwell was moſt confident of were 'placed upon Tower-hill, where the gallows was erected. But when the guard called Sindercombe to 'riſe in the morning, they found him dead in his bed, 'which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell, for beſides that he hoped that at his death, to avoid the 'utmoſt rigour of it, he would have confeſſed many of 'his confederates; he now found himſelf under the reproach of having cauſed him to be poiſoned, as not 'daring to bring him to publick juſtice, nor could he 'ſuppreſs that ſcandal. It appeared upon examination, 'that the night before, when he was going to bed, in 'the preſence of his guard, his ſiſter came to take her 'leave of him, and upon her going away he put off 'his cloaths, and leaped into his bed, and ſaid, *This 'was the laſt bed he ſhould ever go into.* His body 'was drawn by a horſe to the gallows where he ſhould 'have been hanged, and buried under it with a ſtake 'driven through him, as is uſual in the caſe of ſelf-murder. Yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very 'much, and though he was without the particular diſcovery he expected, he made a general diſcovery by 'it, that he himſelf was more odious in his army than 'he believed he had been.'

(187) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 654.

(188) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 375.

(189) Killing no Murder, p. 22.

(190) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 696.

suffered extreamly (r) [MM]; that gallant seaman, no way answerable for the cause or conduct of that war, but justly famous for his generous courage, and constant zeal for his country's service, dying in his return home, within sight of his native shore, in the arms of victory; his corps, by the Protector's orders, was, with great solemnity, transported to Westminster-Abbey, and there interred with all the honours due to so great an officer, and to so good a man (s). The forces which had been sent over to Flanders, for the assistance of the French against the Spaniards, gained very great reputation, and made the French court more and more attentive to the preservation of Cromwell's friendship; but, at the same time, it induced his Catholick Majesty to afford some countenance and assistance to King Charles, then in the Low-Countries, and meditating an attempt upon England. To facilitate this great design, the Marquis of Ormond was sent over, and remained some time in London, where he very narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Protector, who received from his spies an exact information of all the measures taken by the Royalists, which, therefore, he easily disappointed. Only Captain Titus contrived to wound him deeply, not in his body indeed, but in his mind, by publishing a small treatise, under the name of William Allen, intituled, *Killing no Murder*; in which he argued so strongly, that one, who had violated all laws, could derive protection from no law, that Oliver thence forward believed himself in continual danger (t). In the beginning of the year 1658, he pleased himself with the hopes of being once at the head of an assembly, somewhat resembling the antient Parliaments of England; and accordingly, pursuant to their own adjournment, the Commons met on the 20th of January, as the other House also did, agreeable to the writs of summons issued by the Lord Protector. He sent for them by the Black Rod, and began his speech with the pompous words, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons*; and, after he had done speaking, suffered them to retire to their respective Houses, where, to give the greater credit to his government, all shew of force or restraint was now withdrawn. This served only to discover, that therein lay his whole support, for the antient nobility would not resume their seats in such company as he had assigned them, several Members of the House of Commons chose to keep their writs requiring their attendance in the other House, and sit where they were; and not a few, who had been before excluded, took advantage of the doors being open, and boldly came to the House (u). In less than a fortnight the new system was in a fair way of being pulled to pieces, the House of Commons would have nothing to do with the new nobles in the other House; and they, on the other hand,

(r) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 227, 228.

(s) Echard's Hist. England, p. 725.

(t) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 185.

(u) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 595—597.

[MM] *But the honour and interest of the nation suffered extreamly.*] We will take occasion in this note to set the business of the Spanish war in it's true light. The crown of Spain was very much distressed in almost every part of her dominions, and this induced her Monarch to be very ready in owning the Parliament, and very desirous, if it had been possible, to procure the good will of Cromwell, whom, as is before observed, he courted to a degree that was indecent and ridiculous (191). The true motive to this war, on the part of Cromwell, was necessity; he wanted money exceedingly, some of his troops and many of his officers he could not depend on, therefore a war was requisite, and that too such a war as he might get by (192). He endeavoured to colour this, by engaging the Merchants to complain against Spain, in which he was unsuccessful; for which he revenged himself, by suffering their effects to be seized in that kingdom (193). He next seized a large sum of money belonging to that crown, which they offered to lend him for a certain number of years without interest, and to have taken his word for the repayment; so desirous they were of maintaining peace if it were possible (194). His West India expedition was in itself a bad design, because no war declared, ill concerted, worse executed, and yet in some measure luckily concluded. Capt. Stayner's taking two galleons at Cadiz, with two millions of silver on board, and destroying twice as much more, was a dreadful blow to the Spaniards, and yet this loss was inconsiderable in respect to the burning the Plate Fleet at Santa Cruz, by which however Cromwell got nothing (195). When Capt. Richard Stayner came home with his prizes, all imaginable pains were taken to magnify the exploit in the eyes of the people; the money was carried with great parade through London, the Captain knighted and handsomely rewarded, there was a solemn thanksgiving also for this mighty success, which Mr Waller celebrated in a poem that will render it immortal, though the design with which it was written failed, for it plainly appears that the Poet meant to have recommended his hero to the regal dignity, as the only adequate return the nation could make for the benefit they had received (196). But in those times men were more quick-sighted, and all this pomp and art could not hinder the expressions of high discontent, arising from the general knowledge that this affected triumph was a downright imposition, calculated to amuse and deceive the populace, without making the least impression upon men of sense and property. The Merchants exclaimed bitterly, and with very good reason, as fully appeared from a report made to Richard's Parliament, that fifteen hundred English ships were taken in the course of this war (197). Besides, this threw the Spanish trade first into the hands of the Dutch, to whom they were naturally averse, and could hardly have been reconciled any other way (198). We may add to this, the irreparable loss to all Europe of ten times as much silver as Cromwell gained, and of which this nation, in a fair course of trade, would have obtained much more than ever the war brought into the Protector's coffers (199). Yet must we not imagine that even he was at all the better for it upon a ballance, on the contrary, the expence of the American expedition exceeded all that he acquired. This does not at all lessen the reputation of Blake and the rest of the Commanders, they obeyed orders, did what they took to be their duty, and carried the glory of the English Flag to an amazing height. Some have very improperly interested religion in this quarrel, and because Cromwell made war upon a Catholick power, and threatened the Pope with burning Civita Vecchia, which no doubt might have been easily done, would from thence magnify his zeal to the Protestant faith (200). At the bottom however this will be found but a very untoward complement to the Protestant cause, which most certainly never inclines those who espouse it to unjust proceedings, and to the avowed breach of the law of nature and nations; and therefore to wipe off this aspersion it was necessary to shew, that this war really took it's rise from Cromwell's mistaking his own interest, and preferring that mistaken interest to the welfare of the nation, which manifestly appeared, not only from his attacking the Spaniards without cause and without warning, but, that he might do this, barbarously sacrificing the British Merchants, whose effects were justly seized by way of reprisal for his injustice (201).

(191) See Mr Secretary Thurloe's account, published in the first Vol. of his State Papers.

(192) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

(193) The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell.

(194) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 71. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 113. Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 51, 52, 53.

(195) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 323.

(196) Waller's Poems, p. 274. The proposition is contained in the four last lines.

(197) The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, p. 16.

(198) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 51, 52, 53.

(199) Happy future State of England, p. 187.

(200) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, p. 80, 81.

(201) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 52. The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell, p. 13, 14, 15.

[NN] *Con-*

hand, were at a loſs to know what to do by themſelves; of all which the Protector being informed, he came on the 4th of February, and diſſolved them with great bitterneſs of ſpeech, and deep ſorrow of heart; for now he ſaw plainly, that a regular eſtabliſhment was a thing impracticable (*w*). Some farther deſigns were ſoon after diſcovered, not of the Cavaliers only, but of the Fifth Monarchy-men alſo; which diſcoveries were chiefly owing to the dexterity of Secretary Thurloe, whoſe implements, in the ſhape of Cavaliers and Fanaticks, mixed in all companies, and thruſt themſelves into all ſecrets, that they might acquire a ſubſiſtence by betraying them (*x*). With the latter, the Protector was obliged to obſerve ſome meaſures, and, though he took care to ſecure himſelf, yet he durſt not act with ſeverity towards them; which, perhaps, heightened his reſentment againſt the former, whom, contrary to Whitlocke's advice, he delivered over to a High Court of Juſtice (*y*). By the ſentence of that court Dr Hewett, a Reverend Divine of the Church of England, who had married one of Cromwell's daughters to the Lord Fauconberg, ſuffered death for contumacy, having refuſed to plead, or to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the court, June 8th, 1658; as did alſo Sir Henry Slingſby by the like ſentence. Several others were condemned by the ordinary forms of law, which, at length, the Protector was perſwaded to uſe, which ſtruck the nation with as much horror as fear (*z*). The gloomineſs of this ſcene was a little diſperſed by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms abroad, and the delivery of Dunkirk, taken chiefly by their valour, into the hands of Lockhart, his Ambaſſador; concerning which we have a very remarkable ſtory, if it be well founded [*NN*]. The great ſatisfaction the Protector expreſſed at this, and at the French

(*w*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 730. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 672.

(*x*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 184, 185.

(*y*) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 673. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 604, 605.

(*z*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

[*NN*] *Concerning which we have a very remarkable ſtory, if it be well founded.*] This is to be met with in Welwood's Memoirs, and very well deſerves the place it holds there, if it could be ſupported by any clear authority. His relation runs thus (202): 'There 'was an article in the treaty between France and the 'Protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, it ſhould 'be immediately delivered up to the Engliſh, and his 'Ambaſſador Lockhart had orders to take poſſeſſion 'of it accordingly. When the French army, being 'joined with the Engliſh auxiliaries, was in it's march 'to inveſt the town, Cromwell ſent one morning for 'the French Ambaſſador to Whitehall, and upbraided 'him publickly for his maſter's deſigned breach of 'promiſe, in giving ſecret orders to the French Gene'ral to keep poſſeſſion of Dunkirk in caſe it was taken, 'contrary to the treaty between them. The Ambaſ'ſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as in'deed he did not, and begged leave to aſſure him there 'was no ſuch thing thought of; upon which Crom'well, pulling a paper out of his pocket, *Here*, ſays 'he, *is the copy of the Cardinal's order; and I deſire 'you to diſpatch immediately an expreſs, to let him know, 'that I am not to be impoſed upon, and that, if he de'liver not up the keys of Dunkirk to Lockhart within 'an hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him, I'll come in 'perſon, and demand them at the gates of Paris.* 'There were but four perſons ſaid to be privy to this 'order, the Queen-mother, the Cardinal, the Marſhal 'de Turenne, and a Secretary, whoſe name it is not 'fit at this time to mention. The Cardinal for a long 'time blamed the Queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have 'blabbed it out to ſome of her women; whereas it was 'found, after the Secretary's death, that he had kept 'a ſecret correſpondence with Cromwell for ſeveral 'years, and therefore it was not doubted but he had 'ſent him the copy of the order beforementioned. The 'meſſage had it's effect, for Dunkirk was put into the 'poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. And to palliate the matter, 'the Duke and Marſhal Crequi was diſpatched into 'England Ambaſſador Extraordinary to compliment 'Cromwell, attended by a numerous and ſplendid train 'of perſons of quality, among whom was a Prince of 'the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who 'brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector, full 'of the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect, and aſſuring his 'Highneſs, that being within view of the Engliſh 'ſhore, nothing but the King's indiſpoſition, (who lay 'then ill of the ſmall-pox at Calais) could have hin'dered him to come over to England, that he might 'enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt 'men that ever was, and whom, next to his maſter, 'his greateſt ambition was to ſerve. But being de'prived of ſo great a happineſs, he had ſent the per'ſon that was neareſt to him in blood, to aſſure him 'of the profound veneration he had for his perſon, 'and how much he was reſolved, to the utmoſt of his 'power, to cultivate a particular amity and friendſhip 'betwixt his maſter and him.' This narrative has a very fair appearance, and has ſo long paſſed for an indiſputable truth that I ſhould not eaſily have inclined to queſtion it; but thus much is certain, that, if there be any truth in it, it would be a very difficult matter to find it out, becauſe almoſt every circumſtance of it may be ſhewn to be falſe. It appears from Lockhart's letters, who was not only the Protector's Ambaſſador in France, but alſo Commander in Chief of his forces, that the difficulty at the opening the campaign lay in bringing the Cardinal to reſolve upon beſieging Dunkirk early, becauſe the Spaniards were poſſeſſed of Heſdin, and were thereby in a condition to have made a diverſion by an excurſion into France, and the people clamoured that the Cardinal was leaving them at the mercy of the Spaniards, while the army of France was to be employed in taking of towns, which were to be given up to the Engliſh, their antient and inveterate enemy (203). It appears farther, that it was impoſſible for the French to have broke their treaty with Cromwell in this reſpect, for three reaſons; the firſt, becauſe without the aſſiſtance of an additional aſſiſtance from him, they were not able to inveſt the place; ſecondly, becauſe he had a pawn in his hand, which was Mardyke, and which was to be given up to France, upon putting Dunkirk into his hands; thirdly, becauſe after taking the place, the preſervation of their own conqueſts, and even of their army, depended abſolutely upon the continuance of his friendſhip; ſo that if they had deceived him, not only the forces of France, and the fortune of the war would have been in the utmoſt danger, but the perſons alſo of the King and Cardinal, who were at that time in the army (204). We may add to all this, that there is not the leaſt notice of ſuch a tranſaction in Whitlocke, or in any of the Hiſtorians of thoſe times, and, which is the more remarkable, Whitlocke informs us, that Cromwell might have had the place betrayed to him by the Spaniſh Governor, which he refuſed (205) as leſs honourable than receiving it from France, a thing altogether incredible if he had entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of their ſincerity. Add to all this, that from ſeveral of Lockhart's letters it appears, he never had the leaſt jealouſy of the Cardinal in that point (206), and that if there had been any ſuch tranſaction as this between the Protector and the French Ambaſſador, it could not have eſcaped the Miniſter's notice. In reference to Marſhal Crequi and Mr Mancini, they came over in conſequence of Cromwell's ſending his ſon-in-law Falconbridge to compliment the King and Cardinal, who carried letters from the Protector to both, and was received with unprecedented marks of reſpect. Beſides, the French Marſhal and the Cardinal's nephew had their audience of Cromwell before Dunkirk was taken, which within one hour after it's being taken was put into the Engliſh hands. The truth of the matter was, what does infinitely more honour to Cromwell than this ſtory, that the French durſt not deceive him, nay, durſt not take any ſtep

(202) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 107, 108, 109.

(203) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 60, 160, 169, 173.

(204) Quincy, Tom. I. p. 238. Rienconrt, Tom. II. p. 119. Buſſy, Tom. II. p. 129.

(205) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 674.

(206) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 174.

that

French King's ſending over the Duke de Crequi to compliment him upon the occaſion, in return to a civility of the ſame kind paid by the Protector, in ſending over his ſon-in-law Lord Fauconberg (*a*), laſted not long; for his favourite daughter, Mrs Cleypole, falling ſick of a diſtemper, which, by the excruciating pains it brought upon her body, not a little diſtempered her mind, ſo wounded him by her vehement exclamations againſt his cruelties, and more eſpecially for the death of Dr Hewett, on whoſe behalf ſhe had made the moſt importunate interceſſions, that he was no leſs affected thereby than from her death, which happened on the 6th of Auguſt following (*b*). He was, from that time, wholly altered, grew daily more reſerved and ſuſpicious, not indeed without great reaſon; for he found a general diſcontent prevailed through the nation, a ſignal diſaffection in the Army, and a great increaſe of the influence of the Republicans, to whom his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, and even his wife, were very much inclined; and beſides them, his Privy-Counſellors Pickering and Sydenham, upon whom he had principally depended, and even Deſborough, his near relation and great confident, caballed with Lambert, ſo that he knew not which way to turn, or what to expect (*c*). Theſe cares having long tormented his thoughts, at laſt affected his body, ſo that, while at Hampton-Court, he fell into a kind of ſlow fever, which ſoon degenerated into a tertian ague. For about a week his diſeaſe continued without any dangerous ſymptoms, inſomuch that every other day he walked abroad; but one day, after dinner, his five Phyſicians coming to wait upon him, one of them having felt his pulſe, ſaid, that it intermitted, at which, being ſomewhat ſurprized, he turned pale, fell into a cold ſweat, and, when he was almoſt fainting, ordered himſelf to be carried to bed, where, by the aſſiſtance of cordials, being brought a little to himſelf, he made his will with reſpect to his private affairs (*d*). As to the remaining part of the hiſtory of his diſtemper, which, on many accounts, is very remarkable, the reader will find it in the notes [*OO*]. Being removed to London he became much worſe, grew firſt lethargick,

(*a*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 674.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 696. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 734. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 607.

(*c*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 233, 234.

(*d*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 734.

that could give him the leaſt jealouſy or ſuſpicion; for it was his fleet and army that enabled them to do all they did, and there is nothing more certain, than that he was the true author of all their future greatneſs, as well as of that lamentable depreſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, which it could never recover, and which has been ſo fatal to the ballance of power in Europe.

[*OO*] *The reader will find it in the notes.*] It is impoſſible to have a better account of his laſt ſickneſs, than that given by Dr Bates, who was his Phyſician. After mentioning the circumſtance of making his private Will, as related in the text, he proceeds thus: 'Next morning early, when one of his Phyſicians came to viſit him, he aſked him (207), 'Why he looked ſo ſad?' and when he made anſwer, 'That ſo it became any one, 'who had the weighty care of his life and health upon 'him;' 'Ye Phyſicians, ſaid he, think I ſhall die.' Then the company being removed, holding his wife by the hand, he ſpoke to him to this purpoſe: 'I tell 'you I ſhall not die this bout, I am ſure on't.' And becauſe he obſerved him to look more attentively upon him at theſe words, 'Don't think, ſaid he, that I am 'mad; I ſpeak the words of truth, upon ſurer grounds 'than Galen or your Hippocrates furniſh you with. 'God almighty himſelf hath given that anſwer, not to 'my prayers alone, but alſo to the prayers of thoſe 'who entertain a ſtricter commerce and greater intereſt 'with him. Go on chearfully, baniſhing all ſadneſs 'from your looks, and deal with me as you would do 'with a ſerving-man. Ye may have a ſkill in the na-'ture of things, yet nature can do more than all Phy-'ſicians put together, and God is far more above na-'ture.' But being ordered to take his reſt, becauſe he had not ſlept the greateſt part of the night; as the Phyſician was coming out of the chamber, he accidentally met another, who had been a long time very familiar with him, to whom 'I am afraid, ſays he, our 'Patient will be light-headed.' 'Then, ſaid he, 'you are certainly a ſtranger in this houſe. Don't 'you know what was done laſt night; the Chaplains, 'and all who are dear to God, being diſperſed into 'ſeveral parts of the palace, have prayed to God for 'his health, and all have brought this anſwer, *He 'ſhall recover.*' Nay, to this degree of madneſs they came, that a publick faſt being for his ſake kept at Hampton-Court, they did not ſo much pray to God for his health, as thank him for the undoubted pledges of his recovery, and repeated the ſame at Whitehall. Theſe oracles of the ſaints were the cauſe that the Phyſicians ſpake not a word of his danger. In the mean time Cromwell leaving Hampton-Court, where hitherto he had lain ſick, is brought to London, and the Phyſicians meet at a conſultation in the chamber of the aforementioned Doctor, who at that time was troubled with a grievous head-ach, and an impoſthume in his ear. But next morning early, another Phyſician coming, who had watched all night with the patient, and telling the reſt how ill he had been in the laſt fit, they all concluded that he could hardly out-live another. This ſentence of the Phyſicians awaking the Privy-Council; at an appointed time, they come to adviſe him that he would name his ſucceſſor. But when in a drouſy fit he anſwered out of purpoſe, they again aſked him if he did not name Richard his eldeſt ſon for his ſucceſſor, to which he anſwered, Yes. Then being aſked where his Will was which heretofore he had made concerning the heirs of the kingdom, he ſent to look for it in his cloſet and other places, but in vain, for he had either burnt it himſelf, or ſomebody elſe had ſtole it.' All this agrees very well with thoſe authentick accounts wrritten by Lord Falconberg and Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell in Ireland. In the letters of the laſt it is ſaid, that the Protector named his ſucceſſor in writing during the ſitting of the laſt Parliament; that he folded up the paper containing this nomination in the form of a letter directed to Thurloe; that when he was ſo ill at Hampton-Court he ſaid this letter lay upon the table in his ſtudy, and directed it ſhould be brought, but ſearch being made for it no ſuch paper could be found (208). It is farther ſaid, that he declared his ſon Richard his ſucceſſor, in the preſence of ſeveral of his Council, but this was generally doubted at the time, and is not affirmed in the Proclamation upon Richard's aſſuming the title of Protector (209). Before I cloſe this note it may not be amiſs to diſcuſs two points, that ſeem to have been but indifferently treated; the firſt is with reſpect to his pretending to have received a revelation that he ſhould not die at that time, not only at the beginning of his ſickneſs, but after he was brought to London, and given over by thoſe of the Faculty that were about him. The fact itſelf is very certain; General Fleetwood mentions it in a letter to Henry Cromwell, but recommends ſecrecy to him till the event ſhould direct him whether to bury it in ſilence or proclaim it to the world (210). One would think it hardly poſſible to aſſign a reaſon for this, excluding fanaticiſm or enthuſiaſm; and yet a foreign writer pretends to relate, upon good authority, ſomewhat on this head that deſerves notice. He obſerves, that the Phyſician who attended the Protector could not help expreſſing great aſtoniſhment at his boldneſs in this reſpect, to whom Cromwell, when they were alone, expreſſed himſelf to this effect: 'You are an honeſt 'man, Doctor, and have good ſenſe, I wonder that you 'don't ſee that I hazard nothing by my prediction; 'for if, as you ſay, I ſhould not ſurvive twenty-four 'hours,

(207) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 234, 235, 236.

(208) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 364.

(209) See that proclamation in Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 674.

(210) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 355.

gick, then delirious; from whence recovering a little, but not enough to give any diſtinct directions as to the management of publick affairs; he died on Friday, September the 3d, 1658, aged ſomewhat more than fifty-nine years and four months. Some have intimated a ſuſpicion, that he died of poiſon (*e*); but the nature and length of his diſeaſe, together with his body's being publickly opened, ſeems to deſtroy all probability in ſuch a ſuppoſition. It appears to be more generally agreed, that there was ſomething very myſterious in the manner of diſpoſing of his body, which ſeveral authors, and thoſe too of oppoſite principles, very poſitively aſſert, was never carried to Weſtminſter-Abbey; it would undoubtedly be a very difficult thing to affirm which of the ſtories that are told about it is moſt probable; tho' there can be nothing clearer, than that none of them ought to be accounted certain (*f*) [*P*]. A very pompous funeral was ordered at the publick expence, and performed from Somerſet-Houſe, with a ſplendor not only equal but ſuperior to any that has been beſtowed upon crowned heads; though it is ſaid, that expence fell heavy upon his family, and upon ſome of the tradeſmen who furniſhed the ornaments of that ſolemnity, of which as there are many particular accounts common to be met with, there is no need

(*e*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 674. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 424. Echard's Hiſt. Engl. p. 734.

(*f*) See that point explained at large in the notes.

(211) Vie de Cromwell, par Raguenet, p. 395.

(212) See the life of Waller, prefixed to his poems.

(213) See that ſpeech in Whitlocke's Memorials.

(214) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 424.

(215) Hiſt. of England, p. 862.

(216) Memorials of Engliſh affairs, p. 674.

(217) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 236.

'hours, this rumour of my recovery which will be diffuſed through the whole nation, will keep the minds of men in ſuſpenſe, and prevent my enemies from coming to any certain reſolutions: on the other hand, if I ſhould recover, as you Phyſicians are not infallible, it will add new credit to my government, and the bulk of this people will believe me a man ſent from God (211).' It may be objected, that it is very improbable Cromwell ſhould deal ſo very freely with any man, and indeed I lay no great ſtreſs upon this ſtory, but this may be obſerved by the way, that the only vanity he had was boaſting of his power to overreach, of which there is a remarkable inſtance in what he ſaid to Mr Waller (212), and ſtill a ſtronger inſtance in a matter of greater notoriety, for to his firſt Parliament he magnified the *Inſtrument of Government* as the moſt compleat thing that could be, whereas, in his ſpeech to his laſt Parliament, he ran it down as a weak and inconſiſtent project, which he compared to a rotten plank (213). Beſides, had he lived, the Doctor durſt not have diſcloſed it in prejudice to his ſcheme of paſſing for a Prophet, and his divulging it after his death ſerved only to ſhew, that the Protector was in reality a conſummate Politician to the very laſt. The ſecond point to be explained is as to his being poiſoned; of which Mr Wood tells us (214) there was a report that it was done by Dr Bates, but he inſinuates that this was invented by the Doctor's friends, to apologize for his conduct in thoſe times, and that it might be no bar to his preferment; for he was Phyſician to King Charles I. to the Protector Oliver, and to King Charles II. Archdeacon Echard (215) ſets it down as a fact *that he gave Cromwell a ſure doſe*, but, in this reſpect, neither of theſe writers deſerve much credit, ſince it appears from Whitlocke (216), that there was a rumour of his being poiſoned at the very time of his death, conſequently it was not a tale invented after the Reſtoration; and that it was not a fact, appears from the ſenſe his family had of it, viſible in the Letters of Fleetwood, Falconberg, and Thurloe, and from the hiſtory of his diſtemper in thoſe letters, which appears to have been at firſt a ſlow fever, then a tertian, and at laſt a double tertian, which might well carry off a perſon of his years, without the aſſiſtance of a ſure doſe, and indeed in ſpite of the aſſiſtance of the Faculty; neither can it be believed, that ſuch a thing was practiſed upon ſuch a perſon by one, when, at the ſame time, he was attended by four other Phyſicians.

[*P P*] *That none of them ought to be accounted certain.*] In the firſt place it is proper to produce an authentick proof of the only fact that is aſſerted in the text, that his body was really buried before his pompous funeral. Dr Bates gives us this account in the following words (217): 'His body being opened; in the in the animal parts, the veſſels of the brain ſeemed to be over-charged; in the vitals, the lungs a little inflamed; but, in the natural, the ſource of the diſtemper appeared, the ſpleen, though ſound to the eye, being within filled with matter like to the lees of oil. Nor was that incongruous to the diſeaſe that for a long time he had been ſubject unto, ſince, for at leaſt thirty years, he had at times heavily complained of hypochondriacal indiſpoſitions. Though his bowels were taken out, and his body filled with ſpices, wrapped in a fourfold ſear-cloth, but put firſt into a coffin of lead and then into a wooden one, yet it purged and wrought through all, ſo that there was a neceſſity of interring it before the ſolemnity of his funeral.' Echard aſſerts preciſely the ſame thing, and, in all probability, from the ſame authority. We have another ſtory, ſaid to be founded on the teſtimony of Mr Barkſtead, ſon to the famous Barkſtead, who was Lieutenant of the Tower in Cromwell's life-time, to this effect (218): 'That Barkſtead, the father, among other confidents of Cromwell's, deſiring in his illneſs to know where he would be buried, the Protector anſwered, where he had obtained the greateſt victory and glory, and as nigh the ſpot as could be gueſſed where the heat of the action was, *viz.* in the field at Naſeby in Northamptonſhire: which accordingly was thus performed; at midnight, ſoon after his death, the body, being firſt embalmed and wrapped in a leaden coffin, was in a hearſe conveyed to the ſaid field, Mr Barkſtead himſelf attending, by order of his father, cloſe to the hearſe. Being come to the field, they found about the midſt of it a grave dug about nine foot deep, with the green ſod carefully laid on one ſide, and the mould on the other, in which the coffin being put, the grave was inſtantly filled up, and the green ſod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken that the ſurplus ſhould be clear removed. Soon after, the like care was taken that the field ſhould be entirely ploughed up, and it was ſown three or four years ſucceſſively with corn.' We have a very different account from Mr Oldmixon, who aſſures us that he had it from a gentlewoman who attended the Protector in his laſt ſickneſs (219): 'She told me,' ſays he, 'that the day after Cromwell's death, it was conſulted how to diſpoſe of his corpſe, they could not pretend to keep it for the pomp of a publick burial. Amongſt other propoſals this was one, that, conſidering the malice, rage, and cruelty of the Cavaliers, it was moſt certain, they, who never ſpared either living or dead, in the luſt of their revenge, would inſult the body of this their moſt dreadful enemy, if ever it was in their power; and, to prevent it's falling into ſuch barbarous hands, it was reſolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it aboard a barge, and to ſink it in the deepeſt part of the Thames, which was done the night following, two of his near relations, with ſome truſty ſoldiers, undertaking to do it.' That the Protector's body was buried before the publick and pompous ceremony of the funeral ſeems to be out of all doubt, but that there was a body interred at Weſtminſter, and that this body was really the Protector's body, ſeems to be very clear, from the following account of what paſſed upon the order to diſ-inter him after the Reſtoration (220). 'In the middle iſle of Henry VIIth's chapel, *ſays my authority*, at the eaſt end, in a vault, was found his corps. In the inſide of whoſe coffin, and upon the breaſt of the corps, was laid a copper-plate finely gilt, incloſed in a thin caſe of lead; on the one ſide whereof were engraved the arms of England, impaled with the arms of Oliver; and, on the reverſe, this following legenda: *Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, natus 25 April. 1599, inauguratus 16 Decembris 1553, Mortuus 3 Septembris ann. 1658. Hic ſitus eſt.* Mr Gifford of Colcheſter, who married the Serjeant's daughter (who by order of the Houſe took up the body) had, in 1719, the plate.'

(218) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 228. in the notes.

(219) Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 426.

(220) Compleat Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 229.

need that we ſhould inſiſt longer upon it here (g). There were other, and thoſe ſtill more extraordinary, marks of publick approbation beſtowed upon his memory, ſuch as the celebrated poems of Waller, Sprat, and Dryden, which are like to laſt as long as our language (h); and which, though the authors lived all of them to change their ſentiments, will not fail of giving poſterity a very high idea of thoſe great actions, which were capable of exciting ſuch elevated deſcriptions by thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of them. Beſides theſe, there are multitudes of Latin verſes, ſome of them very fine, which ſpeak the ſame language with the ſame warmth (i). In his life-time his actions had been celebrated by two very learned foreigners, as well as by his own Secretary Milton (k), with which, very probably, he was not diſpleaſed. Yet, after all, Poets are not the moſt credible witneſſes, and we are, for very good reaſons, apt to ſuſpect whether truth be the ground-work of panegyricks. It was for this reaſon that Cromwell was mighty deſirous of engaging a very learned man to write his hiſtory, in which nevertheleſs he failed; for though conſiderable rewards were offered, that very able perſon declined the taſk (l). We have indeed various characters from various perſons, and thoſe too of various ſentiments; yet in moſt of theſe there ſeems to be a mixture either of flattery or of prejudice. Such as approved his actions, knew not where to ſtop their praiſes; and ſuch as deteſted his proceedings, gave a looſe to their reſentments, that, in ſome reſpects perhaps, carried them beyond the bounds of truth. Thoſe who hated his perſon went farther ſtill; Lord Hollis will hardly allow him either great or good qualities (m); and as for Lieutenant-General Ludlow (n), one principal deſign of his book is to repreſent Cromwell as the vileſt and wickedeſt of men. Againſt this laſt writer he has been very well defended by one, who, with great force of argument, and in very elegant language, has ſhewn, that Cromwell had juſt as much right to erect a new Monarchy, as the long Parliament had to eſtabliſh a new Commonwealth upon the ruins of our old Conſtitution (o). Another writer has laboured to vindicate the long Parliament, by ſhewing that they had the welfare and reputation of their country more at heart than Cromwell (p). The learned and ingenious Abraham Cowley has excelled all others, as well in reſpect to the matter as the manner of repreſenting his actions and adminiſtration in the different lights of praiſe and cenſure, ſo that his performance may be juſtly eſteemed the moſt perfect of any, as it is indeed, beyond compariſon, the moſt beautiful of all that have been written upon this ſubject (q). It is ſaid, that Cardinal Mazarine ſtiled him a fortunate madman (r). Father Orleans diſlikes that character, and would ſubſtitute in it's ſtead that of a judicious villain. The Noble Hiſtorian, with better ſenſe and better language, ſtiles him, a brave wicked man (s). A certain writer, very converſant in the hiſtory of thoſe times, would perſwade us, that a foreign author has given us the juſteſt idea of Cromwell in theſe few words: He was a Tyrant without vices, and a Prince without virtues (t). This, perhaps, is a character not eaſy to be underſtood. A certain Prelate of our own nation, has a very judicious reflection upon his death; he ſays, His life and his arts were exhauſted together, and that, if he had ſurvived longer, he would have ſcarce been able to preſerve his power (u). But it is not in general characters, or from the many lives that have been written of Oliver Cromwell, that we may hope to find what it imports us moſt to know, with reſpect either to his publick or to his private character; and there is ſtill wanting, though there ſeems to be now ſufficient materials, a candid, circumſtantial, and ſenſible account of both. As to the firſt, the world may juſtly expect to be ſatisfied how his domeſtick adminiſtration was conducted, what meaſures he purſued for the general benefit and advantage of the people, what ſuperior and extraordinary bleſſings he procured, what oppreſſions he removed, what grievances he detected and took away, what reſpect he paid to the laws, and with what revenue he was pleaſed to be contented. Theſe are things that would give us a true and rational notion of his title to fame, conſidered as the poſſeſſor of ſupreme power, by what means ſoever attained, or held by whatever title [QQ]. As to

(g) Echard's Hiſt. Engl. p. 737. Heath's Chronicle, p. 410, 411. Perfect Politician, p. 266, 267.

(h) See theſe and others all collected in the 3d Vol. of State-poems.

(i) Gray's Examinations of Neal's Hiſt. Vol. IV. p. 226, 227.

(k) See all theſe panegyricks collected and tranſlated by the Rev. Mr Francis Peck, in his Memoirs of the life and actions of O. Cromwell, Lond. 1740. 4to.

(l) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 485.

(m) See the inſtances already given from Hollis's Memoirs.

(n) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 480.

(o) Modeſt Vindication of O. Cromwell.

(p) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(q) Cowley's Works, Vol. II. p. 631, &c.

(r) Father Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 185.

(s) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697.

(t) Vie de Cromwell, par GregorieLeti, Vol. II. p. 452, 453.

(u) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 70.

[QQ] *Or held by whatever title.*] It has been ſaid, by ſuch as were deſirous of raiſing the character of Cromwell, that the nation was much benefited by his government, that there was nothing of pomp or needleſs magnificence in his dreſs, his equipage, his houſhold, or in his way of living (221); that his ears were open to complaints and to informations of every kind; that he was familiar with his old friends, and with the officers and ſoldiers of the army, after his advancement to the ſupreme power, which ſhewed that he had not either pride or vanity (222); that he ſhewed much juſtice in all private affairs, adminiſtered thoſe of the publick with frugality, and paid both his civil and military officers punctually (223); that he kept up a great face of religion in his own Court, and through the nation; that he always profeſſed himſelf for liberty of conſcience, and ſhewed a very high zeal for the Proteſtant religion (224); that Weſtminſter-hall was never filled with Judges of greater learning and worth, than in his time (225); that his army obſerved the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and were not troubleſome in their quarters (226); that he was beneficent to learned men; that trade flouriſhed in his time (227); and that in ſpite of the badneſs of his title to, and the means by which he acquired power, he was univerſally reſpected at home and abroad (228). Now there are alſo ſome few particulars that deſerve notice on the other ſide. It is obſerved that Cromwell's motion to the ſupreme power was progreſſive, and that his ſtate augmented as it went; he took poſſeſſion of the King's lodgings at Whitehall, when he was only General; he prevented ſeveral palaces from being ſold while a private man, that he might poſſeſs them in a princely character (229); he gradually increaſed his great officers, to the very end of his life; and, by a ſtroke of prerogative for which none of our Kings ſet him a precedent, would have made a houſe full of new Peers at once (230). Our former Kings ſwore to maintain the laws and liberties of their people, the meaning of which was very well known and aſcertained; but Cromwell's *Inſtrument of Government* was of his own making, ſo that his oath to maintain it was only ſwearing he would govern by his own will (231). Yet this was not kept, for *the*

(221) Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, p. 112, 113.

(222) See Whitlocke, Coke, and Heath in his Flagellum.

(223) Unparallelled Monarch, p. 111.

(224) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 77.

(225) Unparallelled Monarch, p. 95.

(226) Winſtanley's true Character of Cromwell, p. 2.

(227) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 410.

(228) Unparallelled Monarch, p. 19.

(229) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 479.

(230) See the fourth part of the Hiſt. of Independency, p. 95.

(231) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 65.

to foreign affairs likewiſe, though very much has been ſaid about them, we are nevertheleſs greatly in the dark. It is to be examined, not only whether the Britiſh nation was reſpected and revered by her neighbours, but whether her intereſts were thoroughly underſtood, and ſteadily proſecuted. We ought to know what meaſures were taken to protect, to improve, and to extend our commerce. We ought to be ſatisfied whether ſhe retained that weight, as well as that rank, which ſhe held before amongſt the powers of Europe, and whether more reſpect was not had to the deference paid to the government, than to the advantages yielded to the nation. We ſhould be particularly careful to learn whether a due attention was preſerved to the balance of power, and whether the unqueſtionable rights of the Engliſh flag were maintained in as high and ample a manner as they might have been; and, in ſhort, whether, without the bounds of our own dominions, the nation was the better or the worſe for his directing her affairs [*RR*]. Laſtly, as to his

the humble Petition and Advice was a new model of government, which, as perfect as it was, needed a *Supplement*, and had it; ſo that a government frequently changed, and changed by the will of him who adminiſtered it, was moſt certainly an arbitrary government, if there ever was one in the world (232). He might be familiar with his creatures, and it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſo with his officers; yet not only Hollis and Ludlow, but even Whitlocke (233) ſays, he took upon him great ſtate; and Sir Philip Warwick (234), without intending him any hurt, confirms the ſame thing. There was a ſtrange kind of ſplendor in his time at Whitehall, for ſometimes his Court wore an air of ſtately ſeverity, at other times he would unbend himſelf and drink freely, though not to exceſs, that he might have an opportunity of ſounding then mens thoughts, in their unguarded moments, of fiſhing for ſecrets in a free converſation, and of raviſhing opinions by unexpected queſtions, for all which he was admirably qualified by nature, having two qualities that ſeldom meet in the ſame perſon, a memory retentive as marble, and a judgment that pierced like lightning (235). Sometimes, even in the midſt of ſerious conſultations, he ſtarted into buffoonry; ſometimes, the feaſts that were prepared for perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were, by a ſignal of drums and trumpets, made the prey of his guards (236); there was a kind of madneſs in his mirth, as well as of humour in his gravity, and much of deſign in all. His juſtice, when not at his own expence, was his intereſt; but the caſes of Lilburn, Coney, and Sir Henry Vane, afford no great proofs of his ſacrificing intereſt to juſtice when he could not comply with both (237). As to frugality, there are ſome facts that will not allow us to believe their aſſertions. When he turned out the Long Parliament there were five hundred thouſand pounds in their coffers, the value of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds in their magazines, the army three or four months pay in advance, the fleet in an excellent condition, and nine hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* had been refuſed for the cuſtoms and exciſe: when he died, the ſtate was much in debt; while he lived, it was always embarraſſed; his army was often in arrear, and the fleet in great decay (238). When he firſt ſeized the government he levied money by his own authority, afterwards very large ſums were given by aſſemblies that had no title to be called Parliaments; yet all could not ſuffice, even the addition of the vaſt ſums raiſed by decimating the Cavaliers, which was a direct breach of the publick faith, ſo much the more groſs, as he valued himſelf upon obliging the Parliament to paſs the Ordinance of Oblivion, and, when they came into power again, the Long Parliament declared their abhorrence of it (239). It is not eaſy to know what is meant by the face of religion, but this is certain, that religion never wore ſo many faces as in his time, nor was he pleaſed to diſcover which face he liked beſt; the Preſbyterians he hated, the Church of England he perſecuted, againſt the Papiſts he made laws, but the ſectaries he indulged; yet ſome of the Preſbyterian Divines he courted, affected kindneſs to a few of the Miniſters of the Church of England (240), and entered into ſome very deep intrigues with the Papiſts; which made Sir Kenelm Digby his favourite, Father White write in defence of his government, and, which was more, of his conduct; and the Popiſh Primate of Ireland, Reily, who boaſted that he hated King Charles II, the two Dukes his brothers, and the Duke of Ormond, ſent precepts through all his province, under his ſeal, to pray for the health, eſtabliſhment, and proſperity, of the Protector Cromwell and his government (241). He is charged with exciting a great charitable collection for the diſtreſſed Proteſtants abroad, ſending them a part, and making free with the reſt (242). As for the Judges in Weſtminſter-hall, he differed with St John, he was ſometimes out of humour with Hale; he ſet up High Courts of Juſtice, unknown to the law, and put Dr Hewett to death for not pleading before one of them, though he offered to plead, if any one that ſat there and was a Lawyer, would give it under his hand, that it was a legal juriſdiction (243); and Whitlocke himſelf owns, that tho' he was named in the commiſſion he would never ſit, becauſe he knew it was not (244). His Majors-General, while they acted, ſuperſeded all law; and the Protector himſelf derided *Magna Charta*, ſo much reſpected by our Kings (245). The diſcipline of his army was neceſſary to his own ſecurity, and he taxed this nation to maintain twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, whereas the King that he brought to the block had not a troop of guards (246). Yet, after all, he had not much to boaſt in this reſpect, if we may credit Mr Coke (247), whoſe words are theſe: 'he had no 'thing to truſt to but a mercenary army, which 'he could not pay, and above half of thoſe would 'have been content to have cut his throat.' He was kind to ſome learned men indeed, Milton and Marvell were his Secretaries, and though he baniſhed Biddle the Socinian, he allowed him a penſion (248); would have hired Meric Caſaubon to have wrote his Hiſtory (249); and would have entertained Thomas Hobbes in his ſervice for writing the *Leviathan*, in which power is made the ſource of right and the baſis of religion (250). He gave the body of Archbiſhop Uſher a publick funeral in Weſtminſter-abbey, yet he paid but half the expence, and the other half proved a heavy burthen upon that Prelate's poor family (251). As to the reverence of the nation, a certain writer, ſpeaking of the laſt days of his life, deſcribes his ſituation thus (252): 'His means would not pay for the intel- 'ligence he was forced to buy at home at home and 'abroad, to diſcover the practices which were every 'day hatching againſt him; ſo as he had no ſecurity 'but in the general fear, which all the factions as well 'as he had, that their diſcords might give an occaſion 'of reſtoring the King, to the ruin of them all.' Biſhop Burnet (253) alſo confirms this, as we have hinted in the text, and the reader will obſerve, that through this whole note there is nothing delivered but from authorities, and though it is a long one, much more is omitted than inſerted. Thoſe who would ſee things as they were, will truſt to ſuch accounts as are ſupported by facts, and not to florid characters, which are frequently but beautiful fictions.

[*RR*] *For his directing her affairs.*] All who are tolerably verſed in the hiſtory of thoſe times know, that ſuch as labour to magnify the Protector's government, inſiſt principally upon the advantages he gained over foreign ſtates, and the terror which he imprinted throughout all Europe, of the Engliſh fleets and forces. He is repreſented as the conqueror of the Dutch, as the great author of their ſubmiſſion and to, and acquieſcing in, an inferior character of maritime power; with reſpect to this nation, he is ſaid to have atchieved what Queen Elizabeth had left imperfect, and what the two laſt Kings had meditated indeed, but never could bring about; he is reported to have retrieved the honour of the nation with reſpect to the buſineſs of Amboyna; and, in ſhort, to have given, or rather, to have preſcribed, a peace to the Dutch upon his own terms

(232) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 591, 592, 593.

(233) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 661, 662.

(234) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 248.

(235) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 158, 159. True Character of O. Cromwell.

(236) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 240.

(237) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697. The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(238) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 488. Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 65, 66, 67.

(239) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(240) Dr Parr's life of Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 75, 76.

(241) Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, p. 58.

(242) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 173.

(243) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 606. Mr Emlyn's Preface to Hale's Hiſt. of the Pleas of the Crown.

(244) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673.

(245) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697.

(246) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 65. The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(247) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 67.

(248) Life of Mr Thomas Firmin, Lond. 1698. 8vo. p. 10.

(249) Wood's Athen. Vol. II. col. 485.

(250) The Leviathan heretical, Oxford, 1683, 12mo. p. 137.

(251) Dr Parr's life of Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 78.

(252) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 67. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 385.

(253) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 70.

his private life, it certainly merits our notice in all it's ſeveral branches and relations, ſince it

terms (254). In reference to the Mediterranean, he is called the ſcourge of the pyratical ſtates, whom he did not barely reduce to reaſon, but taught humility (255); the Portugueſe not only ſought his friendſhip of their own accord, but beſought it upon ſuch conditions as he ſhould be pleaſed to grant (256). Spain too courted his alliance, and would have purchaſed it at a very high price, if his amity might have been ſet to ſale; but his hatred to a power that durſt not give up the Inquiſition, his ſenſe of the Merchants wrongs, and innate abhorrence of a bigotted Popiſh people, withheld him from cloſing with their propoſitions, and induced him to ſignalize his power by reducing them to the loweſt diſtreſs, and that by entering into a treaty and alliance with France (257). This alliance was at the humble and earneſt ſuit of that power, willing to make any conceſſions which might procure his goodwill, and ready to ſubſcribe ſuch propoſitions as he judged reaſonable for the grounds of their new friendſhip (258). By this means it is ſaid he obtained a better treaty of commerce than had been ſettled with that nation in former times; by this he ſignalized his credit with the firſt power in Europe, and was treated with deference, not to ſay ſubmiſſion, by that crown that to others was often wanting in reſpect (259). By this means he reached over to, and gained footing upon, the Continent, repaired to England the loſs of Calais, and laid a foundation for deſigns wonderfully great in themſelves, which he did not live to execute (260). But, as if bringing the Dutch to ſubmit, giving law in the Mediterranean, and being courted by France, was not ſufficient, he made himſelf alſo the umpire of the North, and ſecured, in the higheſt degree, the attachment of the Swediſh Monarch, who owed to his friendſhip his making ſo formidable an appearance, as hardly yielded to that of his glorious predeceſſor Guſtavus Adolphus, the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion, and the ſcourge of the Houſe of Auſtria (261). Theſe, ſay they, were the great acts of Cromwell, by which he made himſelf, and the nation he ruled, awful in the eyes of their neighbours, ſecured them the full enjoyment of all that they could juſtly claim, and gave them a great facility in acquiring whatever more they wiſhed; ſuch, if we look into certain books, were the deeds, and ſuch the honours due to the Protector. But, on the other hand, it is obſervable, that theſe high eulogies were very boldly queſtioned in his own times, and that too not by envious declaimers, who meant to ſhew their eloquence in ſatire, or their ſkill in cavilling, but by men of the firſt rank, who undertook to contradict the facts, and to ſhew that the whole ſcheme of his foreign politicks was either falſe in it's principles, or narrow in it's foundation. They bid us remember it was the long Parliament, not he, beat the Dutch; and though we ſhould give no credit to what has been inſinuated, that he was encouraged by them to revolt from and turn out his maſters, yet moſt evident it is, that he relaxed in his demands, and made a peace upon lower terms, not that had been demanded only by, but had been ſubmitted to in reſpect to, the Parliament. He remitted the three hundred thouſand pounds, which the Dutch had offered that Aſſembly for the damages ſuſtained during the war; he did not inſiſt upon an annual revenue for the liberty of fiſhing in our ſeas, he inſiſted upon no other proof of our ſovereignty at ſea than the ceremony of the flag; and even in reſpect to the buſineſs of Amboyna, the ſatisfaction obtained was not ſubſtance but ſhew, for, tho' ſtrongly worded in the treaty, yet being referred to Commiſſioners, it came to nothing, any more than the reſtitution of the iſland of Poleron, which was ſtipulated indeed, but never complied with (262). Not that Cromwell wanted force ſufficient to have compelled what he pleaſed, but the expulſion of the King out of the dominions of the State, and the excluſion of the Prince of Orange from the dignities due to his family; the conſenting to which was a violation of the Dutch Conſtitution, were, tho' private advantages only, accepted as equivalents for the benefits that might have been obtained for the nation (263). What there was therefore of honour in the Dutch peace, belonged of right to the Parliament, under whoſe auſpice all the victories, ſave one gained by Monk, were obtained that procured it; and moſt of thoſe great points they inſiſted upon had been claimed by King Charles and King James, as one of their own advocates acknowledges, in a piece dedicated to themſelves (264). With all the reſt of Europe the Engliſh Commonwealth was at peace, the King of Portugal's addreſſes were in conſequence of the Parliament's reſenting his protection of Prince Rupert, and, beſides, in the ſituation of that crown, it was no wonder they made any advances to the firſt maritime power in Europe (265). The glory of the Engliſh flag in the Mediterranean has been juſtly aſcribed to Blake, who was truly an honour to his country, but not mighty well ſatisfied with Cromwell's government any more than Monk was with the Dutch treaty, which he was not afraid to declare was a baſe piece of treachery (266). In his quarrel with Spain, he acted as imprudently as unjuſtly; for the Spaniards had courted the Commonwealth earlier than any other power in Europe; and, with reſpect to Cromwell, had declared their willingneſs to guaranty his own and his ſucceſſors government, as profeſſing an implacable averſion to the Royal Family, and a reſolution to exclude that line from the throne, from motives of intereſt (267). They were willing to have carried on a war againſt France in conjunction with Cromwell, upon very eaſy terms, or would have cloſed with him without inſiſting upon his taking part in that war at all. The Protector entertained a treaty which he never deſigned ſhould come to any thing, while he provided for a war, which, from a proſpect of advantage, he had been bent upon from the beginning, and began without publiſhing any declaration (268); all this in the very teeth of the Engliſh intereſt, at that time in the ſole poſſeſſion of the whole Spaniſh trade, which was the great ſource of our riches (269). It was this that induced him to enter into a league with France; and the reaſon that led him to prefer the friendſhip of that power was, the excluding the Royal Family out of it's dominions, which, joined to the excluſion already obtained out of the territories of the States, and his project of getting the ports in the Spaniſh Low-Countries into his own hands, ſhews *what* was the ruling maxim in his politicks; which is very ingenuouſly acknowledged, and all the particulars clearly ſet forth, in a paper of Thurloe's (270). As to his management in the North, it was of a piece with the reſt, that is, he did all that lay in his power to deſtroy the balance (271), by making the King of Sweden maſter of Denmark and the North, which had been effected, if it had not been for the Dutch, who underſtood and purſued their own intereſts better. For, had his ſcheme been brought about, he muſt have laid himſelf at the mercy of Sweden and France, who, being old allies, would have had it in their power to give law to all Europe (272). This being ſo viſibly the aim of France, it ſhews plainly why Cardinal Mazarine paid ſuch exceſſive court to Cromwell, and perhaps it may give ſome light, why he ſtiled him "a fortunate madman;" *fortunate*, becauſe, by the bravery of Engliſh ſeamen and ſoldiers, he obtained all he ſought; and *madman*, becauſe, to the temporary ſecurity of his own eſtabliſhment (273), he ſacrificed the intereſts of his country, the balance of power, and the tranquillity of Europe, which former Kings had always maintained, and the very laſt King, Charles the Firſt, had prevented the French and Dutch from diſpoſſeſſing the Spaniards of the Low-Countries, and dividing them between them (274); which plan Cromwell not only accepted but executed. What influence theſe errors in policy had upon the ſtate of this nation, at home and abroad, may be ſhewn from facts that admit of no diſpute, ſuch as the ſinking of our coinage (275), the declenſion of the city of London in the number of it's inhabitants (276), the loſs of countries in America, where the Dutch were permitted to keep the New Netherlands, now ſtiled New York and the Jerſeys, though our right to them was inconteſtible (277); from the decay of the navy, and from the loſs of a great part of the Spaniſh trade; to which may be added, the laying the foundation of all the ſubſequent wars for reducing the exorbitant growth of France, which he aſſiſted, and which without his aſſiſtance, and his weakening the Spaniſh monarchy as he did,

(254) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 265.

(255) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 172.

(256) See the three panegyricks publiſhed by Peck.

(257) See Secretary Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(258) See the account before cited, as alſo Milton, Welwood, and Oldmixon.

(259) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 110.

(260) Sir William Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 356.

(261) Milton's Works, Vol. II. p. 211, 218, 226.

(262) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 46, 47.

(263) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 372.

(264) See this dedication prefixed by Marchmont Needham to his tranſlation of Selden's *Mare Clauſum*.

(265) Milton's Works, Vol. II. p. 193.

(266) Dr Gumble's life of Monk, p. 74.

(267) See Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(268) Coke's Detection of the four laſt reigns, Vol. II. p. 51, 52, 53.

(269) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 615, 616.

(270) Inſerted in the firſt Vol. of his State Papers, p. 759.

(271) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 373.

(272) The World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwell.

(273) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XX. p. 793.

(274) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 53, 54.

(275) Happy future State of England, p. 78.

(276) See the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

(277) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 236—238.

it is from thence only that we can be inſtructed to decide, with probability, as to the principles even of his publick actions; for men of different tempers act in the ſame manner, upon certain occaſions, from very different motives; and of theſe there is no judging, but from an acquaintance with their tempers; which can be no other way ſo well known, as from the relation of their private and domeſtick behaviour. Beſides, there is a natural curioſity to enter, as it were, into the privacies of extraordinary perſons; which is a kind of ſlipping behind the ſcenes, and taking a more nice and certain view of their conduct, by getting on the wrong ſide of the theatre. Men, called into high ſpheres of life, naturally become actors, and wear the robe and buſkin thence forward in publick, ſo that we can judge but little of their real diſpoſition from their actions, unleſs we obtain a kind of key from the knowledge of their private life; ſo that circumſtances which, with reſpect to others, would be frivolous and impertinent in regard to them, are very uſeful as well as entertaining [*SS*]. The Protector Oliver Cromwell had many children, of whom

did, could not have been attained (278). Theſe are to be conſidered as brief heads for that examination, the neceſſity of which is ſuggeſted in the text, in order to the forming a true and impartial judgment of his adminiſtration as to foreign affairs.

(278) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

[*SS*] *Are very uſeful as well as entertaining.*] It is really not a little ſtrange, that, conſidering Cromwell was towards forty when he firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in oppoſing the project for draining of fens, that we ſhould know ſo little of his private life; and how little this is, the reader has already ſeen, moſt of the circumſtances that deſerve credit being mentioned either in the text or in the notes (279). Yet ſome few there were who knew and underſtood him thoroughly, before his extraordinary talents were made known to the world, and in particular his couſin Hampden, of which this was a remarkable inſtance (280). When things ran high in the Houſe of Commons, Mr Hampden and the Lord Digby were going down the Parliament ſtairs, and Cromwell juſt before them, who was known to the latter only by ſight: *Pray*, ſaid his Lordſhip to Mr Hampden, *who is that man, for I ſee he is on our ſide by his ſpeaking ſo warmly to-day? That ſloven*, returned Mr Hampden, *whom you ſee before us, who hath no ornament in his ſpeech, that ſloven, I ſay, if we ſhould ever come to a breach with the King, which God forbid! in ſuch a caſe, I ſay, that ſloven will be the greateſt man in England.* This prophecy, which was ſo fully accompliſhed, roſe chiefly from the ſenſe that great man had of Cromwell's *indefatigable diligence* in purſuing whatever he undertook; and, *in truth*, he had this remarkable quality in a very high degree, for whatever he had in view, remained ever in his thoughts, and every thing he ſaid or did was ſome way calculated to promote it; ſo that if ſteadineſs, vigilance, and addreſs, could attain any point, as indeed What point is there they will not attain? he was ſure to accompliſh whatever he thought were worthy of undertaking (281). He had another quality, which was equally uſeful to him, and that was, diſcerning the temper of thoſe he had to deal with, and dealing with them accordingly. Before he became Commander in Chief, he kept up a very high intimacy with the private men, taking great pains to learn their names, by which he was ſure to call them, ſhaking them by the hand, clapping them on the ſhoulder, or, which was peculiar to him, giving them a ſlight box on the ear, which condeſcending familiarities, with the paſſion he expreſſed for their intereſts, gave him a power eaſier conceived than deſcribed (282). He tried to inveigle the Earl of Manchester, but finding his ſentiments of another kind, he fell upon him in the Houſe of Commons, and procured his removal. He carried himſelf with ſo much reſpect to Fairfax, that he knew not how to break with him, though he knew that he betrayed him (283). He not only deceived Harriſon, Bradſhaw, and Ludlow, but outwitted Oliver St John, who had more parts than them all, and foiled Sir Henry Vane with his own weapons; in ſhort, he knew men perfectly, worked them to his purpoſes, as if they had been cattle, and, which is ſtill more wonderful, did that often while they conceived that they were making a tool of him (284). His ſtrength of mind, or ſtrength of head, call it which you will, enabled him to impoſe even upon the greateſt bodies of men; he led the reſentment of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Army, till the latter were in a flame, and very angry with him; when he came to them, it was upon a flea-bitten nag, all of a foam, as if he had made his eſcape, and, in this trim, he ſigned the engagement at Triploe-Heath, throwing himſelf from his horſe upon the graſs, and writing his name as he lay upon his belly (285). He had yet another faculty beyond theſe, and that was, the art of concealing his arts; he dictated a paper once to Ireton, which was impoſed upon the Adjutators as if founded upon their inſtructions, who ſent it expreſs by two of their number, Sexby (who conſpired againſt him when Protector) and Laſinby, to Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General, at his quarters at Colcheſter. He was in bed when they came, but they demanded and had admittance; when they told him their commiſſion, he aſked them, with the greateſt rage and reſentment in his looks, how they durſt bring him papers from the Army? they ſaid, That paper contained the ſenſe of the Army, and they were directed to do it. Are you ſure of that? ſaid he, with the ſame ſtern countenance; Let me ſee it. He ſpent a long time in reading it, and, as it ſeemed to them, in reflecting upon it; then, with a mild and devout look, he told them it was a moſt juſt thing, he hoped that God would proſper it, adding, *I will ſtand by the Army in theſe deſires with my life and fortune* (286). In the courſe of his life he was temperate and ſober, and deſpiſed thoſe that were otherwiſe. He knew perfectly well the means of conciliating friendſhip, in which he was very conſtant to thoſe who went all his lengths, as the Earl of Warwick, and ſome others, did (287); and could be very civil to ſuch as diſapproved his meaſures, provided they did not oppoſe them, which was the caſe of St John, Whitlocke, and others (288); but if they differed with him, he forgot all former ties, as appeared by his impriſoning Sir Henry Vane, removing Major-General Harriſon, and obliging the Lord Viſcount Say and the Lord Grey of Groby to live in a kind of voluntary exile (289). In his family he ſhewed great kindneſs, but without any diminution of his authority; he was very reſpectful to his mother, and very tender towards his wife (290); yet neither had any influence over him; he expreſſed a deep ſenſe of the concern which the former expreſſed for his danger, heard whatever ſhe ſaid to him patiently, but acted as he thought proper, and, in reſpect to her burial, directly againſt her dying requeſt (291). The latter is ſaid to have made a propoſition, tending towards reſtoring the King, but he rejected it (292), as he had before ſhewn himſelf unmoved, when his ſon Richard threw himſelf at his feet, to diſſwade him from taking King Charles's life (293). He did not ſeem to take amiſs applications of the like kind from other perſons, as from Whitlocke (294), but that Gentleman thought he loſt his confidence by it; from the Marquis of Hertford, whom he treated very reſpectfully (295); and from Dr Brownrig, Biſhop of Exeter, to whom he ſhewed more kindneſs than to any other man of his rank and profeſſion, and of whom, with ſome earneſtneſs, he aſked advice (296): *My advice*, ſaid the good Prelate, *muſt be in the words of the goſpel*; *Render to* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſar's, *and to* God *the things that are* God's: to which he made no reply. All this ſhews a very great, a very unuſual calmneſs of mind; yet he was naturally haſty and paſſionate, which thoſe who were about him ſometimes felt (297); but he knew how to compoſe matters again by a proper and an immediate condeſcenſion, of which he gave a ſtrong inſtance to Lord Broghill, and another to Secretary Thurloe. He knew the force of family connections, and employed them

(279) In the Perfect Politician all his private hiſtory takes up but three pages.

(280) Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 193.

(281) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 1.

(282) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 77.

(283) This appears from reading the whole of Fairfax's ſhort Memoirs.

(284) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 81.

(285) Account of the engagements at Triploe-Heath and at Dunbar, p. 31.

(286) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 56.

(287) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 9.

(288) See Whitlocke's Memorials throughout.

(289) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 530, 563, 577.

(290) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 14.

(291) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(292) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 726.

(293) Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons that died in 1712. p. 296.

(294) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 516.

(295) Hearne's Chronicon de Dunſtable, Vol. II. p. 832.

(296) Memorials of Biſhop Brownrigg, p. 186, 187.

(297) Mr Maidſtone's account of the Protector, to whom he was Steward, in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 766.

whom ſix ſurvived to be men and women, *viz.* two ſons and four daughters. 1. Richard Cromwell was born the 4th, and baptized the 19th of October, 1626, and died July 13th, 1712, at Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire (*w*). 2. Henry Cromwell, born January the 20th, 1627, chriſtened the next day, died March 25th, 1674 (*x*). (1.) Bridget, who firſt married Commiſſary-General Ireton, and, after his deceaſe, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood; as both her huſbands were zealous Republicans, ſhe had no ſmall tincture of the ſame ſpirit, which was very diſpleaſing to her father. In other reſpects ſhe was a woman of very good ſenſe, regular in her behaviour, and was highly inſtrumental in promoting the intereſts of her ſecond huſband, who was very much guided by her advice (*y*). (2.) Elizabeth, born *Anno Domini* 1630; ſhe married John Cleypole, Eſq; a Northamptonſhire Gentleman, whom the Protector made Maſter of the Horſe, created him a Baronet July 16th, 1657, and appointed him one of his Lords (*z*). (3.) Mary, who was married, with great ſolemnity, to the Lord Viſcount Fauconberg, November 18th, 1657, but the ſame day more privately, according to the office in the Common-Prayer Book. She was a Lady of great beauty, and of a very high ſpirit, one who, after her brother Richard was depoſed, is thought to have promoted very ſucceſsfully the reſtoration of King Charles. Her huſband was ſent to the Tower by the Committee of Safety, and was in very

(*w*) From the pariſh-regiſter of St John's Huntington.

(*x*) From the ſame regiſter.

(*y*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts.

(*z*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

ſucceſsfully. It was by this that he managed Ireton, and afterwards Fleetwood (298). The dealers in ſecret, or rather, ſcandalous hiſtory, ſay, he found another method of managing Lambert; which there is no need to believe, ſince it is viſible that he cajoled him for a long time with the hopes of the ſucceſſion (299): he married all his daughters well, and was kind to their huſbands; but it is ſaid he gave them no fortunes, which, if true, muſt have been becauſe it was not in his power. Some have wondered that he did not court the alliance of ſome foreign houſe; and ſomething of this kind was once ſpoken of for the Prince of Conde, for whom he had a particular kindneſs, and aimed at making him great in the ſame way as himſelf; he ſerved in the Spaniſh army againſt his natural Prince; the Protector was for making him a Sovereign at the expence of the Spaniards he ſerved, by giving him the beſt part of their Low-Countries; but the French would not agree to this, and ſo it came to nothing, as the buſineſs of the match had done long before. He is cenſured for keeping his eldeſt ſon at a diſtance from buſineſs, and for giving him no employments (300); but for this, perhaps, there is not any juſt ground. He married him to a Lady who brought him a good fortune; he ſuffered him to purſue the bent of his inclinations, and to lead the life of a plain, honeſt, country gentleman; which, for a time, was highly ſuitable to his own intereſts, as it ſeemed to correſpond with the terms of the *Inſtrument of Government*, and the diſlike which the Protector, when firſt ſo called, expreſſed of hereditary right (301). When he had afterwards brought about a change in affairs, he altered, at the ſame time, his conduct towards his ſon, named him the firſt Lord in his Other Houſe, reſigned to him the chancellorſhip of Oxford (302), and went as far as he could go, for fear of diſobliging Fleetwood. His ſecond ſon, Henry, he ſent over into Ireland, where he raiſed him gradually to the poſt of Lord Lieutenant (303); though in this he ſeemed to give him the preference, yet in reality he uſed him more harſhly than the other; for, though his abilities were good, his manners irreproachable, and his ſubmiſſion exemplary, yet he paid no great deference to his recommendations, and allowed him far leſs power than could well be imagined (304). His daughter Cleypole was his favourite, and her huſband had much of his confidence; he was maſter of his horſe, and had the Court ſecret in the Houſe of Commons (305). It is however to be obſerved, that as his government was diſtracted and diſturbed, ſo he was unhappy alſo in his family. Neither of his ſons thought his eſtabliſhment ſecure or well founded. His daughter Fleetwood was a Republican, and ſo were many others of his neareſt relations; all the reſt of his daughters had a ſecret kindneſs for the Royal Family, of which however he was not ignorant (306). He ſhewed a great reſpect for learning and learned men, without affecting to be learned himſelf. His letters are however the beſt teſtimonies of his parts, for they are varied in their ſtile in a very wonderful manner, exactly adapted to the purpoſes for which they were written, and the perſons to whom they were addreſſed (307). His publick ſpeeches were long, dark, and perplexed; and though mixed with the language of the times, which was cant, yet have ſentiments in them that ſhew very clearly the ſuperiority of his underſtanding (308). In his converſation he was eaſy and pleaſant, and could unbend himſelf without loſing his dignity. He made an excellent choice in thoſe he employed, but truſted none of them farther than was neceſſary (309). It may ſeem ſtrange, that in drawing together his character, there ſhould be nothing ſaid of his principles as to government or religion; but the plain truth is, neither can be diſcovered with certainty. We know that he hated a Commonwealth and the *Preſbyterians*, but what his ſentiments were in other reſpects it is hardly poſſible to ſay. When he recollected himſelf, after the follies of his youth, there ſeems to be no doubt that he had ſerious impreſſions of religion; and there ſeem to be very ſtrong proofs, that he was afterwards tinctured with enthuſiaſm (310). In the time of his greateſt elevation, to ſuppoſe him a Fanatick, ſeems injuſtice to his parts; to affirm, as ſome have done, that he loſt all ſenſe of religion, is more, than, at this diſtance of time, any authorities will warrant. Such as entertain the beſt opinion of him allow, that he fell into deep and dangerous errors, particularly in believing that ſucceſs was a mark of the divine approbation (311). Thoſe who ſpeak worſt of him, charge him with a contempt of all things ſacred (312). But, in a matter of this obſcurity, let us call in the aſſiſtance of one, who knew him well, and could judge of him in that reſpect much better than we (313). This is the famous Mr Baxter, who ſpeaks very ſenſibly and clearly to the point. 'His 'name ſtandeth as a monitory monument, or pillar to 'poſterity, to tell them the inſtability of man in ſtrong 'temptations, if God leave him to himſelf. What 'great ſucceſs and victories can do, to lift up a mind 'that once ſeemed humble. What pride can do, to 'make men ſelfiſh, and corrupt the heart with ill de'ſigns. What ſelfiſhneſs and ill deſigns can do, to 'bribe the conſcience, and corrupt the judgment, and 'make men juſtify the greateſt errors and ſins, and ſet 'againſt the cleareſt truth and duty. What bloodſhed 'and great enormities of life an erring deluded judg'ment may draw men to and patronize; and that 'when God hath dreadful judgments, an erroneous 'ſectary, or a proud ſelf-ſeeker, is oftener his inſtru'ment, than an humble lamb-like innocent ſaint.' It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſo great a man as the Earl of Clarendon (314), ſhould mention the Protector's ſpeaking kindly of Biſhops, and as if there was ſomething good in that order if the droſs was ſcoured off; ſo as to ſhew he took him to be really in earneſt. The whole courſe of Cromwell's life proves, that he was not at all ſteady to the form of religion, ſuppoſing that he retained any principles at the bottom; and there ſeems to be very little doubt, that the true meaning of theſe flattering expreſſions was, his deſire to return to the old form of government; for, whatever he pretended, that was his great aim. He did not overturn the conſtitution to leave it in ruins, but to ſet it up again, and himſelf at the head of it (315); and though he compared his own government at firſt to that of a High-Conſtable, yet there is nothing clearer, than that all he laboured for afterwards was to get the chaos new moulded, and his own authority ſanctified by the regal title, and the appearance of a legal Parliament (316).

(298) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 419, 425.

(299) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 183, 184.

(300) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, p. 426.

(301) See his ſpeech to his firſt Parliament in Whitlocke.

(302) Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons who died in 1712. p. 287.

(303) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 534.

(304) See his letters to Thurloe amongſt the State Papers, which are a ſeries of complaints.

(305) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

(306) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 233, 234.

(307) See a great number of theſe letters in Thurloe's and in Nicholls's Collections, as well as in Ruſhworth and Whitlocke.

(308) Several of theſe are to be found in Whitlocke's Memorials.

(309) True Character of O. Cromwell.

(310) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(311) Neale's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 203.

(312) As Hollis, Ludlow, and Coke.

(313) In the account of his own life, P. i. p. 100.

(314) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697.

(315) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 70.

(316) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 17.

very high favour with King Charles the Second; he was raiſed to the dignity of an Earl by King William, and died on the laſt day of the year 1700; his lady ſurvived him to March 14th, 1712, and diſtinguiſhed herſelf to her death, by the quickneſs of her wit and the ſolidity of her judgment (*a*). (4.) Frances, his youngeſt daughter, was twice married, firſt to Mr Robert Rich, grandſon to the Earl of Warwick, November 11th, 1657, who died the 16th of February following. She afterwards married Sir John Ruſſell, of Chippenham in Cambridgeſhire, by him left ſeveral children, and lived to a great age (*b*). One, who pretends to a great acquaintance with the family, gives us an extraordinary ſtory of this Lady in the earlier part of her life (*c*) [*TT*].

(*a*) Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. IV. p. 2, 250.

(*b*) Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons, who died in the year 1712, p. 285.

(*c*) See this at large in the note.

[*TT*] *Gives us an extraordinary ſtory of this Lady in the earlier part of her life.*] We have this ſtory in ſeveral books, but the beſt account of it that I have met with is in the Hiſtory of the Stuarts, written by Mr Oldmixon, which therefore I ſhall give the reader in his own words (317): 'One of his domeſtick Chaplains, Mr Jeremy White, a ſprightly man, and a 'top wit of his Court, was ſo ambitious as to make 'his addreſſes to Lady Frances, the Protector's youngeſt 'daughter. The young Lady did not diſencourage 'him, and this piece of innocent gallantry, in ſo re'ligious a Court, could not be carried on without 'ſpies; Oliver was told of it, and he was much con'cerned at it, obliging the perſon who told him to be 'on the watch, and told him if he could give him any 'ſubſtantial proof he ſhould be very well rewarded, 'and White ſeverely puniſhed. The ſpy followed the 'matter ſo cloſe, that he hunted Jerry White, as he 'was generally termed, to the Lady's chamber, and 'ran immediately to the Protector with this news. 'Oliver, in a rage, haſtened thither himſelf, and going 'in haſtily, found Jerry on his knees, kiſſing the Lady's 'hand, or having juſt kiſſed it. Cromwell, in a fury, 'aſked, What was the meaning of that poſture before 'his daughter Frank? White, with a great deal of 'preſence of mind, ſaid, May it pleaſe your Highneſs, 'I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman 'there, my Lady's woman, and cannot prevail, I was 'therefore humbly praying her Ladyſhip to intercede 'for me. The Protector, turning to the young wo'man, cried, What's the meaning of this, huſſy? 'Why do you refuſe the honour Mr White would do 'you? he is my friend, and I expect you ſhould treat 'him as ſuch. My Lady's woman, who deſired no'thing more, with a very low curtſy, replied, If 'Mr White intends me that honour, I ſhall not be a'gainſt him. Sayſt thou ſo, my laſs, cried Cromwell? 'Call Godwyn. This buſineſs ſhall be done preſently, 'before I go out of the room. Mr White was gone 'too far to go back, the Parſon came, Jerry and my 'Lady's woman were married in the preſence of the 'Protector, who gave her five hundred pounds for her 'portion, and that, with the money ſhe had ſaved be'fore, made Mr White eaſy in his circumſtances, ex'cept in one thing, which was, that he never loved 'his wife nor ſhe him, though they lived together near 'fifty years afterwards. I knew them both, and heard 'this ſtory told when Mrs White was preſent, who 'did not contradict it.' This ſingular ſtory I was induced to inſert for ſeveral reaſons, being well aſſured, that, independent of Mr Oldmixon's credit, who, in matters of this nature, was however a perſon very well informed; the facts upon which it depends are abſolutely true, and were often related by Mr White himſelf, and, if I have not been miſinformed, to his Majeſty King Charles II. It is an admirable inſtance of the Protector's ſagacity in keeping ſpies within doors and without, as well as a moſt pregnant proof of his preſence of mind, and great dexterity in finding and applying the proper remedy at once, and upon the firſt diſcovery of the diſeaſe, however ſudden or unexpected. That theſe notes have not been loaded with many particularities in relation to the wonderful nicety and amazing extent of Cromwell's intelligence, is owing to more cauſes than one. The relations themſelves are common enough, and almoſt in every body's mouth; in the next place, they are not ſo wonderful as is commonly imagined, for all governments have their ſpies and ſecret intelligence, though they are not deſirous of making this known to the world. Yet we muſt not imagine that it was ignorance in Cromwell, or in his Miniſter Thurloe, to publiſh ſo much upon this head; for whereas in other governments the great point is, to gain intelligence without it's being known; in reſpect to his it was quite contrary, for his intereſt conſiſted in being thought to have better and quicker intelligence than he really had. Laſtly, though this did infinite honour to his adminiſtration, yet in reality it ſhewed the weakneſs of his government; and therefore it is a right remark of Mr Coke, that it kept him always neceſſitous, and was in reality that gaping gulph, through which all the money that he could amaſs ſlipped away; ſo that it might be truly ſaid, that if he was preſerved by it in one ſenſe, he was undone by it in another; and therefore, when the publick accounts came to be examined in Richard's Parliament, what was iſſued for ſecret ſervice was not only thought extravagant but impoſſible; and indeed, how much ſoever it may aſtoniſh vulgar Politicians, refined Stateſmen will very hardly allow, that a government which cannot ſubſiſt but by the diſtribution of vaſt ſums in this way, is to be either admired or applauded, becauſe the excellence of government conſiſts in managing publick affairs well, and without exorbitant expence; ſo that the beſt government is that which is at the leaſt charge. Theſe reflections detract nothing from the Protector's ſkill or abilities; it is a misfortune to meet with continual ſtorms in a voyage, but the Pilot nevertheleſs deſerves praiſe, who ſecures his veſſel from periſhing in thoſe ſtorms, and ſtill more praiſe, if the veſſel itſelf be rotten and leaky.

(317) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 426.

E

CUDWORTH (RALPH) a very learned and rational Divine, ſon of Ralph Cudworth, D. D. Rector of Aller in the County of Somerſet [*A*], was born at Aller in 1617 (*a*). His mother was of the family of Machell, and had been nurſe to Prince Henry, eldeſt Son of King James I. After Dr Cudworth's death, which happened in Auguſt or September 1624 (*b*); ſhe married again to Dr Stoughton, an eminent Preacher in thoſe times, who took a particular care of his ſon-in-law's education. He diſcovered from the firſt a quick and penetrating genius, and made ſo good progreſs in his ſtudies, that at the age of thirteen he was admitted Penſioner of Emanuel College [*B*]: However, he was not matriculated as a Student in the Univerſity till July 5th, 1632. What proficiency he made there in all kinds of learning, particularly in Philoſophy, his excellent

(*a*) Vita D. R. Cudworth præfixa L. Moſhemii Latinæ Verſioni Cudworthi Operum. Jenæ 1733. 2 Vol. fol.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 187. edit. 1721.

[*A*] *Son of Ralph Cudworth, &c.*] He [the father] was at firſt Fellow of Emanuel-college and Rector of St Andrew's in Cambridge, then Vicar of Coggeſhall in Eſſex, and afterwards Rector of Aller, and Chaplain to King James I. He publiſhed ſeveral pieces of Mr Perkins, and added *A Supplement to Mr* William Perkins's *Commentary upon St Paul's Epiſtle to the Galatians*; which is all he ever publiſhed under his own name (1).

[*B*] ——*At the age of thirteen he was admitted Penſioner of Emanuel-college.*] And though he was ſo young, his father-in-law declared, That he was as well grounded in ſchool-learning, as any boy of his age that went to the univerſity (2).

(1) Vita R. Cudworth ubi ſupra. Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſt. Vol. II. p. 160.

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *He*

lent Works do abundantly teſtify. In 1639 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; and about the ſame time being choſen Fellow of his College, he became ſo eminent a Tutor, that he had eight-and-twenty Pupils at once; a thing never known before even in the largeſt Colleges in the Univerſity. Among them was the famous William Temple, afterwards created a Baronet (c). Not long after, he was preſented by Emanuel College to the Rectory of North-Cadbury in Somerſetſhire, a living worth near three hundred pounds a year, and probably kept it till the year 1656 (d). The firſt things he publiſhed were, *A Diſcourſe concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper*; and, *The Union of Chriſt and the Church ſhadowed*, or *in a ſhadow*, printed at London in 1642. About 1644 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity [C], and the ſame year was choſen Maſter of Clare-Hall, in the room of Dr Paſke who was ejected; where he had the honour of having under his care the celebrated John Tillotſon. The next year, Dr Metcalfe reſigning his place of Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, Mr Cudworth, who was a great maſter of the oriental languages, was unanimouſly appointed, on the 15th of October, to ſucceed him. From which time he applied himſelf entirely to his academical employments and ſtudies; and read his public lectures every Wedneſday, the firſt being upon the ſtructure and plan of the Temple of Jeruſalem. In 1647 he printed, at Cambridge, a Sermon on 1 John ii. 3, 4. which he had preached, the 31ſt of March of the ſame year, before the Houſe of Commons at Weſtminſter [D]. In 1651. he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (e). Notwithſtanding his preferments, yet, whether it was owing to that neglect and contempt of the things of this world, which are common among ſtudious perſons, or to any other cauſe, certain it is, that Dr Cudworth's income was not ſufficient to maintain him; and therefore he left, upon that account, the Univerſity for a while: But, being extremely beloved, he was ſoon invited thither again. For, upon the death of Dr Samuel Bolton Maſter of Chriſt's College, in October 1654. he was choſen to ſucceed him. The ſame year he married; and ſpent in this place the remainder of his days, being very careful of young Gentlemens education. January 16. $165\frac{6}{7}$. he was one of the Divines appointed by the Grand Committee for Religion (f), to conſider of the tranſlations and impreſſions of the Bible [E]. The firſt of December 1662. he was preſented by Gilbert Biſhop of London to the Vicarage of Aſhwell in the County of Hertford (g). And in 1678. was inſtalled Prebendary of Glouceſter (h). But the moſt remarkable circumſtance of his life, and what does him moſt honour, is, that he was the Author of *The True intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe*; a book full of excellent reaſoning, and a great variety of curious learning [F]. As one extream is generally apt to produce another, the pious Nonſenſe, and ſtupid Enthuſiaſm, that had prevailed in this kingdom during the times of confuſion, was ſucceeded in the licentious reign of King Charles II. and even ſome time before, by Atheiſm, Profaneneſs, and Irreligion. Many of our beſt Divines endeavoured to ſtop their progreſs, but none with more vigour nor greater ſucceſs than Dr Cudworth. 'None 'better knew how to uſe the arms of Reaſon and Learning, as one expreſſes it (i), to 'conquer the preſumptuous ignorance of Hobbes, who had acquired a great reputation at 'court.' 'Tis no wonder therefore that King Charles's courtiers ſhould undervalue the *True intellectual Syſtem* (k); but notwithſtanding their vain efforts, it has and will maintain its reputation. The Author was undoubtedly ſeveral years about it, tho' it was not publiſhed till 1678 [G]. Beſides the four books already mentioned, Dr Cudworth publiſhed in 1664, a Sermon preached at Lincoln's-Inn, on 1 Cor. xv. 57. and a treatiſe intituled *Deus*

(c) Vita R. Cudworth, ubi ſupra.

(d) For then S. Cradock was preſented thereto. See A. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 71.

(e) Vita, &c. ut ſupra.

(f) Whitelock's Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, Lond. 1732. p. 654.

(g) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. p. 835.

(h) Browne Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. Lond. 1727. 4to. p. 743.

(i) Moſheim in vit. Cudworth, ubi ſupra.

(k) See J. Clerici Vita, Amſtelod. 1711. 8vo. p. 129.

[C] *He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.*] The queſtions he diſputed upon, at the commencement at Cambridge that year, were theſe; There are eternal and indiſpenſible reaſons (or differences) of good and evil: and, There are incorporeal ſubſtances immortal in their own nature (3).

(3) Vita, ubi ſupra.

[D] *A Sermon on* 1 *John* ii. 3, 4.] It was printed in 4*to*, containing 82 pages, and reprinted in folio to be placed at the end of his Intellectual Syſtem. In the Dedication of it to the Houſe of Commons, he told them, That the ſcope of that ſermon was not to contend for this or that opinion, but only to perſuade men to the Life of Chriſt, as the pith and kernel of all religion; without which all the ſeveral forms of religion in the world, though we pleaſe ourſelves never ſo much with them, are but ſo many ſeveral dreams.

[E] *He was one of the Divines appointed, &c.*] Theſe Divines, of which the chief, beſides Dr Cudworth, were, Dr Walton, Mr Hughes, Mr Clarke, Mr Caſtle, and Mr Poulk, often met at the Lord Commiſſioner Whitelock's, and had the moſt learned men in the oriental tongues to conſult with in this great buſineſs, and divers excellent and learned obſervations of ſome miſtakes in the tranſlations of the Bible in Engliſh; which yet was agreed to be the beſt of any tranſlation in the world. But this deſign became fruitleſs by the Parliament's diſſolution (4).

(4) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

[F] *The true Intellectual Syſtem, &c.*] The whole title of it is, *The true Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe: The firſt part; wherein, all the Reaſon and Philoſophy of Atheiſm is confuted; and its Impoſſibility demonſtrated. By R. Cudworth, D. D.* Being ſurprized at the length of the firſt part, he publiſhed it, as a thing compleat of itſelf; deſigning to compoſe and publiſh afterwards a ſecond and third part, which, however, he never did (5). An abridgment of this book was publiſhed in 1706, under the following title, *A Confutation of the Reaſon and Philoſophy of Atheiſm: being in a great meaſure either an Abridgment or an Improvement of what Dr Cudworth offered to that purpoſe in his* True Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe. *Together with an Introduction, in which among accounts of other matters relating to this Treatiſe, there is an impartial examination of what that learned perſon advanced touching the Chriſtian Doctrine of a Trinity in Unity, and the Reſurrection of the Body. In two Volumes. By* Tho. Wiſe, B. D. *Fellow of Exeter-college, &c. in Oxford.* This abridgment is reckoned to be well done: the ſtyle being clear and eaſy, and the matter well digeſted. A Latin tranſlation of the Intellectual Syſtem was publiſhed at Jena 1733, in two volumes, fol. by John-Laurence Moſheim, D. D. illuſtrated with notes and diſſertations.

(5) Preface.

[G] *Though it was not publiſhed till* 1678.] It was printed in a thick folio containing 999 pages, beſides the Preface and Contents. The *Imprimatur*, at the end of the Preface, bears date May 29, 1671. which ſhows that the author kept it by him a conſiderable time before he publiſhed it.

[H] He

Deus Juſtificatus, or, *The Divine Goodneſs vindicated and cleared, againſt the Aſſertors of abſolute and inconditionate Reprobation.* He left ſeveral books in manuſcript [*H*], of which only one has been printed ſince his deceaſe, intituled, *A Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality* [*I*]. He died at Cambridge June 26. 1688, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, and was buried in Chriſt's College. Several ſons that he had died young; but one daughter, named Damaris [*K*], born January 18. 1658. ſurvived him. She was ſecond wife to Sir Francis Maſham, of Oates in Eſſex, Baronet, and had by him a ſon, Francis Cudworth Maſham, Eſq; (*l*) one of the Maſters in Chancery, Accomptant-General of the ſaid court, and foreign Appoſer in the court of Exchequer, who died May 17. 1731. Dr Cudworth was a man of great piety and moderation, of uncommon prudence; and eſpecially of very extenſive learning: For he was not only a good Linguiſt and Antiquarian, but alſo an able Mathematician, a ſubtil Philoſopher, and a profound Metaphyſician. In his ſmall treatiſes, he ſhows himſelf well ſkilled in the oriental languages; as he appears in his *Intellectual Syſtem* a perfect maſter of the Platonic Philoſophy; with a great ſtrength of genius, and a vaſt compaſs of learning. He hath in it ſome particular notions, namely, of a *Plaſtic Nature*, which, ſubordinate to the Supreme Being, forms and organizes the bodies of animals, and produceth other phænomena (*m*): And, what he ſaith concerning the *Trinity* (*n*), and the *Reſurrection* (*o*), is thought not to be exactly conformable to the received opinions [*L*]. But, notwithſtanding, he muſt be impartially allowed to have been 'a great man in all parts of learning divine and human, an honour 'to Emanuel College where he was educated, to Chriſt's College where he afterwards pre-'ſided, to the whole Univerſity of Cambridge which he adorned (*p*), and to the Church 'and Age in which he lived (*q*).'

(*l*) A. Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 435.

(*m*) Intellectual Syſtem, &c. p. 146, 147, &c. This notion was adopted by the great Mr. Ray, in his *Wiſdom of God*, &c.

(*n*) Pag. 210, 546. &c.

(*o*) Pag. 784, &c.

(*p*) Biſhop of Durham's Preface to the treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality, p. 12.

(*q*) Biſhop's Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 462.

'[*H*] *He left ſeveral books in manuſcript.*] The titles of them are, I. *A Treatiſe concerning moral Good and Evil*, in ſeveral volumes in folio, containing near 1000 pages. The deſign of it is to prove, that morality is founded in nature, and doth not depend upon the arbitrary will of any Being. He alſo expoſes Epicurus's notions, and Hobbes's Morality and Politicks. II. *A Treatiſe of Liberty and Neceſſity, wherein the foundations of the Philoſophy of Atheiſm are deſtroyed, the certainty of Morality eſtabliſhed, and the nature of it explained.* It conſiſts of 1000 pages in folio, and ſolves the objections of the Stoics, antient Atheiſts, and ſome modern Chriſtians, againſt human liberty. III. *A Commentary on the* Seventy Weeks *mentioned by the Prophet* Daniel, *wherein the ſeveral explications of them by the Jews, and ſome Chriſtian writers, are examined and confuted*, 2 vols fol. IV. *Of the truth of the Chriſtian Religion againſt the Jews.* He mentions this book in ſome of his works, but it has not yet been found among his MSS. V. *A Treatiſe of the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.* A volume in 8*vo*. VI. *Of the Learning of the Hebrews.* VII. *An Explanation of Hobbes's notions, concerning the nature of God, and the extenſion of Spirits.*

[*I*] *A Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality.*] It was printed at London in 8*vo*, 1731, with a Preface by *Edward* [Chandler] Lord Biſhop of Durham; who therein obſerves, that the author 'proves in that book the falſeneſs of the conſequences 'with reſpect to natural juſtice and morality in God, 'which are deducible from the principles of thoſe that 'maintain the ſecond ſort of fate, denominated by him 'Theologick (6). And thus it may be reckoned to be a 'ſequel in part, of his firſt book againſt *material* 'fate (7).' The author intitled it Δικαιον φυσικὸν καὶ ἀτρεπτον, or *A Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality*; and 'tranſcribed the beſt part of 'it with his own hand, as if it was ſpeedily to be ſent 'to the preſs (8).'

(6) See Intellectual Syſtem, &c. p. 3, &c. and preface.

(7) Biſhop Chandler's preface, p. 9.

(8) Ibid. p. 11.

[*K*] *One daughter, named Damaris,*] She died April 20, 1708, and was buried in the cathedral church of Bath; where a monument is erected to her memory, in which this character is given of her —— 'To the ſoftneſs and elegancy of her own ſex, *She* added ſeveral of the nobleſt accompliſhments and qualities of the other. She poſſeſſed theſe advantages in 'a degree unuſual to either, and tempered them with 'an exactneſs peculiar to herſelf. Her learning, judg-'ment, ſagacity, and penetration, together with her 'candor, and love of truth, were very obſervable to 'all that converſed with her, or were acquainted with 'thoſe ſmall treatiſes ſhe publiſhed in her life-time, 'tho' ſhe induſtriouſly concealed her name (9).' Of the ſmall treatiſes here mentioned, one was *A Diſcourſe concerning the Love of God.* Printed at London, 1696, 12*mo*. The reſt are not known. Mr. J. Locke lived in her family the 14 laſt years of his life.

(9) Peerage of England, by A. Collins, Eſq; Vol. III. p. 435. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglic. Vol. I. p. 146.

[*L*] *Is thought not to be exactly conformable, &c.*] He has been very ſeverely treated upon that account; particularly by one (10), who calls him a 'Pritheiſtick, and ſays, 'the moſt that charity itſelf can allow the Doctor, 'if it were to ſtep forth, and ſpeak his moſt favourable 'character to the world, is, that he is an Arian, a So-'cinian, or a Deiſt.' A very hard and unjuſt cenſure!

(10) J. Turner, Dedication before his Diſcourſe of the Meſſiah. Lond. 1685. p. 17, 19.

CUFF or CUFFE (HENRY), a celebrated wit, a famous ſcholar, and the unfortunate Secretary of the unhappy Earl of Eſſex, who ſuffered towards the cloſe of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He is by ſome ſaid, or rather ſuggeſted, to have been but of low birth (*a*), but very unjuſtly, ſince there is good evidence to prove, that his anceſtors had been reputed gentlemen for ſeveral deſcents, and had lands to a conſiderable value about Creech and Taunton in Somerſetſhire (*b*). He was born at Hinton St George in that county, about the year 1560 (*c*), was educated at a grammar-ſchool, and gave very early marks both of genius and application (*d*), inſomuch that, in 1576, he was removed to Oxford, and entered there of Trinity College (*e*). His parts were ſo quick, and his diligence ſo great, that he very ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf from moſt of his contemporaries, more eſpecially in his knowledge of Greek, and his admirable faculty in diſputing. He became, in due time, Fellow of his College, and would, without doubt, have gone through his academical ſtudies with all the ſucceſs and applauſe imaginable, if it had not been for a certain haſtineſs of temper, which induced him to ſpeak his mind very freely on ſubjects and of perſons, with whom he had little or nothing to do. A ſaying of his of Sir Thomas Pope, who was the founder of the College in which he was educated, proved fatal to him, ſo that he was turned out of his Fellowſhip, and expelled the College (*f*). His merit, however, was ſo great, and his reputation for learning ſo extraordinary, that he

(*a*) Sanderſon's Lives of Mary Queen of Scots and King James, p. 238.

(*b*) Viſitation-book of Somerſetſhire, Anno Dom. 1573. MS. in the Herald's office.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28.

(*d*) Remarks upon the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 537.

(*e*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(*f*) Liber niger Scaccarii, edit. T. H. p. 593.

was received into Merton-College by Sir Henry Savile, then Warden of it, and who was particularly remarkable for being a moſt diſintereſted patron of ſuch as were truly ſcholars (*g*). In 1586 Mr Cuff was elected Probationer-fellow of that College, and, being very intimate with many of the greateſt men of thoſe times who were bred at this Univerſity, he was looked upon as one capable of making a ſhining figure in the world (*b*), more eſpecially as he was known to turn his thoughts to active life, and to apply himſelf with great vigour to the more polite as well as abſtruſer parts of learning. In 1588 he became Fellow of Merton-College, and, on the 20th of February following, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*i*). Amongſt other perſons of note with whom he had great intimacy, one was the learned Mr Camden, in commendation of whoſe excellent *Britannia* he wrote a Greek epigram, that has been much admired (*k*). This indeed was the happieſt part of his life, and it had been very fortunate for him if he had contented himſelf with that eaſy and honourable ſituation, which his own learning, and the aſſiſtance of his friends in this Univerſity, had procured him, notwithſtanding the ſlip he had made in the earlier part of his life, from a vivacity of temper which never left him [*A*]. He was afterwards promoted to the Greek profeſſorſhip, and was choſen Proctor of the Univerſity April 10th, 1594 (*l*). At what time he left the Univerſity, or upon what occaſion, does not appear; but there is great reaſon to believe, that it was for the ſake of improving himſelf by travelling into foreign parts (*m*); for he was always inclined rather to a buſy than a retired life, and held, that learning was of little ſervice to any man, if it did not render him fitter for being employed in matters of importance. This diſpoſition of his recommended him very much to the favour of Robert Earl of Eſſex, who was himſelf much of the ſame temper, that is, equally fond of knowledge and buſineſs, and ſtrongly perſwaded the former was of very little uſe but as it fitted men for the latter. His Lordſhip writing admirably well, and being an excellent judge of the writings of other men, thought it would be highly uſeful to himſelf, and the means of promoting Mr Cuffe, if he took him into his ſervice, as well as into his protection; and accordingly, about the time that he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*n*), Mr Cuffe was appointed his Secretary. It appears, from the private as well as publick hiſtories of thoſe times, that he was very much in his confidence; but, whether the Earl intruſted him with the dark deſigns he carried on with Tyrone, in order to make himſelf King of England, and Tyrone Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is as little certain, as whether his Lordſhip ever had any ſuch deſigns, or was ſo unfortunate only as to have them imputed to him by his enemies (*o*). This, however, is out of diſpute, that, when the Earl returned from his expedition, in Auguſt 1599, to Dublin, and reſolved to ſend over an account to the Queen of what he had concluded with Tyrone, he made choice of Mr Cuffe to be the bearer, and, perhaps, uſed his aſſiſtance in penning thoſe letters. This was certainly both a dangerous and a diſagreeable ſervice; which, however, Mr Cuffe undertook, and very happily performed, delivering his letters ſafely to her Majeſty, and afterwards, upon ſome inſinuations to his prejudice, upon which he was ſent for to the Queen, he juſtified himſelf to her ſatisfaction (*p*) [*B*]. As he had naturally a very high ſpirit, was ſincerely attached

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 466.

(*b*) Bp. Mountague's pref. to his Diatribe upon the firſt part of the Hiſt. of Tythes.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 135.

(*k*) It is prefixed in all the Latin editions, and in the two laſt Engliſh tranſlations.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 147.

(*m*) See the note [*I*].

(*n*) Camd. Ann. edit. T. H. p. 792.

(*o*) See the declaration of the treaſons of Robert Earl of Eſſex, publiſhed by authority, 4*to*, 1601.

(*p*) Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 122.

[*A*] *From a vivacity of temper which never left him.*] It was certainly a mark of the candour, as well as care, of Mr Wood, that he took ſo much pains as to ſearch the Heralds Office, in order to find the grant of a coat of arms made to Job Cuffe, our author's anceſtor, by Chriſtopher Baker then King at Arms, in the 36th of Henry VIII (1). He was in the wrong however to fix upon a late, and in ſome reſpects a low, writer, as author of thoſe detracting paſſages, that paſſed ſo currently in the world to his prejudice; whereas, moſt undoubtedly, theſe took riſe from what was ſaid of him by a noble author (2), who wrote indeed at that time under direction, and we may believe could not but be rude to his Secretary, after being roundly ſchooled by the Queen, for ſpeaking with common decency of his maſter. It was from him therefore that ſucceeding writers copied, though there wanted not others, well acquainted with thoſe times and with the man, who ſpoke of him with decency, pity, and even with reſpect. He was but a very young man when he went to Oxford, and it was by the pregnancy of his parts that he became ſo early a Fellow of Trinity-college. Mr Wood tells us, in one place, that he was forced to reſign his fellowſhip for ſaying ſomewhat that was true of the founder (3); in another place, however, that is, in a Collection of Hiſtorical Paſſages, he has ſet down the whole ſtory, and that upon good authority; which as it very fully juſtifies what we have ſaid in the text, the reader ſhall have in his own words (4): 'Dr Bathurſt told me, that 'our Cuffe was of Trinity-college, and expelled from 'thence upon this account; the founder, Sir Thomas 'Pope, would, whereſoever he went a viſiting his 'friend, ſteal one thing or other that he could lay his 'hands on, put it in his pocket, or under his gown. 'This was ſuppoſed rather an humour than of diſhoneſty. Now Cuffe upon a time, with his fellows 'being merry, ſaid, a pox this is a poor beggarly col'lege indeed, the plate that our founder ſtole would 'build ſuch another. Which coming to the Preſi'dent's ears, was thereupon ejected, though afterwards 'elected into Merton-college.' How dear he was to Sir Henry Savile, at that time Warden of Merton-college, appears not only from his procuring him to be elected upon the very firſt occaſion that offered after his own preferment, but alſo from a letter of his to the learned Camden, in which, in a very few words, he gives him the higheſt character, and ſtiles him his own and Camden's intimate friend.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(2) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(4) Liber niger Scaccarii, edit. T. H. p. 593.

[*B*] *He juſtified himſelf to her ſatisfaction.*] What we have to explain in this part of the work is, the ſhare that Mr Cuffe had in the Earl of Eſſex's proceedings, nor would this be of ſo much importance, if many of our Hiſtories did not deliver things ſomewhat remote from truth in ſeveral inſtances, and directly contrary to it in others. It is generally ſet forth and believed, that the Earl went to Ireland with great joy and alacrity, from whence it has been inferred, that he had dangerous deſigns in his head before he went thither, which he meant to ripen and bring to perfection there (5). However, the contrary of this is very fully proved (6), by a knowing and intelligent writer, who has brought to light many remarkable paſſages relating to theſe times. The truth ſeems to be, that the Earl of Eſſex found himſelf not able to perform any great matters in that kingdom, and was at the ſame

(5) See the declaration of the treaſons of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(6) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 133, in the notes.

attached to the Earl of Eſſex, and looked upon the uſage he met with from the court as effects rather of the power of the oppoſite faction, than the juſt puniſhment of the Earl's offences, he gave way to his reſentments, and was one of thoſe that diſſwaded that unhappy Lord, after his emerging a little from that dark cloud of the Queen's diſpleaſure, in which he had been involved, and ſuffered thereby ſeverely, from proſecuting the recovery of her favour by thoſe methods of humble duty, and deep ſubmiſſion, which others of his Lordſhip's friends adviſed (q). It is very poſſible, that both he and they might be prompted to the oppoſite counſels they gave, from certain views to their own intereſt, as well as thoſe of the Earl; for Mr Anthony Bacon, and Sir Francis his brother, had other friends at court, and other means to truſt to than the countenance of the Earl of Eſſex, and might therefore adviſe him to what they thought beſt ſuited their own ſchemes. But it was quite otherwiſe with Mr Cuffe, his ſole dependance was upon the Earl, and, as he had no other hopes of attaining any conſiderable office than by his favour and protection, he was very deſirous of ſeeing him quickly reſtored to the Queen's good graces, which he thought could not fail if he had once free acceſs to the court, which, therefore, he prompted him to obtain by any means, and at any rate (r) [C]. While the Earl of Eſſex followed the advice of the two Bacons, as well as during his Lordſhip's confinement after his precipitate return from Ireland, Mr Cuffe had little or no acceſs to him; but, after he recovered his liberty, and found that was not attended, as he expected, with a reſtitution of his power and credit, he began to recur to his old projects, and to converſe once more with his old friends, by which means Mr Cuffe was recalled again to his ſervice, and to that meaſure of intimacy and confidence in which he had been formerly held (s). This, together with the great likeneſs of their tempers, was the ſource of both their misfortunes; for the Earl thenceforward began to diſlike, and even to ſuſpect, the repreſentations made to him by thoſe who were deſirous that he ſhould leave it to time; and the Queen's known regard for him, to overcome the ill impreſſions ſhe had received, and not, by a haſty reſuming of his former popularity, beget new grounds of diſtaſte, and afford his enemies freſh opportunities of inſinuating things to his prejudice, the only method which, as they perſwaded him, could hinder his coming once more into favour and power

(q) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 833.

(r) See Sir Francis Bacon's Apology, Sir Henry Wotton's Parallel, and Camden's Annals.

(s) Reliquæ Wottonianæ, p. 28.

ſame time kept there by the Queen's expreſs command. It is very likely that it was this that put him upon his treaty with Tyrone, and afterwards induced him to form that deſperate deſign, of landing with two thouſand men at Milford Haven, from which it was with ſome difficulty he was diſſuaded by the Earl of Southampton and Sir Chriſtopher Blount. It is not at all probable that Mr Cuffe was ſo much as acquainted with, much leſs in any degree the author of, this ſcheme; for he was ſent over in Auguſt with the Earl's letter to the Queen (7), a particular that ſeems to have been unknown to moſt of the writers upon this ſubject. But however he had not been long in London, before the zeal and diligence he expreſſed in his maſter's ſervice drew upon him the reſentment of ſome great perſons, who gave bad impreſſions of him to the Queen, which occaſioned his being ſent for. This paſſage we learn from a letter written at that very time by Mr Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, dated September 12, 1599, which runs thus (8): 'The unkindneſs between my Lord of 'Eſſex and Mr Secretary is grown to extremity. I 'hear my Lord is infinitely diſcontented, and in his 'diſcontentments uſes ſpeeches that may be dangerous 'and hurtful to his ſafety. Mr Cuffe hath had acceſs 'to the Queen, who came of purpoſe marvellouſly 'well inſtructed to anſwer ſuch objections as her Ma'jeſty could lay to his charge, and I hear that Cuffe 'hath very wiſely behaved himſelf to her Majeſty's 'better ſatisfaction.'

(7) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 792.

(8) Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 122.

[C] *By any means, and at any rate.*] This was from firſt to laſt the great point which Mr Cuffe had in view. He thought that the Earl of Eſſex's friends were ſo numerous, and ſome of them of ſuch high quality, that the method which the Cecilian party took to maintain themſelves in power, might be ſo repreſented as to raiſe a jealouſy in the Queen, who was very tender of her authority, and that if the Earl once came to her preſence, and repreſented theſe matters with his uſual eloquence, and was ſupported by the teſtimonies of thoſe who were prepared to make good his charge, their buſineſs would be done (9). But without doubt, when he firſt thought of this method, he had no deſign of accompliſhing it by force, that fell in afterwards, when experience had diſcovered that acceſs could be had no other way. It is true that ſomething of this nature had been propoſed to the Earl long before, when he was in Ireland, but he rejected it, and foreſeeing that it might be objected to him when his conduct was called in queſtion before the Privy Council, he ſet down an anſwer to this charge in the brief notes that he made for his defence, the ſubſtance of which are preſerved by a grave Hiſtorian (10). It is therefore moſt probable, that when force came again to be thought of, it was originally moved by the ſame perſon that firſt hinted it, and that was Sir Chriſtopher Blount, who had married the Earl of Eſſex's mother. This ſeems alſo to be clearly proved by the Earl of Eſſex's confeſſion, who charged that gentleman with giving him ſuch advice (11). Upon the whole, therefore, we have good reaſon to believe, that at firſt theſe were two diſtinct deſigns, and that Mr Cuffe founded all his hopes in the enlarging and increaſing the Earl's faction, by taking in malecontents of all parties and of all religions, but more eſpecially by drawing to him ſuch great men and Miniſters, as were known either to fear Secretary Cecil's reſentment, or to envy his greatneſs, in purſuance of which ſcheme Mr Cuffe not only acted vigorouſly himſelf, and engaged the Earl in the like ſchemes, but prevailed upon him to employ others in the proſecution of that deſign, which went ſo far as to alarm the Court very much; nor is it at all improbable, that if it had been managed with more temper and diſcretion, and without giving ſuch viſible occaſions of queſtioning the Earl's dutiful intentions, it might have been brought to end otherwiſe than it did, the Earl having moſt part of the city, and not a few at Court, on his ſide. But it was that Nobleman's misfortune, that with very great parts he had very great weakneſſes; he was certainly a man of principle, as well in regard to policy as religion; but as he had very ſtrong paſſions, and thoſe kept conſtantly inflamed by his followers on one ſide, and his enemies on the other, there was little of ſteadineſs in his proceedings. He ſometimes embraced the ſentiments of Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, and of his Court friends; but this method proving ſlow, he came, as it is ſaid in the text, to diſlike that, and fall in with Cuffe's counſels, who ſuſpected the ſincerity of the Courtiers, and thought to make his Lord formidable, by placing him at the head of a numerous party; but this too not anſwering in ſo ſhort a time as his deſires, and indeed his occaſions, required, Sir Chriſtopher Blount's project was brought again upon the carpet, and thus, by only approving the beſt, and purſuing the worſt counſels, this Nobleman ruined himſelf and all who were attached to him.

(9) This is Cuffe's own account of the matter, at his trial, in his confeſſions, and at his death.

(10) Camden. Annal. p. 797.

(11) See the trial of Sir Chriſtopher Blount, and others, in the State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 47.

[D] *Or*

power (*t*). Yet, as much as the Earl liked the zeal and affection of his Secretary, and notwithſtanding he delighted very much, as indeed he very well might, in his converſation, ſince he had a wonderful facility of applying all that he had learned from books to buſineſs, and of ſuiting the wiſe obſervations of ancient authors to the tranſactions of modern times (*u*). Yet, his Lordſhip was but too well acquainted with the nature of Courts, and more eſpecially that he had to deal with, to regard Mr Cuffe's political reflections as oracles, which the other obſerved, and took amiſs. This lead him to ſhew the Earl, that he was not ſo far addicted to him as not to ſee his blind ſide; for that his ſubmiſſion, when called before the Lords of the Privy-Council, had ſunk his character very much without raiſing his fortune at all; that, by admitting his own conduct in Ireland to be wrong, he, in effect, acknowledged all the proceedings againſt him right, and therefore, if he meant not to lead a life of dependance, he muſt think of recovering his reputation by ſome diſtinguiſhed action (*w*). This rouzed the Earl, whoſe parts were certainly very good; he ſaw at once the danger of ſuch advice, and the deſtruction that muſt attend his following it; for which reaſon he not only rejected it with diſdain, but ordered Sir Gelly Merrick to diſcharge the Secretary immediately from his ſervice, which, if he had done, ſome writers ſeem to think both their lives had been by it preſerved. So it was however, that Sir Gelly Merrick took no notice of this order, which omiſſion coſt him his life alſo. The reaſon he gave for it was, that he was afraid Mr Cuffe might be tempted to join with his Lord's enemies; but his real motive was, his agreeing in Cuffe's ſentiments (*x*). However, this produced a coldneſs, which laſted for ſome time; but the Queen denying to renew the Earl's grant for farming the ſweet wines, and ſome other mortifications which he received from Court, having again ſowred his temper, he called Mr Cuffe back to his councils; to which he might be poſſibly induced for the ſake of managing better a new deſign he was upon, which was intereſting King James in his favour, or, rather, labouring to perſwade that Prince of his cordial affection to his ſervice: A thing not a little ſuſpected before, as appeared by the Jeſuit Perſons's dedicating to his Lordſhip his dangerous book about the Succeſſion, which he had publiſhed under the name of Doleman (*y*). This ſcheme was certainly a better than the former, and there is ſome reaſon to believe that this alſo was Cuffe's, and was, for ſome time, pretty well managed. But ſuch was the heat of ſome of their aſſociates tempers, that they would not ſuffer the Earl to wait for the good effects that project might have produced; on the contrary, they were continually infuſing into him his danger of becoming a beggar, upon the expiration of his grant for the ſweet wines; in conſequence of which his friends would drop off, and he muſt entirely loſe that credit and influence which had hitherto made him dreadful to his enemies, even under the weight of his misfortunes (*z*). By degrees theſe inſinuations prevailed ſo far upon the Earl's mind, that he departed entirely from his ſcheme of ſubmiſſion, and returned to that ſort of conduct which he had purſued in Ireland, directing, or at leaſt allowing, Sir Gelly Merrick to keep a kind of open table for diſcontented and factious perſons of all parties, though he did not appear in perſon, or converſe with any of them, agreeable to one of Cuffe's maxims, *That it was good to have a multitude at his back, but few heads in his council* (*a*). Upon particular occaſions, and to afford them neceſſary inſtructions for the management of their reſpective parts in the maintenance of his aſſociation, the Earl of Eſſex conferred perſonally, but generally in private, with the principal Lords and Gentlemen of his party, yet without diſcloſing the whole extent of his views, or the means he intended to employ in order to carry them into execution; thoſe were reſerved for his ſecret council, and theſe, as far as we can diſcern, were Sir Chriſtopher Blount and Mr Cuffe, who ſuggeſted and directed, or at leaſt examined, and gave their approbation, to all his proceedings (*b*) [*D*]. Amongſt other ſchemes ſet on foot

(*t*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 834, 835.

(*u*) Reliquæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(*w*) Camd Annal. Eliz. p. 833.

(*x*) Reliquæ Wottonianæ, p. 32. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 833.

(*y*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 358.

(*z*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 835, 837.

(*a*) See the declaration of the Earl of Eſſex's treaſons, Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 837.

(*b*) This is collected from the declaration before mentioned, and the proceedings againſt the Earl and his accomplices.

[*D*] *Or at leaſt examined and directed, and gave their approbation to all his proceedings.*] We have in the text, upon the authority of a grave and great Hiſtorian, given an account of the motives upon which the Earl of Eſſex diſmiſſed Mr Cuffe (12), and how that meaſure came to prove abortive; but the tale is quite otherwiſe told by a very polite writer, and one who aſſerts he had it from good authority. His ſtory is worth the reading, it runs thus (13): 'There was 'amongſt the Earl of Eſſex's neareſt attendants, one 'Henry Cuffe, a man of ſecret ambitious ends of his 'own, and of proportionate counſels, ſmothered under 'the habit of a ſcholar, and ſlubbered over with a 'certain rude and clowniſh faſhion, that had the ſemblance of integrity. This perſon, not above five or 'ſix weeks before my Lord's fatal irruption into the 'city, was, by the Earl's ſpecial command, ſuddenly 'diſcharged from all further attendance or acceſs unto 'him, out of an inward diſpleaſure then taken againſt 'his ſharp and importunate infuſions, and out of a glimmering foreſight, that he would prove the very inſtrument of his ruin. I muſt add hereunto, that about the ſame time my Lord had received from 'the Counteſs of Warwick (a Lady powerful in the 'Court, and indeed a virtuous uſer of her power) the 'beſt advice that I think was ever given from either ſex, 'That when he was free from reſtraint he ſhould cloſely take any out-lodgings at Greenwich, and ſometimes, when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, whereof ſhe would give him notice, he ſhould 'come forth and humble himſelf before her in the field. 'This counſel ſunk much into him, and for ſome days 'he reſolved it, but, in the mean time, through the 'interceſſion of the Earl of Southampton, whom 'Cuffe had gained, he was reſtored to my Lord's ear, 'and ſo working advantage upon his diſgraces, and 'the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts 'many good men, ſpun out the final deſtruction of his 'maſter and himſelf, and almoſt of his reſtorer, if his 'pardon had not been won by inches. True it is that 'the Earl, in Weſtminſter-Hall, did in general diſcloſe the evil perſuaſions of this man; but the particulars which I have related, of his diſmiſſion and 'reſtitution he buried in his own breaſt, for ſome reaſons apparent enough. Indeed, as I conjecture, not 'to exaſperate the caſe of my Lord of Southampton, 'though

(12) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 833.

(13) Reliquæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

foot at this time by Mr Cuffe, for the ſupport of the Earl's intereſt, there was one which ſhewed him a true Politician, a great maſter in the knowledge of human nature, and a man equally capable of contriving with the utmoſt ſagacity, and executing with the greateſt addreſs. Sir Henry Nevile, who had been the Queen's Ambaſſador in France, and who had ſhewn himſelf, in a long and troubleſome negotiation, as active and able a Stateſman as thoſe times had produced, was then at home, and under kind of a court cloud, which, though he was nearly related to Sir Robert Cecil, he had ſome cauſe to ſuſpect was of his raiſing, or, at leaſt, thought he had good grounds to be diſpleaſed, that, by his known power and intereſt, it was not diſpelled (*c*). Upon the diſcontents of this great and wiſe Miniſter, Mr Cuffe thought it practicable to work; and, though he had never any nearneſs with the Earl of Eſſex in his greateſt proſperity, or the leaſt correſpondence with him ſince his troubles began, yet Mr Cuffe, who knew with how great efficacy the aſſociating ſo great a perſon, and of ſuch high reputation for his ſagacity in their deſigns, would operate in favour of the Earl's cauſe, undertook to bring it about, and, againſt all ſhew of probability, ſucceeded (*d*). He took an opportunity of inſinuating to Sir Henry, that, after the Queen, his miſtreſs, the nation in general, and the Miniſtry in particular, had received many and great advantages from that vigilance and induſtry with which he had managed publick affairs in France, and elſewhere; inſtead of receiving ſuitable rewards, exceptions were taken to his conduct, and himſelf put under difficulties and hardſhips, by the intrigues of Cecil, who was jealous of every man whoſe ſervices were greater, and whoſe parts were better, than his own. By theſe ſuggeſtions he wrought himſelf ſo thoroughly into the confidence of Sir Henry Nevile, that he brought him to have a good opinion of the Earl his maſter's intentions for the publick ſervice; and this may be juſtly eſteemed the moſt eminent ſtroke of Cuffe's politicks, and the higheſt proof of his abilities (*e*). His perfect intimacy with the Earl, the great likeneſs of their tempers, his entire knowledge of his affairs, might very well account for the aſcendancy he had over him; but nothing of this, a very long acquaintance excepted, can be ſuggeſted with regard to Sir Henry Nevile, ſo that his intereſt with, and influence over, him could be aſcribed to nothing but his abilities (*f*) [*E*]. We now come to the main point of the conſpiracy,

(*c*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 271.

(*d*) See Sir Henry Nevile's caſe, in Winwood's Memorials.

(*e*) Collected from Sir Henry Nevile's own relations of this matter.

(*f*) Mr Cuffe valued himſelf highly upon this at his trial.

'though he might therewithal a little peradventure 'have mollified his own. The whole and true report 'I had by infallible means, from the perſon himſelf 'that both brought the advice from the aforeſaid ex'celleht Lady, and carried the diſcharge to Cuffe, 'who, in a private chamber, was ſtrucken therewith 'into a ſwoon almoſt dead to the earth, as if he had 'fallen from ſome high ſteeple; ſuch turrets of hope 'he had built in his own fancy!' The noble Hiſtorian, who, in his junior years, conſidered the ſubject upon which the author wrote whom we have laſt mentioned, though he mentions him but very ſlightly, yet affords Mr Cuffe quite another kind of character, and makes him to have been a much better Courtier than his maſter, one who obſerved it as a fault in him, i. e. the Earl of Eſſex, that he wore his paſſions in his countenance, that his affections or his anger were always to be read in his looks, and that he knew not how to conceal either. The noble writer's words deſerve our notice. After ſhewing that there is a ſort of diſſimulation abſolutely neceſſary in a Court, he proceeds to ſhew, (14) how indifferently Eſſex was furniſhed in that particular; 'how ill, ſays he, the Earl was read in this 'philoſophy, his ſervant Cuffe (whoſe obſervations 'were ſharp enough, whatever Stoiciſms raved in his 'nature) well diſcerned when he ſaid, *Amorem & odium, ſemper in fronte geſſit, nec celare novit.*

(14) Diſparity between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Eſſex, written by the Earl of Clarendon.

[*E*] *So that his intereſt and influence over him, could be aſcribed to nothing but his abilities*] It was from a long and intimate acquaintance with Sir Henry Nevile, that Mr Cuffe undertook to manage ſo dangerous and ſo intricate an affair with him. This we learn from Mr Cuffe himſelf, who, at his tryal, was very much provoked by the Attorney-General's treating him as a meſſenger from the Earl of Eſſex, and this induced him to tell the court, that he was no ſuch Mercury as Mr Attorney was pleaſed to make him; but that in whatever he tranſacted with Sir Henry Nevile, he behaved as a principal, and as a common friend to the Earl and to the Knight (15). Indeed this is ſufficiently corroborated by the account given of this matter by Sir Henry Nevile, which was read at Cuffe's trial, and what he had aſſerted is clearly confirmed. It was conceived in the following terms, allowing for the inaccuracy of the tranſcribers (16). 'At his (Sir Henry Ne'vile's) arrival out of France, he was told that he had 'ill offices done him in Court by divers, and ſome of 'great place, and his actions at Bullen and carriage 'there greatly blamed, as cauſing the ill ſucceſs of the 'peace. And by Cuffe it was told him, the Earl 'would have him know he was wronged, becauſe 'he was one that loved him. After this Cuffe brought 'him a letter from the Earl, thereby deſiring his love, 'and to hold it to him, beſides many other words only 'of compliment. To which letter he returned an anſwer ſuitable to ſo kind provocations: But all this 'while he never went to him; and being in the coun'try within ten miles of the Earl, yet never went to 'viſit him. But Cuffe came to him from the Earl and 'told him, the Earl was then at liberty, and all the 'world that would might then freely come unto him, 'but ſtill he put off his going, till, at one time, Cuffe 'came and told him, the Earl expected his coming to 'him, and ſuch a day he would ſtay ſupper for him, 'and that if he came, and Cuffe chanced not to be in 'the way, a gentleman of the Earl's ſhould attend his 'coming, and bring him to the Earl's cloſet. About 'eight of the clock that night he went to the Earl's, 'and was met by a gentleman who brought him to his 'Lord, who entertained him kindly, and after a while, 'after many queſtions of his hopes, but uſed no undu'tiful words of the Queen or State, he parted with the 'Earl, there having nothing but ordinary terms of 'compliment paſſed between them. Afterwards, Mr 'Cuffe repairing often to him, he aſked him at times 'how his Lord's matters ſtood in Court. At one time 'he anſwered him, well; and told him of great hopes 'conceived; at ſome other time he anſwered him very 'diſcontentedly in theſe things, ſaying it made no 'matter, it would cauſe the Earl to take other courſes, 'and ſaid there was a pretext to lay up the Earl of 'Southampton, which was a warning that they meant 'to lay up Lord Eſſex after him, but that the Earl 'was reſolved they ſhould never curb him up any 'more. Cuffe then told him, his Lord had in pur'poſe ſome matters, but he ſhould not embark himſelf 'further in them than he liſted, and deſired him to 'give a meeting to the Earl of Southampton and Sir 'Charles Danvers; he ſaid he would, but with this 'limitation, that nothing was intended againſt the 'Queen's perſon, which was promiſed. But he de'tained them at two meetings, which cauſed them to 'make an ill judgment of his meaning towards them 'and the intendment. Monday, on Candlemas-day, 'ſtanding in Serjeants-inn gate, the Earls of Eſſex, 'Southampton, and Sir Chriſtopher Blount, paſſed by 'in

(15) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 59.

(16) Ibid. p. 47.

conſpiracy, or that deſign laid for reſtoring the Earl's power and greatneſs, which ended in his own, and in his followers ruin. Here it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between Mr Cuffe's ſcheme, which was contrived and never executed, and the unfortunate Earl's project, which, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, without being thought to play upon words, was executed without any contrivance. As to the firſt it was this, Mr Cuffe perceiving that the Earl had many friends, ſome of them of great rank and quality, and that Cecil, and his aſſociates in the miniſtry, had likewiſe many enemies, who were alſo perſons eminent by their birth, fortune, and influence, he thought that, by uniting theſe, and procuring, ſome way or other, acceſs to the Queen, a change might be made in the management of publick affairs, at leaſt in her name, if not by her conſent, and the Earl thereby raiſed to a degree of power equal to his friends wants, and his own wiſhes (*g*). Whether this ſudden change for the preſent, was to have derived a future ſupport, by a declaration in favour of the King of Scots claim to the ſucceſſion, or whether that was to be left to further conſideration, is a point we want lights ſufficient to determine; but, that this was really the baſis of Cuffe's project, and that he flattered himſelf it would not come within the legal conſtruction of treaſon, is what we have good grounds to believe, and, indeed, ſufficient authorities to prove (*b*). When things were thus far brought into order, a reſolution was taken, that a general and ſolemn meeting ſhould be had at Drury-Houſe, where the chiefs of the party might ſee each other, where they might have a full communication in reference to their ſtrength, and come to ſome reſolution as to the attempt that ſhould be made, and the ſafeſt and moſt feaſible method of making it. After much reflection and conſideration, February 2d, 1601, was fixed upon, and, accordingly, upon that day, the aſſembly was held at the place before-mentioned (*i*). It is very remarkable, that the Earl of Eſſex himſelf was not preſent, to prevent, as was ſaid, any notice or umbrage being taken at Court; but, in reality, that there might be no evidence to affect him for holding ſuch an aſſembly, or thoſe who were preſent at it for conſulting with him, in caſe any thing relating to it ſhould take air. At this aſſembly Mr Cuffe was likewiſe not preſent, but all his friends, and at his requeſt, and upon his earneſt intreaty amongſt the reſt, Sir Henry Nevile. It was propounded there, that a few perſons had got the Queen and the Government into their hands; that ſuch as they diſliked were no longer ſafe; that they daily ſuffered wrongs and oppreſſions, without any hopes of redreſs; that theſe proceedings were againſt juſtice and common right, and that the only remedy was, to obtain an audience of the Queen, in which theſe grievances might be fairly laid before her (*k*). After theſe preliminaries, the main point, How ſuch an audience ſhould be obtained? came under deliberation, and a ſcheme was then laid down for the Earl of Eſſex gaining acceſs to her Majeſty, and power enough to remove his enemies; but nothing was reſolved in this aſſembly, though a liſt was produced of one hundred and thirty Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of eſtates, that were ready to embark in the Earl's cauſe, and to hazard, as indeed many of them did, and loſt too, for his ſake, their lives and fortunes (*l*). Such was the deſign and iſſue of the conference at Drury-Houſe, in which Mr Cuffe had ſo deep a ſhare, as well in the managing as in the contriving [*F*].

(*g*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

(*b*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 837, 838.

(*i*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 396.

(*k*) See the caſe of Sir Henry Nevile, in Winwood's Mem.

(*l*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 840. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 396.

There

'in a coach, whom he ſaluted paſſing, and was the 'firſt time he had ſeen them of long. Anon after, 'Cuffe coming to him, told him he had a commiſſion 'to deliver a ſecret unto him, which was, that the 'Earl finding his life ſought by men potent about her 'Majeſty, he was adviſed to make his appearance to 'the Queen, and go with ſtrength for that purpoſe, 'deſcribing the ſame manner of taking the Court, and 'making way to the Queen, as before is ſet down by 'others. This Cuffe ſaid he was to impart to him, as 'one in whoſe love the Earl was confident. The 'matters being propounded unto him, he made many 'objections, and put great difficulties in the execution, 'eaſy perfecting of things being promiſed; my anſwer 'was, *Multa ſunt quæ non laudantur niſi cum aguntur.* 'When ſome perſons were named for the actors, he 'objected that if many knew it, it would not be con'cealed; if few were uſed, it would not be performed. 'The Earl of Rutland being named for one, ſaid, 'they would not truſt him long before-hand, for if he 'knew it but two hours before he would tell. In con'cluſion, he was deſired to think of the things pro'pounded in caſe they were ſhewed unto him. After'ward Cuffe came to him, to whom he related all the 'ſpeeches uſed in that conference, and told him he 'would not allow it, except they would conjure and 'take an oath to attempt nothing againſt the Queen's 'perſon and againſt Mr Secretary, he would never do 'nor conſent to any thing, for he was nearer unto him, 'therefore they muſt, *duce pudicè*, ſpare him in that. 'Cuffe ſaid to him they would only have him preſent 'when things were doing, and if it fell out ſo, that 'he ſhould be haſtened to diſpatch into France before 'that time, he might defer it by feigning ſickneſs.' 'By their appointment he ſhould have been Secretary. 'Further it is required, that he ſhould have ſent a 'Miniſter into London to find how the city ſtood af'fected to the Earl. Cuffe further told him of a buz 'in many mens mouths in London, and that there had 'been warning given to the Mayor and Aldermen to 'look to the city, but of twenty-four Aldermen he 'doubted not of twenty at leaſt.' It is evident enough that this narrative was but indiſtinctly taken, however it is the beſt we have, and comes home to the point it was brought to prove, that Sir Henry Nevile had a great confidence in Cuffe, and that it was chiefly from this he was drawn to meddle in the affair.

[*F*] *In which Mr Cuffe had ſo deep a ſhare, as well in the managing as in the contriving.*] There is one point left much in the dark in the laſt note, which therefore ſhould be explained in this; it is confeſſed that Sir Henry Nevile was privy to the propoſals made, and the reſolutions taken, in the conſultation at Drury Houſe, and it was for his knowledge of them, and for that only, that Cuffe died; it is requiſite therefore that the reader ſhould be acquainted with what thoſe propoſitions were, and this he ſhall be told with all the ſuccinctneſs poſſible (17). Sir Chriſtopher Blount was, with a choice detachment, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Palace gate; Davis was to ſeize the hall; Danvers the guard-chamber, which was but ſlightly watched, and the preſence-chamber; and Eſſex was to ruſh in from the Meuſe, which were ſtables belonging to the Court, with a ſelect party at his heels, and to beg the Queen on his knees to remove his adverſaries from her preſence, to bring them upon their trial, and then to call

(17) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 839.

a Par-

There was a second meeting some time after, to which Mr Cuffe used many intreaties with Sir Henry Nevile to come, but he absolutely refused, nor would he listen to what was proposed, of an interview with the Earl of Essex, from a supposition that he was unwilling to trust himself where there were so many people present; but, in reality, he had already heard much more than he was inclined to hear, foresaw but too clearly the consequences of the former meeting, though he was unwilling, as a man of honour, to betray those who had trusted him, as well as a man of too much sense to trust himself in such a company again (*m*). Things were now so far advanced, that it was thought dangerous to go back, at the same time that there was no safety in going forward; a great resort of company there was to Essex-House, and, to cover this, the mask of religion was used, the Earl pretending that he sought no relief but from spiritual comforts; and, for this reason, he had frequent sermons there, and indeed many of the Clergy in the city ventured to pray for him, and for his preservation; which, all things considered, was a very strange thing (*n*). It is not to be supposed, that the Court was asleep all this while, or that Sir Robert Cecil, and his friends, should have so growing and dangerous an evil in their neighbourhood, without being apprised of it, or providing for their own safety. There is very good reason to believe, that they were not either inattentive or ill-informed, and that having mustered, in their own opinions, the whole force of the Lord Essex's party, they grew convinced, that any step, tending to open force, must end in his destruction. They therefore, to quicken him, took a variety of methods of shewing their contempt of his interest, and suffered those who had personal quarrels with his friends to insult them (*o*). Though this went to Essex's heart, yet he was irresolute, as not being able to draw together a number of persons sufficient to execute the scheme that had been talked over at Drury-House. But while he delayed, in hopes of collecting strength, his enemies, having provided for the total dissipation of his schemes, determined not to let him linger any longer, and therefore a message was sent him on Saturday the seventh day of February, from Secretary Herbert, to attend him, which he excused, on the score of his indisposition; and this, as it was foreseen it would, forced him to break out, as he did the next day, with all the force that he could collect; but, being dissuaded from attempting the court, and failing of that assistance he expected in the city, he, and all that were with him in Essex-House, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners (*p*). By this sudden reverse of fortune, Mr Cuffe found himself in the most wretched condition possible; for the Earl of Essex being tried and condemned on the 19th of February, and being sollicited by the Divines who attended him while under sentence, not only confessed matters that were prejudicial to Mr Cuffe, and gave those confessions under his hand, but likewise charged him to his face with being the author of all his misfortunes, and the person who principally perswaded him to pursue violent measures (*q*). Sir Henry Nevile also being involved in this unhappy business, charged Mr Cuffe with being the person who invited him to the meeting at Drury-House, *but very modestly*, and without any circumstances of aggravation (*r*). He was brought to his trial on the fifth of March following, and defended himself with great steadiness and spirit (*s*) [G]. He was, however, convicted;

(*m*) Sir Henry Nevile's case and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(*n*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 839.

(*o*) See Osborn's Political Deductions from Essex's death.

(*p*) Camd. Annal. p. 839. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 401, 402.

(*q*) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 53.

(*r*) See his case and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 28. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 866.

a Parliament and make a change in the government. This most certainly was not originally Mr Cuffe's scheme, but was made up of his and Sir Christopher Blount's blended together, and to which, in the end, Mr Cuffe was brought to assent, as the only one that was practicable. Of this it was that Sir Henry Nevile gave his opinion, that some things were not to be applauded till they were atchieved, and of this it is not improbable, that he gave some hints, to the Court, at least something like this was said by Secretary Cecil at Cuffe's trial. We now see the very depth of this affair, and in what manner, and by what degrees, Mr Cuffe plunged into this treasonable abyss, out of which, though there were some who escaped, yet it is generally thought that they left the best part of their estates behind them.

[G] *And defended himself with great steadiness and spirit.*] When the Attorney-General Coke opened a charge against Mr Cuffe, he did it with all that violence which was so natural to him (18); he told him that he was the errantest traytor that ever came to the bar; he was *polypragma*, the very seducer of the Earl, and added, that, since he was a scholar and a sophister, he would frame him a syllogism, and bid him deny which part he would. The syllogism was this, Whosoever commits rebellion intends the Queen's death, but you committed rebellion, *ergo*, you intended the Queen's death. After abundance of other hard sayings he enters into the charge, but without producing any witness, or any kind of proof, except the confession of Sir Henry Nevile, and the stories that Secretary Cecil was pleased to tell upon the bench, of the confessions of the Earl of Essex and of the Earl of Southampton, all which were in this general manner used as evidence that Cuffe was the great framer and manager of all these dangerous designs. At length, Mr Cuffe being allowed to speak for himself, said, 'the matters objected against him were many, and 'urged against him with all force of wit, therefore, 'for the help of his weak memory, he would reduce 'all unto two heads, things plotted, and things acted. 'For the first of them, Mr Attorney thinks he hath 'concluded me in mood and figure, but my answer is, 'that if a man may be excused of treason by committing nothing, I am clear. Yet the number of matters 'heaped upon me, and the inferences and enforcements of the same used against me, to make me odious, make me seem also as a monster of many heads 'in this business. But since by the law all accusations 'are to be believed, and facts weighed, as by evidence 'they are proved, and things are best proved being 'singled; I will beseech Mr Attorney, that we may 'insist upon some point certain, and not, as in a 'stream, have all things at once brought upon me with 'violence. For my being in Essex House the Sunday, 'I hope it shall be construed as in the case of others. 'Then, if those who only had their being within the 'walls of that house, and no hand nor head in that action, were not traitors, I hope, that in favour and in 'charity, you will accordingly judge of me, who spent all 'that day locked up in my chamber amongst my books, 'and never appeared unto any man till all was yielded 'up to my Lord Admiral. To conclude me to be a 'traitor, because I was in the house where treason was 'committed, by the same reason, if a lion had been 'there locked up in a grate, he had been in case of treason.

(18) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 47.

victed; and, as he was looked upon as the principal author of this fatal buſineſs; conſidered as a man of dangerous capacity; and having had no ſort of intelligence with thoſe that were then in favour, he was, with Sir Gelly Merrick, executed at Tyburn, March 30th, 1601, and died with great conſtancy and courage (*t*) [*H*]. His character has been harſhly

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 795.

'treaſon. But whereas your argument, Mr Attorney, 'is this, that whoſoever intends treaſon, and the ſame 'is afterwards acted by others, there the intender, as 'well as the actor, is a traitor. But I intended treaſon, 'and others acted it; *ergo*. Mr Attorney it is not 'your *major* that I deny, becauſe my Lords the 'Judges have determined that, but I deny your *minor*. 'For if the thing intended was the going to the Court, 'yet the thing acted was the going into London.' But Mr Attorney-General taking him ſhort upon his own confeſſion, concluded him a traitor, for in treaſon the very intent is treaſon, if the ſame can be proved. Now it is confeſſed by Mr Cuffe, that he intended the taking of the Court, which in itſelf is treaſon. Mr Cuffe ſaid, 'My Lords, the matters forced upon me 'ſo amaze me, as I know not what to ſay: but I be-'ſeech you, even as yourſelves ſhall be judged, judge 'ſo of me both by my words and deeds, for this is the 'law both of God and man; and let not the accuſa-'tions of others, or arguments now forced ſo far, have 'power againſt me, as to take from me my juſt de-'fence. I am further charged with contriving plots for 'reſtoring the Earl to greatneſs. True, I muſt confeſs, 'as a ſervant that longed for the honour of his maſter, 'I have often wiſhed to ſee his recalling to the Court, 'and reſtoring to her Majeſty's former favour, but be-'yond the limits of theſe deſires my thoughts never 'carried me, nor aſpired to other greatneſs, than to 'ſee him again in place of a ſervant and worthy ſub-'ject as before he had been. And whereas I ſtand 'accuſed to be as one that turned the wheel, which 'elſe had ſtood, and to be the ſtirrer of his mind, 'which otherwiſe had ſettled to another courſe; to 'clear this I had written two lines, which you, Mr 'Secretary, knew the Earl would have ſubſcribed if he 'might have been ſuffered.' But Mr Secretary affirmed, he perceived no ſuch purpoſe in the Earl, neither remembered any ſuch matter in that which was written. Said Cuffe, 'You know, Mr Secretary, my 'paper being read to the Earl as he read, he ſaid, ſtill 'as he went, *true, true*.' At the importunity of Mr Cuffe, Mr Secretary willed the paper ſhould be read, but it tended only unto this, that if he knew of the Earl's intent to go to the Court, 'twas with ſuch limitations as the Earl had propounded, otherwiſe not, for he had not ſuggeſted any of theſe new practices. Mr Attorney, to cut ſhort this defence, began his reply with telling him, 'Come Mr Cuffe, I will give 'you a cuff ſhall ſet you down;' and then ordered part of the Earl's and Sir Henry Nevile's confeſſion, to be read. Mr Secretary Cecil then queſtioned Mr Cuffe, What was meant with reſpect to a Parliament? to which he anſwered, that if theſe ſchemes had ſucceeded, many alterations would have followed, and that, for the ſettling of things, a Parliament might then have become neceſſary. Mr Attorney-General was pleaſed to inform the Court, that, in that Parliament, Mr Cuffe was to have been Speaker. The jury found him guilty, in which Mr Cuffe ſaid that they had done but right in diſcharging their conſciences; he took notice, that when he was ſeized he had but two ſhillings about him, but that there were three hundred and fifty pounds in ready money taken in his chamber; he ſaid, that, upon his being firſt carried to the Tower, he was put into a very bad place, but that he was afterwards removed into a better, where he deſired to continue, which was afterwards granted; he farther requeſted, that he might have a Divine ſent him, and be allowed the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, which were alſo promiſed. Mr Camden, in his account of Cuffe's trial, ſays (19), that the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, told both the Attorney-General and Mr Cuffe, that they were but indifferent diſputants, and preſſed the ſtatute of treaſon, by which Cuffe was concluded, ſince it appeared that he was acquainted with what paſſed in the conference at Drury Houſe, and the propoſal of putting the Queen under a force, and ſhewed his approbation of it by citing, in converſation, to Sir Henry Nevile, a paſſage from the poet Lucan, implying, that where juſtice is denied, it might be obtained by force:

(19) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 866.

—— Arma tenenti
Omnia dat, qui juſta negat.

Mr Fuller, who affects to treat every ſubject merrily, ſays (20), humorouſly enough, that this might be ſtiled Mr Cuffe's *neck-verſe*, in which how improperly ſoever he ſhews his wit, yet certainly he ſhews his judgment at the ſame time, for without doubt the quoting theſe verſes was the higheſt treaſon that Cuffe committed, and the only proof that he conſented to the project of putting a force upon the Queen, which, in the conſtruction of the law, was treaſon; yet this is ſo far from being proved by two witneſſes, that it could only have been proved by one, and even he was not produced. Such, in compariſon of thoſe in which we live, was the juſtice, or rather ſeverity, of former times.

(20) Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28.

[*H*] *And died with great conſtancy and courage.*] It was an obſervation of Secretary Cecil's, that Cuffe was as ſilent under his misfortunes, as his maſter was open. Indeed there was ſomething very extraordinary in the Earl of Eſſex's behaviour, for, when he once began to confeſs, he charged every body that had any kindneſs for him, as having a hand in his plot; ſuch as the Lord Montjoy, his ſucceſſor in Ireland, and many others; ſo that the very number of them rendered a proſecution unſafe, which is a further proof that Cuffe's original ſcheme might have ſucceeded, had it been coolly and carefully purſued. The Earl, to prove his ſincerity, deſired to ſee Mr Cuffe, whom he exhorted to confeſs, as he did, with many paſſionate expreſſions, adding at laſt (21), 'I muſt tell you plainly, that this 'inſtance of diſloyalty is purely owing to your advice.' Mr Camden tells us, that Mr Cuffe was ſurprized at this, and in few words, but to the purpoſe, charged the Earl with weakneſs and levity in betraying his friends (22). This was before Mr Cuffe's trial, and how handſomely he acted thereat has been already ſhewn. At the place of execution all writers agree, that he behaved with the utmoſt reſolution, and the moſt ſteady compoſure. He delivered himſelf, upon this melancholy occaſion, in the following words: 'I am brought hi-'ther to pay my laſt debt to nature, and to ſuffer for 'crimes committed againſt God, my Prince, and my 'country; and as I cannot but diſcern the infinite ju-'ſtice of God, when I reflect on the multitude of my 'offences, ſo can I as little doubt but the ſeverity of 'my puniſhment will make way for my admiſſion into 'the embraces of his mercy. We are expoſed here as 'ſad ſpectacles, and inſtances of human frailty; the 'death we are to undergo carries a frightful aſpect, (for 'even the beſt of men deſire life) beſides that 'tis as 'full of ignominy as terror. However, 'tis the por-'tion of the beſt of ſaints, with whom I aſſuredly hope 'to riſe again in Chriſt. Not that I would be thought 'by any one to depend upon my own merits, which I 'abſolutely diſcard, but I place my entire truſt and de-'pendance in the atonement of my Saviour's blood. 'I am fully perſuaded, that, whoever feels a ſecret 'conſolation within himſelf whilſt he groans under the 'infliction of any earthly puniſhment, is chaſtiſed by 'God with a paternal tenderneſs, and not in an angry 'and judicial way. But to come to the cauſe of my 'death. There is nobody here can be poſſibly igno-'rant, what a wild commotion was raiſed on the 8th 'of February, by a particular great, but unadviſed, 'Earl. I do here call God, his angels, and my own 'conſcience, to witneſs, that I was not in the leaſt con-'cerned therein, but was ſhut up on that whole day 'within the houſe, where I ſpent my time in very me-'lancholy reflections.' Here he was interrupted, and adviſed not to diſguiſe the truth by diſtinctions, nor palliate his crime by ſpecious pretences. Then he proceeded in theſe words: 'I confeſs 'tis a crime as black 'as treaſon, for a ſubject, who has loſt his Prince's 'favour, to force his way to the royal preſence. For

(21) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 59.

(22) Annal. Eliz. p. 859.

'my

harſhly treated by Lord Bacon (*u*) and Sir Henry Wotton (*w*), and ſome other writers; Camden alſo, who knew him intimately, and had lived for many years in great friendſhip with him, beſtows on him a ſhort but bitter reflection. Others are milder in their cenſures, and all allow him to have been a very learned and a very able man. He wrote a book in Engliſh, that was printed after his death ſeveral times, and has been much commended (*x*); and, beſides this, there is another work of his that was never printed, of both which we ſhall give ſome account in the notes [*I*]. The courſe of his life, as well as the manner of his death, rendered him the theme of much diſcourſe in his own times; our general Hiſtorians have mentioned him in ſuch a manner, as might have raiſed the curioſity of their readers, to be more particularly informed. The Reverend Mr Fuller (*y*) has given him a place amongſt his Worthies in Somerſetſhire; honeſt Anthony Wood (*z*) has treated him with great fairneſs and freedom; and the learned and induſtrious Biſhop Tanner (*a*) has ſpoken of him, as indeed he does of every-body, with great candour, accuracy, and decency; and theſe authorities will ſufficiently juſtify the giving his memoirs a place in this collection, more eſpecially as it has afforded an opportunity of ſetting ſeveral hiſtorical circumſtances relating to a very dark and intricate affair, in a clear and true light. His death hindered not his limbs from being interred, though we are not able to ſay where; tho' the manner of it did, as it well might, deprive him of a monument; an old friend of his, however, ventured to embalm his memory in an epigram (*b*), with which, being very ſhort, we ſhall conclude:

(*u*) See his Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

(*w*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(*x*) Fuller's Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 303.

(*y*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 28.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 303.

(*a*) Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica, p. 211.

(*b*) Owen, Epigram. lib. v. nu. 107.

Doctus eras Græce felixque tibi fuit Alpha
At fuit infelix Omega Cuffe tuum.

Which has been thus tranſlated:

Thou waſt, indeed, well read in Greek!
Thy Alpha too was crown'd with hope;
But, oh! tho' ſad the truth I ſpeak,
Thy Omega proved but a rope.

'my own part, I never perſuaded any man to take up 'arms againſt the Queen, but am moſt heartily con'cerned, for being an inſtrument of bringing that 'worthy Gentleman, Sir Henry Nevile, into danger; 'and do moſt earneſtly intreat his pardon: and where'as I ſaid, that one and twenty Aldermen out of the 'twenty-four were devoted to the Earl's intereſt, I only 'meant that they were his friends, and ready to ſerve 'him, but not in the way of open rebellion.' Here he was again interrupted, and ſo began to apply himſelf to his devotions, which he managed with a great deal of fervour, and then, making a ſolemn profeſſion of his creed, and aſking pardon of God and the Queen, he was diſpatched by the executioner. A man, ſays Camden, of moſt exquiſite learning, and of a penetrating, but ſeditious and crooked, wit (23). *Vir exquiſitiſſima doctrina, ingenioque acerrimo, ſed turbido & tortuoſo.*

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 868.

[*I*] *Of both which we ſhall give ſome account in the notes.*] As for Mr Cuffe's book, it was, for ſome time after his deceaſe, handed about at Oxford in manuſcript, and conſidered as a very great curioſity. Mr Anthony Wood tells us, he wrote it in the year 1600, that is, a very little before his death. About ſix years after it was printed under this title:

The Differences *of the* Ages *of* Man's Life, *together with the original Cauſes, Progreſs, and End, thereof. Written by the learned* Henry Cuffe, *ſome time Fellow of* Merton-college *in* Oxford. Lond. 1607, 1638, 8*vo*; 1640, 12*mo*. There is ſomething in this piece very curious and philoſophical, and though, at this time of day, what between our proficiency in experimental philoſophy, in which he was but a beginner, and the uncouthneſs of his ſtile, which was the fault of his time, much of the beauty of his work is loſt; yet the ſtrength of his thoughts, the accuracy of his method, and his connected manner of reaſoning, leaves no reaſon at all to doubt, that he deſerved the commendations that have been beſtowed upon him. Mr Wood ſays (24), that he left behind him many other things ready for the preſs, which were never publiſhed; but he does not think fit to tell us any of their titles. All that we can ſupply from the enquiries of the indefatigable Biſhop Tanner, is the following title of one piece, and the place where it is, or at leaſt was once, to be found (25):

(24) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 308.

De rebus geſtis in ſancto concilio Nicæno, or, 'The 'Tranſactions in the Holy Council of Nice, tranſlated 'out of Greek into Latin,' and is believed to have been the work of Gelaſius Cyricenus, which was tranſcribed from the original in the Vatican Library, by Henry Cuffe (26). We will conclude this note with the judicious and ſalutary reflection of a celebrated author, upon the uneaſy life, and unfortunate death, of this extraordinary perſon of whom we have been ſpeaking, which teaches the uſe of theſe kind of Hiſtories, and ſhews, that we may borrow as beneficial improvements from contemplating the lives of unhappy men, as from the peruſal of the ſwelling memoirs of perſons more indebted to Fortune for her favours (27). 'Mingle not, ſays he, your intereſt with 'a great man's, made deſperate by debts or Court in'juries, whoſe breakings out prove fatal to their wiſeſt 'followers and friends, averred in the laſt Earl of Eſ'ſex but one, where Merrick his Steward, and Cuffe 'his Secretary, though of excellent parts, were both 'hanged. For ſuch unconcocted rebellions turn ſel'dom to the hurt of any but the parties that promote 'them, being commonly guided by the directions of 'their enemies, as this was by Cecil, whoſe creatures 'perſuaded Eſſex to this inconſiderate attempt.' E

(25) Bibliotheca Cotton. Nero D. X.

(26) Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica, p. 211.

(27) Oſborn's Advice to his Son, P. i. cap. iv.

CUMBERLAND (RICHARD) a very learned Divine, and Biſhop of Peterborough in the cloſe of the laſt and beginning of the preſent century. He was the ſon of an honeſt citizen of London, who, by his induſtry, acquired a competent, though not a great fortune (*a*). This Reverend Prelate was born in the pariſh of St Ann near Alderſgate, July 15th, 1632, tho' his father lived afterwards in Fleet-ſtreet (*b*). He received the firſt tincture of letters in St Paul's ſchool, under the care of Mr John Langley (*c*), and was removed from thence to Magdalen-College in Cambridge, where he was contemporary

(*a*) From the Rev. Mr Payne's Preface to Sanchoniatho's Phœnician Hiſtory, p. 3.

(*b*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 510.

(*c*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

temporary with ſome very worthy and learned perſons; ſuch as Dr Hezekiah Burton, his intimate friend and acquaintance, a very learned and pious Divine; Dr Hollings, an eminent Phyſician at Shrewſbury; Sir Samuel Moreland, admired for his ſkill in the Mathematicks; the celebrated Mr Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty; and the Lord-Keeper Bridgeman, to whom himſelf, and his friend Dr Burton, were Chaplains at the ſame time (*d*). He was very remarkable, while Fellow of his College, for his diligent application to his ſtudies, as well as for the unaffected piety, and unblemiſhed probity, of his life. It does not appear in what year this excellent perſon came to the Univerſity, but from circumſtances it may be very eaſily collected, and we have reaſon to think it was in 1649 (*e*): He took his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1653 (*f*), and in 1656 he became Maſter of Arts (*g*), at which time he had thoughts of applying himſelf to Phyſick, which he actually ſtudied for ſome time (*h*). He was incorporated Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford, July 14th, 1657 (*i*). He went out Bachelor of Divinity at a publick commencement at his own Univerſity, A. D. 1663, with univerſal applauſe (*k*). His firſt preferment was the rectory of Brampton in the deanery of Haddon, in the archdeaconry and county of Northampton, which was given him by Sir John Norwich. The patron was not diſappointed in having a Clerk, who, in all reſpects, anſwered his higheſt expectations, and they lived together in the greateſt unanimity (*l*). This worthy Gentleman was deſcended of a moſt antient and noble family, and was advanced to the dignity of a Baronet by King Charles the Firſt. Brampton was his own pariſh, where he lived in great privacy and retirement. Mr Cumberland was admitted December 3d, 1658, upon the demiſe of the Reverend Mr John Ward (*m*); and after the Reſtoration, having never had the leaſt ſcruple to the authority of the Church, he had a legal inſtitution, and read the thirty-nine articles, as directed by law, November 24th, 1661 (*n*), and was, the ſame year, appointed one of the twelve Preachers in the Univerſity of Cambridge: this, however, was a temporary avocatio.. only, owing to the high character he had raiſed by the maſterly manner in which he had performed all academical exerciſes, and from which he quickly returned to the duties of his parochial charge. In this rural retirement he minded little elſe than the duties of his function, and his ſtudies. His relaxations from theſe were very few beſides his journies to Cambridge, which he made frequently, to preſerve a correſpondence with his learned acquaintance in that place. Here he thought to have remained, and here he might have remained during the courſe of his whole life, if his intimate friend and kind benefactor Sir Orlando Bridgeman, upon his receiving the ſeals in 1667, had not ſent for him up to London, made him his Chaplain, and ſoon after beſtowed upon him the living of Alhallows in Stamford (*o*). He diſcharged the functions of his miniſtry in that great town with indefatigable diligence; for, beſides the duties incumbent upon him by his parochial charge, he accepted of the weekly lecture, and, by this means, was obliged to preach three times every week in the ſame church (*p*). This difficult province he went through conſtantly and aſſiduouſly; and tho' this alone would have been a burthen too heavy for an ordinary man, he diſcharged it with ſo much eaſe, that he carried on at the ſame time great deſigns in his Philoſophical, Mathematical, and Philological Studies. He gave a noble proof of this, and one which equally demonſtrated the ſoundneſs of his morals, and the ſolidity of his parts, in publiſhing his *Philoſophical* ENQUIRY *into the* LAWS *of* NATURE; a book deſerving univerſal applauſe, and received with the applauſe that it deſerved [*A*]. He was not in the leaſt elevated with the praiſes

(*d*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 4, 5, 6.

(*e*) See the following dates, and thoſe of his two dedications.

(*f*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

(*g*) Extract from the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*h*) Kennet's Chronicle, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 118.

(*k*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

(*l*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 7.

(*m*) Baronettage of England, Vol. II. p. 216. Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(*n*) Regiſt. Laney Petriburg.

(*o*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 8. But Mr Willis ſays that he was Vicar of St Martin's, Stamford.

(*p*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 9.

[*A*] *And received with the applauſe that it deſerved.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: *De Legibus Naturæ Diſquiſitio Philoſophica, in qua earum forma, ſumma Capita, Ordo, Promulgatio, & Obligatio è rerum naturâ inveſtigantur; quinetiam Elementa Philoſophiæ Hobbeianæ, tum moralis tum civilis, conſiderantur & refutantur.* Londini 1672, 4to. i. e. 'A Philoſophical Enquiry into the Laws of Nature, 'in which their Form, principal Heads, Order, Promulgation, and Obligation, are inveſtigated from the 'nature of things; and in which alſo the Philoſophical 'Elements of Hobbes, moral as well as civil, are conſidered and refuted.' This book was written while he was Chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, to whom it was dedicated, and there is prefixed to it a ſhort Preface to the reader, by the author's friend and fellow Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Dr Hezekiah Burton. Dr Cumberland being at a diſtance from the preſs when this book was publiſhed, it came into the world very incorrectly printed, and in ſubſequent editions theſe faults were multiplied in a very ſurprizing manner (1). We may from hence form an idea of the excellency of a work, that could, notwithſtanding, ſupport it's author's reputation both at home and abroad, and be conſtantly eſteemed one of the beſt performances that ever appeared, and that too upon one of the niceſt and moſt important ſubjects. Mr Payne ſays very juſtly, that it was one of the firſt pieces written in a demonſtrative way on a moral ſubject, and at the ſame time the perfecteſt (2). It is indeed on all hands admitted, that the Philoſopher of Malmſbury was never ſo cloſely handled, or his notions ſo thoroughly ſifted, as by Dr Cumberland. He has however taken a new road, very different from Grotius, Puffendorff, and other writers, more difficult, and leſs entertaining indeed, but, at the ſame time, much more convincing. It was deſired that a piece of ſuch general utility ſhould be made better known by being put into an eaſier method, and tranſlated into the Engliſh language. This the author would not oppoſe, though he did not undertake it; being very ſenſible that the obſcurity complained of by ſome, was really in the ſubject itſelf, and would be found ſo by thoſe who meddled with it. The project however was purſued by James Tyrrel, Eſq; grandſon to the famous Archbiſhop Uſher, who publiſhed his performance under the following title: *A brief Diſquiſition of the Law of Nature, according to the principles and method laid down in the Reverend Dr* Cumberland's *(now Lord Biſhop of* Peterborough*) Latin Treatiſe on that Subject; as alſo his Confutations of Mr* Hobbes's *Principles, put into another Method, with the author's approbation* (3). Mr Payne, whom we have ſo often quoted, gives us a very honeſt and fair account of a deſign that he alſo had of the ſame nature. After mentioning the prejudice that this work had received from it's ill uſage at the preſs, he proceeds

(1) See the Rev. Mr Maxwell's Preface to his Tranſlation.

(2) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 26.

(3) Lond. 1692. 8vo.

praiſes beſtowed upon him, not only by the world in general, but by perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit and learning, upon the ſcore of this excellent performance (*q*). He went on doing his duty with the ſame calmneſs and chearfulneſs as before; and, in this ſtation of a private Clergyman, ſo great was his reputation, that he was importuned by the Univerſity, and by other acquaintance, to take upon him the weighty exerciſe of reſponding at the publick commencement. Nothing but the earneſt ſollicitation of his friends could have prevailed with a man, void not only of ambition but of even the deſire of applauſe, to appear ſo publickly. This he did in the year 1680, in ſo maſterly a manner, that, for many years after, the memory of his performance remained freſh in that Univerſity (*r*) [*B*]. The next ſpecimen of his great abilities and profound learning appeared in the year 1686, in his ESSAY *on Jewiſh* MEASURES *and* WEIGHTS; a work written with the utmoſt ſagacity, and in which is diſcovered qualities that ſeldom are found in the ſame mind, a deep penetration, extenſive reading, a ſtrong and accurate judgment, together with a candour ſeldom to be met with, and an unaffected humility, which, in conjunction with ſuch talents, is truly admirable (*s*). It was a work not only highly uſeful in it's nature, but very much wanted, and was therefore received with the higheſt applauſe by the beſt judges, who were equally pleaſed with the method and matter, as well as the manner and conciſeneſs, of the performance. It was afterwards reprinted, and will continue to ſupport the reputation of it's author, as long as this kind of literature is either encouraged or underſtood (*t*) [*C*]. His ſincere attachment to the Proteſtant Religion made

(*q*) See this thoroughly explained in the notes.

(*r*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 9.

(*s*) See this fully explained in the notes.

(*t*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 27.

ceeds thus: 'This may have been ſome diſcouragement to the reading it, though the difficulty of the ſubject, and the cloſeneſs of the reaſoning, has been a greater. Hardly any men hitherto have made themſelves acquainted with the argument of it, but ſuch as are in the uppermoſt form of learning. I have ſometimes wiſhed that his Lordſhip would have been pleaſed to have reviſed it, and tried to make it more eaſy and intelligible, but it had lain ſo long out of his hands, that he did not care to take it up again. He gave me leave to attempt any thing of that kind if I would, and as a help he gave me his own interleaved book, which has here and there a little addition. I read his book over and over diligently with this view, but never found where I could well alter any thing, where I could leave out, or where I could add. All I can think on to give a little advantage to common readers, is to print the book correctly, to give an Analyſis of the argumentation, to add contents to each paragraph, and to divide them oftener. This I may perhaps find leiſure to do (4).' It is not impoſſible, that the Rev. Mr Payne might be diverted from this purpoſe of his, which certainly would have been very welcome to the learned world, by a like attempt made ſome few years after, while he was employed in publiſhing the Biſhop's Poſthumous Works, by a Reverend Divine of the kingdom of Ireland, who very probably never heard of his intention, or of the ſingular advantages he had, and which muſt have enabled him to perform it better than any other man. This laſt mentioned gentleman printed an Engliſh tranſlation of our Prelate's book by ſubſcription, under the following title: 'A Treatiſe of the Laws of Nature, by the Right Reverend Father in God Richard Cumberland, Lord Biſhop of Peterborough; made Engliſh from the Latin by John Maxwell, A. M. Prebendary of Connor, and Chaplain to his Excellency the Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: To which is prefixed, an Introduction concerning the miſtaken notions which the Heathens had of the Deity, and the defects in their Morality, whence the uſefulneſs of Revelation may appear. At the end is ſubjoined an Appendix containing two Diſcourſes, 1. Concerning the Immateriality of thinking Subſtance. 2. Concerning the Obligation, Promulgation, and Obſervance, of the Law of Nature; by the Tranſlator. Lond. 1727, 4*to*.'

(4) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 27.

[*B*] *Remained freſh in that univerſity.*] Theſe kind of exerciſes are common in the univerſity, which, however, does not hinder their being performed with great ſtrictneſs and punctuality, and, as this is always done before a numerous audience, compoſed of perſons who are all of them proper judges, we may be ſatisfied, that whenever diſcourſes are not only received with a temporary applauſe, but dwell upon the memory of ſuch as hear them, and are talked of for many years after, they muſt have an extraordinary degree of merit to recommend them. The topicks that were now handled by our learned and accompliſhed author, were equally weighty and important in themſelves, and, at the ſame time, of a no leſs nice and delicate nature, ſuch as, demonſtrating his zeal for the Church of England, muſt, at the ſame time, deprive him of any aſſiſtance from either of the two oppoſite factions, each of which, at that time, was known to have a conſiderable influence. The theſes maintained by him were (5), 1. Sancto Petro nulla data eſt juriſdictio in cæteros Apoſtolos; *i. e. St Peter had no juriſdiction granted him over the reſt of the Apoſtles.* 2. Separatio ab Eccleſia Anglicana eſt ſchiſmatica; *i. e. The ſeparation from the Church of England is ſchiſmatical.*

(5) Idem, ibid. p. 9, 10.

[*C*] *Is either encouraged or underſtood.*] The title of his book at large runs thus: *An Eſſay towards the recovery of the Jewiſh Meaſures and Weights, comprehending their Monies, by help of an antient Standard, compared with ours of England, uſeful alſo to ſtate many of thoſe of the Greeks, Romans, and Eaſtern Nations. Lond. 1686, 8vo.*' The Dedication of this book to Samuel Pepys, Eſq; then Preſident of the Royal Society, is dated October 28, 1685, and from thence it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe a paragraph or two, becauſe they ſhew the reaſon why this piece was written. 'Becauſe, Sir, the improvement of natural knowledge, for which the Royal Society was founded, may be attained, in ſome degree, by recovering ſome parts thereof which the Antients had, but are now unknown, I thought it not improper to preſent to you, who deſervedly preſide in that illuſtrious Society, this attempt to reſtore thoſe eldeſt ſtandards of meaſures and weights, which are mentioned in the moſt antient records, the Sacred Scriptures, as commonly known when they were written. But ſuch hath been the ignorance and careleſſneſs in theſe matters, of many intervenient ages, by whoſe care theſe things ſhould have been tranſmitted to us their poſterity, that moſt of our late diligent enquirers have declared their opinion to be, that though the retrieving of them be highly deſirable, yet that ſucceſs in ſuch an endeavour is ſcarce to be hoped. Nevertheleſs, being deſired by ſome learned Divines of our Church, in ſubſerviency to ſome brief Annotations on the Bible, by them intended, to do the beſt I could in this affair, I have, by this treatiſe, attempted to reſcue this moſt antient and uſeful piece of learning from the grave of oblivion and neglect, into which many deſpairing men were caſting it, before it was quite dead, or paſt recovery. Learning I call this knowledge of weights and meaſures, becauſe the firſt conſtitution of them, and the reaſon and proportions contained in their mutual correſpondencies, do import not only prudent obſervation which is learning's foundation, but alſo ſome elements of Geometry, Arithmetick, and Staticks, which are eſſential parts of it's ſuperſtructure, thence peculiarly called μαθηματα, or, The Learning. And for this cauſe I have been forced, in the proſecution of this enquiry, to call in to my aſſiſtance ſome

of

made him very apprehenſive of it's danger, and the melancholy proſpect of affairs in the reign of King James made ſo deep an impreſſion on this excellent perſon, as to contribute to a dangerous fit of ſickneſs one of the ſevereſt fevers from which ever man recovered. He continued after the Revolution in the ſame ſituation as before, and without any thoughts of ſolliciting for better preferment; indeed, through the whole courſe of his life, this ſeems never to have entered into his head; he was always content with the lot that befel him, and applied himſelf, with the utmoſt vigour and diligence, to diſcharge his duty in that ſtation where Providence had placed him (*u*). It was, therefore, a greater ſurprize to himſelf than to any-body elſe, when walking, after his uſual manner, on a poſt-day to the coffee-houſe, he read there in a news-paper, that one Dr Cumberland, of Stamford, was named to the biſhoprick of Peterborough. This piece of intelligence however proved true, and he had the ſingular ſatisfaction of finding himſelf raiſed to a biſhoprick, not only without pains or anxiety, but without having ſo much ſought for it (*w*). This accidental, we ought rather to ſay providential, promotion, was highly honourable for him. It was looked upon, at that time, as a thing neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of the new government, that men, who were to be raiſed to ſuch high ſtations in the Church, ſhould be ſuch only as had been moſt eminent for their learning, moſt exemplary in their lives, and firmeſt to the Proteſtant intereſt. Whilſt theſe qualifications were only conſidered, ſuch a man could not eaſily be overlooked, though he himſelf did leaſt of any man look for ſuch a promotion. The King was told, that Dr Cumberland was the fitteſt man he could nominate to the biſhoprick of Peterborough. Thus a private country Clergyman, without poſting to Court, a place he had rarely ſeen, without ſuing to great men, without taking the leaſt ſtep towards ſolliciting for it, was pitched upon to fill ſo great a truſt, only becauſe he was fitteſt for it [*D*]. He was elected in the room of Dr Thomas White, who refuſed the new oath, May 15th; was conſecrated, with other Biſhops, July 5th; and inthronized September 12th, 1691, in the cathedral of Peterborough (*x*). Thus in the ſixtieth year of his age, when his parts were as ſtrong as ever, his body unbroken with infirmities, and his experience at a juſt height, he entered on a new ſcene. He now applied himſelf to the work of a Biſhop. Studious men acquire habits, that make them not overforward to put themſelves out into action. The ſpeculations of their minds employ the whole man. The natural calmneſs of his Lordſhip's temper added ſtill to this diſpoſition: yet no man took more care not to be defective in his proper duty. He made no omiſſions to conſult his own eaſe, or to ſpare his pains; and the deſires of his

(*u*) Compleat Hiſt. England, Vol. III. p. 632.

(*w*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 12.

(*x*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 510.

[*D*] *Only becauſe he was fitteſt for it*] What has been delivered in the text upon this ſubject is founded upon the authority, and expreſſed in the very words, of the Reverend Mr Payne, a very competent and unſuſpected witneſs to the truth of the facts which he has

' of the eaſieſt mathematical notions, which are as old ' almoſt as mankind, aſſociating thereunto ſome obſer- ' vations of nature, whoſe conſtancy, from the begin- ' ning, gives reaſon to believe, that they were known ' early by men, together with the eldeſt works of art, ' remaining in the pyramids, ſhekels, and other re- ' mains of Eaſtern and Weſtern antiquity; that, from ' the concurrent evidence of theſe aged witneſſes, I ' might be enabled to give this my verdict, which is ' now brought in before you.' We have no account any where of the Annotations, for the furtherance of which this diſcourſe was written; but, from the friendſhip between their authors, and ſome other circumſtances, I am inclined to think they were the Commentaries of Dr Patrick, Biſhop of Ely (6). In another part of his Dedication, our author obſerves to his patron, that nothing pleaſed him better, or gave him greater comfort in the proſecution of the difficult taſk he had undertaken, than that it related not to any quarrelſome intereſt, but the peaceable doctrine of meaſures and weights, which in their general nature are the common concern of all mankind, as being the neceſſary inſtruments of juſt dealing and fair commerce between all nations. He mentions alſo his own induſtry in avoiding all appearance of contention, which had lead him ſo far as not to name the known diverſities of opinion amongſt-men about this matter. All this, however, did not ſecure him from contradiction, for a certain writer attacked him, though without naming him (7), and our author wrote ſome ſheets to juſtify his calculations; but his affection for peace was ſo great, that after all he laid them aſide, and left his book to ſhift for itſelf, which it has done very well. A celebrated Journaliſt has given a very large extract of this work (8), which ſhews how much he eſteemed it; as, on the other hand, that certainly does our author great honour, ſince, beſides his being a very bold and free Critick, there was hardly any ſubject with which he was more thoroughly acquainted.

(6) Whoſe ſentiments he mentions and defends in his poſthumous works, in ſeveral places.

(7) Bernard de Menſuris & ponderibus Antiquis. Oxon. 1683. 8vo.

(8) Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Univerſelle & Hiſtorique, Tom. V. p. 149—192.

preſerved, and which, but for his duty and gratitude, might have been loſt to poſterity. But notwithſtanding the circumſtances which relate to Biſhop Cumberland reſt upon his teſtimony ſolely, yet, as to his promotion in general, a certain Prelate, well acquainted with the politicks of thoſe times, has given us a large account, which it may be the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee. The Biſhop of Ely's (Dr Turner's) Letters to St Germains (9), ſays he, ' gave ſo fair an occaſion of ' filling thoſe Sees (whoſe Biſhops would not take the ' oaths) at this time that the King reſolved to lay hold ' on it; and Tillotſon, with great uneaſineſs to him- ' ſelf, ſubmitted to the King's command: and ſoon ' after the See of York falling void, Dr Sharp was ' promoted to it, ſo that thoſe two Sees were filled ' with the two beſt preachers that had ſat in them in ' our time; only Sharp did not know the world ſo ' well, and was not ſo ſteady as Tillotſon was. Dr ' Patrick was advanced to Ely, Dr More was made ' Biſhop of Norwich, Dr Cumberland was made Biſhop ' of Peterborough, Dr Fowler was made Biſhop of ' Glouceſter, Ironſide was promoted to Hereford, ' Grove to Chicheſter, and Hall to Briſtol, as Hough ' (the Preſident of Magdalen's) was the year before ' this made Biſhop of Oxford; ſo that in two years ' time the King had named fifteen Biſhops, and they ' were generally looked on as the learneſt, the ' wiſeſt, and the beſt men,' that were in the Church. ' It was viſible, that in all theſe nominations, and the ' filling the inferior dignities that became void by their ' promotion, no ambition nor Court favour had ap- ' peared; men were not ſcrambling for preferment, ' nor uſing arts, or employing friends, to ſet them for- ' ward; on the contrary, men were ſought for, and ' brought out of their retirements, and moſt of them ' very much againſt their own inclinations. They ' were men both of moderate principles, and of calm ' tempers. This great promotion was ſuch a diſcovery ' of the King and Queen's deſigns, with relation to ' the Church, that it ſerved much to remove the jea- ' louſies, that ſome other ſteps the King had made ' were beginning to raiſe in the Whigs, and very much ' ſoftened the ill humour that was ſpread among ' them.'

(9) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 76.

[*E*] *An*

his mind, that all under him ſhould do their duty, were very earneſt and ſincere. His compoſition had no alloy of vain glory. He never did any thing to court applauſe, or gain the praiſe of men. He never acted a part, never put on a maſk. His tongue and heart always went together. If he ran into any extream, it was the exceſs of humility, the ſafeſt ſide for every Chriſtian to err on. He lived with the ſimplicity and plainneſs of a primitive Biſhop, converſed and looked like a private man, hardly maintaining, as the world calls it, the dignity of his character. He was not one that loved to have the pre-eminence, and he contended with nobody for prerogative and precedence. He uſed hoſpitality without grudging: no man's houſe was more open to his friends, and the eaſe and freedom with which they always found themſelves entertained, was peculiar to it. The poor had ſubſtantial relief at his door, and his neighbours and acquaintance a hearty welcome to his table, after the plentiful and plain manner in which he lived. Every thing in his houſe ſerved for friendly entertainment, nothing for luxury or pomp. His deſire was to make every body eaſy, and to do them good. He diſpenſed with a liberal hand to the neceſſities of others, though his contented mind made him require little for his own. His kindneſs to his relations and acquaintance that wanted it, the ſums he parted with to ſuch as were indigent, are deeds not proper to be proclaimed. Half ſuch ſums, diſtributed with oſtentation by thoſe who deſire to have glory of men, would have gained the fame of great liberality and generoſity. In theſe caſes he truly obſerved our Saviour's precepts, to do his alms in ſecret, and even *not to let his left-hand know what his right-hand did.* His ſpeeches to the Clergy at his viſitations, and his exhortations to the Catechumens before his confirmations, though they had not the embelliſhments of oratory, yet they were fervent expreſſions of the inward deſires of his ſoul to do what good he was able, and to excite others to be influenced by it; the pious breathings of a plain and good mind. On all occaſions he treated his Clergy with ſingular regard and indulgence. An expreſſion, that often came from him, was, *I love always to make my Clergy eaſy.* This was his rule on all applications made to him by them, and if he err'd, it was always on this ſide. When the duties of his office required it, he never ſpared himſelf. To the laſt month of his life it was impoſſible to diſſwade him from undertaking fatigues, that every body about him feared were ſuperior to his ſtrength. He was inflexible to their intreaties, and his anſwer and reſolution was, *I will do my duty as long as I can* (*y*). He had acted by a maxim like this in his vigour. When his friends repreſented to him, that, by his ſtudies and labours, he would injure his health, his uſual reply was, *A man had better wear out than ruſt out.* The laſt time he viſited his dioceſe, he was in the eighti-th year of his age; it was apprehended that he could not but ſuffer through the fatigues of it, though it pleaſed God he had no inconvenience from it. At his next triennial, when he was in the eighty-third year of his age, it was with the laſt difficulty that he could be diſſwaded from undertaking again the viſitation of his dioceſe. To draw the Clergy nearer than the uſual decanal meetings, to make his viſitations eaſier to himſelf, was a thing he would not hear of. He would never take a burthen from his own ſhoulders to lay it on other peoples (*z*). Such were the publick acts of this great Prelate, in the diſcharge of his duty as a Father of the Church; in reſpect to his temporal concerns, and his management of the revenue ariſing from his ſee, an account will be found in the notes [*E*]. His natural

(*y*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 14.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 15.

[*E*] *An account will be found in the notes*] Every body concerned with him, ſays the ingenious Mr Payne (10), 'felt the advantage of his benevolence and goodneſs of 'his temper. He had a paternal eſtate, the leſſees of 'which found him a landlord kind indeed. He never 'raiſed his rents, or hardly changed a tenant; they 'grew old in his farms, and were afterward ſucceeded 'by their children. Such was he alſo to them that 'held under him, as he was a Biſhop, good natured 'I am almoſt tempted to ſay to a fault. They were 'ſure to find no preſſure from him the point in queſtion always was, his preſerving the juſt rights of his 'See. If he could be prevailed on to raiſe a fine, 'where the reaſon and equity of it was moſt apparent, 'it was always with great difficulty, and never his own 'voluntary act. In renewing ſome of his leaſes he ſhewed 'great inſtances of kindneſs and compaſſion, I wiſh 'they who received the obligation were ſenſible enough 'of it: For indeed, tenants under Biſhops are generally a thankleſs ſort of men; they conſider not the 'eſtate they hold as another man's, but look upon it 'as their own, and part grudgingly with what goes 'out of it, as a hardſhip on themſelves. As the great 'Chriſtian graces in which he excelled were humility 'and meekneſs, and theſe concurring with a ſedentary 'and ſtudious habit, it is not to be expected that there 'ſhould be in the ſame man any great degree of warmth 'and activeneſs. God almighty gives not perfection to 'any man in this mortal ſtate.' As to his modeſty, condeſcention, and good nature in private life, he obſerves (11), —— 'Learned men often love and affect to be ſilent. His Lordſhip was ſo humble, that 'he thought nobody too low to be converſed with; 'and ſo benevolent, that he was willing every body 'that came near him ſhould partake of his knowledge. 'As he was the moſt learned, ſo he was the moſt communicative man I ever knew. No converſation 'pleaſed him ſo well as what turned upon ſome point 'of learning The firſt experience I had of this, continues Mr Payne, was while I was under-graduate in 'the univerſity, ſoon after his Lordſhip's promotion. 'I was then ſtudying ſome parts of the Mathematical 'ſciences. He did me the honour to talk with me on 'thoſe ſubjects. It ſtruck me with ſuprize to ſee ſo 'much condeſcention, familiarity of converſation, and 'love, to inform a young man, in a perſon of his 'learning, age, and ſtation. The years I ſince have 'ſpent in greater freedom with him, have been the 'happy part of my life; a bleſſing that by me can 'never be ſufficiently valued. He was my oracle to 'conſult on any author, or whatever ſubject I read. 'Whatever was difficult I was ſure to have reſolved by 'him. He was unacquainted with nothing I could 'aſk him, even in ſmall matters, in low authors, 'which it might be expected, by a man whoſe mind 'was taken up with ſo much higher ſpeculations, 'ſhould have been paſſed over unheeded. —— His 'ſoul was through his whole life in a conſtant calm 'and ſerenity, hardly ever ruffled with any paſſion. 'Having thus a mind friendly to his body, and being 'exactly

(10) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 18.

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 22.

natural parts were not quick, but ſtrong and retentive. He was a perfect maſter of every ſubject he ſtudied. Every thing he read ſtaid with him. The ideas in many mens minds are too like the impreſſions made in ſoft wax, they never are diſtinct and clear, and are ſoon effaced: in his mind they were like impreſſions cut in ſteel, they took ſome time in forming, but they were clear, diſtinct, and durable (*a*). The things he had chiefly ſtudied were ſearches into the moſt antient times, Mathematicks in all it's parts, and the Scripture in it's original languages: theſe were the great works of his life, but he had, by the bye, diverted into almoſt all other ſtudies. He was thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of Philoſophy; he had good judgment in Phyſick, knew every thing that was curious in Anatomy, had an intimacy with the Claſſicks. Indeed he was a ſtranger to no part of learning, but every ſubject he had occaſion to talk of he was as much a maſter of it, as if the direction of his ſtudies had chiefly lain that way. He was thoroughly converſant in Scripture, and had laid up that treaſure in his mind. No hard paſſage ever occurred, either occaſionally or in reading, but he could readily give the meaning of it, and the ſeveral interpretations, without needing to conſult his books (*b*). He ſometimes had thoughts of writing an expoſition of the Epiſtles to the Romans and Galatians. It was a misfortune to the world, that he wanted that ſpur ſo neceſſary to excite men to action, the deſire of praiſe. It is believed, that, if he had proceeded in this deſign, he would have ſet the doctrine of Juſtification in a light very different from that in which it has been hitherto conſidered by moſt Divines. But the great buſineſs of his life was the examination of SANCHONIATHO's *Phœnician Hiſtory*, about which the greateſt men had been moſt miſtaken, and in relation to which none had entered into ſo ſtrict an examination as our learned Prelate thought it deſerved (*c*). He ſpent many years in theſe ſpeculations; for he began to write ſeveral years before the Revolution, and he continued improving his deſign down to 1702. It may be juſtly wondered, that, after taking ſo much pains, and carrying a work of ſuch difficulty to ſo high a degree of perfection, he ſhould never judge it expedient to publiſh it; for, though his Bookſeller refuſed to print the firſt part, at a critical ſeaſon, yet afterwards both might have ſeen the light; and for this the moſt probable reaſon that can be aſſigned is, that thorough diſlike he had to controverſy. His ſon-in-law however, the Reverend Mr Payne, has done juſtice to his memory, and publiſhed that work, which, by all competent judges, has been received with the utmoſt eſteem and reſpect (*d*) [*F*]. After he had once engaged his thoughts upon this ſubject, freſh matter was continually riſing, for the diſtribution of which into a proper method, ſo as to render a very perplexed ſubject intelligible, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of undertaking a yet more extenſive work than the former, in which

(*a*) Theſe facts are rendered highly probable, if not inconteſtably proved by his writings.

(*b*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 21, 22.

(*c*) This fully appears from our Prelate's whole work, but more eſpecially from his Review of the Coſmogany and Hiſtory.

(*d*) Printed at Lond. 1720. 8vo.

'exactly regular and temperate in his way of living, 'he attained to a good old age with perfect ſoundneſs 'of mind and body. He was not afflicted with, or 'ſubject to, any ailing or diſtemper; never complained 'that he was ill or out of order, came almoſt conſtantly from his chamber in a morning with a ſmile 'in his countenance (12).' Such great, and ſuch amiable qualities as theſe, more eſpecially when they are teſtified to the world by evidence that cannot be ſuſpected, much leſs diſbelieved, do honour, not only to our Church and nation, but to human nature, and may be the more freely inſiſted upon when they do occur, becauſe ſuch as are beſt acquainted with mankind know well, that they occur but very rarely.

(12) Idem, ibid. p. 23.

[*F*] *With the utmoſt eſteem and reſpect.*] The title of this work at large will give the reader ſome notion of it's contents. It runs thus: 'SANCHONIATHO's 'Phœnician Hiſtory, tranſlated from the firſt book of 'Euſebius *de Preparatione Evangelica*. With a Continuation of Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory by Eratoſthenes 'Cyrenenſis Canon, which Dicæarchus connects with 'the firſt Olympiad. Theſe authors are illuſtrated 'with many Hiſtorical and Chronological Remarks, 'proving them to contain a Series of Phœnician and 'Egyptian Chronology, from the firſt man to the firſt 'Olympiad, agreable to the Scripture accounts. By 'the Right Reverend R. Cumberland, D. D. late Biſhop of Peterborough With a Preface, giving a 'brief account of the Life, Character, and Writings, 'of the Author. By S. Payne, M. A Rector of Barnack in Northamptonſhire, his Lordſhip's domeſtick 'Chaplain (23).' Mr Payne obſerves, that our author had a quicker ſenſe than many other men of the advances Popery was making upon us, and was affected with the apprehenſion of it to the laſt degree. This made him turn his thoughts to the enquiry, by what ſteps and methods idolatry got ground in the world. The oldeſt account of this he believed he found in Sanchoniatho's fragment. This he ſaw was a profeſſed apology for idolatry, and owned openly what other Heathens would have made a ſecret of, that the gods of the Gentile world had been all mortal men. He ſtudied this fragment with no other view, than as it led to the diſcovery of the original of idolatry. He ſpent ſome time upon it, before ever he had a thought of extracting from it footſteps of the Hiſtory of the world preceding the flood. While other Divines of the Church of England were engaged in the controverſy with the Papiſts, in which they gained over them ſo compleat a victory, our author was endeavouring to ſtrike at the root of their idolatrous religion (14). Such are the ſentiments of this gentleman concerning our Prelate's work, which is in truth full of the moſt abſtruſe learning, and ſhews a ſagacity and penetration equally ſingular and admirable. Theſe fragments have exerciſed the talents of ſome of the ableſt ſcholars that foreign nations have produced, and ſeveral of theſe, being able to make nothing clear or conſiſtent out of them, incline to think they were forgeries, and conſequently not worthy of notice. Our Prelate was not only of a different ſentiment, but, with great knowledge and great labour, has made it very evident that theſe fragments are genuine, and that he thoroughly underſtood them. He has proved, that they contain the moſt antient ſyſtem of atheiſm and idolatry, that very ſyſtem which took place in Egypt, and was ſet up againſt the true religion contained in the writings of Moſes. It cannot be expected that we ſhould, in the compaſs of a note, enter into the plan of ſo large and ſo compact a performance, for our author was not a diffuſe writer, but expreſſed himſelf clearly in few words, and has brought into a very narrow compaſs, what an author, covetous of fame, would have extended into a very large volume. But this great man aimed only at truth, and though the diſcovery of it coſt him much time and pains, yet he was willing to conduct his reader to it by the ſhorteſt road poſſible. He ſaw indeed, that many uſeful deductions might be made from this diſcovery, and it was this that put him upon compoſing a ſecond volume, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next note.

(13) At London, 1720. 8vo.

(14) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 17.

[*G*] *And*

which he made ſome progreſs in the ſpace of above twenty years, during which we are aſſured that it employed his thoughts. To this piece, when finiſhed, he propoſed to have given the title of *Origines Antiquiſſimæ* (*e*), which were tranſcribed in his life-time, and, by his direction, through the care of the ſame perſon, who, from a moſt laudable ſenſe of duty and gratitude, publiſhed the other work. This treatiſe alſo is now likewiſe in print, and juſtifies, in every reſpect, all that we have ſaid of this learned and venerable Prelate, upon the credit chiefly of the editor. This laſt piece is properly a ſupplement to the firſt, and equally valuable in every reſpect [*G*]. We have now done with his Hiſtory as a Father of the Church, and an ornament of the Republick of Letters; we will conclude with ſome account of his private life and diſpoſition when in the decline of his days, a ſeaſon in which the weakneſſes even of the greateſt men are frequent and excuſable. In him, however, there was no need of any apology of this ſort. His Lordſhip lived beyond what Horace called old age; but never were characters more unſuitable to any man, than thoſe beſtowed by that Poet on old men were to him; it is literally true, that he was, in every reſpect, the very reverſe of them. A perſon, who would have retired from every thing that was cenſorious, querulous, uneaſy, or diſquieting, muſt have gone into his company, and the room where he ſat. The eaſineſs and ſweetneſs of his temper was ſuch as is not to be deſcribed by words, nothing but converſation with him, and the experience of it, could give a man a juſt idea of it. This happy diſpoſition was become a habit to him, and continued to the laſt day of his life. His ſenſes and bodily ſtrength laſted better than could well be expected, in a man whoſe courſe of life had been ſtudious and ſedentary. Yet I, who converſed every day with him, ſays Mr Payne, thought that the faculties of his mind were leſs impaired than thoſe of his body (*f*). He remained a maſter of all the parts of learning he had ſtudied when he was young. He ever loved the Claſſicks, and, to the laſt week of his life, would quote them readily and appoſitely. When Dr Wilkins had publiſhed his Coptic Teſtament, he made a preſent of one of them to his Lordſhip, who ſat down to ſtudy this when he was paſt eighty-three. At this age he maſtered the language, and went through great part of this verſion, and would often give excellent hints and remarks as he proceeded in reading it. At length, in the autumn of the year 1718, he was ſtruck in an afternoon with a dead palſey, from which he could not be recovered (*g*). He had no previous notice of this at all, for he roſe in the morning rather better, and more vigorous, than uſual. He breathed his laſt in his palace at Peterborough on the ninth of October, in the ſame year, in the eighty-ſeventh year of his age. His corps was interred in his own Cathedral, where a plain tomb has been erected, with a modeſt inſcription, to his memory (*h*) [*H*]. The turn of his ſtudies did not at all conduce to make our Prelate eminent in his life-time. There were a great variety of books written againſt Hobbes, but, amongſt this crowd of refuters, each of their books

(*e*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 20, 21.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 24, 25.

(*g*) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(*h*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 510.

[*G*] *And equally valuable in every reſpect.*] The title of this book was: 'Origines Gentium antiquiſſimæ: or, 'Attempts for diſcovering the times of the firſt 'planting of Nations; in ſeveral tracts. By the Right 'Reverend R. Cumberland, D. D. late Biſhop of Peterborough. Publiſhed from his Lordſhip's manu'ſcript, by S. Payne, M. A. Rector of Barnack in 'Northamptonſhire (15).' This work conſiſts of the following tracts, 1. A Diſcourſe on Gen. xxxvi. concerning the ſettlement of Eſau's family from Mount Seir to Elparan, the antient ſeat of the Horites, and of the government of that land before and after their ſettlement; with an enquiry about the times thereof. 2. A diſcourſe on Deut. ii. 23. The Avims which dwelt in Hazarim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor, deſtroyed them, and dwelt in their ſtead. 3. Notes on the Synchroniſms of Canaan and Egypt. 4. Concerning the poſſibility of a ſufficient increaſe of men, from the three ſons of Noah, to a number large enough to found all the nations mentioned in the oldeſt credible Hiſtories; and that, in the times aſſigned to their foundations, agreeably with the Hebrew accounts. With ſome ſuggeſtions about the diſperſion of men to plant in ſeveral parts of the earth, particularly the building of Nineveh, the metropolis of the Aſſyrian monarchy. 5. An appendix to the preceding chapter, in an Eſſay towards the better ſtating of the interval between the founding of Nineveh and the fall of Sardanapalus, which broke from the antient Aſſyrian empire two monarchies: I. That of the Babylonians, beginning with Nabonaſſar. II. That of the Medes, begun in Dejoces, yet left to Tiglath Pilezer and his ſucceſſors, an Aſſyrian empire, which recovered good ſtrength, ſo as to conquer Syria, and to captivate the ten tribes of Iſrael. 6. Proofs from Scripture, and from Heathens, of the Aſſyrian empire before Nabonaſſar. 7. A Diſcourſe, endeavouring to connect the Greek and Roman Antiquities, with thoſe of the eldeſt Eaſtern monarchies in Aſia and Egypt, and, conſequently, with the diſperſion from Babel, which came near the great flood; in two chapters, 1. Concerning Greece, eſpecially the Pelaſgi. 2. Concerning Italy, particularly the Tyrrheni, or, as the elder Greeks call them, the Tyrſni; theſe, beſides the Egyptians, being colonies from the Aſſyrian empire, and the beginning of the Greek and Roman empires. 8. *Appendix de Cabiris, addenda Diſquiſitioni de Pelaſgi*, i. e. An Appendix as to the Cabiri, to which is added, a Diſquiſition concerning the Pelaſgi. 9. *Appendicula de Legibus quibus tenebantur Patriarchæ tam ante, quam poſt diluvium, uſque ad tempus quo ſolemnitur ſazcitum eſt Fœdus Moſaicum, quod leges continet præcipuas quibus tenebatur populus Judaicus, poſt Exodum ex Ægypto*; that is, 'A ſuccinct Diſſertation concerning 'the Laws obſerved by the Patriarchs, as well before 'as after the Flood, down to the ſolemn ſettlement of 'the Law of Moſes, more eſpecially thoſe under 'which the People of Iſrael lived after going out of 'Egypt.' To pretend adding any farther explication of this work, would be a needleſs preſumption; ſince, to competent judges, this ſhort table of contents will prove more ſatisfactory, than any thing we could offer upon the ſubject; all therefore that we ſhall take the liberty to ſay more is only this, that notwithſtanding our Prelate treats of the moſt antient Hiſtory, it is in a manner entirely new; his learning, though deep and ſound, has nothing in it harſh or unpleaſant; and, amongſt other advantages to which this work may put in a juſt claim, there is in it this ſingularity, that, notwithſtanding all the points treated therein are remarkably perplexed, the author has handled them with the utmoſt perſpicuity, made all of them plainer than they were, and many of them as plain as it is poſſible.

(15) At London, 1724. 8vo.

[*H*] *With a modeſt inſcription to his memory*] As this is very ſhort, we thought it would not be unacceptable

books was not conſidered as a refutation. On the contrary, Hobbes maintained his notions very well againſt moſt of them, not through the juſtice of his cauſe, or the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, but becauſe he underſtood his ground perfectly well, and, like a ſkilful fencer, kept that advantage, and made the moſt of it. But our author was not to be ſo treated; he conſidered the ground well before he engaged, diſcerned his antagoniſt's advantage, and drove him from it; but, as this was a hard and laborious taſk to himſelf, ſo his method of arguing was not to be underſtood but by cloſe application in his readers, ſo that it was a long while before the merit of his performance was fully known (*i*). At preſent, indeed, his reputation is very great at home, and much greater abroad; for foreign writers, of all nations, have been very ready to do him juſtice, and to ſpeak of him with the praiſes he deſerves [*I*].

(*i*) See the Rev. Mr Maxwell's Preface to his tranſlation of our author's works, as alſo Dr Hezekiah Burton's Short Diſcourſe prefixed to the original.

ble to the reader, that it found a place with a tranſlation in the notes (16).

(16) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 510.

Juxta jacet doctiſſimus ſanctiſſimuſque præſul Richardus Cumberland, hujus Civitatis Epiſcopus, qui cum Eccleſiæ & Republicæ diu & feliciter invigilaverat migratus ad aliam quam ſolam quærebat Civitatem, Honorum & Dierum ſatur, obdormivit in Domino Anno Chriſti 1718, ætatis 86.

Macte, malæ fraudis Domitor Defenſor Honeſti
Legum Naturæ Juſtititiæque Pugil:
O quantum debent quas læſerat Hobbius ambas
Recta ſimul Ratio Relligioque tibi!

Duport in *Hobbium* à *Cumberlandio* Confutatum.

In Engliſh thus:

Near this place lies interred, that moſt learned and holy Prelate, Richard Cumberland Biſhop of this city, who, when he had long and faithfully watched for the Church and State, was tranſlated to that other city, which alone he ſought; full of days and of honour he ſlept in the Lord, in the year of Chriſt 1718, *of his age* 86.

Proceed foul error's ſcourge, and friend to right,
Champion of Nature's laws, and Juſtice too;
How much! the aſſaſſin Hobbes now put to flight,
To thy ſharp pen, do faith and reaſon owe?

From *Duport*'s poem upon the confutation of Hobbes by Cumberland.

Underneath two books, with theſe words engraven on the leaves:

Biblia Sacra. The Holy Bible. — *Legibus Naturæ.* Of the Laws of Nature.

[*I*] *With the praiſes he deſerves.*] We find the Life of our Prelate very exactly written from his ſon-in-law Mr Payne's Memoirs, by Father Niceron (17), who commends highly his book againſt Hobbes. The learned Morhoff mentions that work of his twice (18), and tells us, that in his judgment it was written with great labour and no leſs diligence; and obſerves farther, that he goes to the bottom in detecting the falſe reaſoning of Mr Hobbes. Another German author, who has written expreſsly upon the ſame ſubject, gives a great character of our author's book (19); and the learned Stollius gives likewiſe a fair character, and a very good account, of our author and his writings (20). His ſentiments, with regard to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, are greatly applauded by a gentleman (21) who had ſtudied theſe matters with much care, and who, it is very certain, was far enough from being diſpoſed to commend others without reaſon. It does not appear, that hitherto his Poſthumous Works have been tranſlated into Latin, or into any modern language; whenever that ſhall happen, the fame of Dr Cumberland will extend much farther than it has done hitherto, for whether his particular opinions be approved or not, it is impoſſible that his extenſive learning, his profound ſagacity, and his perfect acquaintance with the beſt authors of antiquity, ſhould not procure him juſt reverence and eſteem.

(17) Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des hommes illuſtres, Tom. V. p. 328.

(18) Danielis Morhoffii Polyhiſtor. II, 1, 15, 15.—III. 6, 1, 4.

(19) Thomaſii Hiſt. p. 84.

(20) Introduct. Hiſt. Litterariam, p. 762, 763.

(21) Fourmont Reflexions Critiques ſur les Hiſtoires des anciens peuples, &c.

E

D.

DANIEL (SAMUEL), an eminent Poet and Hiſtorian [*A*], in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I, was ſon of a Muſick-maſter, and born near Taunton in Somerſetſhire (*a*), in the year 1562. In 1579 (*b*), he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford; where he continued about three years, and, by the help of an excellent Tutor, made a conſiderable improvement in academical learning. But his genius inclining him more to ſtudies of a ſofter and gayer nature, he left the Univerſity without a degree, and applied himſelf to Engliſh Hiſtory and

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England, Somerſ. p. 28.

(*b*) Langbaine, ubi infra, ſays, in 1581.

[*A*] *An eminent Poet and Hiſtorian.*] Mr Daniel's Poetical Works, conſiſting of Dramatic and other Pieces, are as follows. I. *The Complaint of Roſamond.* London, 1594, 1598, 1611, and 1623, in 4to. II. *A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius.* London, 1611, in 8vo (1). Theſe two pieces reſemble each other both in the ſubject and ſtile, being written in the Ovidian manner, with great tenderneſs and variety of paſſions. The meaſure is ſtanzas of ſeven lines, of which take the following ſpecimen, where he makes Roſamond ſpeak of Beauty in as expreſſive a manner as deſcription can reach.

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 447, 448.

Ah! Beauty, Syren, fair enchanting good,
Sweet ſilent rhet'rick of perſuading eyes;
Dumb eloquence, whoſe pow'r doth move the blood,
More than the words or wiſdom of the wiſe;
Still harmony, whoſe diapaſon lies
Within a brow; the key, which paſſions move,
To raviſh ſenſe, and play a world in love (2).

(2) Poetical Works of Mr S. Daniel. Lond. 1718. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 41.

III. *Hymen's Triumph: A Paſtoral Tragi-Comedy. Preſented at the Queen's Court in the Strand, at her Majeſty's magnificent entertainment of the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, being at the nuptials of the Lord Roxborough.* London, 1623, 4to. ſecond edition (3). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the moſt excellent Majeſty of the higheſt-born Princeſs, Anne of Denmark, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.* It is introduced by a pretty contrived Prologue, by way of dialogue, in which *Hymen* is oppoſed by *Avarice, Envy*, and *Jealouſy*, the diſturbers of quiet marriage. In this piece, our author ſometimes touches the paſſions with a very delicate hand. IV. *The Queen's Arcadia: A Paſtoral Tragi-Comedy. Preſented to her Majeſty and her Ladies, by the Univerſity of Oxford, in Auguſt*, 1605. London, 1623, 4to (4). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty.* V. *The Viſion of the Twelve Goddeſſes, preſented in a Maſk, the eighth of January, at Hampton-Court, by the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty and her Ladies.* London, 1604, 8vo, and 1623, 4to. Some copies have it, *The Wiſdom of the Twelve Goddeſſes*, &c (5). It is dedicated to the Right Honourable the Lady Lucy, Counteſs of Bedford. It had been printed without the author's leave, and ſo imperfectly, that, to prevent the prejudice it might ſuffer thereby, he publiſhed it from his own copy. His deſign, under the ſhapes, and in the perſons of twelve goddeſſes, was, to ſhadow out the bleſſings, which the nation enjoyed under the peaceful reign of King James I. By *Juno* was repreſented *Power*; by *Pallas, Wiſdom* and *Defence*; by *Venus, Love* and *Amity*; by *Veſta, Religion*; by *Diana, Chaſtity*; by *Proſerpine, Riches*; by *Macaria, Felicity*; by *Concordia*, the *Union* of *Hearts*; by *Aſtræa, Juſtice*; by *Flora*, the *Beauties* of the *Earth*; by *Ceres, Plenty*; and by *Tethys, Naval Power.* All theſe allegorical perſonages were properly attired, and offered up the ſeveral emblems of their power to the temple of *Peace*, erected upon four pillars, repreſenting the four Virtues, that ſupported a globe of the earth. 1. *Juno*, in a ſky-coloured mantle, embroidered with gold, and figured with peacocks feathers, wearing a crown of gold on her head, preſents a ſceptre. 2. *Pallas* (which was the perſon her Majeſty choſe to repreſent) was attired in a blue mantle, with a ſilver embroidery of all weapons and engines of war, with an helmet on her head; and preſents a launce and target. 3. *Venus*, in a mantle of dove-colour, and ſilver embroidered doves, preſented (inſtead of her *Ceſtus*, the Girdle of Amity) a ſcarf of divers colours. 4. *Veſta*, in a white mantle embroidered with gold flames, and dreſſed like a Nun, preſented a burning lamp in one hand, and a book in the other. 5. *Diana*, in a green mantle embroidered with ſilver half-moons, and a creſcent of pearl on her head, preſents a bow and a quiver. 6. *Proſerpine*, in a black mantle embroidered with gold flames, with a crown of gold on her head, preſents a mine of gold ore. 7. *Macaria*, the Goddeſs of Felicity, in a mantle of purple and ſilver, embroidered with the figures of Plenty and Wiſdom (which concur to the making of true happineſs) preſents a *Caduceus* with the figure of Abundance. 8. *Concordia*, in a party-coloured mantle of crimſon and white (the colours of England and Scotland joined) embroidered with ſilver hands in hand, with a head-dreſs likewiſe of party-coloured roſes, preſents a branch thereof in a wreath or knot. 9. *Aſtræa*, in a mantle of crimſon embroidered with ſilver, figuring the ſword and balance (the emblems of Juſtice) which ſhe preſented. 10. *Flora*, in a mantle of divers colours, embroidered with all ſorts of flowers, preſents a pot of flowers. 11. *Ceres*, in a ſtraw-colour and ſilver embroidery, with ears of corn, and a head-dreſs of the ſame, preſents a ſickle. 12. *Tethys*, in a ſea-green mantle, with a ſilver embroidery of waves, and a head-dreſs of reeds, preſents a trident (6). VI. *The Tragedy of Cleopatra.* Lond. 1594 and 1598, 4to (7). It is dedicated by a copy of a verſes *To the Right Honourable the Lady Mary, Counteſs of Pembroke.* VII. *The Tragedy of Philotas.* London, 1611, &c. 8vo (8). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the Prince*, afterwards King Charles I. This play met with ſome enemies, not on the ſcore of the wit, or conduct of the deſign; but becauſe it was reported, that the character of *Philotas* was drawn for the unfortunate Earl of Eſſex; which obliged the author to vindicate himſelf from

(3) Wood, ibid.

(4) Wood, ibid.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. I. p 228, &c.

(7) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(8) Ibid.

(c) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 447.

and Poetry (c), under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family

this charge in an *Apology*, printed at the end of the play. Both this play, and that of *Cleopatra*, are written after the manner of the antients, with a chorus between each act; and were much eſteemed in their time. VIII. *The Hiſtory of the Civil Wars between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter.* A Poem in eight books. London, 1604, 8vo, and 1623, 4to. with his picture before it (9). It is dedicated *To the High and moſt Illuſtrious Prince Charles His Excellence.* The introduction to this Poem is plainly an imitation of the beginning of *Lucan's Pharſalia.*

(9) Ibid.

I ſing the Civil Wars, tumultuous broils,
And bloody factions of a mighty land;
Whoſe people, haughty, proud with foreign ſpoils,
Upon themſelves turn back their conqu'ring hand;
Whilſt kin their kin, brother the brother foils;
Like enſigns all againſt like enſigns band;
Bows againſt bows, the crown againſt the crown;
Whilſt all pretending right, all right's thrown down.

What fury, O! what madneſs held thee ſo,
Dear England, too, too prodigal of blood,
To waſte ſo much, and war without a foe;
Whilſt France, to ſee thy ſpoils, at pleaſure ſtood!
How much might'ſt thou have purchas'd with leſs woe,
T' have done thee honour, and thy people good?
Thine might have been whatever lies between
The *Alps* and us, the *Pyrenees* and *Rhene* (10).

(10) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. II. p. 5, 6.

IX. *A Funeral Poem upon the Death of the late Earl of Devonſhire.* London, 1623, 4to. X. *A Panegyrick Congratulatory, delivered to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty at Burleigh-Harrington in Rutlandſhire.* London, 1604 and 1623, 4to. XI. *Epiſtles to various great Perſonages in Verſe.* London, 1601 and 1623, 4to (11). XII. *The Paſſion of a diſtreſſed Man, who being in a Tempeſt on the Sea, and having in his Boat two Women (of whom he loved the one, that diſdained him; and ſcorned the other, who affected him) was by Commandment from Neptune to caſt out one of them, to appeaſe the Rage of the Tempeſt; but which, was referred to his own choice* (12). If the reader is curious to know the determination of this man's choice, it is ſummed up in the concluding line of the Poem;

(11) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(12) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. II. p. 364.

She muſt be caſt away, that wou'd not ſave.

XIII. *Muſophilus, containing a general Defence of Learning.* Printed with the *Epiſtles*, &c (13). It is addreſſed *To the Right worthy and judicious Favourer of Virtue, Mr Fulke Grevil.* XIV. *Various Sonnets to Delia* (14). They are fifty-ſeven in number. XV. *An Ode.* XVI. *A Paſtoral.* XVII. *A Deſcription of Beauty, tranſlated out of* Marino. XVIII. *To the Angel Spirit of the moſt excellent Sir Philip Sydney.* XIX. *To the Right Reverend Father in God James Montague, Biſhop of Wincheſter* (15). *A Defence of Rhime.* Lond. 1611, 8vo (16). The title, at length, is; *A Defence of Rhime, againſt a Pamphlet, intituled, Obſervations on the Art of Engliſh Poeſy: wherein is demonſtratively proved, that Rhime is the fitteſt Harmony of Words, that comports with our Language.* It is dedicated *To all the worthy Lovers and learned Profeſſors of Rhime within his Majeſty's Dominions*; and it is addreſſed to his patron, *William Herbert Earl of Pembroke.* This piece is in proſe. All theſe pieces are publiſhed together, in two volumes, 12mo, under the title of *The Poetical Works of Mr Samuel Daniel, author of the Engliſh Hiſtory.* London, 1718. We muſt not omit the praiſes beſtowed on Mr Daniel, as a Poet, by contemporary writers; one of whom, in a copy of verſes on the *Time Poets* (17), ſtiles him

(13) Wood, ib.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. II. p. 418, &c.

(16) Wood, ib.

The pithy *Daniel*, whoſe ſalt lines afford
A weighty ſentence in each little word.

(17) See Choice Drollery, in 8vo. Lond. 1656. p. 6.

Another author, in a copy called *A Cenſure of the Poets* (18), ſpeaks of him thus:

(18) See Sportive Wit, 8vo. p. 70.

Amongſt theſe *Samuel Daniel*, whom I
May ſpeak of, but to cenſure do deny:
Only have hear'd ſome wiſe men him rehearſe
To be too much Hiſtorian in verſe.
His rhimes were ſmooth, his metres well did cloſe;
But yet his matters better fitted proſe.

His good friend Mr Charles Fitz-Geoffry wrote the following Latin epigram in his praiſe (19):

(19) Vide Epigr. in 8vo. Oxon. 1601.

Spenſerum ſi quis noſtrum velit eſſe *Maronem*,
Tu, *Daniele*, mihi *Naſo* Britannus eris.
Sin illum potius *Phœbum* velit eſſe Britannum,
Tum, *Daniele*, mihi tu *Maro* noſter eris.
Nil Phœbo ulterius; ſi quid foret, illud haberet
Spenſerus, *Phœbus* tu, *Daniele*, fores.
Quippe loqui Phœbus cuperet ſi more Britanno,
Haud ſcio quo poterat, ni velit ore ſuo.

If Spenſer merits Roman Virgil's name,
Daniel, at leaſt, comes in for Ovid's fame.
If Spenſer rather claims Apollo's wit,
Virgil's illuſtrious name will Daniel fit.
No higher than Apollo we can go:
But, if a loftier title you can ſhow,
That greater name let Spenſer's Muſe command,
And Daniel be the Phœbus of our land.
For, in my judgment, if the god of verſe
In Engliſh wou'd heroic deeds rehearſe,
No language ſo expreſſive he cou'd chuſe,
As that of Engliſh Daniel's lofty Muſe.

We come now to conſider Mr Daniel as an *Hiſtorian*, in which capacity he wrote: *The Firſt Part of the Hiſtory of England, in three Books.* London, 1613, 4to, reaching to the end of King Stephen. To which he afterwards added a *Second Part*, reaching to the end of King Edward III. London, 1618, 1621, 1623, and 1634. This Hiſtory was continued to the end of King Richard III, by John Truſſel, a Trader and Alderman of the city of Wincheſter (20). Of Mr Daniel's Hiſtory a certain writer (21) gives this character: 'It is written with great brevity and politeneſs; and his political and moral Reflections are very fine, uſeful, and inſtructive.' Mr Langbaine takes it to be the *Crown* of all our author's *Works* (22); and Dr Fuller tells us (23), 'he was a judicious Hiſtorian; witneſs his Lives of our Engliſh Kings, ſince the conqueſt, until King Edward the Third; wherein he hath the happineſs to reconcile brevity with clearneſs, qualities of great diſtance in other authors.' Dr Heylin (24), ſpeaking of the chief Hiſtorians of this nation, has theſe words: *And, to end the bead-roll, Half the ſtory of this realm done by Mr Daniel, of which I believe that, which himſelf ſaith of it in his Epiſtle to the reader, that there was never brought together more of the main.* To conclude the character of this performance, I ſhall tranſcribe what Dr Kennet ſays of it (25). 'Mr *Daniel*'s Hiſtory follows next, containing the reigns of William I and II, Henry I, King Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, King John, Henry III, Edward I, II, and III. The author had a place at Court in the reign of King James I, and ſeems to have taken all the refinement a Court could give him. It is ſaid, he had a good vein in Poetry, and it is certain he has ſhewn great judgment in keeping it, as he did, from infecting his proſe, and deſtroying that ſimplicity, which is a principal beauty in the ſtile of an Hiſtorian. His narration is ſmooth and clear, and carries every-where an air of good ſenſe and juſt eloquence; and his Engliſh is much more modern than *Milton*'s, though he lived before him. But Mr *Milton* choſe to write (if the expreſſion may be allowed) a hundred years backwards; whereas it is particularly to be admired how Mr *Daniel* could, ſo long ago, expreſs himſelf with the ſame purity and grace as our moſt ſenſible writers do now, though we

(20) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(21) Bohun's Tranſlation of Wheare's *Method. legendi Hiſtor.* p. 171.

(22) Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 104.

(23) Worthies of England. Somerſ. p. 28.

(24) In the Preface to his Coſmography.

(25) In the Preface to his Complete Hiſtory of England.

family [B]. Afterwards he became Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford [C], and, upon the death of the famous Spenſer, was appointed Poet-Laureat to Queen Elizabeth. In King James's reign, he was made Gentleman Extraordinary, and afterwards one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber to the Queen-Conſort, who took great delight in his converſation and writings (d). He rented a ſmall houſe and garden in Old-ſtreet near London, where in private he compoſed moſt of his Dramatic Pieces (e). Towards the end of his life, he retired to a farm, which he had at Beckington near Philips-Norton in Somerſetſhire (f), where, after ſome time ſpent in the enjoyment of the Muſes and religious contemplation, he died, and was buried [D], in the year 1619 (g). He left no iſſue by his wife Juſtina, to whom he was married ſeveral years (b).

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets. Oxf. 1691. p. 100. and Winſtanley's Lives of the Poets. Lond. 1687. p. 111.

(f) Fuller, ubi ſupra, ſays, near the Devizes in Wiltſhire.

(g) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 448.

(b) Fuller, ibid.

'we flatter ourſelves, that we have conſiderably improved the language.'

[B] —— *under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family.*] This may be gathered from a hint in his *Defence of Rhime*, dedicated to William Herbert Earl of Pembroke. For, addreſſing himſelf to that Lord, he ſays (26): 'We are told, how 'that our meaſures go wrong, all rhiming is groſs, 'vulgar, barbarous; which if it be ſo, we have loſt 'much labour to no purpoſe; and for my own parti-'cular, I cannot but blame the fortune of the times, 'and my own genius, that caſt me upon ſo wrong a 'courſe, drawn with the current of cuſtom, and an 'unexamined example: Having been firſt encouraged 'and framed thereunto by your moſt worthy and ho-'nourable *Mother*, and received the firſt notion for the 'formal ordering of thoſe compoſitions at *Wilton*, 'which I muſt ever acknowledge to have been my beſt 'ſchool, and thereof always am to hold a feeling and 'grateful memory. Afterward, drawn farther on by 'the well-liking and approbation of my worthy *Lord*, 'the foſterer of me and my Muſe, I adventured to be-'ſtow all my whole powers therein, perceiving it a-'greed ſo well, both with the complexion of the 'times, and my own conſtitution.'

(26) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. I. p. 6.

[C] *He was Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford.*] This we learn from his epitaph (27). By the way it muſt be noted, that this Lady Anne, afterwards Counteſs of Pembroke, was the ſame perſon, who lived like a Princeſs, for many years after our author's death, in Weſtmorland; was a great lover and encourager of learning and learned men, hoſpitable, charitable to the poor, and of a moſt generous and public ſpirit. She died the 22d of March 1675, aged 87, and was buried under a ſtately monument in the church of Appleby in Weſtmorland (28).

(27) See the laſt laſt Remark.

(28) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[D] —— *was buried.*] On the wall over his grave is this inſcription (29): *Here lies, expecting the ſecond coming of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the dead body of* Samuel Daniel, *Eſq; that excellent Poet and Hiſtorian, who was Tutor to the Lady* Anne Clifford *in her youth, ſhe that was daughter and heir to* George Clifford *Earl of* Cumberland; *who in gratitude to him erected this monument to his memory, a long time after, when ſhe was Counteſs-Dowager of* Pembroke, Dorſet, *and* Montgomery. *He died in* Octob. an. 1619. T

(29) Id. ibid.

DANVERS (HENRY) a brave warrior in the end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth century; and created Earl of Danby by King Charles I; was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Danvers, Knight [A], by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir to John Nevil the laſt Lord Latimer (a). He was born at Danteſey in Wiltſhire, the 28th day of June, 1573. After an education ſuitable to his birth, he went and ſerved in the Low-country wars, under Maurice Count of Naſſau, afterwards Prince of Orange; and was engaged in many military actions of thoſe times, both by ſea and land. He was made a Captain in the wars of France, occaſioned in that kingdom by the League; and there knighted for his good ſervice under Henry IV. King of France. Next, he was employed in Ireland (b), as Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, and Serjeant-Major of the whole Army, under Robert Earl of Eſſex, and Charles Baron of Montjoy, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (c). Upon the acceſſion of King James I, he was, on account of his family's deſerts and ſufferings [B], advanced, the twenty-firſt of July, 1603, to the dignity of a Peer of this realm, by the title of Baron of Danteſey (d): And in 1605, by a ſpecial act of Parliament, reſtored in blood, as heir to his father, notwithſtanding the attainder of his elder brother, Sir Charles Danvers, Knight (e). Moreover, he was appointed Lord Preſident of Munſter in Ireland (f): and in 1620 made Governor of the Iſle of Guerneſey, for life (g). By King Charles I, he was created Earl of Danby (h), on February 5. 162$\frac{5}{6}$; and made of his Privy-Council; and Knight of the Order of the Garter (i). Being himſelf a man of learning, as well as a great encourager of it; and obſerving that opportunities were wanting in the Univerſity of Oxford for the uſeful ſtudy of Botany, he purchaſed a piece of ground by the river Charwell, oppoſite to Magdalen-College; which he encompaſſed with a curious wall of ſquare poliſhed ſtone, and repleniſhed with a great variety of plants and herbs proper for the ſtudy of Phyſick and Botany [C]. He founded alſo an Alms-houſe, and a Free-ſchool, at Malmeſbury in Wiltſhire

(a) The Baronage of England, by Sir Will. Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 416. and Vol. I. p. 313.

(b) See *Pacata Hibernia*: Ireland appeaſed and reduced, &c. by T. Stafford. edit. 1633. fol. p. 199, 233. and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; in 1725. Vol. I. p. 370.

(c) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 416, 417.

(d) Ibid. & Pat. 1. Jac. p. 14. The Danvers were deſcended from the ancient family of Danteſey. Camden's Britan. edit. 1722. col. 105.

(e) Dugdale, ibid. and Journ. of Parliament.

(f) Dugdale, ibid. p. 417.

(g) Pat. 18. Jac. p. 13.

(h) Pat. 1. Car. I. p. 7. Camden's Britan. col. 911.

(i) Dugdale, ut ſupra, p. 417.

[A] *Was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Danvers, Knt.*] That family was originally of *Anvers* or *Antuerp*, as their ſurname implies. The greateſt acceſſion to their honour and fortune (1), came by the marriage of Sir John Danvers with Elizabeth, the youngeſt daughter, and one of the co-heireſſes to John Lord Latimer: Whoſe three other daughters, were, Catherine, wife of Henry Earl of Northumberland; Dorothy, wife of Tho. Cecill, the firſt Earl of Exeter; and Lucy, wife of Sir William Cornwallis, Knt (2). Sir Henry Danvers's elder brother, was Sir Charles Danvers, Knt, who adhering to Robert Earl of Eſſex, in his diſloyal deſigns againſt the Court, fell a ſacrifice to the Cecilian faction, and was attainted of high-treaſon, and beheaded in 1601 (3). The reader is to obſerve, that this family's ſurname is ſometimes written *Danvers*, and ſometimes *Davers* (4).

(1) See Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. fol. col. 920.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 313.

(3) See Camden's Annals of Q. Elizabeth, under the year 1601.

[B] *On account of his family's deſerts and ſufferings.*] For, both the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Charles Danvers, and the reſt that then ſuffered, were thought to have fallen a ſacrifice to the King of Scots ſucceſſion; and the Earl of Eſſex was conſidered by King James I. as his martyr (5).

(4) See Dugdale, and Camden, ibid. and Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 416, 417. and *Hibernia Pacata*, by T. Stafford, ubi ſupra.

[C] *Proper for the ſtudy of Phyſick and Botany.*] In order to put this noble deſign in execution, he purchaſed for the ſum of two hundred and fifty pounds, *five acres* of ground, in the place mentioned above; which had formerly ſerved for a burying place to the Jews (reſiding in great numbers at Oxford, till they were expelled England by King Edward I, in 1290). His right

(5) See Rapin's Hiſt. of England; in the beginning of King James the Firſt's reign, or Vol. II. edit. 1733. fol. p. 159.

shire (*k*). In his latter days he chose a retired life; and (upon what account is not well known) fell under the displeasure of the Court [*D*]. At length, he died at his house in Cornbury-Park in Oxfordshire, January the 20th, 164$\frac{3}{4}$, in the seventy-first year of his age: and was buried in the Chancel of the Parish-church of Dantesey, under a noble monument of white marble, with an epitaph [*E*], which contains the best character that can be given of him. He was never married (*l*).

(*k*) Camden's Britannia, ut supra, col. 105.

(*l*) Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 417.

His younger brother and heir, was Sir *John Danvers*, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber to King Charles I. who was so ungrateful and inhuman, as to sit in judgment upon his gracious Master, that unfortunate Prince, and to be one of those who signed the warrant for his execution. He died before the Restoration of King Charles II. but, however, all his estates both real and personal were confiscated in 1661 (*m*). His character is given below [*F*].

(*m*) See Register and Chronicle, &c. by Bishop Kennet. Lond. fol. 1728. p. 156, 178, 490.

right and title to that piece of land, he conveyed to the university, on the 27th of March 1622. And the ground being first considerably raised, to prevent its being overflowed by the river Charwell; the Heads of the university laid the first stones of the walls, on the 25th of July following. They were finished in 1633, being fourteen foot high: and cost the noble benefactor about five thousand pounds. The entrance into the garden, is on the north side under a stately gate, the charge of building which amounted to between five and six hundred pounds. Upon the front of that gateway, is this Latin inscription: *Gloriæ Dei Opt. Max. Honori Caroli Regis, in usum Acad. et Reipub. Henricus Comes Danby, D. D.* M DC XXXII. i. e. 'To the Glory of God, and the Honour of King 'Charles, for the use of the University and the King-'dom, Henry Earl of Danby gives and dedicates [*this 'Garden.*'] For the maintenance of it, and of a Gardiner, the noble founder left, by Will, the impropriate rectory of Kirkdale in Yorkshire: which was afterwards settled for the same purpose, by his brother and heir, Sir John Danvers, Knt. The Earl of Danby's Will bore date the 14th of December 1640 (6).

(6) A. Wood, Histor. & Antiquitates Univ. Oxon. edit. 1674. lib. II. p. 45. See also the Present State of England, &c. by J. Chamberlayne. Part i. ch. 12.

[*D*] *Fell under the displeasure of the Court*] For, he was fined *five thousand pounds* in the Star-Chamber, for having felled timber in Wichwood-forest, without licence (7). Which was such a severe punishment, as would not have been inflicted upon him, had he been in the good graces of the Court.

(7) The Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, Vol. II. Part ii. edit. 1735. 8vo. p. 644.

[*E*] *With an epitaph.*] Being as follows: '*Henry* 'Earl of *Danby*, second son to Sir *John Danvers*, 'Knight, and Dame *Elizabeth*, daughter and coheir 'to *John Nevil* Lord *Latimer*; born at *Dauntesey*, in 'the county of *Wiltshire*, the 28th day of June, Ann. 'Dom. 1573, and baptized in this church, the first of 'July following, being Sunday. He departed this life 'on the Twentieth day of January, Ann. Dom 1643, 'and lyeth here interred.

'He was partly bred up in the *Low-Country*-wars, 'under *Maurice* E. of *Nassaw* (afterwards Prince of '*Orange*) and in many other military actions of those 'times both by sea and land. He was made a Cap-'tain in the wars of *France*, and there knighted for his 'good service, under *Henry* the Fourth, then *French* 'King. He was employed as Lieutenant-General of 'the Horse, and Serjeant-Major of the whole army in '*Ireland*, under *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles* Ba-'ron of *Montjoy*, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

'He was made Baron of *Dauntsey*, and Peer of this 'realm, by King *James* the First; and by him made 'Lord President of *Munster*, and Governor of '*Garnesey*.

'By King *Charles* the First, he was created Earl of '*Danby*; made of his Privy Council, and Knight of 'the most noble Order of the Garter. But, declining 'more active employments, in his later time (by rea-'son of his imperfect health;) full of honour, wounds, 'and dayes, he died at his house, in *Cornbury Park*, 'in the county of *Oxford*, in the 71 year of his 'age (8).'

(8) Dugdale, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 417.

Laus Deo.

Sacred marble, safely keep
His dust, who under thee must sleep,
Untill the years again restore
Their dead, and time shall be no more.
Meane while, if he (which all things wears)
Does ruine thee; or if thy tears
Are shed for him: dissolve thy frame,
Thou art requited: for his fame,
His vertue, and his worth, shall be
Another monument to thee.

G. Herbert.

[*F*] *His character is given below.*] From the Lord Clarendon (9), who delivers it in the following words: 'The other (10) was Sir John Danvers, 'the younger brother and heir of the Earl of Danby, 'who was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to the 'King, and being neglected by his brother, and hav-'ing, by a vain expence in his way of living, con-'tracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay,' 'and being a proud formal weak man, between being 'seduced and a seducer, became so far involved in 'their counsels, that he suffered himself to be applied 'to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour 'to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who em-'ployed and contemned him at once: nor did that 'party of miscreants, look upon any two men in the 'kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did 'upon *Danvers* and Mildmay.'

(9) The History of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731. 8vo. Part iii. Vol. I. p. 255, 256.

(10) He had been just before giving the character of Sir Henry Mildmay, another of the King's servants, and Judges.

C

(*a*) T. Fuller's Church Hist. edit. 1655. B. xi. p. 176.

(*b*) From the College Register. It doth not appear by it that he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner, as T. Fuller affirms. Ibid.

(*c*) From the University Register. The Register-book, wherein his Bachelor of Arts degree was entered, is lost.

DAVENANT (JOHN) Bishop of Salisbury in the seventeenth century, was born in Watling-street, London, where his father was an eminent Merchant, but originally descended from the antient family of the Davenants of Sible-Heningham in Essex (*a*) [*A*]. What school he was educated in, we cannot find. But, on the fourth of July 1587, he was admitted Pensioner of Queen's College in Cambridge (*b*). He regularly took his degrees in Arts; that of Master in 1594 (*c*). A Fellowship was offered him about the same time, but his father would not permit him to accept of it on account of his plentiful fortune; however, after his father's decease, he accepted of one (*d*), into which he was admitted September 2, 1597 (*e*). Being thus settled in the College, he distinguished himself, as he had already done before [*B*], by his learning and other excellent qualifications (*f*). In the year 1601 he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity: and that of Doctor in 1609 (*g*). This same year last mentioned he was elected Lady Margaret's

(*d*) T. Fuller, ibid.

(*e*) College Register.

(*f*) T. Fuller, ibid.

(*g*) University Register.

[*A*] *Descended from the ancient family of the Davenants of Sible Heningham in Essex*] And of Davenant's-lands in that parish; where his father was born, and his ancestors had continued in a worshipful degree from Sir John Davenant, who lived in the time of King Henry the Third (1).

(1) Fuller, ubi supra.

[*B*] *He distinguished himself, as he had already done before.*] In his youthful exercises, he gave such an earnest of his future maturity, that Dr Whitacre hearing him dispute, said, 'That he would in time prove 'the honour of the University;' a prediction that proved not untrue, as T. Fuller observes (2).

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *He*

Margaret's Profeſſor, which place he enjoyed till 1621 (*b*). He was alſo one of her Preachers in 1609 and 1612. On the 20th of October 1614, he was admitted Maſter of his College, and continued in that ſtation till April 20, 1622 (*i*). And ſo conſiderable did he become, that he was one of thoſe eminent Engliſh Divines, ſent by King James I. to the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618 [C]. He returned to England in May 1619 (*k*), after having viſited the moſt eminent cities, and other remarkable places, in the Low-Countries (*l*). Upon the death of his brother-in-law Dr Robert Townſon, he was nominated Biſhop of Saliſbury; and was elected June 11, 1621, confirmed November 17. following, and conſecrated the 18th of the ſame month (*m*). He continued in favour during the remainder of King James the Firſt's reign; but in Lent 163$\frac{0}{1}$, he incurred the Court's diſpleaſure, for meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the Predeſtinarian controverſy [D]: "all curious ſearch" into which, his Majeſty had ſtrictly injoined "to be laid aſide (*n*)." For this pretended contempt of the King's Declaration, he was not only reproved, the ſame day; but alſo ſummoned to anſwer, two days after, before the Privy-Council. And though he was diſmiſſed without further trouble, and even admitted to kiſs the King's hand [E], yet he was never afterwards in favour at Court (*o*). He died of a conſumption April 20. 1641 (*p*), to which a ſenſe of the ſorrowful times, that he ſaw were bad, and foreſaw would be worſe, did not a little contribute (*q*). Among other benefactions, he gave to Queen's College in Cambridge, the perpetual Advowſons of the Rectories of Cheverel Magna, and Newton Tony in Wiltſhire; and a Rent-charge of thirty-one pounds ten ſhillings *per annum*, for the founding of two Bible-Clerks, and buying books for the library, in the ſame College (*r*). We ſhall give an account of what he publiſhed in the note [F]. As to his character; He

(*b*) Catalogue of thoſe Profeſſors; before the Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon, reprinted at London, 1709.

(*i*) College Regiſter.

(*k*) G. Camdeni Annl. Regis Jacobi I. Annal. Apparatus. Edit. 1691. 4to. p. 45. ad calcem ipſius Epiſtol.

(*l*) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, Book x. p. 82.

(*m*) T. Fuller, ibid. p. 91. & J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, &c. edit. 1716. fol. p. 261.

(*n*) In his Declaration prefixed to the XXXIX Articles, in 1628: which has frequently been reprinted at the head of them.

(*o*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, Book xi. p. 138, 139, 140.

(*p*) Godwin de Præſulibus, cum continuatione Cl. Vir. Gul. Richardſon. Cantab. 1743. fol. p. 358.

(*q*) Fuller, ibid. p. 176.

(*r*) From the information of the preſent worthy Maſter.

[C] *He was one of thoſe eminent Engliſh Divines, ſent by King James I, to the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618.*] The others were, George Carleton, D. D. then Biſhop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chicheſter; Joſeph Hall, D D. then Dean of Worceſter, and afterwards Biſhop of Exeter and Norwich; and Samuel Ward, D. D. Maſter of Sidney-college, Camb. and Archdeacon of Taunton. [But the air not agreeing with Dr Hall, he obtained leave to return to England about Chriſtmas, and Thomas Goade, D. D. was ſent in his room (3).] They embarked Octob. 17 (4), landed at Middleburgh the 20th; came to the Hague the 27th of the ſame month; and thence removed to Dort, where the Synod was opened November 3, O. S. and ended April 29 (5). They came back to England May 7 (6). During their ſtay in Holland, theſe four Divines had ten pounds a day allowed them by the States; and a preſent of two hundred pounds, at their departure, for their charges; beſides a golden medal, to each of them, whereon was repreſented the Synod ſitting (7).

(3) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, Book x p. 77, 78, 79, 80.

(4) Camdeni Annales, ubi ſupra, p. 37.

(5) Fuller, ibid. p. 78.

(6) Camden, ibid. p. 45.

(7) Ibid. p. 79, 82.

[D] *For meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the Predeſtinarian controverſy.*] As ſoon as his Sermon was ended, it was ſignified to him, That his Majeſty was much diſpleaſed, he had ſtirred this queſtion which his Majeſty had forbidden to be meddled withal, one way or other: the Biſhop's anſwer was, That he had delivered nothing, but the received doctrine of our Church eſtabliſhed in the 17th Article, and that he was ready to juſtify the truth of what he had then taught. He was told, The doctrine was not gainſaid, but his Majeſty had given command, theſe queſtions ſhould not be debated, and therefore he took it more offenſively that any ſhould be ſo bold, as in his own hearing to break his royal commands. To which he replied, That he never underſtood his Majeſty had forbid the handling of any doctrine compriſed in the Articles of our Church, but only raiſing of new queſtions, or adding of new ſenſe thereunto, which he had not done, nor ever ſhould do. Two days after, when he appeared before the Privy-Council, Dr Sam. Harſnet Archbiſhop of York made a ſpeech near half an hour long, aggravating the boldneſs of Biſhop Davenant's offence, and ſhewing many inconveniencies that it was likely to draw after it. When the Archbiſhop had finiſhed his ſpeech, the Biſhop deſired, That ſince he was called thither as an offender, he might not be put to anſwer a long ſpeech upon the ſudden, but that his Grace would be pleaſed to charge him point by point, and ſo to receive his anſwer; for he did not yet underſtand wherein he had broken any commandment of his Majeſty's, which was taken for granted. After ſome pauſe, the Archbiſhop told him, He knew well enough the point which was urged againſt him, namely the breach of the King's declaration. Then he ſtood upon this defence, That the doctrine of Predeſtination which he taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration: 1ſt, Becauſe in the Declaration all the Articles are eſtabliſhed, amongſt which, the Article of Predeſtination is one. 2. Becauſe all Miniſters are urged to ſubſcribe unto the truth of the Article, and all ſubjects to continue in the profeſſion of that as well as of the reſt. Upon theſe and ſuch like grounds, he gathered, it could not be eſteemed amongſt forbidden, curious, or needleſs doctrines; and here he deſired that out of any clauſe in the Declaration it might be ſhewed him, that keeping himſelf within the bounds of the Article, he had tranſgreſſed his Majeſty's command; but the Declaration was not produced, nor any particular words in it, only this was urged, That the King's will was, that for the peace of the Church theſe high queſtions ſhould be forborne. He added, That he was ſorry he underſtood not his Majeſty's intention; which if he had done before, he ſhould have made choice of ſome other matter to treat of, which might have given no offence; and that for the time to come, he ſhould conform himſelf as readily as any other to his Majeſty's command. Whereupon he was diſmiſſed. At his departure, he entreated the Lords of the Council, to let his Majeſty underſtand, that he had not boldly, or wilfully and wittingly, againſt his Declaration, meddled with the forenamed point; and that now underſtanding fully his Majeſty's mind, and intention, he ſhould humbly yield obedience thereunto (8).

(8) This account is taken from Biſhop Davenant's relation of the whole matter in a letter to Dr Ward. See Fuller, ubi ſupra, B. xi. p. 139, 140.

[E] *And even admitted to kiſs the King's hand.*] When he came into the royal preſence, his Majeſty declared to him his reſolution, That he would not have this high point meddled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, becauſe it was too high for the people's underſtanding; and other points which concern reformation and newneſs of life, were more needful and profitable. The Biſhop promiſed obedience therein, and ſo kiſſing his Majeſty's hand departed (9).

(9) Fuller, ibid.

[F] *We ſhall give an account of what he publiſhed.*] I. A Latin Expoſition on St Paul's Epiſtle to the Coloſſians. *Expoſitio Epiſtolæ D. Pauli ad Coloſſenſes, per Reverendum in Chriſto Patrem Joannem Sariſburienſem Epiſcopum in lucem edita: Olim ab eodem, Dominæ Margaretæ in Academia Cantabrigienſi Profeſſore Theologico, dictata*, fol. The third edition was printed at Cambridge in 1639. It is the ſubſtance of Lectures read by our author as Lady-Margaret-Profeſſor. So was alſo the following; II *Prælectiones de duobus in Theologia controverſis Capitibus: De Judice Controverſiarum, primo; De Juſtitia habituali & actuali, altero: Per Reverendiſſimum Virum Joan. Davenantium, S. Theol. Doctorem (nunc Epiſcopum Sariſburienſem) ante aliquot annos in celeberrima Academia Cantabrigienſi Theologiæ profeſſorem pro Domina Margareta, in Scholis Theologicis auditoribus ſuis dictatæ.* Cantab. 1631, fol.

He was humble, and hoſpitable; painful in preaching and writing; and behaved in every ſtation with exemplary gravity and moderation (*s*). He was a man of great learning, and an eminent Divine (*t*); but ſtrictly attached to Calviniſm, with all its abſurdities of unconditionate Predeſtination, &c. Whilſt he was at the Synod of Dort, he inclined to the doctrine of Univerſal Redemption; and was for a middle way between the two extremes, maintaining The Certainty of the Salvation of a certain number of the Elect; and that offers of pardon were ſent not only to all that ſhould believe and repent, but to all that heard the Goſpel: that Grace ſufficient to convince and perſuade the impenitent (ſo as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themſelves) went along with theſe offers; that the Redemption of Chriſt and his Merits were applicable to theſe; and conſequently there was a poſſibility of their Salvation (*u*). He was buried in Saliſbury Cathedral.

(*s*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 176.

(*t*) Summæ fuit eruditionis, & magni nominis theologus. Richardſon, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) The Hiſtory of the Reformation, &c. in the Low-Countries. fol. by Ger. Brandt, Vol. III. p. 256.

fol. i. e. Lectures on the two controverted points, 1. The Judge of controverſies; 2. Habitual and actual Righteouſneſs, &c. III. In 1634, he publiſhed the Queſtions, which he had diſputed upon in the ſchools, 49 in number, under this title, *Determinationes Quæſtionum quarundam Theologicarum, per Reverendiſſimum Virum Joannem Davenantium*, &c. fol. IV. The laſt thing he publiſhed, was, 'Animadverſions upon a treatiſe lately publiſhed and intitled, '*God's Love to Mankind, manifeſted by diſproving his abſolute Decree for their Damnation.*' Cambr. 1641, 8*vo*. This treatiſe was written by S. Hoard. C

D'AVENANT or DAVENANT (WILLIAM) Poet-Laureat in the reigns of Charles the Firſt and Charles the Second. He was the younger ſon of an honeſt citizen of Oxford, one Mr John Davenant, who kept that which was afterwards the Crown-Tavern there, and was a perſon of a very grave diſpoſition, as well as unblemiſhed reputation (*a*). William Davenant, of whom we are to ſpeak, was born in the latter end of the month of February 1605, and, on the third of March following, was chriſtened at St Martin's Church, in which pariſh his father's houſe ſtood (*b*). While he was a child he was very much taken notice of for his briſk and lively parts, and for his early inclination to letters, more eſpecially to Poetry, hinted by ſome, and aſſerted by others, to have been owing to ſome very ſingular accidents, as to which it may not be amiſs to enter into a few particulars, though the reports themſelves deſerve but little credit (*c*) [*A*]. He received the firſt rudiments of polite learning from Mr Edward Sylveſter, who kept, at that time, a grammar-ſchool in the pariſh of All Saints in Oxford (*d*), where he was ſo happy as to breed up ſeveral perſons, who, afterwards, became eminent for their learning and abilities. In the year 1621, the fame in which his father was Mayor of the city, he was entered a member of the Univerſity of Oxford in Lincoln-College, under the tuition of Mr Daniel Hough (*e*); but the Oxford Hiſtorian is of opinion, that he did not ſtay there long (*f*), but, being ſtrongly affected to lighter ſtudies, and perhaps encouraged by ſome of the young Noblemen and Gentlemen with whom he became acquainted there, he quitted the ſeat of the Muſes, in hopes of making his fortune at Court, where he

(*a*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(*b*) Langbaine's Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 106.

(*c*) Winſtanley's Lives of Engliſh Poets, p. 185.

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 411, 505.

(*e*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 411.

[*A*] *Deſerve but little credit.*] We are obliged to Mr Wood for a double account of this celebrated Poet. In his Latin work, which was tranſlated for him, and is thought ſometimes to expreſs the ſentiments alſo of Dr Fell, under whoſe auſpice that tranſlation was performed; there is a ſuccinct account of the different humours of John Davenant the father, and William Davenant the ſon (1). But in Mr Wood's Engliſh Hiſtory of Oxford writers, we have his ſentiments a little more at large; for, having told us who his father was, and that the tavern he kept was afterwards known by the ſign of the crown, he proceeds thus (2): 'His mother was a very beautiful woman, of a 'good wit and converſation, in which ſhe was imi-'tated by none of her children, but by this William. 'The father, who was a very grave and diſcreet citi-'zen (yet an admirer and lover of plays and play-'makers, eſpecially Shakeſpear, who frequented his 'houſe in his journies between Warwickſhire and 'London) was of a melancholic diſpoſition, and was 'ſeldom or never ſeen to laugh, in which he was imi-'tated by none of his children, but by Robert his el-'deſt ſon, afterwards Fellow of St John's college, and 'a venerable Doctor of Divinity.' That there is ſomewhat of myſtery in this account, and more eſpecially in the parentheſis relating to Shakeſpear, the reader will eaſily diſcern; but whether a modern writer has truly interpreted Mr Wood's meaning, muſt be left to the reader's judgment (3). 'His father's houſe, 'ſays Mr Jacob, being frequented by the famous 'Shakeſpear in his journies to Warwickſhire, his poe-'tical genius in his youth, was, by that means, very 'much encouraged, and ſome will have it, that the 'handſome landlady, as well as the good wine, in-'vited the Tragedian to thoſe quarters.' Thus much is certain, that our author admired Shakeſpear more than any Engliſh Poet, and that one of the firſt eſſays of his muſe was a poem upon his death, which happened when Davenant was about ten years old. The reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it (4).

(1) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 411.

(3) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 58.

(4) Davenant's Works, P. i. p. 218.

ODE in remembrance of maſter William Shakeſpear.

I.

Beware delighted Poets! when you ſing,
To welcome nature in the early ſpring,
Your num'rous feet not tread;
The banks of Avon; for each flow'r
As it ne'er knew or ſun or ſhow'r,
Hangs there the penſive head.

II.

Each tree, whoſe ſpreading growth hath made
Rather a night beneath than ſhade,
(Unwilling now to grow)
Looks like the plume a Captain wears,
Whoſe rifled falls are ſteeped with tears,
Which from his laſt rage flow.

III.

The pitious river wept itſelf away,
Long ſince (alas! to ſuch a ſwift decay,)
That reach the map and look,
If you a river there can ſpie,
And for a river your mock'd eye,
Will find a ſhallow brook.

[*B*] *Were*

he became first page to Frances Duchess of Richmond, a Lady very famous in those days, who had a great influence at Court, and who kept a kind of court of her own (*g*). He afterwards removed into the family of Sir Fulk Grevile Lord Brooke, who being himself a man of parts and learning, and much addicted to Poetry, he stood very high in his favour, and might, very probably, have made a figure in the world under his patronage, if that noble Peer had not been suddenly deprived of life by the hands of a barbarous assassin, September 30th, 1628 (*h*). By this unfortunate accident Mr Davenant was left quite at large, but, however, without any detriment to his fortune, since we find that the year ensuing he produced his first play to the world, which was very well received, and to which some very honourable recommendations were prefixed when it was printed [*B*]. He spent the next eight years of his life in a constant attendance upon the Court, where nobody was better received, or more highly caressed, being particularly intimate with Thomas Carew, Esq; Endymion Porter, Esq; Sir John Suckling, Mr Henry Jermyn, the Honourable Henry Howard, and, in a word, with all the great wits of that time; nor was he less regarded by the Earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer Weston, and other great men (*i*), notwithstanding an unlucky accident that did no small injury to his handsome face, which the Oxford Historian assures us, arose from his familiarity with a handsome black girl in Axe-yard, in Westminster (*k*), and which exposed him to a good deal of raillery [*C*]. In this space of time he wrote several plays, and many more poems, which

(*g*) Wilson's Reign of King James I. in the Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 777.

(*h*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 443.

(*i*) As appears from the poems addressed to them in his Miscellanies, and from his Dedications.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

[*B*] *Were prefixed when it was printed*] The title of this first dramatick piece of our author's runs thus:

I. Albovine *King of the* Lombards, *his Tragedy*, Lond. 1629, 4*to*.

This work is founded upon true History, and our author seems to have drawn his materials both from antient and modern writers (5). He imitates Shakespear in many places, and copies him in some. Mr Langbaine says it was dedicated to the Right Honourable the Duke of Somerset (6), in which strange mistake he is followed by later writers; but the Play itself plainly proves, that it was addressed to the unfortunate Robert Ker, Earl of Somerset (7), and it is very evident from thence, that Nobleman was not so little considered under his misfortunes as is generally imagined. It was justly esteemed a very good first Play, and as such is commended to the world by eight copies of verses, all written by eminent men, of whom we will mention three, Sir Henry Blount, Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and the honourable Henry Howard.

(5) Paulus Diaconus de Gestis Langobardorum, Lib. ii. c. 28. Gregorius Episc Turonensis Hist. Francorum. Lib. ii. c. 28. Belleforest Hist. Tragiques, Tom. IV. Novel 19.

(6) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 107. Jacob's Lives of English Poets, Vol. I. p. 59.

(7) Davenant's Works, P. ii. p. 414.

[*C*] *To a good deal of raillery.*] The plain fact is, that Mr Davenant, being very amorous, was so unlucky as to carry the tokens of his irregular gallantries in the depression of his nose, which afforded the satyrick wits of those times a pregnant subject for a kind of familiar abuse, which affected him as little, or perhaps less, than it would any other man (8). This accident happened pretty early in his life, since it gave occasion to the following stanzas in Sir John Suckling's *Sessions of the Poets*, which I have transcribed from a very correct copy (9).

(8) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(9) The Works of Sir John Suckling, p. 6, 7.

Will Dav'nant asham'd of a foolish mischance,
That he had got lately trav'ling in France;
Modestly hop'd th' handsomeness of 's muse,
Might any deformity about him excuse.

And,

Surely the company had been content,
If they could have found any precedent;
But in all their records, in verse or in prose,
There was none of a Laureat who wanted a nose.

And, as if this had been a jest that could never die, in a poem written some years after with the same title, there was another bold stroke at poor Sir William Davenant's disfigured visage, but with more of ill nature, and much less of wit in it (10).

(10) Dryden's Miscellanies, Vol. II. p. 95.

Damn'd Holden, with 's dull German Princess appear'd,
Whom if Dav'nant begot, as some do suppose,
Apollo said the pillory should crop off his ears,
And make them more suitable unto his nose.

But, what is most extraordinary, Mr Davenant himself could not forget the authoress of his misfortune, but has introduced her into his *Gondibert*, and, as the Criticks think, a little improperly. He brings two friends, Ulfinore the elder, and Goltho the younger, on a journey to the Court of Gondibert, but in their passage, to shew, as he would suggest, the frailty of youth, they were arrested by a very unlooked-for accident, in spite of the wise counsels which Ulfinore had *just* received from his father (11).

(11) Gondibert, B. iii. Cant. 6. Stanza 31.

For a black beauty did her pride display,
Through a large window, and in jewels shone,
As if to please the world, weeping for day,
Night had put all her starry jewels on.

This beauty gaz'd on both, and Ulfinore
Hung down his head, but yet did lift his eyes
As if he fain would see a little more,
For much, though bashful, he did beauty prize.

Goltho did like a blushless statue stare,
Boldly her practis'd boldness did out-look,
And ev'n for fear she would mistrust her snare,
Was ready to cry out, That he was took!

She, with a wicked woman's prosp'rous art,
A seeming modesty, the window clos'd;
Wisely delay'd his eyes, since of his heart
She thought she had sufficiently dispos'd.

* * * * * * * * *

E're he could more lament, a little page,
Clean and perfum'd, one whom this Dame did breed
To guess at ills too manly for his age,
Steps swiftly to him, and arrests his steed:

With civil whisper cries, *My Lady, Sir!* ——
At this Goltho alights as swiftly post,
As posters mount by ling'ring loth to err;
As wind-bound men, whose sloth their first wind lost.

* * * * * * * * *

They enter, and ascend, and enter then
Where Dalga with black eyes does sinners draw;
And with her voice holds fast repenting men,
To whose warm jet light Goltho is but straw.

Nicely as bridegroom's was her chamber dress'd,
Her bed as bride's, and richer than a throne;
And sweeter seem'd than the Circania's nest,
Though built in Eastern groves of cinnamon.

The price of Princes pleasure, who her love
(Though but false ware) at rates so costly bought;
The wealth of many, but may hourly prove
Spoils to some one by whom herself is caught.

She, sway'd by sinful beauty's destiny,
Finds her tyrannick pow'r must now expire,
Who meant to kindle Goltho in her eye,
But to her breast has brought the raging fire.

Yet

which he addreſſed to the principal perſons of the Court, and was alſo employed in framing ſeveral maſques, that were acted at Court, not only by the principal nobility of both ſexes, but one in which even the Queen herſelf vouchſafed to take a ſhare, though it gave very high offence to the ſcrupulous moraliſts of thoſe times (*l*). By theſe performances he raiſed his poetical character to a very great height; moſt of his pieces, whatever may be thought of them now, being then eſteemed the beſt of their kind, and, as ſuch, highly applauded by thoſe who were thought the ableſt judges (*m*). We ſhall mention their titles, and a few remarkable particulars that relate to them, in the notes [*D*]. Upon the death of the juſtly celebrated Benjamin Johnſon, in 1637, our Poet ſucceeded to his laurel; which gave very high offence to Mr Thomas May, who was his competitor; and though it was well enough known, that Mr Davenant owed his preferment to the favour of the Queen, yet his rival carried his ſpleen ſtill higher, and, from being a warm courtier, became not only a warmer malecontent, but diſtinguiſhed himſelf afterwards againſt his Royal Maſter, both as an Advocate and an Hiſtorian to the Parliament (*n*). As for Mr Davenant he continued veryſted faſt in his old road, adhered to his old principles, and his old friends, writing from time to time new poems, exhibiting new plays, and having the chief direction and management of the Court diverſions, ſo long as the diſorders of thoſe times would permit (*o*). Of theſe pieces alſo we ſhall ſay ſo much as is neceſſary at the bottom of the page [*E*]. When the troubles began, Mr Davenant had an early ſhare in them; for he was accuſed to the Parliament of being embarked in a deſign in May 1641, for bringing up the army for the defence of the King's perſon, and the ſupport of his authority, into which he was very probably drawn by his friends, there being many of them deep in this ſcheme, ſuch as Mr Henry Piercy, afterwards Lord Piercy, Mr Goring, Mr

(*l*) Langbaine's Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 110.

(*m*) As appears by the recommendatory verſes of Sir John Suckling, Mr Waller, Mr Cowley, Mr Carew, &c.

(*n*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413, 414.

(*o*) Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum, P. ii. p. 191.

Yet even in ſimple love ſhe uſes art,
Though weepings are from looſer eyes but leaks,
Yet eldeſt lovers ſcarce would doubt her heart,
So well ſhe weeps, and thus to Goltho ſpeaks.

[*D*] *That relate to them in the notes.*] We will in this note give a liſt of ſuch of his works, as were written within this period, that is, before he was honoured with the title of Poet Laureat, and which, in the judgment of thoſe times, were generally thought to have deſerved it.

II. *The* Just Italian, *a Tragi-Comedy*, London, 1630, 4*to*.

This dramatick performance is dedicated to Edward Earl of Dorſet, whoſe favourable opinion of it ſaved it from the condemnation of a haſty audience. It is introduced by two copies of verſes, one written by Mr William Hopkins, and the other by Mr Thomas Carew; and it cannot certainly be denied to have much wit, deep contrivance, and a quick ſucceſſion of buſy ſcenes handſomely expreſſed. Some of our later Poets, who had read this piece, loſt nothing by their reading; and if it were not an invidious taſk, one might ſhew where and what they gained.

III. *The* Cruel Brother, *a Tragedy*, London, 1630, 4*to*.

This is dedicated to Richard Lord Weſton, at that time Lord High Treaſurer of England. The author acknowledges, in this Dedication, ſome errors in the piece itſelf; and in this, no doubt, the Criticks will allow him a ſound judgment; it ſeems however to have been pretty well received.

IV. Coelum Britannicum, *a Maſque at Whitehall, in the Banquetting-Houſe, on Shrove Tueſday night, the 18th of February* 1633.

It was attributed to our author, though the machinery, which was very fine, was contrived and executed by Inigo Jones, and part of the piece itſelf written by Tho. Carew (12). The King himſelf wore a maſk in this piece, and the reſt of the performers were men of the firſt quality in the three nations (13). This we find omitted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue.

(12) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(13) Sir Wm. Davenant's Works, p. 382.

V. *Triumphs of Prince D'Amour, a Maſque, preſented by his Highneſs at his palace in the Middle Temple the 24th of February* 1635, 4*to*.

This maſque, at the requeſt of the honourable ſociety of the Middle Temple, was invented and written by our author in three days, and was preſented by the members thereof as an entertainment to the Prince Elector. The muſick of the ſongs and ſymphonies was compoſed by Mr Henry and Mr William Lawes, his Majeſty's ſervants (14).

(14) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 1, 11.

VI. *Platonick Lovers, a Tragi-Comedy*, London, 1636, 4*to*.

VII. *The Wits, a Comedy*, London, 1636, 4*to*.

This play is dedicated to our author's true friend, and early patron, Endymion Porter, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber There is a copy of verſes in vindication of it, prefixed by Thomas Carew, Eſq; It was favourably received by the publick after it's firſt performance, in which it ran ſome riſk of being loſt, and was for many years acted with great applauſe.

VIII. Britannia Triumphans, *a Maſque preſented at Whitehall by the King's Majeſty and his Lords, on Sunday after Twelfth night, anno* 1637, 4*to*.

This piece is not inſerted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue, or in the folio edition of our author's works, but has been very lately printed in Ireland.

IX. *The* Temple *of* Love, *a Maſque, preſented by the Queen's Majeſty and her Ladies at Whitehall.*

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] Within the ſpace preſcribed to this note, his performances were but few:

X. Salmacida Spolia, *a Maſque, preſented to the King and Queen at Whitehall, the* 21ſt *of January* 1639, London 1639, 4*to*.

The ſubject was ſet down by our author and Inigo Jones; the invention, ornament, ſcenes, &c. by the latter, and what was ſpoken or ſung was written by Mr Davenant, then her Majeſty's ſervant; and the muſick compoſed by Lewis Richard, Maſter of her Majeſty's muſick (15). This piece is likewiſe omitted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue, and in the collections of Davenant's works, which however is a point of injuſtice; for though no queſtion can be made that Inigo Jones was a man of exalted genius, yet convincing evidence might be brought to prove, that in matters of this nature few people had a more lively imagination, or a taſte more correct, than our author.

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

It muſt have been ſome time within this period, that he publiſhed the firſt edition of his *Miſcellaneous Poems*, which I muſt confeſs I have never ſeen, but I am acquainted with their contents from later editions. Theſe conſiſted of addreſſes to his patrons and his friends, of new years compliments to the Queen, of prologues and epilogues to his own and other mens plays, and other things of a like nature. It muſt be confeſſed, that as a great part of them were written while he was a very young man, ſo they want this apology to palliate the roughneſs of ſome, and the want of eaſe and perſpicuity in others; though in his ſucceeding works he is not at all liable to this cenſure. But whatever exceptions may be taken to his poetical character in theſe juvenile performances, we muſt allow, that the candour, gratitude, tenderneſs, friendſhip, and good nature, expreſſed in them, make ſufficient amends, inaſmuch as it plainly proves, that, if, allowing for the ſtate of our poetry at that time, he deſerved to be admired for his parts; the many amiable qualities of his mind rendered him alſo very juſtly beloved.

[*F*] *Some*

Mr Jermyn, Mr Aſhburnham, Sir John Suckling, and others (*p*). Moſt of theſe, upon the diſcovery of their deſign, ſought to ſecure themſelves by flight, and Mr Davenant among the reſt; but a proclamation being publiſhed for apprehending him, he was ſtopped at Feverſham, ſent up to town, and put into the cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms (*q*). In the month of July following he was bailed, and, not long after, finding it expedient to withdraw to France, he had the misfortune to be ſeized again in Kent, by the Mayor of Canterbury. At laſt, however, he had the good luck to compleat his intention, and to retire beyond the ſeas, where he continued for ſome time (*r*). But the Queen ſending over a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, for the uſe of the Earl of Newcaſtle's army, Mr Davenant (*s*) came over with them, offered his ſervice to that noble Peer, who was his old friend and patron, and was by him made Lieutenant-General of his Ordnance (*t*), to the no ſmall diſlike of ſome, who thought that a poſt very unfit for a Poet; in which, however, they made no great compliment to their General, who wrote poems and plays as well as Mr Davenant (*u*). It is very probable, that he took ſome pains to qualify himſelf effectually for his duty in that capacity, ſince, in the month of September, 1643 (*w*), he received the honour of knighthood from the King, at the ſiege of Glouceſter, as a mark of the ſatisfaction he took in his ſervices, at a ſeaſon when he had a very fair opportunity of diſcovering who they were that deſerved that character. His Muſe, in the midſt of theſe toils and troubles, ſometimes raiſed her voice, and the ſame gratitude he had expreſſed to former patrons, he was inclined to ſhew to ſuch as protected his fortunes now, ſome inſtances of which were made publick [*F*]. It does not appear how he came to leave the northern army, nor have we any accounts of his military ſervices after the time before-mentioned; but, after the King's affairs began to decline, he judged it neceſſary to retire into France, where he was extreamly well received by the Queen (*x*), and, it ſeems, was taken much into her confidence, ſince we find him embarked in a negotiation of great importance, when the King was at Newcaſtle, which was in the ſummer of 1646. Before this time Sir William had embraced the Popiſh Religion, which, we have reaſon to judge, might be a concurring, if not a principal, cauſe of his being employed at this time, and upon ſuch an occaſion. The noble Hiſtorian (*y*), who had always a particular friendſhip for him, has given a full account of it, though not much to his advantage, but ſtill with all the tenderneſs due to his acknowledged ſenſe of Sir William's good intentions, and of that long and intimate acquaintance that had ſubſiſted between them; which is ſo much more worthy the reader's notice, as it has entirely eſcaped the obſervation of moſt of thoſe, who have undertaken to give us this Gentleman's memoirs, though the moſt remarkable paſſage in his whole life (*z*) [*G*]. Upon

(*p*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. i. p. 97.

(*q*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(*r*) Sir John Mennes's Poems, p. 35.

(*s*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. ii. p. 53.

(*t*) Life of Wm. Duke of Newcaſtle, written by his Dutcheſs, p. 150.

(*u*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236.

(*w*) Walkeley's catalogue of the Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, Barons of England, Baronets, Knights, &c. Lond. 1653. 8vo. p. 163.

(*x*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(*y*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 495.

(*z*) Such as Langbaine, Winſtanley, &c.

[*F*] *Some inſtances of which were made publick.*] It is very probable, that the two following pieces were written ſome years earlier than they were printed, for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that after Mr Davenant had fallen ſo grievouſly under the diſpleaſure of the Parliament, he could have any great intercourſe with his Stationer at London, ſo that it is more likely, theſe plays having been formerly acted with applauſe, were now printed in the abſence, though not without the conſent, of their author.

XI. *The unfortunate Lovers, a Tragedy*, London, 1643, *and again in* 1649, *4to.*

This tragedy is founded upon an Italian ſtory, was received very kindly at the time of it's appearance, and was often acted after the Reſtoration. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that this ſhould be omitted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue of our author's works, notwithſtanding it is mentioned by Winſtanley (16), and which is more in Mr Langbaine's own catalogue of plays.

(16) Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets, p. 186.

XII. *Love and Honour, a Tragi-Comedy*, Lond. 1649, *4to.*

The ſcene is laid in Savoy, and after dramatick entertainments were revived again, Mr Langbaine aſſures us, that he has ſeen this play often acted with applauſe, at the play-houſe in Lincoln's-inn fields, and afterwards at the theatre in Dorſet Garden (17). In point of ſtile it reſembled Shakeſpear rather than Fletcher, and is more correctly finiſhed than any of Sir William Davenant's former plays, which ſhews that he was not hurt by the applauſe that he had met with, but thought himſelf obliged to labour hard, and take ſo much the more pains to deſerve it. Both theſe plays are without any teſtimonies of the author's friends before them, becauſe publiſhed at a time, when, perhaps, there were not many who were inclined to inform the world that they were his friends.

(17) Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 109.

XIII MADAGASCAR, *with other poems*, London, 1648, *8vo, 2d* edit.

His Madagaſcar was addreſſed to Prince Rupert, and muſt have been written many years before, ſince there are ſome commendatory verſes addreſſed to him expreſsly upon this poem, by his old friend Sir John Suckling, who died about ſix years before the printing of this edition. There are ſome other commendatory verſes alſo, that were prefixed to the firſt edition, and were reprinted now; and amongſt theſe likewiſe there is a copy of Sir John Suckling's. We may diſcern from the printing of this ſecond edition at that juncture, how much the poetick talent of Sir William Davenant was then admired, ſince it is plain he could then have no other patron than the publick, being himſelf an exile in France, and many of his friends with him. The dedicatory inſcription before theſe poems is very ſingular and laudable, and as at the ſame time it is very ſhort, the reader will probably be well pleaſed to peruſe it. Thus it runs:

If theſe POEMS *live, may their memories by whom they were cheriſhed,* ENDYM. PORTER, H. JERMYN, *live with them.*

[*G*] *Though the moſt remarkable paſſage in his whole life*] The King, in retiring to the Scots, had followed the advice of the French Ambaſſador, who had promiſed on their behalf, if not more than he had authority to do, at leaſt more than they were inclined to perform. To juſtify however his conduct at home, he was inclined to throw the weight in ſome meaſure upon the King, and with this view, he, by an expreſs, informed Cardinal Mazarine, that his Majeſty was too reſerved in giving the Parliament ſatisfaction, and therefore deſired that ſome perſon might be ſent over, who might have a ſufficient degree of credit with that Monarch, to perſuade him to ſuch compliances as were neceſſary for his ſervice. 'The Queen, ſays the Noble Hiſtorian (18), who was never adviſed by thoſe 'who either underſtood or valued his true intereſt, 'conſulted with thoſe about her, and ſent Sir William 'Davenant, an honeſt man and a witty, but in all reſpects inferior to ſuch a truſt, with a letter of credit 'to the King, who knew the perſon well enough under another character than was like to give him much 'credit in the argument in which he was intruſted, although her Majeſty had likewiſe otherwiſe declared 'her

(18) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 495.

Upon his return to Paris, he fell in with that ſet of people, who laboured to ſilence the ſtorm of their ſorrows by ſome kind of amuſement; his were literary; and the deſire he had of writing an heroick poem, meeting with much leiſure, and ſome encouragement, led him to undertake one of a new kind, the two firſt books of which he finiſhed at the Louvre, where he lived with his old friend Lord Jermyn, and theſe, with a ſenſible preface, addreſſed to Mr Hobbes, his anſwer, and ſome commendatory poems, were publiſhed in England (*a*). All, however, were not captivated by Sir William's verſe, or frighted into ſilence by the Philoſopher of Malmſbury's proſe, ſo that the worth of this work was quickly drawn into queſtion, and, upon this, the King's little Court were extreamly divided (*b*). Fame, however, was ſo thin a diet, that Sir William Davenant was willing to venture into any climate that promiſed a better: yet, like a worthy man, he had a view to his country's good, while he conſulted his own. He had heard, that vaſt improvements might be made in the loyal colony of Virginia, in caſe they had proper artificers, and, finding there were many of theſe in France, who were deſtitute of employment, he formed a very wiſe and honeſt project of removing induſtrious men, who were in want of bread, to a fruitful country that was in want of them; which having, by the aſſiſtance of Queen Henrietta-Maria, brought to bear, he embarked, with his little colony, at one of the ports in Normandy (*c*). But, as he was a moſt unlucky traveller, ſo, before his veſſel was clear of the French coaſt, ſhe was met by one of the Parliament ſhips of war, taken and carried into the Iſle of Wight, where our diſappointed projector was ſent cloſe priſoner to Cowes-Caſtle (*d*), and there had leiſure enough, and, which is more extraordinary, wanted not inclination to reſume his heroick poem; and, having writ about half the third book, in a very gloomy priſon, he thought fit to ſtop ſhort again, finding himſelf, as he imagined, under the very ſhadow of death. This part of his poem was alſo publiſhed, and was, in thoſe days, well received (*e*) [*H*]. In this ſituation

(*a*) Langbaine's Engl. Dramatick Poets, p. 112, 113.

(*b*) See certain verſes written by the author's friends, to be reprinted with the ſecond edition of Gondibert.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(*d*) This appears from his own poſtſcript to part of the third book of Gondibert.

(*e*) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 112.

'her opinion to his Majeſty, "That he ſhould part "with the Church for his peace and ſecurity." Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French Ambaſſador, eaſy admiſſion to the King, who heard him patiently all he had to ſay, and anſwered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleaſed with the advice. When he found his Majeſty unſatisfied, and that he was not like to conſent to what was ſo earneſtly deſired by them by whoſe advice he was ſent, who undervalued all thoſe ſcruples of conſcience which his Majeſty himſelf was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with, he took upon himſelf the confidence to offer ſome reaſons to the King to induce him to yield to what was propoſed, and among other things ſaid, 'It 'was the opinion and advice of all his friends,' his Majeſty aſking 'What friends?' and he anſwering, ſaid, 'that it was the opinion of the Lord Jermyn;' the King ſaid, 'that the Lord Jermyn did not under-'ſtand any thing of the Church.' The other ſaid, 'the Lord Colepepper was of the ſame mind.' The King ſaid, 'Colepepper had no religion,' and aſked, 'Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of 'that mind?' to which he anſwered he did not know, for that he was not there, and had deſerted the Prince, and thereupon ſaid ſomewhat from the Queen, of the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceived againſt the Chancellor, to which the King ſaid, 'The Chancellor was an ho-'neſt man, and would never deſert him, nor the Prince, 'nor the Church, and that he was ſorry he was not 'with his ſon, but that his wife was miſtaken.' Davenant then offering ſome reaſons of his own, in which he mentioned the Church ſlightingly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the conceſſion, his Majeſty was tranſported with ſo much indignation, that he gave him a ſharper reprehenſion than was uſual for him to give to any other man, and forbid him to preſume to come again into his preſence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted, and returned into France to give an account of his ill ſucceſs to thoſe who ſent him.

[*H*] *And was in thoſe days well received*] He publiſhed at Paris a diſcourſe upon this poem by way of preface to it, in a letter to Mr Thomas Hobbes, dated from the Louvre at Paris, January 2, 1650, with the anſwer of Mr Hobbes, dated at Paris January 10, the ſame year (19). Mr Waller and Mr Cowley wrote commendatory verſes on the two firſt books of this poem. The three firſt books of it were printed under the following title, GONDIBERT, *an Heroic Poem, written by Sir* WILLIAM DAVENANT. The ſeventh and laſt canto of the third book, was printed at London in 8*vo*, 1685 (20). Mr Hobbes, in his letter above-mentioned, affirms, that he never yet ſaw a poem that had ſo much ſhape of art, health of morality, and vigour and beauty of expreſſion, as this of our author. But that gentleman obſerves in his letter to the Honourable Edward Howard, on his intended impreſſion of his poem of the *Britiſh Princes*, dated at Chatſworth, November 6, 1668, 'that his judgment in poetry 'hath been once already cenſured by very good wits 'for commending Gondibert. But yet have they not 'I think, continues he, diſabled my teſtimony. For 'what authority is there in wit? a jeſter may have it; 'a man in drink may have it, and be fluent over-night, 'and wiſe and dry in the morning. What is it? or, 'Who can tell whether it be better to have it or be 'without it, eſpecially if it be a pointed wit? I will 'take my liberty to praiſe what I like, as well as they 'do to reprehend what they do not like.' Mr Langbaine tells us, that it was deſigned by him to be an imitation of an Engliſh drama, it being to be divided into five books, as the other is into five acts; the canto's to be the parallel of the ſcenes, with this difference, that this is delivered narratively, the other dialogue-wiſe (21). The Honourable Edward Howard, Eſq; tells us, 'that in this poem there are many 'remote and excellent thoughts, with apt and perſpi-'cuous expreſſions, the eſſential dignities of the Mu-'ſes; whoſe chiefeſt beauties flow from the ornaments 'of words, and delightful variety of imagination; 'from which choice productions of nature, the Muſes 'are moſt deſirous to adopt their children, and, in no 'ſmall degree, are juſtly acknowledged to the honour 'of his pen. Notwithſtanding which, his heroick 'poem of *Gondibert*, coming into the world in a ca-'pricious time of cenſure, perhaps did not meet with 'a deſerved reception, though the ſevereſt judges, I 'doubt not, are forced to grant, that there is in that 'work more to be praiſed than pardoned.' Mr Thomas Rymer obſerves (22), that our author's wit is well known, and that in the preface to this poem there appear ſome ſtrokes of an extraordinary judgment; that he is for unbeaten tracks and new ways of thinking, but that certainly in his untried ſeas he is no great diſcoverer. One deſign of the Epick Poets before him, was to adorn their own country, there finding their heroes and patterns of virtue, whoſe example, as they thought, would have the greateſt influence and power over poſterity. 'But this Poet, ſays Mr Rymer, 'ſteers a different courſe; his heroes are all foreigners, 'he cultivates a country that is nothing akin to him, 'it is Lombardy that reaps the honour of all. Other 'Poets chooſe ſome action or heroe ſo illuſtrious, that 'the name of the poem prepared the reader, and made 'way for it's reception. But in this poem none can 'divine

(19) Printed for John Holden, at the ſign of the anchor in the New Exchange, 1651. 12mo.

(20) Reprinted alſo in the folio edition of his works.

(21) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 112.

(22) Preface to his tranſlation of Rapin's Reflections on Ariſtotle's treatiſe of Poetry.

situation we find him in October 1650, and, indeed, in a worse situation no man could well be, the Parliament having delivered him over, by an ordinance, to be tried by a high commission court, where, supposing that innocence might have been safe, it was pretty difficult to know how a man should prove himself innocent (*f*). He was conveyed from the Isle of Wight to the Tower of London, and, for some time, his life was in the utmost hazard; nor is it well known how it was saved; some say, that two Aldermen of York, to whom he had been very kind when they were prisoners, and when he had a high command in the Marquis of Newcastle's army, interposed out of gratitude (*g*); others, that Milton was his friend (*b*), and prevented the utmost effects of party rage

(*f*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 81, 82.

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(*b*) Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradise Lost, by J. Richardson, p. xc.

'divine what great action he intended to celebrate, 'nor is the reader obliged to know whether the heroe 'be Turk or Christian. Nor do the first lines give 'any light or prospect into his design. Methinks, 'though his religion could not dispense with an invo'cation, he needed not have scrupled at the propo'sition. Yet he rather chooses to enter in at the top 'of the house, because the mortals of mean and satis'fied minds go in at the door. And I believe the rea'der is not well pleased to find his poem begin with 'the praises of Aribert, when the title has promised a 'Gondibert. But before he falls on any other busi'ness, he presents the reader with a particular descrip'tion of each heroe, not trusting their actions to speak 'for them as former Poets have done. Their practice 'was fine and artificial, his he tells us is a new way. 'Many of his characters have but little of the heroick 'in them; Dalga is a jilt proper only for Comedy; 'Birtha, for a Pastoral; and Astragon, in the manner 'here described, yields no very great ornament to an 'heroick poem: nor are his battles less liable to cen'sure than those of Homer. He dares not, as other 'Heroick Poets, heighten the action by making Hea'ven and Hell interested, for fear of offending against 'probability, and yet he tells us of

'—— *Threads by patient Parcæ slowly spun.*

'And for being dead his phrase is,

'*Heaven call'd him where peacefully he rules a star.*

'And the emerald he gives to Birtha has a stronger 'tang of the old woman, and is a greater improbabi'lity, than all the enchantments in Tasso. A just 'medium reconciles the farthest extreams, and one 'preparation may give credit to the most unlikely 'fiction. In *Marino*, Adonis is presented with a dia'mond ring, where indeed the stone is much-what of 'the same nature; but this present is made by Venus, 'and from a goddess could not be expected a gift of 'ordinary virtue.' The same Critick afterwards tells us, 'that the sort of verse of which Sir William makes 'choice, might contribute much to the vitiating of his 'stile, for thereby he obliges himself to stretch every 'period to the end of four lines. Thus the sense is bro'ken perpetually with parentheses, the words jumbled 'in confusion, and a darkness spread over all; so that 'the sense is either not discerned, or found not suf'ficient, for one just verse which is sprinkled on the 'whole tetrastich. In the Italian and Spanish, where 'all the rhymes are dissyllable, and the percussion 'stronger, this kind of verse may be necessary; and 'yet, to temper that grave march, they repeat the same 'rhyme over again, and then they close the stanza 'with a couplet farther to sweeten the severity. But in 'French and English, where we rhyme generally 'with only one syllable, the stanza is not allowed, 'much less the alternate rhyme in long verse, for the 'sound of the monosyllable rhyme is either lost before 'we come to it's correspondent, or we are in pain by 'the so long expectation and suspence. This alter'nate rhyme, and the downright morality throughout 'whole canto's together, shew Davenant better ac'quainted with the Quatrains of Pybrach which he 'speaks of, than with any true models of Epick Poesy. 'After all, Davenant is said to have a particular talent 'for the manners, his thoughts are great, and there 'appears something roughly noble throughout this 'fragment, which had he been pleased to finish, it 'would doubtless not have been left so open to the at'tack of Criticks.' All these objections to the measure of the verse, had been foreseen, considered, and answered, by Sir William Davenant; but instead of troubling the reader with what he has delivered very well, but very much at large, upon this subject, we will content ourselves with saying, that his reasons had so much weight with Mr Dryden, a better Poet indeed than him, and at the same time a better Critick than Mr Rymer, that he thought fit to imitate him in the choice of his stanza, and gives the following reasons for it in a letter to Sir Robert Howard (23). 'I have 'says he, chosen to write my poem in quatrains or 'stanzas of four, in alternate rhyme, because I have 'ever judged them more noble, and of greater dignity, 'both for the sound and number, than any other 'verse in use amongst us, in which I am sure I have 'your approbation. The learned languages have cer'tainly a great advantage over us, in not being tied 'to the slavery of any rhyme, and were less con'strained in the quantity of every syllable, which they 'might vary with spondees or dactyls, besides so many 'other helps of grammatical figures, for the lengthen'ing or abbreviation of them, than the modern are 'in the close of that one syllable, which often confines, 'and more often corrupts, the sense of all the rest. 'But in this necessity of our rhymes I have always 'found the couplet verse most easy, though not so 'proper for this occasion; for there the work is sooner 'at an end, every two lines concluding the labour of 'the Poet; but in quatrains he is to carry it farther 'on, and not only so, but to bear along in his head 'the troublesome sense of four lines together. For 'those who write correctly in this kind must needs ac'knowledge, that the last line of the stanza is to be 'considered in the composition of the first. Neither 'can we give ourselves the liberty of making any part 'of a verse for the sake of rhyme, or concluding with 'a word which is not current English, or using the 'variety of female rhymes, all which our fathers 'practised, and for the female rhymes they are still in 'use amongst other nations; with the Italian in every 'line, with the Spaniard promiscuously, with the 'French alternately, as those who have read the '*Alarique*, the *Pucelle*, or any of their later poems, 'will agree with me. And besides this they write in 'Alexandrins, or verses of six feet, such as, amongst 'us, is the old translation of Homer by Chapman. 'All which, by lengthening of their chain, makes the 'sphere of their activity the larger. I have dwelt too 'long upon the choice of my stanza, which you may 'remember is much better defended in the Preface to '*Gondibert*, and therefore I will hasten to acquaint 'you with my endeavours in the writing.' The learned Professor of Greek in the university of Aberdeen, censures the structure of the poem, but at the same time pays a compliment to the abilities of the author (24). 'It was indeed, says he, a very extraor'dinary project of our ingenious countryman, to write 'an Epick Poem without mixing allegory, or allow'ing the smallest fiction throughout the composure. 'It was like lopping off a man's limb, and then put'ting him upon running races, though it must be 'owned, that the performance shews with what abi'lity he could have acquitted himself, had he been 'sound and entire.' After all, it will, in the eye of a judicious reader, pass for an incontestible proof of the merit of this poem, that it has been a subject of controversy for near a hundred years, that is, from it's first appearance to the present time: perhaps the dispute had been long ago decided, if the author's leisure or inclination had permitted him to finish it. At present we see it to great disadvantage, and if, in spite of this, it has any beauties, we may well conclude that it would have come much nearer perfection, if the story begun with so much spirit, had been brought to an end upon the author's plan.

(23) Preface to his *Annus mirabilis*, Lond. 1669. 8vo.

(24) Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, Lond. 1735. 8vo. p. 141.

rage from deſcending on the head of this ſon of the Muſes. But, whoever ſaved his life, we find him two years after a priſoner in the Tower, where he obtained ſome indulgence by the favour of the Lord Keeper Whitlocke (*i*); upon receiving which he wrote him a letter of thanks, that would have ſecured him the reputation of the politeſt pen of thoſe times, if nothing of his had remained beſides [*I*]. This liberty of his left him only room to ſollicit further favours, which he likewiſe obtained, and was, at laſt, entirely delivered from every thing but the narrowneſs of his circumſtances; and againſt theſe, encouraged by the intereſt of his friends, he likewiſe made a bold effort. He knew very well, that a play-houſe was utterly inconſiſtent with the purity of thoſe times, and yet, if he could open any thing like one, it would be ſure to be well filled; he managed his project with great addreſs, by degrees brought it to bear; and, having the countenance of Lord Whitlocke, Sir John Maynard, and other perſons of great rank (*k*), who were aſhamed of the hypocriſy that then prevailed, he opened a kind of a theatre at Rutland-Houſe, where ſeveral pieces were acted, and theſe, if they did not gain him reputation, brought him money, of which, at that time, he ſtood in great need. The firſt of theſe entertainments, for that was the name they originally bore, was performed May 21ſt, and publiſhed September the third, 1656 (*l*). As to the names and nature of theſe mixt compoſitions, we ſhall give the reader the beſt account we can in the notes [*K*]. After the

(*i*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(*l*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 650.

[*I*] *If nothing of his had remained beſides.*] This ſhort epiſtle, as it regards a very eſſential part of his perſonal hiſtory, ſo, as we hinted in the text, it affords inconteſtible evidence of his writing as eaſy and correct proſe, with as much true ſpirit, and as far removed either from meanneſs or bombaſt, as any that can be produced in our language, even if liberty were given to tranſlate from Voiture, or any other of the boaſted letter-writers in a neighbouring nation (25)

(25) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

'My Lord,

'I Am in ſuſpence, whether I ſhould preſent my 'thankfulneſs to your Lordſhip for my liberty of 'the Tower, becauſe, when I conſider how much of 'your time belongs to the publick, I conceive, that 'to make a requeſt to you, and to thank you after-'wards for the ſucceſs of it, is to give you no more 'than a ſucceſſion of trouble; unleſs you are reſolved 'to be continually patient and courteous to afflicted 'men, and agree in your judgment with the late wiſe 'Cardinal, who was wont to ſay, *If he had not ſpent 'as much time in civilities as in buſineſs, he had undone 'his maſter.*

'But whilſt I endeavour to excuſe this preſent of 'thankfulneſs, I ſhould rather aſk your pardon for 'going about to make a preſent to you of myſelf, for 'it may argue me to be incorrigible, that, after ſo 'many afflictions, I have yet ſo much ambition as to 'deſire to be at liberty, that I may have more oppor-'tunity to obey your Lordſhip's commands, and ſhew 'the world how much I am,

'My Lord,

Tower, Aug. 9, 1652, 'Your Lordſhip's moſt

'obliged, moſt humble,

'and obedient ſervant,

'WILL. DAVENANT.

[*K*] *The beſt we can in the notes.*] Some of the people then in power, it ſeems, were lovers of Muſick, and, at bottom perhaps, were wiſe enough to know, that there was nothing ſcandalous or immoral in the diverſions of the theatre; but this they did not think proper to own, and therefore perſecuted the poor Players who attempted to act privately, ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another, as if they had held ſeditious or lewd aſſemblies (26). Sir William Davenant therefore, when he applied for permiſſion, called what he intended to repreſent an Opera; but, when he brought it upon the ſtage, it appeared quite another thing, which, when printed, had the following title:

(26) Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica, or an Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage, p. 8, 9.

XIV. *Firſt Day's Entertainment at* Rutland-Houſe, *by Declamation and Muſick, after the manner of the Ancients.* Lond. 1656. 8*vo.*

This being an introductory piece, it required all the author's wit to make it anſwer different intentions; for, firſt, it was to be ſo pleaſing as to gain applauſe; and next, it was to be ſo remote from the very appearance of a play, as not to give any offence to that pretended ſanctity which was then in faſhion. It began with muſick, then followed a prologue, in which the author banters the oddity of his own performance. The curtain being drawn up to the ſound of ſlow and ſolemn muſick, there followed a grave declamation by one in a gilded roſtrum, who perſonated Diogenes, and whoſe buſineſs was to rail at and expoſe publick entertainments. Then muſick in a lighter ſtrain, after which a perſon in the character of Ariſtophanes, the old comic Poet, anſwered Diogenes, and ſhewed the uſe and excellency of dramatick entertainments. The whole of the grave entertainment was concluded by a ſong, accompanied with muſick, in which the arguments on both ſides are ſuccinctly and elegantly ſtated. The ſecond part of the entertainment conſiſted of two lighter declamations; the firſt, by a citizen of Paris, who wittily rallies the follies of London; the other, by a citizen of London, who takes the ſame liberty with Paris, and it's inhabitants. To this was tacked a ſong, and after that came a ſhort epilogue. The muſick, which was very good, was compoſed by Dr Coleman, Capt. Cook, Mr Henry Laws, Mr George Hudſon.

XV. *The Play-houſe to be Lett.*

This was another very ſingular entertainment, compoſed of five acts, each being a diſtinct performance. The firſt act is introductory, ſhews the diſtreſs of the players in the time of vacation, that obliges them to lett their houſe, which ſeveral offer to take for different purpoſes, amongſt the reſt a Frenchman, who had brought over a troop of his countrymen to act a farce. This is performed in the ſecond act, which is a tranſlation of Moliere's *Sganarelle*, or, the Cuckold in Conceit; all in broken French, to make the people laugh. The third act is a ſort of comic opera, under the title of the Hiſtory of Sir Francis Drake. The fourth act is a ſerious opera, repreſenting the cruelties of the Spaniards in Peru. The fifth act is a burleſque in Heroicks, on the amours of Cæſar and Cleopatra; has a great deal of wit and humour, and was often acted afterwards by itſelf (27).

XVI. *News from Plimouth*, a Comedy.

XVII. *Law againſt Lovers*, a Tragi-Comedy.

This is compoſed out of two of Shakeſpeare's plays; *Meaſure for Meaſure*, and *Much ado about Nothing*. Mr Langbaine gives a very good character of it (28); and, indeed, it is very ſmoothly and correctly written.

XVIII. *The Diſtreſſes*, a Tragedy.

In Mr Langbaine's catalogue this is ſtiled a Tragi-Comedy (29), merely becauſe it is fortunate in it's cataſtrophe.

XIX. *The Siege, a Tragi-Comedy.*

The ſcene is laid at Piſa in Italy, and it derives it's title from the ſame cauſe with the former.

XX. *The Fair Favourite*, a Tragi-Comedy.

All theſe plays were acted in the time of Oliver and Richard, firſt printed in quarto, and afterwards reviſed, and inſerted in the author's works. To theſe we may add,

XXI. *The Siege of* RHODES, *in two parts.*

(27) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 109, 110. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(28) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 108, 109. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(29) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 107.

Theſe

the ice was thus broke he grew a little bolder, and not only ventured to write, but to act, ſeveral new plays, which were alſo ſomewhat in a new taſte; that is, they were more regular in their ſtructure, and the language, generally ſpeaking, ſmoother and more correct than in the old tragedies (*m*). Theſe improvements, there is good reaſon to believe, were, in a great meaſure, owing to Sir William's long reſidence in France, which gave him an opportunity of reading their beſt writers, and hearing the ſentiments of their ableſt criticks upon dramatick entertainments, when they were as much admired and encouraged there, as, for ſome years, they had been ſlighted and diſcountenanced in England. That theſe were really improvements, and that the publick ſtood greatly indebted to Sir William Davenant, as a Poet as well as Maſter of a theatre, may be put out of all doubt, if there be any regard due to Mr Dryden's judgment [*L*]. Upon the commotions which preceded the Reſtoration, and particularly upon Sir George Booth's inſurrection, Sir William Davenant fell into freſh troubles, and underwent another impriſonment, from which, however, he was quickly releaſed (*n*). He complimented General Monk upon his good deſigns, and the great capacity he had ſhewn in the execution of them, in a ſhort poem, and his Majeſty King Charles the Second, upon his return, in a very long one (*o*). Soon after the Reſtoration there were two companies of players formed, one under the title of the King's Servants, the other under that of the Duke's Company, both by patents from the Crown; the firſt granted to Henry Killigrew, Eſq; and the latter to Sir William Davenant (*p*). The King's Company acted firſt at the Red Bull, at the upper end of St John's-ſtreet, from thence they removed to a new play-houſe in Vere-ſtreet, Clare-market, and, after playing a year or two there, they eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane. As for Sir William Davenant, it was ſome time before he compleated his company, into which he took all who had formerly played under Mr Rhodes, in the Cockpit in Drury-lane, and, amongſt theſe, the famous Mr Betterton, who appeared firſt to advantage, under the patronage of Sir William Davenant (*q*). He opened the Duke's theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields with his own dramatick performance of *The Siege of* RHODES, the Houſe being finely decorated, and the Stage ſupplied with painted ſcenes, which were by him introduced at leaſt, if not invented (*r*), affording certainly a great addition of beauty to dramatic entertainments, tho' ſome there are who have inſinuated, that fine ſcenes proved the ruin of fine acting [*M*].

(*m*) See this explained in the note.

(*n*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 682.

(*o*) Theſe poems are inſerted in the general collection of his works.

(*p*) Apology for the life of Mr Colley Cibber, p. 75.

(*q*) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(*r*) Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica, or an Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage. Lond. 1699. 8vo. p. 18. Life of Betterton, p. 6.

We

Theſe were a kind of operas, and acted to muſick. The author reviſed, altered, and augmented them, after the Reſtoration, when they had the honour of the King's preſence: they were alſo printed and publiſhed in folio, with a dedication to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and very much eſteemed.

[*L*] *If there be any regard due to Mr Dryden's judgment.*] What we have ventured to advance in the text and notes, in favour of an author and his works, now ſo little regarded, ſeems to ſtand in need of ſome ſupport, and therefore we ſhall cite what ſo great a Poet, and ſo good a judge of Poetry, has written upon this ſubject, with regard to heroick plays. Mr Dryden (30) tells us, 'The firſt light we had of them on the Engliſh theatre, was from the late Sir William Davenant. 'It being forbidden him, in the religious times, to act 'tragedies and comedies, becauſe they contained ſome 'matter of ſcandal to thoſe good people, who could 'more eaſily diſpoſſeſs their lawful Sovereign, than 'endure a wanton jeſt, he was forced to turn his 'thoughts another way, and to introduce the exam'ples of moral virtue, writ in verſe, and performed in 'recitative muſick. The original of this muſick, and 'of the ſcenes which adorned his work, he had from 'the Italian operas; but he heightened his characters, 'as I may probably imagine, from the examples of 'Corneille, and ſome French Poets. In this condition 'did this part of Poetry remain at his Majeſty's return, 'when growing bolder, as now being owned by publick 'authority, Davenant reviewed his *Siege of Rhodes*, 'and cauſed it to be acted as a juſt drama. But, as 'few men have the happineſs to begin and finiſh any 'new project, ſo neither did he live to make his deſign 'perfect. There wanted the fullneſs of a plot, and 'the variety of characters, to form it as it ought; 'and, perhaps, ſomewhat might have been added to 'the beauty of the ſtile; all which he would have performed with more exactneſs, had he pleaſed to have 'given us another work of the ſame nature. For myſelf, and others who come after him, we are bound, 'with all veneration to his memory, to acknowledge 'what advantage we received from that excellent 'ground-work which he laid; and, ſince it is an eaſy 'thing to add to what already is invented, we ought 'all of us, without envy to him, or partiality to ourſelves, to yield him the precedence in it.'

(30) Eſſay on Heroick Plays.

[*M*] *Proved the ruin of fine acting.*] It may, poſſibly, afford ſome ſatisfaction to the reader, to have this point briefly explained. He has heard, that, in King Charles IIſt's time, dramatick entertainments were accompanied with rich ſcenery, curious machines, and other elegant embelliſhments, proceeding chiefly from the ſkill and care, the great capacity and wonderful dexterity, of that celebrated Engliſh Architect Inigo Jones. But theſe were employed only in maſques at Court, and were too expenſive for the little theatres in which plays were then acted. In them there was nothing more than a curtain, of ſome very coarſe ſtuff, upon the drawing up of which the ſtage appeared either with bare walls on the ſides, coarſly matted, or covered with tapeſtry, ſo that for the place originally repreſented, and all the changes ſucceſſively in which the Poets of thoſe times indulged themſelves very freely, there was nothing to help the reader's underſtanding, or to aſſiſt the actor's performance, but bare imagination. It is true, that, while things continued in this ſituation, there were a great many play-houſes, ſometimes ſix or ſeven, open at once. Of theſe, ſome were large, and in part open, where they acted by day-light; others ſmaller, but better fitted up, where they made uſe of candles. The plainneſs of the theatre made the prices ſmall, and this drew abundance of company; yet, upon the whole, it may be well doubted, whether the ſpectators, in all theſe houſes, were really ſuperior in number to thoſe who have frequented the theatres in later times. If the ſpirit and judgment of the actors ſupplied all deficiencies, and made, as ſome would ſuggeſt, plays more intelligible without ſcenes than they afterwards were with them, it muſt be very aſtoniſhing at leaſt, if not incredible; neither is it difficult to aſſign another cauſe why thoſe, who were concerned in play-houſes, were angry with ſcenes and decorations, which was, that, notwithſtanding the advanced prices, their profits, from that time, were continually ſinking. An author, who ſeems to be very well acquainted with the ſubject on which he writes, aſſures us, that the whole ſharers in Mr Hart's company divided a thouſand pounds a year apiece, before theſe new and expenſive decorations came into faſhion (31). Sir William Davenant conſidered things in another light; he was well acquainted with the alterations which the French theatre had received, under the auſpice of Cardinal Richlieu,

(31) Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica, or an Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage, p. 11.

We muſt not omit that, upon the King's return, and Sir William Davenant's having an intereſt at Court, he gave a noble inſtance of his gratitude to Mr Milton, who had been ſo inſtrumental in ſaving his life ten years before, by rendering him the like ſervice, and preſerving him from feeling the effects of that reſentment which was ſo ſtrong againſt him, that many writers have conſidered his as a kind of miraculous eſcape (*s*). After all the ſtorms that he had met with, Sir William Davenant had the comfort of paſſing the laſt years of his life in credit and quiet. He transferred his company to the new and magnificent theatre built in Dorſet-Gardens (*t*), where ſome of his old plays were revived, with very ſingular circumſtances of royal kindneſs and favour, and a new one, when brought upon the Stage, met with great applauſe. The laſt labour of his pen was in altering a play of Shakeſpear's, ſo as to render it agreeable to that age, or rather, ſuſceptible of thoſe theatrical improvements which he had brought into faſhion; and in this alſo he had as much ſucceſs as he could expect; and, though he did not live to ſee the full effects of it, yet the higheſt tribute of praiſe has been paid, and the ſtricteſt juſtice done, to his memory and merit, by that excellent Poet, who ſucceeded to his laurel (*u*) [*N*]. He died at his houſe in little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, April 7th, 1668, aged ſixty-three (*w*), and, two days afterwards, was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey, when, to the great grief of honeſt Mr Wood, there was an inexcuſable error committed in the ceremony, for, through haſte, the laurel-wreath was forgot, which ſhould have been placed upon his coffin (*x*). On his grave-ſtone is inſcribed, in imitation of Ben Johnſon's ſhort epitaph, O RARE SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT! It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that his remains reſt very near the place, out of which, thoſe of Mr Thomas May, Hiſtorian and Secretary to the Parliament, who cauſed him to be interred there with a fine monument and pompous inſcription, were removed (*y*). As to the character of our author (*z*), the reader may eaſily collect it from this account of his life and works; to facilitate which ſtill farther, ſome other particulars have been placed in the notes [*O*]. In regard to his family, we have

(*s*) Explanatory Notes, &c. by J. Richardſon, p. xci.

(*t*) Life of Mr Betterton, p. 7.

(*u*) See this at large in the note [*N*].

(*w*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 414.

(*x*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 169.

(*y*) Antiquities of St Peter's, Weſtminſter, Vol. II. p. 23. in the Appendix.

(*z*) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 115.

lieu, who had an excellent taſte; and he remembered the elegant contrivances of Inigo Jones, which were not at all inferior to the deſigns of the beſt French maſters; Sir William was likewiſe ſenſible, that the Monarch he ſerved was an exquiſite judge of every thing of this kind; and all theſe conſiderations, taken together, excited in him a paſſion for the advancement of the theatre, to which without diſpute the great figure it has ſince made is chiefly owing. Mr Dryden acknowledged his admirable talents in this way, and very gratefully remembers the pains taken by Sir William to ſet a work of his in the faireſt light poſſible, and to which he very ingenuouſly aſcribes, in a great meaſure, the ſucceſs with which it was received.

[*N*] *By that excellent Poet, who ſucceeded to his laurel.*] At the opening of the new play-houſe in Dorſet-Gardens, Sir William Davenant's play, called *Love and Honour*, was acted before the Court; upon which occaſion Mr Betterton, who played Prince Alvaro, wore the King's coronation ſuit; his Royal Highneſs of York gave Mr Harris, who played Prince Proſpero, his; and Mr Price, who performed the part of Lionel Duke of Parma, had a very rich ſuit, that was given him by the Earl of Oxford (32). We come now to the works penned by our Laureat in the evening of his days; the laſt of which were,

(32) Hiſt. of the Engl. Stage, p. 91.

XXII. *The Man's the Maſter*, a Comedy. Lond. 1669. 4*to*.

This play was acted in our author's life-time, with great applauſe, though not publiſhed till after his deceaſe; the deſign, and part of the language, is borrowed from Scarron's *Jodelet, ou le Maiſtre valet*, and part from *L'Heretier ridicule*, a Comedy of the ſame author's (33).

(33) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 109.

XXIII. *The* TEMPEST, *or the* INCHANTED ISLAND, *altered from* Shakeſpear *by Sir* William Davenant *and Mr* Dryden. Lond. 1676. 4*to*.

In the preface to this play, which is dated Dec. 1ſt, 1669, Mr Dryden gives the following account of the ſhare our author had in this performance, and is that which we have hinted at in the text. 'Sir William Davenant, ſays he, who was a man of quick and piercing 'imagination, ſoon found that ſomewhat might be 'added to the deſign of Shakeſpear, of which neither 'Fletcher nor Suckling had ever thought. And, there'fore, to put the laſt hand to it, he deſigned the coun'terpart to Shakeſpear's plot, namely, that of a man 'who had never ſeen a woman, that, by this means, 'thoſe two characters, of Innocence and Love, might 'the more illuſtrate and commend each other. This 'excellent contrivance he was pleaſed to communicate 'to me, and to deſire my aſſiſtance in it. I confeſs, 'that, from the very firſt moment, it ſo pleaſed me, 'that I never writ any thing with more delight. I 'might likewiſe do him that juſtice to acknowledge, 'that my writing received daily his amendments, and 'that is the reaſon why it is not ſo faulty as the reſt 'which I have done, without the help or correction 'of ſo judicious a friend. The comical parts of the 'ſailors were alſo of his invention; and, for the moſt 'part, his writing, as you will eaſily diſcover by the 'ſtile.'

[*O*] *Have been placed in the notes*] We have already mentioned a poem written ſome years after the Reſtoration, under the ſame title with Sir John Suckling's, *viz. The Seſſions of the Poets*; in this our author is a little ſeverely, not to ſay rudely, handled in the following ſtanzas (34).

(34) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 90.

Will. Davenant would fain have been ſteward o' th' court,
To have fin'd and amerc'd each man at his will,
But Apollo, it ſeems, had heard a report,
That his choice of new plays did ſhew h'ad no ſkill.

Beſides, ſome critics had ow'd him a ſpite,
And a little before had made the god fret,
By letting him know the Laureat did write
That damnable farce, *The Houſe to be Lett*.

The Hiſtorian of Oxford takes ſome pains to inform us, that, while our author was in that Univerſity, he made but a ſmall progreſs in the ſeverer parts of learning, but ſtriking out into the ſmoother road of Poetry, he at once indulged his own inclination, and diſcovered the force of his natural genius, which, without the aſſiſtance of any guides, and with but a very ſmall acquaintance with the ancients, enabled him to aſpire unto, and even acquire, the Laurel. This is very handſomely expreſſed by Dr Fell, or whoever tranſlated Mr Wood's ſentiments upon that ſubject (35). *Sed ingenium ipſius, tam aſperis & horridis ſtudiis ſemper averſum ad amœniores Pœticæ campos ſtatim properavit. In his nemo lætiori decurſu, nemo feliciori volatu lauream promeruit, & quamvis omnibus veterum ſubſidiis deſtitutus ſolâ tamen ingenii vi, eos ita aſſequutus videtur, ut grande profectò rariſſimique exempli documentum dederit, quantum ſine arte ſola natura præſtare valeat.* Mr Dryden, who knew him better, and who was alſo a better judge, has given us a true picture of his poetick character (36). 'I found him, ſays he, of ſo quick a 'fancy, that nothing was propoſed to him on which 'he could not ſuddenly produce a thought, extreamly 'pleaſant and ſurpriſing, and thoſe firſt thoughts of 'his,

(35) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(36) Preface to the Tempeſt.

have not been able to collect any distinct account of it, farther than what regards two of his sons, concerning whom the reader will receive all the information we can give in the succeeding articles. Sir William Davenant's works entire were published by his widow in 1673, and dedicated to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, afterwards King James II; and, in her dedication, she tells him, that his Royal Father was not displeased with her husband's writings, that the Queen his Mother graciously took him into her family, was diverted by, and often smiled upon, his endeavours; and that the latter part of his life had been spent in the study and labour to entertain his Majesty and his Royal Highness.

'his, contrary to the old Latin proverb, were not always the least happy. And, as his fancy was quick, 'so likewise were the products of it remote and new. 'He borrowed not of any other, and his imaginations 'were such as could not easily enter into any other 'man. His corrections were sober and judicious, and 'he corrected his own writings much more severely 'than those of another man, bestowing twice the time 'and labour in polishing which he used in invention.' Thus, with all the industry in our power, we have collected, and, with all the care and application possible, have digested, the scattered memoirs of this once celebrated Poet; and, to justify our diligence therein, we will sum up all by putting posterity in mind, that it is to him we owe the setting our theatre upon a level with those of France and Italy (37), the preserving the greatest genius for Poetry this nation ever produced (38), and the bringing upon the stage, and instructing, the ablest actor that ever trod thereon (39). E

(37) Hist. & Ant. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 169.

(38) Explanatory Notes, &c. by J. Richardson, p. xci.

(39) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

D'AVENANT (CHARLES) the eldest son of Sir William Davenant, was born some time in the year 1656 (*a*), and received the first tincture of letters at the grammar-school of Cheame, in the county of Surry, under the care of Mr George Aldrich, of Cambridge (*b*). He gave very early proofs of an active and sprightly genius; and, though it must have been a great misfortune to him to lose, as he did, his father, when scarce twelve years of age, yet care was taken to send *him* to Oxford to compleat his studies, where he became a Fellow-Commoner of Baliol-College in Midsummer Term 1671, but left that University without taking a degree (*c*). The first proof which the publick received of his parts was a dramatick composition, written when he was about nineteen years of age, and which was received with great kindness by a very polite audience, and frequently acted afterwards with just applause (*d*) [*A*]. He had a considerable share in the theatre in right of his father, which, probably, induced him to turn his thoughts so early to the stage; yet he was not long detained either by that, or by the success of *his* play, in the flowery road of Poetry. On the contrary, he applied himself to the study of the Civil Law, in which he had the degree of Doctor conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge (*e*). He was elected, with James St Amand, Esq; to represent the borough of St Ives in Cornwall, in the first Parliament of King James II, which was summoned to meet May 19th, 1685 (*f*); and, about the same time, he was jointly empowered, with the Master of the Revels, to inspect all plays, to preserve the decorum of the Stage, by preventing any thing that might have a tendency to immorality from appearing thereon (*g*). He was also appointed a Commissioner of the Excise (*h*), and continued in that employment for near six years, that is, from 1683 to 1689; during which space that branch of the revenue was managed with great advantage to the Crown, as well as with great honour and fidelity by such as were intrusted with it, as he demonstrated to the publick by comparing their conduct, and the consequences of it, with those of their successors; against which account, though there were some cavils raised, yet the facts contained therein could not be contradicted (*i*) [*B*]. His thorough acquaintance with

(*a*) As appears from the time at which he died, and his age at the time of his death.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 945.

(*c*) Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 213.

(*d*) Langbaine's English Dramatick Poets, p. 116.

(*e*) From private information.

(*f*) Parliamentary Register, p. 126. Willis's Notit. Parliament. Vol. II. p. 130.

(*g*) Langbaine's Engl. Dramatick Poets, p. 116.

(*h*) Animadversions on a late seditious book, intituled, *Essays on the Ballance of Power*, &c. p. 5.

(*i*) See this matter discussed in note [*B*].

[*A*] *And frequently acted afterwards with just applause.*] This single dramatick performance of our author has the following title:

I. CIRCE, *a Tragedy, acted at his Royal Highness the Duke of York's theatre*, Lond. 1677, 4to.

After the death of Sir William Davenant, those mischiefs, to which the theatre became exposed in his life-time, began to threaten it's destruction. For the two companies, vying with each other, that of the Duke rather chose to make their court to the town by rich dresses, beautiful scenes, surprizing machinery, and other decorations of that sort, than play to thinner houses than usual, which served only to heighten that false taste, that has been always the bane of dramatick entertainments. To the introduction of these, this new piece was so far accommodated, that, notwithstanding it's title, Mr Langbaine says justly, that it was considered rather as an Opera, yet the subject suiting very well with the design, and the verses written with great ease and spirit, it was with all these helps generally, if not universally, admired (1). The reader must observe, that it was not printed till two years after it was first acted, upon which occasion Mr Dryden wrote a Prologue, and the Earl of Rochester an Epilogue, both beautiful pieces in their kind. In the former there was this fine apology for the author's youth and inexperience (2):

Your *Ben* and *Fletcher* in their first young flight,
Did no *Volpone* nor no *Arbaces* write,
But hopp'd about, and short excursions made
From bough to bough, as if they were afraid;
And each was guilty of some slighted *maid*.
Shakespear's own Muse her *Pericles* first bore,
The Prince of *Tyre* was elder than the *Moor*.
'Tis miracle to see a *first* good play,
All *hawthorns* do not bloom on *Christmas-day*.
A slender Poet must have time to grow,
And spread and burnish as his brothers do;
Who still looks lean sure with some pox is curst,
But no man can be, *Falstaff* fat at first.
Then damn not, but indulge, his rude essays;
Encourage him, and bloat him up with praise.
That he may get more bulk before he dies,
He's not yet fed enough for sacrifice.
Perhaps if now your grace you will not grudge,
He may grow up to *write*, and you to *judge*.

(1) English Dramatick Poets, p. 116.

(2) Original Poems and Translations, by John Dryden, Esq; Vol. II. p. 241.

[*B*] *Yet the facts therein could not be contradicted.*] It may be reasonably believed, though, at this distance of time, it cannot be positively affirmed, this gentleman

with the laws and conſtitution of the kingdom, joined to his great ſkill in figures, and his happineſs in applying that ſkill according to the principles advanced by Sir William Petty, for the perfecting Political Arithmetick, enabled him to enter deeply in the management of affairs, and procured him great ſucceſs as a political writer (*k*). In all his pieces he reaſons entirely upon Revolution principles, and pays the higheſt compliments to the perſonal virtues, and excellent abilities, of the Prince then upon the throne; notwithſtanding which ſuch as oppoſed him made no ſcruple of diſputing his principles, and of maintaining, that his real view was to ſubvert the government, though he pretended to ſupport it by

(*k*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 217.

man had ſome leſſer employment in the Exciſe, before he was advanced to the rank of a Commiſſioner. It is to one of his adverſaries that we are indebted for this circumſtance, that Mr Davenant came to the board at Midſummer 1683, when this part of the revenue, which for many years had been let to farm, came again into the hands of the Crown, and was delegated to ſix Commiſſioners (3). The hiſtory of their management, as given by Dr Davenant himſelf, is what we have referred to in the text, and a ſmall part of which we ſhall tranſcribe here, from which the reader will diſcern, that, when this gentleman undertook to give the publick his ſentiments as to the management of the revenue, he was not either an ignorant or an impertinent pretender, but one who perfectly underſtood the matter which he promiſed to make plain, and pointed out the only method for correcting the errors of the adminiſtration that will ever be found practicable, *viz.* that of detecting the faults in particular departments, ſhewing whence they ariſe, and how they may be amended. Let the author now ſpeak for himſelf, and tell us how that commiſſion was executed while he remained a member (4).

(3) Remarks upon ſome wrong computations and concluſions, &c. p. 8.

(4) Diſcourſes on the publick revenues and trade of England, Vol. I. p. 77.

'When the exciſe was put from a farm into a commiſſion, the Commiſſioners, at their firſt coming in, did not make any material change of officers, deferring that till they had better knowledge of thoſe under them, and till they were more maſters of their buſineſs; and by degrees, and with great caution, they weeded out ſuch unqualified, corrupt, or negligent officers, as had been partially brought in during the former management, which was ſupine enough towards the latter end. And whereas the method of keeping the ſtock-books, and way of charging the people, were different almoſt in every collection, they ſettled one uniform method through the whole kingdom, taking that form for a pattern which had been made uſe of with moſt ſucceſs in the beſt managed collections, which were Yorkſhire, Wales, and the four northern counties.

'To ſee which method put in execution, and to ſee ſuch other directions performed as the Commiſſioners ſhould afterwards give, they appointed four general Riders, and eight general Surveyors. But as a check above all, and which was indeed the life of their whole affair, the Commiſſioners themſelves made frequent circuits round the kingdom, viewing every particular officer in his reſpective diviſion, without which the inferior officers would have run into ſloth, and the ſuperior into corruption. And in theſe circuits they could obſerve who were remiſs, who diligent, who deſerved advancement, who wanted removing; and here they ſuited each man's diſtrict to his capacity, and, if their officers were corrupt, here they got true information of their proceedings.

'But theſe Commiſſioners had done little good abroad with their inſpection, if the officers had not been ſenſible, that they were overlooked by perſons ſkilful in the matter, and able to hit a fault; for that Commiſſioner who rides abroad not fully poſſeſſed of his buſineſs, ſhall be hourly impoſed upon by the inferior officers, and leave things in a worſe order than he found them. They rarely made any addition of officers to increaſe the King's charge, but upon their own view in theſe circuits, and upon a full conviction that ſuch increaſe of expence would turn to the King's account.

'They took care to employ reſponſible men for their Collectors, by which means their accounts have been made up with very little ſupers upon any officer. In ſix years time they had got together twelve hundred Gaugers, active and ſkilful, and ſuch a ſet of men, as perhaps no Prince had ever a better employed in his revenue. And as to the commiſſion itſelf, it was firſt compoſed of perſons who all of them, ſome way or other, had been before converſant in the exciſe, and who agreed very well together; for in ſix years of that management, not one thing was ever put to the vote among them.

'They were generally perſons not above their employments, and who had no other buſineſs but the King's to follow; and they had a large ſalary which put them beyond corruption. Their management was impartial, no man was turned out to let in another, but upon ſtrong proof, and the report of a Commiſſioner or General Officer upon the ſpot. So that he who was ſkilful and diligent, looked upon himſelf as in for life, for which reaſon they were ſerved heartily and with affection.

'Their management was uncorrupt; no place was ſold, or ſuffered to be ſold, under them; by which they could pick and chooſe the beſt, and were entirely maſters of their inferior officers. They were ſteady and conſtant in their proceedings, not giving out general orders one week and contradicting them the next.

'They did not vex the people any where with unreaſonable fines; and knowing the revenue in ſome meaſure to be precarious, they were not ſevere in London in exacting arrears, for fear that if they ſhould bring any diſtreſs and trouble upon the London brewery, it would occaſion the making ill drink, and ſo drive the people to brew themſelves, which would deſtroy the duty.

'Theſe Commiſſioners did believe, that their ſkill, fidelity, and diligence, would always recommend them to any government, and keep them in their employments; they therefore quitted their private buſineſs and profeſſions, to devote themſelves wholly to the King's ſervice, managing his revenue with the ſame care, affection, and frugality, as the father of a family would uſe in the ordering his own affairs, which occaſioned my Lord Rocheſter, (no incompetent judge in thoſe matters) at his leaving the Treaſury, to take particular notice to the late King, how well that branch had been conducted.

'But, after all, the ſucceſs with which this management was attended, is chiefly to be attributed to the wiſdom and ſteady conduct of thoſe noble perſons, who, while they governed at the head of the Treaſury, in their ſeveral turns, did more at Whitehall towards keeping this branch in order, than was done in Broadſtreet. When the principal officers and Commiſſioners of every revenue were in a manner of their chooſing, and under their direction, they took care that the King ſhould be well and diligently ſerved, and the publick taſted the benefit of that great power which was truſted with them. They had notice how each perſon attended or underſtood his buſineſs; they called every month to know what Commiſſioners were abroad ſurveying in the country; they looked into all tranſactions weekly, and took an exact account every quarter how the duty proceeded; and, in ſhort, the ſtrict eye which the Treaſury kept over the Commiſſioners, rendered them watchful over their inferior officers; all which together made the revenue flouriſh.'

To this high character of theſe Commiſſioners, he adds, by way of contraſt, a very different one of thoſe who ſucceeded them, and in reſpect to this he was very vigorouſly oppoſed by one, who had ſome particular reaſons for vindicating their conduct whom the Doctor had expoſed, but even this writer (5) does not at all contradict what had been advanced in reference to the behaviour of the firſt ſet of Commiſſioners while they were in office.

(5) Remarks upon ſome wrong computations and concluſions, &c. p. 4.

[C] The

by expoſing the errors of the Miniſtry (*l*). His performances in this kind, during the reigh of King William, were very numerous; and, as they met with high approbation then, ſo the importance of the ſubjects of which they treat, and the ſingular and ſolid learning they contain, make them very much eſteemed and valued even at this day. We ſhall give the reader the correcteſt catalogue we can of them in the notes [*C*]. It was in one

(*l*) Animadverſions on a late ſeditious book, intituled, *Eſſays on the Ballance of Power*, &c. p. 5.

[C] *The correcteſt catalogue we can of them in the notes.*] A certain writer tells us, that Dr Davenant having laid wagers that the army of the allies would not ſucceed in Flanders, and particularly that they would not be able to take Namur (6), his loſing them provoked him to draw his pen againſt the government, ſo that, if he is believed, private pique, and particular prejudices, were the ſource of this gentleman's publick ſpirit. His books however are penned in a manner very different from this, and ſeem to ſpeak the writer very heartily deſirous that the war then carried on ſhould be attended with ſucceſs, and the power of France humbled, without exhauſting the ſtrength of this nation. Such is the apparent view of his firſt political work:

(6) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 118.

II. *An Eſſay upon Ways and Means of ſupplying the War*, Lond. 1695, 8*vo*.

In this treatiſe he diſcovered his great capacity in the art of computation, and with much induſtry and pains pointed out the means of judging truly of the nature of funds, upon which important ſubjects he wrote with ſo much ſtrength and perſpicuity, as gained him great reputation, and ſufficiently recommended to the publick whatever pieces came abroad by the author of *The Eſſay on Ways and Means*, which was the method Dr Davenant took to diſtinguiſh moſt of his ſucceeding writings, as well as if he had put his name to them, which however, for ſome prudential reaſons, he declined.

III. *An Eſſay on the Eaſt India Trade*, London, 1697, 8*vo*.

This, which was no more than a pamphlet, wore the form of a letter to the moſt honourable John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamſhire. In it the author gives a ſhort and clear view of the importance of trade in general, and afterwards enters very fairly and freely into the nature of the trade to the Eaſt Indies, which he confeſſes to be detrimental to the inhabitants of Europe in general, but ſhews, that it may be advantageous to ſome particular nations, that it is ſo to England, and that the monopoly of this trade in the hands of the Dutch, might be worth to them ſix millions ſterling annually. He likewiſe gives his reaſons, why the prohibitions then intended of Eaſt India and Perſia wrought ſilks, would be deſtructive to that trade in general, and hazard it's being utterly loſt to the kingdom.

IV. *Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues, and of the Trade of England; by the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means. Part* I. *To which is added, A Diſcourſe upon improving the Revenue of the State of Athens, written originally in Greek by Xenophon, and now made Engliſh from the Original, with ſome Hiſtorical Notes; by another hand.* Lond. 1698, 8*vo*.

In this piece, the author undertakes to diſcover his ſenſe upon the following very important topicks, *viz.* Of the uſe of political arithmetick, in all conſiderations about the revenue and trade. On credit, and the means and methods by which it may be reſtored. On the management of the King's revenues; Whether to farm the revenues may not, in this juncture, be moſt for the publick ſervice? On the publick debts and engagements.

The Diſcourſe on the Revenue of the State of Athens, was written by the famous Walter Moyle, Eſq; and addreſſed by him to Dr Davenant, in which addreſs there occurs a paſſage, which ſhews that there were ſome thoughts of ſending over our author in quality of Director-General to the Eaſt Indies, and is alſo a clear teſtimony, what that great man's notions were in reference to the real intentions, as well as great importance, of our author's writings. Speaking of what might be expected upon the concluſion of a peace with France, he ſays (7), 'Trade being of ſuch mighty 'conſequence to the intereſt of the nation, will, we 'hope, meet with due encouragement and protection 'from our laws, and will be ſettled under the ableſt 'management and the wiſeſt regulation. Theſe 'branches of our commerce, which have been impaired or loſt by the pyratick war, and the fatal interruption of our navigation, may be retrieved by 'the peace; and other trades, and particularly that 'with France, which the negligence, or the miſtaken 'counſels of the laſt reigns, had ſettled upon a foot ſo 'deſtructive to our intereſt, may be eſtabliſhed to our 'advantage in a new treaty of commerce. The great 'trade to the Eaſt Indies, with ſome few regulations, 'might be eſtabliſhed upon a bottom more conſiſtent 'with the manufactures of England, but in all appearance this is not to be compaſſed, unleſs ſome 'publick ſpirited man (*), with a maſterly genius, be 'placed at the head of our affairs in India; and tho' 'we, who are his friends, are loth to loſe him, 'twere 'to be wiſhed for the good of the kingdom, that the 'gentleman whom common fame, and the voice of 'the world, have pointed out as the ableſt man for 'ſuch a ſtation, would employ his excellent judgment 'and talents that way, in the execution of ſo noble and 'uſeful a deſign. The general intereſt of a nation 'ought to be the care of particular men, the main 'bent of their ſtudies, and the chief purſuit of their 'enquiries; every man ought to ſet his helping hand to 'ſuch a work, and your own generous labours upon 'this ſubject have ſet an excellent pattern to the reſt 'of the world.'

(*) Dr Davenant himſelf.

(7) In his introduction to the tranſlation of that diſcourſe of Xenophon.

V. *Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, which more immediately treat of the foreign traffick of this kingdom. By the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means. Part* II. Lond. 1698, 8*vo*.

In this excellent work, the author has undertaken to explain four very important points, ſo as to render them perfectly intelligible even to common underſtandings; the firſt is the nature of foreign trade, in which he not only ſhews that it is really beneficial to this kingdom, but how it comes to be ſo, and what are the proper methods of enquiring, whether foreign trade is beneficial or not within any given period whatever. The ſecond point is as to the care and protection of trade, in which a multitude of curious points are incidentally illuſtrated. The third point he labours, is that of the plantation trade, and in reference to this there are more uſeful obſervations advanced, and more important facts laid down, than are to be met with in the ſame compaſs in any book publiſhed in our language. The advantages and diſadvantages which may be derived from the Eaſt India trade, or which it may be expoſed to, is our author's topick in his fourth diſcourſe, at the beginning of which he gives the following account of what he would have underſtood to be the ſcope and intention of all his writings (8). 'The 'author's aim is to deliver things plainly, without the 'diſguiſe of hard words and terms, which rubbiſh 'being removed, the precious ore will ſooner appear 'that is to be found in ſtudies of this nature. His ends 'are compaſſed if he can ſet out intricate matters in 'an eaſy manner, hoping thereby to induce the young 'Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom to take a pleaſure in theſe ſort of contemplations, and he wiſhes 'this preſent performance did in any degree anſwer 'the deſire he has of ſerving the publick.

(8) Diſcourſe on the publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England, Vol. II. p. 320.

'Tis a great delight to him to obſerve, that many 'of our young Nobility and Gentry have expreſſed an 'inclination to inform themſelves of the ſtate of England, and that learning begins to be more in faſhion 'than of late years, people being not aſhamed now of 'underſtanding Greek and Latin. Nothing did more 'help to advance the Roman greatneſs, than that 'their youth were bred up to an early knowledge of 'their country's buſineſs. to which they attained by 'progreſſive ſteps, through ſeveral offices of the State, 'wherein they gained the experience that fitted them 'at laſt for the magiſtracies of chiefeſt truſt and importance. They qualified themſelves for the publick 'ſervice, by ſeaſoning betimes their underſtandings 'with the love of letters; for, in thoſe days, whoever

one of these books that the author suffered himself to be so carried away by his zeal, as to treat the Church, or, at least, some Church-men, in so disrespectful a manner, as to draw upon himself a very unusual mark of censure from one of the Houses in Convocation (*m*) [*D*]. It

(*m*) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 222.

'ever pretended to intermeddle in matters of govern-
'ment, did first cultivate his mind with wisdom and
'the precepts of Philosophy, by which afterwards he
'might steer his actions, giving to the search into use-
'ful arts or sublimer studies those hours, which, in
'this age, are consumed in riots and vain pleasures.

'The young Nobility and Gentry not yet tainted,
'are the best hopes of a diseased Commonwealth
'The warmth and spirit of such, must assist their mea-
'sures who desire and are able to promote a right ad-
'ministration. And in national assemblies, it has
'been generally observed, that the young men are
'least infected with corruption, and that they would
'always follow truth, but for the false lights which
'crafty guides set up with a purpose to mislead them,
'for, while we are young, we are either ashamed, or
'have not leisure, to play the knave; but we come to
'it as age and discretion grow upon us.

'The writer's aim is to stir up the youth of the
'kingdom to bend their thoughts to the study of trade
'and the publick revenues, that, being masters of the
'general notions of trade thereunto relating, they may
'not be mislead by crafty and interested Merchants,
'or by ambitious and designing Politicians. When
'the youth of a nation have well informed their own
'reason, they follow her dictates, deliberating well
'and wisely for their King and country, without being
'hurried to and fro by the whirlwind of a prevailing
'faction.'

In answer to this performance, more especially to what is advanced therein concerning the excise, there was published a pamphlet under the following title:

Remarks upon some wrong Computations and Conclusions, contained in a late tract, intituled, Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, *in a Letter to Mr D S.* London, 1698, 8*vo.*

VI. *An Essay upon the Probable Methods of making the People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade. By the author of the Essay on Ways and Means.* London, 1699, 8*vo.*

In this discourse he insists upon the following heads, *viz.* Of the people of England. Of the land of England, and it's product. Of our payments to the publick, and in what manner the ballance of trade may be thereby affected That a country cannot increase in wealth and power but by private men doing their duty to the publick, and but by a steady course of honesty and wisdom, in such as are trusted with the administration of affairs.

VII. *A Discourse upon* GRANTS *and* RESUMPTIONS, *shewing how our ancestors have proceeded with such Ministers, as have procured to themselves Grants of the Crown Revenue, and that the Forfeited Estates ought to be applied towards the Payment of Publick Debts. By the author of the Essay on Ways and Means.* Lond. 1700, 8*vo.*

In answer to this came out a very large and accurate work intituled,

JUS REGIUM: *or, The King's Right to grant Forfeitures and other Revenues of the Crown, fully set forth, and traced from the beginning. His Majesty vindicated as to his Promise, concerning his Disposal of the Forfeited Estates. The manifold Hardships of the Resumption, and the little Advantage we shall reap by it, plainly demonstrated.* Lond. 1701, 8*vo.*

VIII. *Essays upon the Ballance of Power; the Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances; Universal Monarchy. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Records referred to in the second Essay.* London, 1701, 8*vo.*

A very large and full answer to this work was published, under the title of

Animadversions on a late factious book, intituled, Essays upon the Ballance of Power, &c. *with a Letter containing a Censure upon the said book, wherein the King, the Ministry, and the Church of England, are cleared from the malicious Aspersions cast upon them by the Enemies of this Government.* Lond. 1701, 8*vo.*

(9) P. 5. The author of this pamphlet tells us (9), that Dr Davenant made himself conspicuous, and secured a great party in the nation, by his early quarrel to the government, upon account of the mal administration of affairs, which he would persuade the world to be the result of his love to his country, when we all know his spleen has no other cause, than his having no more a share in the management of one of the branches of the revenue.

IX. *A picture of a Modern Whig, in two Parts.* Lond. 1701, 1702, 8*vo.*

There is nothing but general report, founded upon the likeness of the stile and other circumstantial evidence, to prove that this bitter pamphlet fell from the pen of our author, and, if it did, he must be allowed to have been the greatest master of invective that ever wrote in our language.

[*D*] *From one of the Houses in Convocation.*] Our author, who is said by his enemies to have been a very warm party-man himself, and blamed for calculating most of his writings for the service of a party, makes it however the chief point in most of his books, and in that especially which drew upon him this misfortune, to shew, that no country can be happy while party subsists in it, and that government can never be well administered while in the hands of a party. To shew that this was the case at that time, more especially in the Church, he delivers himself in the following extraordinary flow of resentment (10): (10) P. 39, 40.

'As to religion, says he, 'tis notorious that many of those lately in play, have used their utmost endeavours to discountenance all Revealed Religion. They were more enraged at the Church party for believing in the Apostles Creed, than from the Tory principles some of them had advanced. Nothing but the subversion of all divine worship, could make way for that immorality which they intended to put in practice; all sort of Divines forbid the arts and ways by which they purposed to thrive, they were therefore to unsettle men in their opinions about religious matters, by which they hoped to prepare the minds, especially of the vulgar, to have different thoughts of vice and virtue than what they had heretofore entertained, which if they could have compassed, they did not doubt to be well esteemed of, as being the reverse of what honest and virtuous men ought to be, and acting quite oppofite to what all religions have enjoined. They would have been safe indeed, and it would cover all their crimes, if nothing could be thought foul, treacherous, or dishonest, by which a man was to reap advantage, and if the people could have been once brought to think every thing good which they saw to prosper. Upon these grounds they have done their utmost to turn all religion to a jest. Do not we all know, that, in the midst of their prophane mirth, a modest Christian durst hardly put in a word in favour of the second person of the Trinity, without exposing himself to laughter? To hear 'em talk sometimes, one would imagine they believed a true Christian could not be a friend to the government. Good God! what a strange mixture of men have we lately seen upon the stage? irreligious Phanaticks, and arbitrary Republicans! *Are not a great many of us able to point out to several persons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the highest trust, and often to rich* BENEFICES *and* DIGNITIES, *but the open enmity which they have, almost from their cradles, professed to the divinity of Christ?*'

What was done upon this will best appear, from transcribing part of the Journal of the Upper House of Convocation (11): (11) The Hist. of the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, Lond. 1702. 4to. P. 75.

Sessio x. Die Sabbati 22 Martii.

The Most Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers being met in the Jerusalem Chamber, made their accustomed prayers to Almighty God. Which being done, the said Most Reverend produced a certain printed book, intituled, *Essays upon the Ballance of Power*, and after the reading of a certain paragraph in the fortieth page of the said book, the President and his Suffragans agreed, That the following paper should be fixed over several doors in Westminster-abbey.

March

It is not at all ſtrange that one, who wrote upon ſuch topicks, and with ſo much freedom as he did, who cenſured boldly the meaſures he diſapproved, and had ſometimes the good fortune to find his ſentiments eſpouſed by the repreſentatives of the nation, ſhould feel the reſentments of men in power, or be expoſed to very harſh treatment from thoſe who endeavoured to refute him, in order to gain their favour (*n*). But a different behaviour might be expected from ſuch as undertake to write hiſtory, and who ought therefore to be very ſecure of their facts, before they deliver them as ſuch to the publick and to poſterity; yet a certain writer bears very hard upon Dr Davenant, for his conduct as a Member of Parliament in the reign of King William; tells us, that his circumſtances were ſuch as would have prevented him from having a ſeat after the act for qualifications took place, that the narrowneſs of them made it more than ſuſpected he was bribed by Count Tallard, the French Miniſter; and inſtances, in a particular vote, where Dr Davenant himſelf acknowledged he had given it againſt his conſcience (*o*). Yet we find our author complaining in his books of being ſhut out of active life, and having no other way to benefit his country but by his pen (*p*), which would have been very ſtrange language, if, at the ſame time, he had ſat in Parliament; but the truth of the matter is, that he did not obtain a ſeat in the reign of King William till the year 1698, when he was elected, with Francis Stonehouſe, Eſq; for the borough of Great Bedwin, as he was afterwards in the year 1700 (*q*); at which time alſo he wrote as warmly againſt France as any man; ſo that if the French Miniſter really allowed him a penſion, he beſtowed his money very ill; and the improbability of the fact makes better evidence neceſſary to prove it, than the bare aſſertion of an author very apt to be angry, and to believe, and ſay, any thing of thoſe with whom he is angry. This is farther certain, that, in 1704, Dr Davenant wrote a book, to ſhew the neceſſity of peace at home while a neceſſary war was carried on abroad; which he dedicated to Queen Anne (*r*), and which was ſuppoſed to be written at the deſire of Lord Halifax; though the Hiſtorian before-mentioned tells us, that he deſpiſed the author, and would never have any confidence in him (*s*). This drew upon him the reſentment of that party by whom he had been formerly eſteemed, and who beſtowed upon him as ill language, or rather worſe, than he had received from his former opponents (*t*). He was afterwards appointed Inſpector-General of the Exports and Imports (*u*), in which employment he gave a very high teſtimony of his abilities, ſo that, to ſpeak with impartiality, he ought to be eſteemed a perſon who ſerved his country faithfully when in office, and uſefully when out; as for his remaining works they will be mentioned in the notes [*E*]. It is preſumed, that the care taken in repreſenting fairly and fully the performances

(*n*) State-Tracts in the reign of William III. Vol. II. p. 734, 735, 740, 741, 742.

(*o*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 216, 217.

(*p*) Diſcourſe on Grants and Reſumptions, p. 41.

(*q*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 19.

(*r*) See an account of it in note [*E*].

(*s*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 217.

(*t*) A Defence of the two laſt Parliaments, p. 35.

(*u*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1705. Appendix, p. 88.

March 22, 1700.

Whereas this day a book intituled *Eſſays upon* I. *The Ballance of Power.* II. *The Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances.* III. *Univerſal Monarchy, &c.* was brought into the Jeruſalem Chamber, where his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the reſt of Suffragan Biſhops of his province, were aſſembled in Convocation: in the 40th page of which book are theſe words, *Are not a great many of us able to point out*, &c.

It is deſired by the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops, that the author himſelf whoever he be, or any one of the great many to whom he refers, would point out to the particular perſons whom he or they know to be liable to that charge, that they may be proceeded againſt in a judicial way, which will be eſteemed a great ſervice to the Church; otherwiſe the abovementioned paſſage muſt be looked upon as a publick ſcandal.

THO. TYLLOTT,
Clericus Superioris Domus Convocationis.

[*E*] *They will be mentioned in the notes.*] In this note we are to ſpeak of ſuch of our author's writings, as he publiſhed after the time that he is ſuppoſed to have reconciled himſelf to the Miniſtry.

X. *Eſſays upon Peace at home and War abroad, in two parts, by Charles Davenant, LL. D.* Lond. 1704, 8*vo.*

Whatever the motives might be which induced our author to compoſe and publiſh this piece, it is very certain that it is one of the wiſeſt and weightieſt that ever fell from his pen. That he was not aſhamed in any degree of this undertaking, appears from his putting his name to the book: and that he was as far from taking ſhame to himſelf on the ſcore of his former writings or behaviour, appears very clearly from the following paragraphs in his Dedication to the Queen, which are therefore highly deſerving the reader's notice.

'That for many years there have been parties in this kingdom is too evident; but 'twas what the beſt Patriots all along deplored, though formerly the miſchief was hardly to be avoided: endeavours to keep up a great land force in times of peace, neglect of trade, general profuſion, the ſpoils ſome had made upon the publick, and their alienating crown lands to an immenſe value both here and in Ireland, could not but provoke them who were to feel the weight of preſent taxes and of future debts.

In a free nation ſuch conduct will ever inflame the minds of men, and excite all true lovers of their country to exert their utmoſt ſtrength in it's reſcue. Theſe conteſts, to promote good government, and to carry on a bad one, divided the realm. The corruptions of the age were attacked with virtuous courage at firſt by thin ſquadrons, whoſe numbers increaſed from time to time, till at laſt they were ſtrong enough to make ſuch a ſtand, as prevented univerſal ruin. In the mean while, miſmanagement was ſupported with more warmth than perhaps was either juſt or decent. And theſe ſtruggles were no ſmall interruptions to your immediate predeceſſor in his counſels, and in his buſineſs of the war.

And 'tis no wonder the face of the waters is not yet quite ſmooth, after a high ſtorm there will remain an agitation of the waves for many hours. Ambition may be ſtill at work, and ſome may yet be graſping at power, which they hope to compaſs by the aids and voices of their faction: but God has enriched your princely heart with ſuch prudence, as ſoon diſcerns what moſt conduces to the happineſs of the nations over which your ſceptre is extended.'

XI. *Reflections upon the Conſtitution and Management of the Trade to Africa, through the whole Courſe and Progreſs thereof, from the Beginning of the laſt Century to this Time; wherein the Nature and uncommon Circumſtances of that Trade are particularly conſidered, and all the Arguments urged alternately, by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now propoſed by them, for carrying on the ſame to a national Advantage, impartially ſtated and conſidered. By all which a clear view is given of ſuch a Conſtitution, as (if eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament) would in all probability render the African Trade a permanent, creditable,*

(w) Help to History, Vol. III. p. 296. Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, p. 293.

performances of Dr Davenant, whose merit, as a political writer, whatever his failings might be, has been always acknowledged, will prove acceptable to the publick; the rather, because hitherto such accounts as have been given of his life and writings have been but very imperfect. He died in possession of his employment November 6th, 1714 (*w*).

ditable, and advantageous Trade to Britain. Lond. 1709, fol. in three parts.

There is indeed no name to any of these treatises, but it was very well known at the time they were published by whom they were written, and therefore in a large collection of tracts, in the hands of a person perfectly well acquainted with literary history, they had this title given them (20), *Dr Davenant's Reflections on the Trade to Africa, 3 parts,* 1709. It must be acknowledged, that, exclusive of the reasonings and arguments advanced in this performance, and which have been frequently copied since; there are abundance of material facts, and curious pieces of History, which will render them always admired, and valued by those who are desirous of understanding the subject thoroughly, which they are intended to explain.

(12) Catalogue of the Library of Anthony Collins, Esq; Vol. II. p. 14.

XII. *A Report to the Honourable the Commissioners for putting in execution the Act, intituled,* an Act for the taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts of the kingdom, *from* Charles Davenant, LL D. *Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports.* Lond. 1712, 8*vo*, Part I.

XIII. *A second Report to the Honourable the Commissioners, &c.* Lond. 1712, 8*vo*.

The last of these Reports is dated from the Inspector-General's office, Dec. 10, 1711 (13), and the design of both is, to give a general account of the trade of the kingdom from 1663 to 1710. This was the last work of our author, and contains in it a collection of facts of inestimable value to such as are willing to distinguish between rumour, or common opinion, and the true state of things, in reference to the commerce of Great Britain with her neighbours. E

(13) At the conclusion of that Report.

D'AVENANT (William) younger brother to the former, and fourth son to Sir William Davenant; was educated at Magdalen-Hall, in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, July 19th, 1677 (*a*). He translated into English from the French a book, intituled, *Animadversions upon the famous* Greek *and* Latin *Historians*, written by the celebrated Mr la Mothe le Vayer (*b*), who was Tutor to the French King Louis XIII; which was very well received. He took the degree of Master of Arts July 5th, 1680 (*c*), and about the same time entering into holy orders, was presented to a living in the county of Surrey, by his patron Robert Wymondsole, of Putney, Esq; with whom he travelled into France; and in the summer of the year 1681, as he was diverting himself by swimming in a river near Paris, he was unfortunately drowned in the sight of his Pupil, to the great regret of all who knew him, having added to great natural parts, by an assiduous application to study, as much sound learning and true knowledge as could be expected in a person so young. E

(a) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 205.

(b) Printed at Oxford, 1698. 8vo.

(c) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 213.

DAVIES (Sir John), an eminent Lawyer and Poet [*A*] of the last century, was born at Chisgrove in the parish of Tysbury in Wiltshire, being the son of a wealthy Tanner

[*A*] *An eminent Lawyer and Poet.*] In quality of a Lawyer, Sir John gave the world the following pieces: I. *A Discovery of the true Causes, why Ireland was never entirely subdued, nor brought under obedience of the crown of England, until the beginning of his Majesty's happy reign.* Lond. 1612, 4*to*. Dedicated to the King with this Latin verse only:

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

II. *A Declaration of our Sovereign Lord the King, concerning the title of his Majesty's son Charles, the Prince and Duke of Cornwall.* Lond. 1614. In 14 sheets, folio. Printed in two columns, one in French, and the other in English. III. *Le Primer Reports des cases & matters en ley resolves & adjudges en les courts del Roy en Ireland.* Dublin 1615. Lond. 1628 and 1674, fol. To the second edition was added a table, not in the former. It was from this book chiefly, that Sir John Pettus selected matter for another, intitled, *England's Independency upon the Papal Power, historically and judiciously stated by Sir* John Davies, *Attorney-General in Ireland, and by Sir* Edward Coke, *Lord Chief Justice of England, in two Reports, selected from their great volumes, with a Preface written by Sir* John Pettus. Lond. 1674, 4*to*. IV. *A perfect Abridgment of the eleven books of Reports of Sir* Edward Coke. Lond. 1651, 12*mo*. It was written in French by Sir John Davies, and translated into English by another hand. V. *Jus imponendi Vectigalia: Or, the Learning touching Customs, Tonnage, Poundage, and Impositions on Merchandizes, &c. asserted.* London, 1656 and 1659, 8*vo*. Besides these, there are some manuscripts of his writing and composing; *viz. A large Epistle to Robert Earl of Salisbury of the state of the counties of Monaghan, Fennanagh, and Downe, and of Justices of Peace, and other Officers of Ireland*; written in 1607: also *A Speech* (when he was Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland) *before Arthur Lord Chichester, Viscount Belfast, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,* 21 May 1613. These pieces were in the library of Sir James Ware of Ireland, and afterwards (Mr Wood believes) in that of the Earl of Clarendon (1). Sir John's principal performance as a Poet, and for which he deserves the highest commendation, is his Poem on *The Original, Nature, and Immortality of the Soul.* Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. It was republished by Mr N. Tate, in 1714, with a Dedication to the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex; and the editor gives us the following just and advantageous character of it. 'As others have laboured to carry out 'our thoughts, and entertain them with all manner of 'delights abroad; 'tis the peculiar character of this 'author, that he has taught us (with Antoninus) to 'meditate upon ourselves; that he has disclosed to us 'greater secrets at home; self-reflection being the only 'way to valuable and true knowledge, which consists 'in the *Science of a man's self.*——Our author has not 'only placed and connected together the most amiable 'images of all those powers that are in our souls; but 'he has furnished and squared his matter like a true 'Philosopher; that is, he has made both body and 'soul, colour and shadow, of his poem, out of the 'store-house of his own mind, which gives the whole 'work a real and natural beauty: he is beholding to 'none but himself; and by knowing himself tho'roughly, he is arrived to know very much; which 'appears in his admirable variety of well chosen me'taphors and similitudes, that cannot be found within 'the compass of a narrow knowledge. For this reason 'the poem, on account of it's intrinsick worth, would 'be as lasting as the *Iliad* or *Æneid*, if the language 'tis wrote in were as immutable as that of the Greeks 'and Romans.——In the following poem are repre'sented the various movements of the *Mind.* Herein, 'as in a mirror that will not flatter, we see how the 'Soul arbitrates in the *Understanding* upon the various 'reports of *Sense*, and all the changes of *imagination*: 'how

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 506, 507.

Tanner of that place, and became a Commoner of Queen's-College in Oxford in Michaelmas Term 1585; where having laid a good foundation of academical learning, and taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he removed to the Middle-Temple, and, applying himself to the ſtudy of the Common Law, was called to the Bar. Some time after, being expelled that ſociety for beating a Gentleman (*) at dinner in the Common-Hall; he retired to Oxford, and proſecuted his ſtudies there. Afterwards, by the favour of Thomas Lord Elleſmore, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, being reinſtated in the Temple, he practiſed as a Counſellor, and became a Burgeſs in the Parliament held at Weſtminſter in 1601. Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, our author, with Lord Hunſdon, went into Scotland, to congratulate King James [*B*], who afterwards made him his Sollicitor, and then his Attorney-General in Ireland; where, in 1606, he was made one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law, and was afterwards Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in that kingdom. The year following, on the 11th of February, he received the honour of knighthood from the King at Whitehall. In 1612, he quitted the poſt of Attorney-General in Ireland, and was made one of his Majeſty's Engliſh Serjeants at Law. After his ſettling in England, he was often appointed one of the Judges of Aſſize on the Circuits. He married Eleanor Touchet [*C*], youngeſt daughter of George Lord Audley, afterwards Earl of Caſtlehaven; by whom he had a ſon, an idiot, who died young, and a daughter named Lucy, married to Ferdinand Lord Haſtings, afterwards Earl of Huntington [*D*]. In 1626, Sir John was appointed Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench: but, before the ceremony of his inſtallation could be performed, he died ſuddenly, of an apoplexy, the ſeventh of December, at his houſe in the Strand, in the 57th year of his age; and was buried in the church of St Martin in the Fields [*E*], leaving behind him the character of a bold ſpirit, a ſharp and ready wit, and of a man completely learned, but in truth more a Scholar than a Lawyer (*a*).

(*) Mr Richard Martin, afterwards Recorder of London.

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 505, 506, 507.

'how compliant the *Will* is to her dictates, and obeys 'her as a Queen does her King, at the ſame time acknowledging a ſubjection, and yet retaining a majeſty: 'how the *Paſſions* move at her command, like a well-diſciplined army: from which regular compoſure of 'the *Faculties*, all operating in their proper time and 'place, there ariſes a complacency upon the whole 'ſoul, that infinitely tranſcends all other pleaſures.— 'What deep Philoſophy is this, to diſcover the proceſs 'of God's art in faſhioning the ſoul of man after his 'own image! ——— What eloquence and force of 'wit, to convey theſe profound ſpeculations in the eaſieſt language, expreſſed in words ſo vulgarly received, that they are underſtood by the meaneſt capacities (2).' This is the ſame poem, which Anthony Wood (3) intitles *Noſce Teipſum*. Printed in 1599, and again in 1622. To which were added by the ſame hand: *Hymns of Aſtrea* in acroſtic verſe; and *Orcheſtra, or A Poem expreſſing the antiquity and excellency of Dancing, in a Dialogue between* Penelope *and one of her Woers*; containing 131 ſtanzas, unfiniſhed. Mr Wood mentions alſo *Epigrams*, and a *Metaphraſe of ſeveral of King* David's *Pſalms*, written by Sir John Davies, but never publiſhed.

(2) Preface.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He went into Scotland, to congratulate King James*] Being introduced into his Majeſty's preſence, the King enquired of Lord Hunſdon the names of the gentlemen who accompanied him; and his Lordſhip naming among them John Davies, who ſtood behind, the King preſently aſked, whether he was *Noſce Teipſum* (*); and being anſwered he was, he graciouſly embraced him, and aſſured him of his favour (4).

(*) The title of his poem on the Soul.

(4) Wood, ibid. col. 506.

[*C*] *He married* Eleanor Touchet] This lady was of a very extraordinary character. She had, or pretended to have, a ſpirit of prophecy; and her predictions, received from a voice, which ſhe often heard (as ſhe uſed to tell her daughter Lucy, and ſhe others) were generally wrapped up in dark and obſcure expreſſions. It was commonly reported, that, on the Sunday before her huſband's death, as ſhe was ſitting at dinner with him, ſhe ſuddenly burſt into tears: whereupon he aſking her the occaſion, ſhe anſwered; *Huſband, theſe are your funeral tears:* to which he replied, *Pray therefore ſpare your tears now, and I will be content that you ſhall laugh when I am dead.* After Sir John's death, ſhe lived moſtly at Parſton in Hertfordſhire; and, in 1649, an account was publiſhed of her *Strange and wonderful prophecies*. She died in St Bride's pariſh in London, the 5th of July 1652, and was buried in St Martin's church, near the remains of her huſband (5).

(5) Wood, ibid. col. 507, 508. See alſo the Hiſtory, &c. of Archbiſhop Laud, P. ii. lib. iv. ann. 1634.

[*D*] *Lucy, married to Ferdinand Lord Haſtings, afterwards Earl of Huntington*] Upon that Lord's ſuit to his daughter, Sir John Davies made the following epigram (6):

Lucida vis oculos teneri perſtrinxit amantis,
Nec tamen erravit, nam via dulcis erat.

(6) Wood. ibid.

[*E*] *He was buried in the church of St Martin in the Fields.*] Soon after, a monument was fixed on a pillar near his grave, with an inſcription on it, giving him this character (7): *Vir ingenio compto, rara facundia, oratione cum ſoluta, tum numeris aſtricta, fæliciſſimus: Juridicam ſeveritatem morum elegantia, & amœniore eruditione mitigavit: Patronus fidus, Judex incorruptus, ingenuæ Pietatis amore, et anxiæ ſuperſtitionis contemptu, juxta inſignis.* 'He was a man of 'fine abilities and uncommon eloquence, and a moſt 'excellent writer both in proſe and verſe: he tempered the ſeverity of the Lawyer with the politeneſs 'and learning of the Gentleman: he was a faithful 'Advocate, an impartial Judge, and equally remarkable for a love of ingenuous piety, and a contempt 'of anxious ſuperſtition.' T

(7) Wood, ibid.

DAVIES (JOHN) a learned Critic in the XVIIIth century, was born in London April 22, 1679. His father was a Merchant, or Tradeſman, in that city, who died while his children were young; and his mother (*a*), a daughter of Sir John Turton, Knight [*A*]. Our author was educated in grammar learning at the Charterhouſe-ſchool; and admitted, June 8, 1695, into Queen's-College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1698. He was, on the 7th of July 1701, elected Fellow of that College (*b*); and the year following took the degree of Maſter of Arts. In 1709

(*a*) She was living in the year 1743.

(*b*) In the room of Mr Aſhton, Maſter of Jeſus-College.

[*A*] *A daughter of Sir John Turton, Knt*] John Turton, Eſq; was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law, April 11, 1689; conſtituted one of the Barons of the Exchequer, May 9, following; when he was knighted: and, on the 27th of June 1696, removed to the King's Bench, of which he was made one of the Juſtices (1).

(1) See *Chronica Juridicialia*, &c. under thoſe years.

1709 he had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the Univerſity. Having now diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his many excellent qualifications, he was collated in 1711, by Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Ely, that great patron of learning and learned men, to the rectory of Fen-Ditton near Cambridge, and to a Prebend in the church of Ely (*c*). The ſame year he took the degree of Doctor in Laws. Upon the death of Dr James, he was choſen in his room Maſter of Queen's-College, March 23, 171$\frac{6}{7}$: and created Doctor in Divinity in 1717, when King George I. was at Cambridge (*d*). This learned perſon died March 7, 173$\frac{1}{2}$. in the fifty-third year of his age; and was buried in the middle of Queen's-College-Chapel. Soon after, a handſome flat marble-ſtone was laid over his grave, with an inſcription [*B*]. As the ſeveral things which he hath publiſhed, are in Greek, or Latin, we will, for that reaſon, give an account of them only in the note [*C*]. We ſhall not attempt this learned and induſtrious man's character, leſt it ſhould ſuffer from our imperfect repreſentation. However, thus far we will venture to ſay, that his works have been received, in general, with great applauſe [*D*]; and moſt of them have paſſed through ſeveral editions.

(*c*) The fifth ſtall; into which he was inſtalled Sept. 24. 1711. Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; edit. 1730. 4*to*. p. 385.

(*d*) For moſt of theſe particulars we are obliged to the preſent worthy Maſter of Queen's Coll. and to the learned Dr W. Richardſon, Maſter of Emanuel.

[*B*] *A handſome flat marble ſtone was laid over his grave, with an inſcription.*] At the top, are the Doctor's arms, *viz.* Or, between a chevron three mullets, ſable; impaling thoſe of his wife (Edwards) And beneath is the following inſcription:

Hic ſitæ ſunt reliquiæ
Joannis Davies,
L. L. *et* S. T. D.
Hujus Collegii Præſidis,
ac Elienſis Canonici.
Natus eſt Londini *Aprilis*
die XXII. MDCLXXIX.
Denatus in his Ædibus
Martii die VII. MDCCXXXI.
Plura dici noluit vir optimus.

[*C*] *As the ſeveral things which he hath publiſhed, are in Greek or Latin, we will, for that reaſon, give an account of them only in the note.*] Iſt then, he publiſhed in 1703, a new edition of Maximus Tyrius, under this title: *Maximi Tyrii Diſſertationes, Gr. & Lat. ex interpretatione Heinſii, recenſuit Jo. Davisius, &c.* 8*vo*. II. He gave a new edition of Julius Cæſar; *C. Julii Cæſaris* [*& A. Hirtii*] *quæ exſtant omnia. Ex recenſione Joannis Daviſii, Coll. Regin. Cantab. Socii, cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus, ac notis Pet. Ciacconii, Fr. Hottomanni, Joan. Brantii, Dionyſ. Voſſii, & aliorum. Acceſſere Metaphraſis Graeca Librorum Septem de Bello Gallico, necnon Indices neceſſarii.* 4*to*, Cantab. 1706 and 1727. III. And of Minucius Felix; *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. Ex recenſione Joannis Daviſii; Cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus, ac Notis integris Des. Heraldi & Nic. Rigaltii, necnon ſelectis aliorum. Accedit Commodianus, aevi Cyprianici Scriptor, cum obſervationibus antehac editis, aliiſque nonnullis, quae jam primum prodeunt.* Cantab. 1707 and 1712, 8*vo*. IV. Next, he undertook to publiſh new and beautiful editions of M. T. Cicero's Philoſophical pieces, by way of ſupplement to what the moſt learned Grævius had publiſhed of that excellent author, but had been hindered by death from finiſhing. He put out therefore in 1708, 1. his Tuſculan Diſputations, under this title; *M. Tullii Ciceronis Tuſculanarum Diſputationum Libri* V. *Cum Commentario Joannis Daviſii*, 8*vo*, Cantab. 1709 (2), and again in 1723, 1730, 1738. The 1ſt and the laſt edition have at the end Dr Ric. Bentley's *Emendationes*. The other pieces of Tully were publiſhed by our author in the following order; 2. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Natura Deorum Libri tres. Cum Notis integris Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionyſ. Lambini, Fulv. Urſini, & Joannis Walkeri. Recenſuit, ſuiſque Animadverſionibus illuſtravit ac emaculavit Joannes Daviſius, &c.* Cantab. 1718 (3), 1723 and 1733, 8*vo*. 3. *M. Tullii Ciceronis libri de Divinatione & de Fato. Recenſuit & ſuis Animadverſionibus illuſtravit ac emendavit Joannes Daviſius. Accedunt integrae Notae Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionyſ. Lambini, & Fulv. Urſini, una cum Hadriani Turnebi Commentario in Librum de Fato*, Cantab. 1721, 1730, 8*vo*. 4. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Academica. Recenſuit, Variorum Notis ſuas immiſcuit, & Hadr. Turnebi Petrique Fabri Commentarios adjunxit Joannes Daviſius, &c.* Cantab. 1725, 1736, 8*vo*. 5. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Legibus Libri tres. Recenſuit, ac Petri Victorii, Paulli Manucii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionyſii Lambini, & Fulvii Urſini Notis ſuas adjecit Joannes Daviſius, &c. Accedit Hadriani Turnebi Commentarius.* Cantab. 1727, 8*vo*. 6. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Finibus Bonorum & Malorum Libri quinque. Ex recenſione Joannis Daviſii, &c. Cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus, & Notis integris Petr. Victorii, P. Manucii, Joach. Camerarii, D. Lambini, ac Fulvii Urſini.* Cantab. 1728, 1741, 8*vo*. He had alſo gone as far as the middle of the third Book of Cicero's Offices, in order for a new edition of that moſt valuable work: but being prevented by death from finiſhing it, he recommended it in his will to the care of that great patron of learning Richard Mead. M. D. who put it into the hands of Dr Thomas Bentley, that he might fit it for the preſs. But the houſe where Dr Bentley lodged (in the Strand, London) being ſet on fire thro' his careleſſneſs, as 'tis ſaid, in reading after he was in bed, Dr Davies's notes and emendations periſhed in the flames, and ſo were irrecoverably loſt (4). V. Another thing publiſhed by our learned author, was, *Lactantii Firmiani Epitome Divinarum Inſtitutionum ad Pentadium fratrem. Eam ex vetuſtiſſimo MS^to^ Taurinenſi nuper editam recenſuit, & ſuis animadverſionibus illuſtravit, ac emendavit Joannes Daviſius.* Cantab. 1718, 8*vo*.

(4) Vide Præfat. Ciceron. de Nat. Deor. edit. 1733.

[*D*] *His works have been received, in general, with great applauſe.*] Both at home and abroad. Abbé d'Olivet in particular, the French Tranſlator of *Cicero de Natura Deorum* gives our author juſt commendations for his beautiful edition of that book (5). But he ſeems afterwards to have altered his opinion, as appears from the harſh judgment he paſſes upon Dr Davies, in the Preface to his new edition of Tully's Works (6), which we ſhall here ſubjoin for the ſake of the curious and learned reader. *Joannes Daviſius Anglus.* His viginti annis pleraque Ciceronis *Philoſophica* edidit, operis Græviani perfectorem ſe profeſſus. Verùm, ut erumpat aliquando ex me vera vox, & dicam ſine circuitione quod ſentio, *Homini homo quid præſtat!* Quæ in Grævio modeſtia! quam ingenuus pudor! In altero quæ confidentia! aut, ne dixerim mollius, quæ procacitas! Tamen fateor, & libenter quidem, fuit in eo ingenium perſpicax, acutum, ſolers: itaque locos aliquot feliciter explicuit. At minime ferendus eſt, qui antiquis lectionibus è textu exterminatis, ſuis autem in earum locum ſomniis, ſi diis placet, inducendis, novum velit architectari Ciceronem: adeo ut, ſi qua ejus volumina ſecundis tertiiſve curis retractata in lucem redierint, ultima editio ſit etiam peſſima: ſuſcepto quaſi certamine cum populari ſuo Richardo Bentleio, quem ſuarum ad Tuſculanas emendationum approbatorem amplificatoremque habuerat, uter eſſet in contaminandis veterum exemplaribus licentior.

(5) In the Preface to Vol. I. of his *Entretiens de Ciceron ſur la Nature des Dieux.* Edit. Paris 1721. 8*vo*. p. xvii. See alſo the Letter immediately following, from Mr Le Preſident Bouhier, p. xxv. xxvi.

(6) Paris 4*to*. Vol. I. Præf. p. 11.

(2) The dedication of this book to Biſhop Moore is dated Octob. 15. 1708.

(3) The dedication of this book to Dr Richard Bentley is dated July 26. 1717.

C

(*a*) Weſtcot, Deſcript. of Devonſhire in Sandridge. Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exeter, 1701. p. 247.

DAVIS (JOHN) an excellent Pilot, and fortunate diſcoverer of unknown countries, in the XVIth century, was born at Sandridge, a pleaſant ſeat, in the pariſh of Stoke-Gabriel, near Dartmouth in Devonſhire (*a*). His birth near that eminent ſea-

port,

port, having given him a fair opportunity, to which probably was added a ſtrong natural diſpoſition, he put himſelf early to ſea: where, by the help of a good maſter, and his ſubſequent induſtry, knowledge, and experience, he became the moſt expert Pilot, and one of the ableſt Navigators of his time (*b*). The firſt publick employment he had, was in the year 1585, when he undertook to diſcover *a new Paſſage*, by the North-weſt parts of America to the Eaſt-Indies. For that purpoſe, he ſailed from Dartmouth, on the ſeventh of June, with two barks [*A*], and met, July 19th, many iſlands of ice floating, in 60 degrees northern latitude (*c*). They were ſoon encompaſſed with them; and going upon ſome, perceived, that the roaring noiſe they heard, at which they were greatly aſtoniſhed, was cauſed only by the rolling of the ice together. The next day, they diſcovered the ſouthern coaſt of Groenland; five hundred leagues diſtant from the Durſeys, or Miſſenhead, in Ireland (*d*); and obſerved it to be extremely rocky and mountainous, and covered with ſnow, without any ſigns of wood, graſs, or earth to be ſeen. The ſhore, likewiſe, was ſo full of ice, that no ſhip could come near it by two leagues: and ſo ſhocking was the appearance of it, and the cracking of the ice ſo hideous, that they imagined it to be a quite deſolate country, without a living creature, or even any vegetable ſubſtance; for which reaſon Captain Davis named it, *The Land of Deſolation* (*e*). Perceiving that they were run into a very deep bay, wherein they were almoſt ſurrounded with ice, they kept coaſting along the edge of it, South-ſouth-weſt, till the 25th of July; when, after having gone fifty or ſixty leagues, they found that the ſhore lay directly north. So they altered their courſe to the north-weſt, in hopes of finding their deſired paſſage: but on the 29th they diſcovered land to the north-eaſt, in 64 degr. 15 min. Latitude. Making towards it, they perceived that they were paſſed the ice, and were among many green, temperate, and pleaſant iſlands, bordering upon the ſhore; though the hills of the continent were ſtill covered with great quantities of ſnow. Among theſe iſlands were many fine bays, and good roads for ſhipping: they landed in ſome, and the people of the country came down and converſed with them [*B*]. By ſigns they made Mr Davis underſtand, that there was a great ſea towards the north and weſt (*f*). He ſtaid in this place till the firſt of Auguſt, and then proceeded in his diſcovery. The ſixth of that month, they found land in 66 degr. 40 min. Latitude, quite free from ice; and anchored in a ſafe road, under a great mountain, the cliffs whereof gliſtered like gold. This mountain he named, *Mount Raleigh:* the road where their ſhips lay at anchor, *Totnes road:* the bay which encompaſſed the mountain, *Exeter Sound:* the foreland towards the north, *Dier's Cape:* and the foreland towards the ſouth, *Cape Walſingham.* He departed from hence the eighth of Auguſt, coaſting along the ſhore, which lay ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and eaſt-north-eaſt; and on the eleventh came to the moſt ſoutherly cape of that land, which he named *The Cape of God's Mercy*, as being the place of their firſt entrance for the diſcovery. Going forward, they came into a very fine ſtraight, or paſſage, in ſome places twenty leagues broad, in others thirty, quite free from ice, the weather in it very tolerable, and the water of the ſame colour and nature as the main ocean. This paſſage ſtill retains the name of its firſt diſcoverer, being called to this day *Fretum Davis*, or *Davis's Straights.* Having ſailed, north-weſt, ſixty leagues (*g*) in this paſſage, they diſcovered ſeveral iſlands in the midſt of it; in ſome of which they landed. The coaſt was very barren, without wood or graſs; and the rocks were like fine marble, full of veins of divers colours. Some days after they continued ſearching for the North-weſt Paſſage [*C*], but found only a great number of iſlands. And, on the 20th, the wind

(*b*) Prince, ibid.

(*c*) Voyages, Navigations, &c. publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, Vol. III. edit. 1600. p. 98, &c. and Purchas his Pilgrimes, Part iii. Book iii. c. 2. p. 463, 464.

(*d*) See Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, edit. 1735. p. 222.

(*e*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 99, 119.

(*f*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 100, 119.

(*g*) Mr Davis himſelf ſays only, *thirty or forty leagues.* See Hakluyt, as above, p. 119.

[*A*] *With two barks.*] One of fifty tuns, named *the Sunſhine* of London, which carried twenty three perſons, John Davis, Captain: the other was of thirty-five tuns, named *the Moonſhine* of Dartmouth, having nineteen perſons on board, William Bruton, Captain. They were fitted out at the charge of ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, particularly Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State, and of many Merchants of London and the Weſt Country. The chief manager of this undertaking, was, Mr William Sanderſon, Merchant and Globe-maker in London; who recommended to the adventurers Mr John Davis, a man well grounded in the principles of Navigation, for Captain and chief Pilot in this expedition. Some attempts had been made before, by Capt. Henry Hudſon, Capt. Martin Frobiſher, Capt. Adrian Gilbert, and others, to diſcover this North-weſt paſſage; but without ſucceſs (1). Mr Davis informs us, (2) that 'in his firſt voyage he 'was not experienced of the nature of thoſe climates, 'and had no direction either by Chart, Globe, or 'other certain relation, in what altitude that paſſage 'was to be ſearched.'

(1) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 98, &c.

(2) Ibid. p. 119.

[*B*] *The people came down and converſed with them.*] Namely by ſigns. For the Engliſh could not underſtand the Savages language; whoſe pronunciation was very hollow, through the throat. Before they would come near, they pointed to the Sun, and ſtruck their breaſt, and the Engliſh doing the like, the others ventured to truſt themſelves with them. They were a very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, eaſy to be brought to any civility or good order, and took great care of one another. Their light garments were made of birds ſkins with the feathers on; and the heavier of Seals-ſkins. Their buſkins, hoſe, and gloves, were neatly ſewed, and well dreſſed. Theſe iſlands had no freſh water, but pools of melted ſnow: And the cliffs abounded with ore, that look'd like gold. Upon the rocks, and in the moſs, grew a ſhrub, whoſe fruit was very ſweet, and full of red juice, like Corinths, ſuppoſed to be the Cranberry, or Bear-Berry (3).

(3) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 100, 101. See alſo Voyages and Diſcoveries to the South and North, by Sir John Narbrough, &c. in the Introduction, p. xvii. edit. 1694. 8vo.

[*C*] *They continued ſearching for the North-weſt paſſage.*] And, for the following reaſons, concluded that in all probability there was ſuch a paſſage, 1. Becauſe this place was all iſlands, with great ſounds between them. 2. The water remained of one colour with the main ocean, without altering. Whereas the colour of the water, in whatever Bay they came, was very blackiſh. 3. They ſaw to the Weſt of thoſe iſles, three or four whales, which they judged to come from a weſterly ſea, not having ſeen any to the eaſt-ward. 4. As they were rowing into a very great ſound lying South-weſt, from whence the Whales came, on a ſudden there came a violent counter-check of a tide from the

wind coming contrary, they altered their courſe and deſign; and returning for England, arrived at Dartmouth the 29th of September (*b*). The next year he undertook a *ſecond* voyage, for the further diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage, being ſupported and encouraged again by Secretary Walſingham, and other adventurers (*i*). With a view therefore of ſearching the bottom of the Straights he had been in the year before, he ſailed from Dartmouth, May the 7th, 1586, with four ſhips [*D*], and the 15th of June diſcovered land in 60 degr. Latitude, and 47 degr. Longitude weſt from London. The ice along the coaſt reached in ſome places ten, in ſome twenty, and in others fifty leagues into the ſea; ſo that, to avoid it, they were forced to bear into 57 degr. Latitude. After many tempeſtuous ſtorms, they made the land again, June the 29th, in 64 degr. of Latitude, and 58 of Longitude; and ran among the temperate iſlands they had been at the year before. But the water was ſo deep, they could not eaſily come to an anchor: However, they found means to go aſhore, on ſome of the iſlands, where they were extremely careſſed and welcomed by the natives, who knew them again (*k*). Having finiſhed a pinnace, which was to ſerve them for a ſcout in their diſcoveries; they landed, not only in that, but alſo in their boats, in ſeveral places [*E*]: and, upon the ſtricteſt ſearch, found the land not to be a continent, as they imagined, but a collection of huge, waſte, and deſert iſles, with great ſounds and inlets paſſing between ſea and ſea (*l*). They purſued their voyage the 11th of July, and on the 17th in 63 degr. 8 min. Latitude, met with a moſt prodigious maſs of ice, which they coaſted till the 30th. This was a great obſtacle, and diſcouragement to them, not having the like there the year before; and, beſides, the men beginning to grow ſickly; the crew of the *Mermaid*, on which he chiefly depended, forſook him, and reſolved to proceed no further (*m*). However, not to diſappoint Mr W. Sanderſon, who was the chief adventurer in this voyage, and for fear of loſing the favour of Secretary Walſingham, who had this diſcovery much at heart, Mr Davis undertook to proceed alone in his ſmall bark of thirty tuns. Having therefore fitted, and well victualled it, in a harbour lying in 66 degr. 33 min. Latitude, and 70 degr. Longitude; which he found to be a very hot place, and full of muſcatoes; he ſet ſail the 12th of Auguſt, and coming into a ſtraight followed the courſe of it for eighty leagues, till he came among many iſlands, where the water ebbed and flowed ſix fathom deep (*n*). He had hopes of finding a paſſage there, but upon ſearching further in his boat, he perceived there was none. So, he returned again into the open ſea, and kept coaſting ſouthward as far as 54 degr. $\frac{1}{2}$ of Latitude: in which time he found another great inlet near forty leagues broad, between two lands, weſt, where the water ran in with great violence. This, he imagined, was the paſſage ſo long ſought for; but the wind being then contrary, and two furious ſtorms happening ſoon after, he neither thought it ſafe nor wiſe to proceed further: eſpecially in one ſmall bark, and when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced. Wherefore he ſailed for England the 11th of September (*o*); and arrived thither in the beginning of October [*F*]. By what obſervations he made, he concluded, that the north parts of America are all iſlands (*p*). He made a *third* voyage to theſe parts again the year following, 1587. All the weſtern Merchants, and moſt of thoſe of London refuſed to be engaged further in the undertaking: but the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and Secretary

(*b*) Hakluyt, p. 102, 119.
(*i*) Ibid. p. 119.
(*k*) Ibid. p. 103, 104.
(*l*) Ibid. p. 103, 105.
(*m*) Ibid. p. 119.
(*n*) Ibid. p. 120.
(*o*) Ibid. p. 107, 108, 120.
(*p*) Ibid. p. 120.

the South-weſt againſt the flood they came with, not knowing from whence it proceeded. 5. In ſailing twenty leagues within the mouth of that entrance they had ſounding in ninety fathoms, and the farther Weſt they ran, the deeper was the water, ſo that cloſe to the ſhore among theſe iſles, they could not find ground in 330 fathoms. 6. It ebbed and flowed ſix or ſeven fathoms, the flood coming from divers parts, ſo that they could not perceive the chief ſource of it (4).

(4) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 102.

[*D*] *With four ſhips.*] Namely, The Mermaid, of one hundred and twenty tuns: The Sunſhine, of ſixty tuns: The Moonſhine, a bark of thirty-five tuns: and a Pinnace of ten tuns, named The North Star. About the beginning of June, when they came into near ſixty degrees of latitude, Mr Davis divided this little fleet; ſending the Sunſhine, and the North-Star, to ſeek a paſſage North-ward, between Groenland and Iſeland to the latitude of eighty degrees; whilſt he proceeded himſelf, with the Mermaid and the Moonſhine, in the further diſcovery of the North-weſt-paſſage (5). The Sunſhine returned to England, Octob. 4. with a quantity of Seal-ſkins; but the Pinnace was loſt.

(5) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 103, 108, 109.

[*E*] *They landed - - - - - - in ſeveral places.*] And ſaw the habitations of the natives, which were only a kind of tents cover'd with Seal-ſkins. They found likewiſe a grave, with ſeveral buried in it, being cover'd with ſeal-ſkins, and having a croſs laid over them. The people are of good ſtature, well proportion'd in body, have ſmall ſlender hands and feet, broad viſages, ſmall eyes, wide mouths generally beardleſs, great lips, and are cloſe-toothed. They are very apt to bleed, and therefore ſtop their noſes with deer's hair, or the hair of an elan (6). They are idolaters, and have abundance of images. Their meat, which is moſtly fiſh, they eat raw; and drink ſalt-water, and eat graſs and ice with pleaſure. Seldom are they out of water; except when they go to ſleep on the land, in ſome warm corner, or under a rock. Their nets for catching fiſh, are made of the fin of a whale. When they grow familiar they are very thieviſh; and ſo covetous are they of iron, that they could not forbear ſtealing any thing that was made of that metal. Their way of kindling a fire is thus: they take a piece of board having a hole half through, in which they put the end of a round ſtick, (like a bed-ſtaff,) dipped in train oil; then working it round in that hole, with a leather thong, like a turner, they ſoon get a fire by the violent agitation. Mr Davis got among theſe people copper-ore, and black and red copper (7). —— Whilſt he remained among theſe iſlands, he ſaw a whirlwind, that laſted three hours, and took up great quantities of water into the air, with incredible violence and fury (8).

(6) Or elk; a kind of ſtag.
(7) Hakluyt, ibid. p. 104, 105.
(8) P. 105.

[*F*] *And arrived thither in the beginning of October.*] Soon after his arrival, he writ a letter to Mr W. Sanderſon, dated from Exeter, 14 Octob. wherein he tells him. —— 'I have now experience of much of the 'North-weſt part of the world, and have brought the 'paſſage to that likelyhood, as that I am aſſured it 'muſt bee in one of foure places, or els not at all. 'And further I can aſſure you upon the perill of my 'life, that this voyage may be performed without fur'ther charge, nay with certain profite to the adven'turers, if I may have but your favour in the action '(9).'

(9) Ibid, p. 108.

[*G*] *Two*

Secretary Walſingham, ſet it forwards. Mr Davis having, in his laſt voyage, diſcovered prodigious quantities of excellent cod-fiſh, in 56 degr. of Latitude; for that reaſon, two ſhips were ſent along with him for fiſhing, and one only for the diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage [G]. They ſailed from Dartmouth the 19th of May, and diſcovered land the 14th of June, at ſixteen leagues diſtance, being very mountainous, and covered with ſnow (q). On the 21ſt of June the two barks left him, and went upon the fiſhing, after having promiſed him, not to depart till his return to them about the end of Auguſt. But having finiſhed their voyage in about ſixteen days after, they ſet ſail for England, without any regard to their promiſe. As for Captain Davis, he purſued his intended diſcovery, in the ſea between America and Groenland, from 64 to 73 degr. of Latitude. Having entered the Straights which bear his name, he went on northward, from the 21ſt to the 30th of June; naming one part *Merchants Coaſt* (r); another, *The London Coaſt*; another *Hope-Sanderſon*, in 73 degr. Latitude, being the furtheſt he went that way. The wind coming northerly, he altered his courſe, and ran forty leagues weſt, without ſeeing any land (s). On the 2d of July, he fell in with a great bank of ice, which he coaſted ſouthward till the 19th of July, when he came within ſight of Mount-Raleigh on the American coaſt, in about 67 degrees of Latitude. Having ſailed ſixty leagues north-weſt into the gulf that lies beyond it, he anchored, July 23d, at the bottom of that gulf, among many iſlands, which he named *The Earl of Cumberland's Iſles*. He quitted that place again the ſame day, and ſailed back ſouth-eaſt, in order to recover the ſea; which he did the 29th in 62 degr. of Latitude. The 30th, he paſſed by a great bank, or inlet, to which he gave the name of *Lumley's Inlet*; and the next day by a head-land, which he called *The Earl of Warwick's Foreland*. On the firſt of Auguſt, he fell in with the ſouthermoſt cape, named by him *Chudley's Cape*: and, the 12th, paſſed by an iſland which he named *Darcy's Iſland*. When he came in 52 degr. of Latitude, not finding the two ſhips that had promiſed to ſtay for him, he was in great diſtreſs, having but little wood, and only half a hogſhead of water left. However, taking courage, he made the beſt of his way home, and arrived at Dartmouth September the 15th (t), very ſanguine, that the *North-weſt Paſſage* was moſt probable, and the execution eaſy [H]. But Secretary Walſingham being otherwiſe engaged, and dying not long after, that deſign was laid aſide (u). Mr Davis, notwithſtanding, did not remain idle. For, Auguſt 26, 1591, he was Captain of the *Deſire*, Rear-Admiral to Mr Thomas Cavendiſh, in his ſecond unfortunate expedition to the *South-Sea*: and is highly blamed by Mr Cavendiſh, for having deſerted him, and thereby being the cauſe of his overthrow (w). After many diſaſters, Mr Davis arrived again at Bear-Haven in Ireland June 11, 1593 (x). He performed afterwards no leſs than five voyages to the Eaſt-Indies [I], in the ſtation of a Pilot (y). One was in a Dutch ſhip, wherein he ſet out March 15, 159⅞. from Fluſhing, and returned to Middleburgh, July 23, 1600 (z). Of the reſt we have no account, only of one he performed with Sir Edward Michelbourne (a), in which were ſpent nineteen months, from December 5, 1604, to July 9, 1606. During this voyage Mr Davis was ſlain, on the 27th of December 1605, in a deſperate fight with ſome Japoneſe near the coaſt of Malacca (b). He married Faith, daughter of Sir John Fulford, of Fulford in Devonſhire, Knight, by Dorothy his wife, daughter of John Lord Bourchier Earl of Bath (c); by whom probably he had iſſue: for ſome of his poſterity are ſaid to have been living ſome years ago, at, or near, Deptford (d). He was author of ſome things in the naval way [K].

(q) Ibid. p. 111, 120.

(r) Becauſe he found people there, that merchandiſed with him. Hakluyt, p. 112.

(s) Ibid.

(t) Ibid. p. 114, 120.

(u) Ibid. p. 120.

(w) See above under the article CAVENDISH (THOMAS).

(x) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 842—852.

(y) Prince, ubi ſupra.

(z) See Collection of Voyages, &c. publiſhed by J. Harris, 2 Vol. fol. Lond. 1705. Vol. I. p. 49, &c.

(a) Purchas his Pilgrimes, Vol. I. p. 132 and Vol. III. p. 556.

(b) Harris, ibid. p. 57.

(c) Weſtcot Pedigree. See Prince, ubi ſupra.

(d) Prince, ibid.

[G] *Two ſhips were ſent along with him for fiſhing, and one only for the diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage.*] The two barks that were ſent with him for fiſhing, were, *The Elizabeth*, of Dartmouth; and *The Sunſhine*, of London. The Pinnace he was to proceed in, in his diſcoveries, was called *The Helen* of London (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 111.

[H] *Very ſanguine that the North-weſt Paſſage was moſt probable, and the execution eaſy.*] This he declared to his great patron Mr W. Sanderſon, in a letter from Sandridge, the next day after his return to England — 'I have, ſaith he, made my ſafe returne in health, 'with all my company, and have ſailed threeſcore 'leagues further than my determination at my depar-'ture. I have been in 73 degrees, finding the ſea all 'open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The 'paſſage is moſt probable, the execution eaſie, as at 'my coming you ſhall fully know (11).' —— But the Spaniſh Invaſion happening the year following, and Secretary Walſingham dying two years after, that deſign was laid aſide, and never again attempted by Mr Davis (12).

(11) Hakluyt, p. 114.

(12) Ibid. p. 120.

[I] *He performed afterwards no leſs than five voyages to the Eaſt-Indies.*] 'He was the firſt Pilot that 'conducted the Zealanders' to that country, ſays Mr Prince (13): which may be true of the Zealanders in particular. But the Dutch had been once before to the Eaſt-Indies; namely in the year, 1595 (14). And if Mr Davis ſet out for the Eaſt-Indies, firſt in 159⅞, as Mr Prince ſeems to intimate, I don't find how he could poſſibly perform *five voyages* thither, in that ſpace of time; namely between, 159⅞, and 1605.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Vide *Hug. Grotii Annales & Hiſt. de Rebus Belgicis*, fol. edit. Amſt. 1657. p. 232.

[K] *He was author of ſome things in the Naval way.*] I. 'The account of his ſecond voyage, for the 'diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage, in 1586 (15),' ſeems to be of his compoſition; for he ſpeaks always in it in the firſt perſon. II. There are likewiſe in print two letters of his (16), to Mr Sanderſon: one dated from Exeter, 14 October, 1586; and the other from Sandridge, 16 September, 1587. III. Hakluyt hath alſo preſerved (17), 'A Traverſe-Booke made by M. 'John Davis in his third voyage for the diſcoverie of 'the North-weſt Paſſage, Anno 1587.' IV. And moreover it appears, that our author, J. Davis, compoſed a treatiſe intituled, 'The World's Hydrogra-'phicall Deſcription.' For Hakluyt hath extracted out of it, and publiſh'd, 'A report of Maſter John Davis, 'of his three voyages made for the diſcovery of the 'North-weſt Paſſage (18).' V. His voyage to the Eaſt-Indies in a Dutch ſhip, in the year 1598, was written alſo by himſelf (19). VI. We are informed, that 'There is a Rutter, [Routier,] or Brief Direc-'tions for ſailing into the Eaſt-Indies, digeſted into a 'plain method, by this ſame perſon John Davis of 'Limehouſe, (as he is there called) written upon ex-'periment of his five voyages thither, and home 'again

(15) As publiſhed in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 103.

(16) Printed in the ſame volume, p. 108, 114.

(17) Ibid. p. 115, &c.

(18) Ibid. p. 119, 120.

(19) See Harris's Collect. ubi ſupra, p. 49.

'again (20).' But, either it was not written by the ſame John Davis, who is the ſubject of this article: or elſe, our John Davis was not ſlain in the Eaſt-Indies, as we have ſaid above upon the authority of Purchas, and of thoſe that have copied from him. This point we muſt ſubmit to the curious and inquiſitive reader, not being able to determine it at this great diſtance of Time. C

(20) Prince, as above. This is printed in J. Harris's Collection of Voyages, Vol. I. p. 224.

DAVYSON or DAVISON (WILLIAM) a very eminent Stateſman, and Secretary of State, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was, if not a native of Scotland, at leaſt, deſcended from thoſe who were, as himſelf profeſſed to Sir James Melvile (*a*), which is all that we know of his family. At what time he came into the Court of Queen Elizabeth, or in what ſtate, cannot, at this diſtance of time, be poſitively affirmed; it is moſt probable, that his parts and learning, together with that extraordinary diligence and wonderful addreſs for which he was always diſtinguiſhed, recommended him to Mr Killigrew, afterwards Sir Henry Killigrew, with whom he went in quality of Secretary, at the time he was ſent into Scotland to compliment Queen Mary upon the birth of her ſon (*b*). This was in the year 1566, and there is good reaſon to believe that he remained thence forward about the Court, and was employed in ſeveral affairs of great conſequence. In 1575, when the States of Brabant and Flanders aſſumed to themſelves the adminiſtration of all affairs, till his Catholick Majeſty ſhould appoint a new Governor of the Low-Countries, Mr Daviſon was ſent over with a publick character from the Queen to thoſe States, under the plauſible pretence of exhorting them to continue in their obedience to his Catholick Majeſty, but, in reality, to ſee how things actually ſtood in that part of the world, that her Majeſty might be the better able to know how to proceed in reſpect to the ſeveral applications made to her from the Prince of Orange, and the people of Holland (*c*). He executed this commiſſion very ſucceſsfully, and therefore, when things were riper, the Queen ſent him over as her Miniſter, to pacify the troubles that had ariſen at Ghent; and, when his preſence was no longer neceſſary there, he was commiſſioned on her behalf to the States of Holland in 1579 (*d*). His conduct there gave equal ſatisfaction to the Queen his Miſtreſs, and to thoſe with whom he negotiated. He gave them great hopes of the Queen's aſſiſtance and ſupport; but, when a ſum of money was deſired, as abſolutely neceſſary towards providing for their defence, he very readily undertook to procure it, upon reaſonable ſecurity; in conſequence of which a very conſiderable ſum was ſent from England, for which all the valuable jewels and fine plate, that had been pledged by Matthias of Auſtria to the States of Holland, and which were the remains of the magnificence of the houſe of Burgundy, were tranſported to England (*e*). Theſe journies, and the ſucceſs attending them, gave Mr Daviſon great reputation at Court, inſomuch that, in all matters of a nice and difficult nature, Daviſon was ſome way or other continually employed. Thus in 1583, when things were very much embroiled in Scotland, he was ſent thither as the Queen's Ambaſſador, in order to counteract the French Miniſters, and to engage the King of Scots, and the people, both to ſlight the offers made them from that country, and to depend wholly upon aſſiſtance from England (*f*) [*A*]. Affairs in the Low-Countries coming at laſt to a criſis, and the States reſolving

(*a*) Sir James Melvile's Memoirs, p. 157.

(*b*) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 123.

(*c*) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 403. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 299.

(*d*) Several papers relative to this Negotiation are ſtill in the Harleian Library of MSS, as I have been informed by the ingenious Mr W. O. of Gray's-Inn.

(*e*) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p 328, 329.

(*f*) Sir James Melvile's Mem. p. 158. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 395.

[*A*] *And to depend wholly upon aſſiſtance from England.*] The great jealouſy Queen Elizabeth had of every thing that paſſed in Scotland, made her extremely careful in the choice of all ſuch perſons, as in the courſe of her reign, ſhe had occaſion to ſend thither. At this time, not only Mary Queen of Scots was priſoner in England, but her ſon James VI, was alſo a priſoner to ſome of his own ſubjects in Scotland. It was to facilitate the liberty of both, that the French King ſent ambaſſadors to England in the beginning of the year 1583, with inſtructions to try whether Queen Elizabeth might not be induced to conſent, that Mary Queen of Scots, being releaſed, ſhould return home and govern jointly with her ſon (1). The Queen ſeemed not averſe to this propoſal, in caſe ſhe had any reaſonable ſecurity, that the Queen of Scots and her ſon, would undertake nothing to her prejudice; and, as they were to go into Scotland, to preſs the ſame thing there, ſhe took care to join Mr Daviſon on her part in the ſame journey, and with the ſame commiſſion (2). We have in the memoirs, which of thoſe times and that country, are beſt eſteemed, a very extraordinary, though a very ſhort, account of this embaſſy, which it is neceſſary the reader ſhould ſee. 'About this time the Lord Burleigh chief ruler in England, cauſed ſend in one Mr 'Daviſon, to be an agent here, to ſee what buſineſs 'he could brew, who was afterwards made Secretary. 'For after the deceaſe of Walſingham, Secretary Cecil 'being advanced to be Lord Burleigh and Great Treaſurer of England, two Secretaries were choſen, one 'call'd Mr Smith, and this Daviſon, whoſe predeceſſor 'was a Scotſman. Upon which conſideration, he was 'thought more able to conquer credit here. He had 'been in Scotland before, and was at my houſe in 'company with Sir Henry Killigrew, my old friend, 'when he was reſident in Scotland. At which time he 'acknowledged to me that he was come of Scotſmen, 'and was a Scotſman in his heart, and a favourer of 'the King's right and title to the Crown of England. 'He deſired me to keep all ſecret from Mr Killigrew, 'promiſing if he could find the means to be employed 'here, that he would do good offices. His Majeſty 'was for the time at Falkland, and wrote for me to be 'directed to ride and meet the ſaid Daviſon; whom I 'was commanded to convey to Coupar, there to remain till his Majeſty had time to give him audience. 'Afterwards I convoyed him to my own houſe, and 'from that to Falkland, where his Majeſty found his 'commiſſion to ſmall avail. But becauſe Walſingham 'had refuſed at his being here to ſpeak with the Earl 'of Arran; albeit, the ſaid Earl had offered, by me, 'to give ſatisfaction to him in all his deſires, ſo that 'he would confer with him, which Walſingham 'ſtill refuſed; but Mr Daviſon was directed at 'this time to deal with the Earl of Arran, to 'ſee what advantage might be had at his hand. 'For my Lord Burleigh was not content that Walſingham was ſo preciſe, therefore Daviſon entred into familiarity with him, and was made his goſſip, and 'heard his frank offers and liked well of them. For 'after that the Lords were fled to England and forefalted, the Council of England thought they had 'ſome ground to build a new faction upon, to trouble 'the King and his Eſtate. And whereas the ſaid Daviſon had promiſed before, to ſhew himſelf a kind 'Scotſman, I perceived him clean altered, and a perfect practiſer againſt the quiet of thi ſtate, whereof 'I advertiſed his Majeſty. After his return to England, 'not

(1) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 137, 138.

(2) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 395.

reſolving to depend upon Queen Elizabeth, in the bold deſign they had formed of defending their freedom by force of arms, and rendering themſelves independent, Mr Daviſon, at this time Clerk of the Privy-Council, was choſen to manage this delicate buſineſs, and to conclude with them that alliance which was to be the baſis of their future undertakings (g). In this, which, without queſtion, was one of the moſt perplexed tranſactions in that whole reign, he conducted things with ſuch a happy dexterity, as to merit the ſtrongeſt acknowledgments on the part of the States, at the ſame time that he rendered the higheſt ſervice to the Queen his Miſtreſs, and obtained ample ſecurity for thoſe expences which that Princeſs thought it neceſſary to be at (h), in order to keep danger at a diſtance, and to entertain the flames of war in the dominions of her enemy, whom, at that juncture, ſhe knew to be meditating how he might transfer them into her own [B]. Upon the return of Mr Daviſon into England, after the concluſion of this treaty, he was declared of the Privy-Council, and appointed one of her Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, in conjunction with Sir Francis Walſingham (i); ſo that, at this time, theſe offices may be affirmed to have been as well filled as in any period that can be aſſigned in our hiſtory, and yet by perſons of very different, or rather oppoſite, diſpoſitions; for Walſingham was a man of great art and intrigue, one who was not diſpleaſed that he was thought ſuch a perſon, and whoſe capacity was ſtill deeper than thoſe who underſtood it beſt apprehended it to be (k). Daviſon, on the other hand, had a juſt reputation for wiſdom and probity; and, though he had been concerned in many intricate affairs, yet preſerved a character ſo unſpotted, that, to the time he came into this office, he had done nothing that could draw upon him the leaſt imputation (l). It is an opinion countenanced by Camden, and which has met with general acceptance, that he was raiſed in order to be ruined, and that, when he was made Secretary of State, there was a view of obliging him to go out of his depth in that matter which brought upon him all his misfortunes (m). This conjecture is very plauſible, and yet there is good reaſon to doubt whether it is well founded. Mr Daviſon had attached himſelf, during the progreſs of his fortunes, to the potent Earl of Leiceſter, and it was chiefly to his favour and intereſt that he ſtood indebted for this high employment, in which if he was deceived by another great Stateſman, it could not be ſaid that he was raiſed and ruined by the ſame hands. But there is nothing more probable than that the bringing about ſuch an event, by an inſtrument which his rival had raiſed, and then removing him, and rendering his parts uſeleſs to thoſe who had

(g) Cabala, P. ii. p. 2, 3, 34.

(h) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

(i) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 624.

(k) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. vii.

(l) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(m) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 544, 545.

'not to have ſuch a fear as it formerly had of the 'Earl of Arran. For there was a meeting drawn on 'at the borders, betwixt the Earl of Hunſdon and the 'Earl of Arran, who had long and privy conference 'together, to keep a great friendſhip betwixt the two 'princes and countries, with a ſecret plot, that the 'Earl of Arran ſhould keep the King unmarried for 'three years; under this pretext, that there was a 'young maid of the blood in England, who about that 'time would be ready for marriage, whereupon the 'Queen would declare his Majeſty ſecond perſon (3).' This quotation ſufficiently ſhews how little credit is due, even to the beſt memoirs, when they are plainly written from memory, and not in the ſtrict way of journal; for in all that Sir James has ſet down, there is very little, if any, truth. All the world knows, that Lord Burleigh was Treaſurer long before the death of Sir Francis Walſingham, and that he was Joint-Secretary with Mr Daviſon, who was not ſent by Lord Burleigh, neither did he come after Walſingham, or treat with thoſe with whom Walſingham refuſed to treat, but almoſt a year before him (4). The King was in the hands of the Earl of Gowry, when Mr Daviſon treated with him; afterwards the King made his eſcape, proſecuted thoſe who had confined him, and recalled the Earl of Arran, contrary to his promiſe; to expoſtulate with him, upon all which, Queen Elizabeth, ſome months after, ſent Sir Francis Walſingham (5); ſo that there is the ſtrangeſt confuſion in theſe memoirs, that ever appeared in a book written by a perſon of ſo great credit and capacity. It may be however true, that Mr Daviſon had at this time altered his ſentiments; and there is very little reaſon to doubt what he ſays of his extraction, ſince it was not any evil intention that led him into theſe miſtakes, but the fault was entirely in his memory, which here, and in many other places, betrayed him.

(3) Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 157, 158.

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 395, 397. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 324—327.

(5) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 99.

[B] *How he might transfer them into her own.*] After the taking of Antwerp by the Spaniards, it became abſolutely requiſite for the Queen to determine what part ſhe would take in the concerns of the Continent, and upon what terms ſhe would agree to aſſiſt the Dutch in the defence of their liberties. The eyes of all Europe were then fixed upon her conduct, and many great Princes abroad, thought ſhe had better declined than accepted the offers of the States. Some of her own council were of that opinion, and it was the Earl of Leiceſter and his party who preſſed her to this conjunction, that Earl himſelf intending to go, as he afterwards did, in a very high character to Holland (6). The treaty with the States, was negotiated between their miniſters, and a Committee of the Privy-Council here, but the carrying it into execution was entirely remitted to the care of Mr Daviſon. The Queen's inſtructions to him, counterſigned by Secretary Walſingham are ſtill preſerved, and conſiſt of nine articles, but they are without date (7). It appears however, that in September 1585, his negotiation was far advanced; for upon the 5th of that month, the Queen ſent him a commiſſion to take poſſeſſion of Fluſhing in her behalf, and to put the Brill into the hands of the Perſon whom General Norris ſhould appoint (8), There are alſo letters extant from him to the Earl of Leiceſter and Secretary Walſingham, relating to theſe affairs; as alſo a very remarkable diſpatch from the Commiſſioners, who had concluded this treaty, to Mr Daviſon, dated October the 3d, in which they acquaint him of her Majeſty's entire approbation of his conduct, and ſignifying that the diſcontent which it ſeems had been already ſhewn about this treaty, did not in the leaſt regard him, but referred to thoſe who had the adminiſtration of affairs in Holland, who are ſaid to have ſhewn a ſpirit of over-reaching; and as they were compoſed chiefly of traders and advocates, the former reſpecting nothing but their profit, and the latter flying naturally to quirks and tricks, there was no better to be expected from them (9). Upon the whole, it appears that no Miniſter could have greater truſt repoſed in him, or deſire a more ample approbation of his ſervices than he met with. In one thing only he ſeems to have been a little uneaſy, and that was the narrowneſs of his allowance, which made him very deſirous of returning to England, that the riſe of his reputation might not be purchaſed with the ruin of his eſtate (10). He was not however recalled till after the Earl of Leiceſter went over thither; and we find the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh intreating him to give his advice to his eldeſt ſon Mr Thomas Cecil, appointed Governor of the Brill, at the ſame that Sir Philip Sydney ſucceeded Mr Daviſon in the command of Fluſhing (11).

(6) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

(7) Cott. Libra. Titus B. 2.

(8) Cabala, P. ii. p. 34.

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290. Cabala, P. ii. p. 34.

(10) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290. Cabala, P. i. p. 2, 3.

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

[C] *Who*

had raiſed him, gave a double ſatisfaction to him who managed this deſign. The tracing the principal ſteps of this tranſaction, which was, without doubt, one of the fineſt ſtrokes of political management in that whole reign, was what chiefly determined us to inſert this article. When the reſolution was taken, in the beginning of October 1586, to bring the Queen of Scots to a trial, and a commiſſion was iſſued for that purpoſe, Secretary Daviſon's name was inſerted in that commiſſion; but it does not appear that he was preſent when that commiſſion was opened at Fothering y-Caſtle, on the 11th of October, or that he ever aſſiſted there at all (*n*). Indeed, the management of that tranſaction was very wiſely left in the hands of thoſe who, with ſo much addreſs, had conducted the antecedent buſineſs for the conviction of Anthony Babington, and his accomplices, upon the truth and juſtice of which, the proceedings againſt the Queen of Scots entirely depended (*o*). On the 25th of October the ſentence was declared in the Star-Chamber, things proceeding ſtill in the ſame channel, and nothing particularly done by Secretary Daviſon (*p*). On the 29th of the ſame month the Parliament met, in which Serjeant Puckering was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; and, upon an application from both Houſes, Queen Elizabeth cauſed the ſentence to be publiſhed, which, ſoon after, was notified to the Queen of Scots (*q*); yet, hitherto, all was tranſacted by the other Secretary, who was conſidered, by the nation in general, as the perſon who had led this proſecution from beginning to end [*C*]. The true meaning of this long and ſolemn proceeding was certainly to remove, as far as poſſible, any reflection upon Queen Elizabeth; and, that it might appear in the moſt conſpicuous manner to the world, ſhe was urged, and even conſtrained, to take the life of the Queen of Scots, inſtead of ſeeking or deſiring it. This aſſertion is not founded upon conjecture, but is a direct matter of fact; for, in her firſt anſwer to the Parliament, given at Richmond the 12th of November, ſhe complained that the late act had brought her into a great ſtrait, by obliging her to give directions for that Queen's death; and, upon the ſecond application, on the 24th of the ſame month, the Queen enters largely into the conſequences that muſt naturally follow upon her taking that ſtep, and, on the conſideration of them, grounds her returning no definitive reſolution even to this ſecond application (*r*). The delay which followed after the publication of the ſentence, gave an opportunity for the French King, and ſeveral other Princes, to interpoſe, but more eſpecially to King James, whoſe Ambaſſadors, and particularly Sir Robert Melvile, preſſed the Queen very hard (*s*). Camden ſays, that his Ambaſſadors, unſeaſonably mixing threatnings with intreaties, they were not very welcome; ſo that, after a few days, the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed, with ſmall hopes of ſucceeding in what they came about (*t*). But we are elſewhere told, that, when Melvile requeſted a reſpite of execution for eight days, ſhe anſwered, *Not an Hour* (*u*). This ſeemed to be a plain declaration of her Majeſty's final determination, and ſuch in all probability it was, ſo that her death being reſolved, the only point that remained under debate was, how ſhe ſhould die, that is, whether by the hand of an executioner, or otherwiſe (*w*). In reſpect to this, the two Secretaries ſeem to have been of different ſentiments. Mr Daviſon thought the forms of juſtice ſhould go on, and the end of this melancholy tranſaction correſpond with the reſt of the proceedings (*x*). Upon this Sir Francis Walſingham pretended ſickneſs, and did not come to Court, and by this means the whole buſineſs of drawing and bringing the warrant to the Queen to ſign fell upon Daviſon, who, purſuant to the Queen's directions, went through

(*n*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1465. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 483

(*o*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 128. Carleton's thankful Remembrance of God's Mercies, p. 115.

(*p*) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 116, 117.

(*q*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 161.

(*r*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1580.

(*s*) Spotiſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p 351, 352, 353.

(*t*) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 119.

(*u*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 522.

(*w*) See Daviſon's Apology in Note [*H*] Osborn's traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, § iv. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(*x*) See this plainly aſſerted in his Apology.

[*C*] *Who had led this proſecution from beginning to end.*] Such as are acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe times, know, that the whole of Babington's conſpiracy was detected by Sir Francis Walſingham, and that he ſuffered it to go on for ſome time after it was diſcovered, that he might the more effectually come at the bottom of it, and trace out all that were concerned in it (12). Upon this, it was reſolved to remove the Queen of Scots, and to confine her cloſely, either in Hertford Caſtle, or at Fotheringay; when the laſt mentioned place was reſolved on, orders were ſent to Sir Amias Pawlet, then her keeper, for her removal, with inſtructions not to give her above two days warning, and not to let her know where ſhe was going, till after ſhe had been two or three days upon the road; at length, when ſhe was brought to Fotheringay, Queen Elizabeth herſelf thought proper to write, or at leaſt to ſubſcribe with her own hand, the following letter to Sir Amias Pawlet, in gratitude, as Mr Strype ſays, for his fidelity ſhewn in the management of that removal, which letter was tranſcribed from a copy taken by Michael Hickes, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh's Secretary (13).

(12) State Trials, Vol I. p. 128. Biſhop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercies, p. 115. Udal's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 395.

(13) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 361, 362.

To my faithful Amyas.

AMYAS, my moſt careful and faithful ſervant, God reward thee treblefold in the double, for thy moſt troubleſome charge ſo well diſcharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly, beſides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labours and faithful actions, your wiſe orders and ſafe conduct, perform'd in ſo dangerous and crafty a charge, it would eaſe your travel [trouble writ over head] and rejoice your heart. And which I charge you to carry this moſt juſt thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment, the value I prize you at; and ſuppoſe no treaſure to countervail ſuch a faith, and condemn myſelf in that fault which I have committed, if I reward not ſuch deſerts. Yea, let me lack, when I have moſt need, if I acknowledge not ſuch a merit with a reward; *non omnibus datum.*

But let your wicked miſtreſs know how, with hearty ſorrow, her vile deſerts compel theſe orders; and bid her from me, aſk God forgiveneſs for her treacherous dealing towards the ſaver of her life many years, to the intolerable peril of her own. And yet, not content with ſo many forgiveneſſes, muſt fall again ſo horribly far paſſing a woman, much more a princeſs. Inſtead of excuſing, whereof not one can ſerve, it being ſo plainly confeſſed by the authors of my guiltleſs death; let repentance take place, and let not the fiend poſſeſs, ſo as her beſt part be loſt. Which I pray, with hands lifted up to him that may both ſave and ſpill, with my loving adieu, and prayer for thy long life,

Your aſſured and loving ſovereign in heart,
by good deſert induced,
ELIZABETH Regina.

[*D*] *In*

through it (*y*) in the manner that Camden has related [*D*]. But it is very remarkable, that, while theſe judicial ſteps were taking, the other method, to which the Queen herſelf ſeemed to incline, proceeded alſo, and Secretary Walſingham, notwithſtanding his ſickneſs, wrote the very day the warrant was ſigned, which was Wedneſday, February 1ſt, 1586-7, to Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, to put them in mind of the aſſociation, as a thing that might countenance at leaſt, if not juſtify, this other way of removing the Queen of Scots (*z*). It is true, that Mr Daviſon ſubſcribed this letter, and wrote another to the ſame perſons two days after; but it appears plainly from the anſwer, that the keepers of the Queen of Scots conſidered the motion as coming from Walſingham. Theſe letters will be found in the notes [*E*]. The warrant being delivered to the Lords of

(*y*) Camd Annal. Eliz. p. 532. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 372.

(*z*) See the letters referred to in note [*E*].

[*D*] *In the manner that Camden has related.*] When one conſiders the many and great advantages this hiſtorian had, as himſelf declares, and as the papers he refers to prove, one cannot but pay a very high deference to his authority; but at the ſame time it cannot but afford the curious reader a very high pleaſure to compare his accounts of things, with the papers themſelves, from which he profeſſes to have drawn them. We have on another occaſion inſerted his extract from Mr Daviſon's apology (14), in a ſucceeding note we ſhall inſert that ſingular paper as it fell from our author's own hand (15). At preſent let us ſee how he choſe to repreſent the whole of this tranſaction (16), after weighing and conſidering thoſe authentick authorities which were in his poſſeſſion.

(14) Biographia Britann. Vol. II. p. 1263.

(15) See our Author's Apology in note [*H*].

(16) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 532.

'In the midſt, ſays he, of theſe doubtful and perplexing thoughts which ſo troubled and ſtaggered the Queen's *mind*, that ſhe gave herſelf wholly over to ſolitarineſs, ſate many times melancholy and mute, and frequently ſighing, muttered this to herſelf, *Aut fer aut feri*, that is, either bear or ſtrike; and out of I know not what emblem, *Ne feriare feri*, that is, ſtrike leſt thou be ſtricken; ſhe delivered a writing to Daviſon, one of her Secretaries, ſigned with her own hand, commanding a warrant under the Great Seal of England, to be drawn up for the execution, which ſhould lie in readineſs if any danger chanced to break forth in that time of jealouſy and fear, and commanded him to acquaint no man therewith. But the next day, while fear ſeemed to be afraid of her own counſels and deſigns, her mind changed, and ſhe commanded Daviſon, by William Killigrew, that the warrant ſhould not be drawn. *Daviſon* came preſently to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under ſeal already She was ſomewhat moved at it, and blamed him for making ſuch haſte. He notwithſtanding acquainted the Council both with the warrant and the whole matter, and eaſily perſwaded them who were apt to believe what they deſired, that the Queen had commanded it ſhould be executed. Hereupon, without any delay, Beale, who in reſpect of religion, was of all others, the Queen of Scots moſt bitter adverſary, was ſent down with one or two executioners, and a warrant, wherein authority was given to the Earls of Shrewſbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and others, to ſee her executed according to law, and this without any knowledge of the Queen at all. And though ſhe at that very time told Daviſon, that ſhe would take another courſe with the Queen of Scots, yet did not he for all that call Beale back.'

[*E*] *Theſe letters will be found in the notes.*] Theſe I think were firſt publiſhed by Mr Hearne, who tells us they were copied by a friend of his in the month of September, 1717, from a manuſcript folio book, containing letters to and from Sir Amias Pawlet, when the Queen of Scot's Governor at Fotheringay (17).

(17) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 673, 674, 675, 676.

To Sir Amice Poulet.

AFTER our hearty commendations, we find by ſpeech lately utter'd by her Majeſty, that ſhe doth note in you, both a lack of that care and zeal of her ſervice that ſhe looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time, of yourſelves, without other provocation, found out ſome way to ſhorten the life of that Queen, conſidering the great peril ſhe is ſubject unto hourly, ſo long as the ſaid Queen ſhall live. Wherein, beſides a kind of lack of love towards her, ſhe noteth greatly, that you have not that care of your own particular ſafeties, or rather of the preſervation of religion and the publick good, and proſperity of your country; that reaſon and policy commandeth, eſpecially having ſo good a warrant and ground for the ſatisfaction of your conſciences towards God and the diſcharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of aſſociation which you both have ſo ſolemnly taken and vowed, and eſpecially the matter wherewith ſhe ſtandeth charged, being ſo clearly and manifeſtly proved againſt her. And therefore ſhe taketh it moſt unkindly, that men profeſſing that love towards her, that you doe, ſhould, in any kind of ſort, for lack of the diſcharge of your duties, caſt the burthen upon her; knowing as you do, her indiſpoſition to ſhed blood, eſpecially of one of that ſex and quality, and ſo near to her in blood as the ſaid Queen is. Theſe reſpects we find do greatly trouble her Majeſty, who, we aſſure you, has ſundry times proteſted, that if the regard of this danger of her good ſubjects and faithful ſervants, did not more move her than her own peril, ſhe would never be drawn to aſſent to the ſhedding her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with theſe ſpeeches lately paſſed from her Majeſty, referring the ſame to your good judgments, and ſo we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

At London, Feb. 1, 1586. Your moſt aſſured friends,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,
WILLIAM DAVISON.

This letter was received at Fotheringay, the 2d of February, at five in the afternoon.

An abſtract of a letter from Mr Secretary Daviſon, of the ſaid 1ſt of February, 1586, as followeth

'I pray let this and the incloſed be committed to the fire, which meaſure ſhall be likewiſe meet to your anſwer, after it hath been communicated to her Majeſty for her ſatisfaction.'

A poſtſcript in a letter from Mr Secretary Daviſon, of the 3d of February, 1586.

'I intreated you in my laſt, to burn my letters ſent unto you for the argument ſake, which by your anſwer to Mr Secretary (which I have ſeen) appeareth not to have been done; I pray you, let me intreat you to make heretiques of th' one and the other, as I mean to uſe your's, after her Majeſty hath ſeen it.'

In the end of the poſtſcript.

'I pray you let me hear what you have done with my letters, becauſe they are not fit to be kept, that I may ſatisfie her Majeſty therein, who might otherwiſe take offence thereat; and if you entreat this poſtſcript in the ſame manner, you ſhall not erre a whit.

'(A. Poulet, D. Drury.)'

A copy of a letter to Sir Francis Walſingham, of the 2d of February, 1586, at 6 in the afternoon, being the anſwer to a letter from him, the ſaid Sir Francis, of the 1ſt of February, 1586, received at Fotheringhay, the 2d day of February, at five in the afternoon.

SIR,

YOUR letters of yeſterday, coming to my hands this preſent day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my anſwer with all poſſible ſpeed, which ſhall deliver unto you,

of the Council, they ſent it down by Mr Beale, their Clerk, a man of a ſour and ſtubborn temper, and who had always ſhewn a great bitterneſs againſt the Queen of Scots. The day of his departure does not appear, but Queen Mary had notice given her on the Monday to prepare for death on the Wedneſday, which ſhe accordingly ſuffered (*a*). As ſoon as Queen Elizabeth was informed of it, ſhe expreſſed great reſentment againſt her Council, forbid them her preſence, and the Court; and cauſed ſome of them to be examined, as if ſhe intended to call them to an account for the ſhare they had in this tranſaction (*b*). We are not told particularly who theſe Counſellors were, except the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh (*c*), who fell into a temporary diſgrace about it, and was actually a witneſs againſt Mr Daviſon. As for the Earl of Leiceſter and Secretary Walſingham, they had prudently withdrawn themſelves at the laſt act of the tragedy, and took care to publiſh ſo much by their letters into Scotland (*d*). As for Secretary Daviſon, upon whom it was reſolved the whole weight of this buſineſs ſhould fall, he was deprived of his office, and ſent priſoner to the Tower, at which nobody ſeems to have been ſo much alarmed as the Lord Treaſurer (*e*), who, though himſelf at that time in diſgrace, wrote thereupon to the Queen in ſtrong terms, and once intended to have written in much ſtronger [*F*]. This application had no effect; for the Queen having ſent her kinſman Mr Cary, ſon to the Lord Hunſdon, into Scotland, to excuſe the matter to King James, charged with a letter to him, under her own hand, in which ſhe, in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, aſſerted her own innocence (*f*); there was a neceſſity of doing ſomething, that might carry an air of evidence, in ſupport of the turn ſhe had now given to the death of that Princeſs. On the 28th of March following, Daviſon, after having undergone various examinations, was brought to his trial in the Star-Chamber, for the contempt of which he had been guilty, in revealing the Queen's counſels to her Privy-Counſellors, and performing what he underſtood to be the duty of his office in quality of her Secretary. We have ſeveral accounts of this trial, which, in a variety of circumſtances, differ from each other [*G*]. In this, however, they all agree, that the Judges, who fined him ten thouſand marks,

(*a*) Guniton's Hiſt. of Peterborough, p. 76. Stowe's Annals, p. 742.

(*b*) Strype's Ann. Vol. III. p. 375.

(*c*) Biograph. Britan. Vol. II. p. 1263.

(*d*) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 120, 128.

(*e*) Strype's Ann. Vol. III. p. 372.

(*f*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 539.

you, with great grief and bitterneſs of mind in that I am ſo unhappy to have lyven to ſee this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my moſt gracious ſovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her Majeſty's diſpoſition, and am ready to looſe them this next morrow, yf it ſhall ſo pleaſe her; acknowledging that I hold them as of her meer and moſt gracious favour. I do not deſire them, to enjoy them, but with her Highneſſe's good liking; but God forbid that I ſhould make ſo fowle a ſhipwracke of my conſcience, or leave ſo great a blott to my poſteritie, to ſhed blood without law and warrant, truſting that her Majeſty, of her accuſtomed clemency, will take this my dutiful anſwer in good part (and the rather, by your good mediation) as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any chriſtian ſubject living, in duty, honour, love and obedience towards his ſovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almightie. From Fotheringhay, the 2d of February, 1586.

Your moſt aſſured poore friends,

A. POULET,
D. DRURY.

Your letters coming in the plural number, ſeem to be meant as to Sir Drew Drewrye, as to myſelf, and yet, becauſe he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any anſwer, but ſubſcribeth in heart to my opinion.

[*F*] *And once intended to have written in much ſtronger.*] We have ſhewn in it's proper place, what degree of Queen Elizabeth's reſentment fell upon the Lord Treaſurer, who was not only forbid the Queen's preſence and the court, but examined, when perhaps unwittingly he let fall ſomething, as if what Mr Daviſon ſaid of the Queen's intention, induced him and the reſt of the Council, to ſend the warrant by Beale. This ſeems to have thrown the ſtorm upon Daviſon, and to have occaſioned his being committed to the Tower; the news of which ſo much ſurprized the Treaſurer, that, on Monday February the 13th, he drew up a letter to the Queen, of which, as Mr Strype aſſures us, the laſt paragraph ran in the following words (18). 'And 'having ended that concerneth myſelf, I cannot in 'duty forbear to put your Majeſty in mind, that if Mr 'Daviſon be committed to the Tower, who beſt knoweth his own cauſe, the example will be ſorrowful to 'all your faithful ſervants, and joyful to your enemies. 'And as I can remember many examples in your fa'ther's, your brother's, your ſiſter's, yea your own time, 'of committing of counſellors, either to other men's 'houſes, or to their own; ſo can I not remember any 'one example of a counſellor committed to the Tower, 'but where they are attainted afterwards of high'treaſon: and what your Majeſty intendeth to'wards this your ſervant, I know not, but ſure I am, 'and I preſume to have ſome judgment therein, I 'know not a man in the land, ſo furniſhed univerſally 'for the place, and neither know I any that can come 'near him.'

(18) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 372.

Thus it was in the firſt minutes of this Lord's letter concerning Daviſon, but in his review thereof ſent to the Queen, it ran in theſe words with more reſerve.

'I beſeech your Majeſty pardon me, to remember 'to let you underſtand my opinion of Mr Daviſon; I 'never perceived by him, that he thought your Ma'jeſty would have miſliked to have had an end of the 'late capital enemy. And what your Majeſty minded 'to him in your diſpleaſure, I hear to my grief. But 'for a ſervant in that place, I think it hard to find a 'like qualified perſon. Whom to ruin in your heavy 'diſpleaſure, ſhall be more your Majeſty's loſs than 'his.' W. B.

[*G*] *Which in a variety of circumſtances, differ from each other.*] The learned Camden has given a very ſuccinct and elegant detail of the proceedings (19), beſides which, there is a manuſcript account of the trial in Caius College in Cambridge (20), and a third in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, taken by one William Nutt (21), who was an eye witneſs. Whoever ſhall compare theſe, will find the truth of what is aſſerted in the text; and that they very ſeldom agree preciſely in any thing, not ſo much as ſetting down in the ſame order, the names of the Commiſſioners, a thing in itſelf very material, not only in regard of their precedency, but alſo as to their order in ſpeaking. Theſe commiſſioners were Sir Chriſtopher Wray, Chief Juſtice of England, who for the time, ſat as Lord Privy-Seal; the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Archbiſhop of York, the Earl of Worceſter, the Earl of Cumberland, and the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Grey and Lord Lumley, Sir James Croft the Comptroller, Sir Gilbert Gerrard Maſter of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Edmund Anderſon; Sir Roger Manwood, the Lord Chief Baron, and Sir Walter Mildmay, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr Camden aſſerts, that the charge againſt him, by Popham the Attorney-General,

(19) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 540.

(20) Claſs A. 1090. 8. p. 267.

(21) Tit. Juridici 7843. 862. p. 235.

marks, and impriſonment during the Queen's pleaſure, gave him a very high character, and declared him to be, in their opinions, both an able and an honeſt man (*g*). One thing is very remarkable, that, in the concluſion of this buſineſs, Sir Chriſtopher Wray, Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench, told the Court, that, though the Queen had been offended with her Council, and had left them to examination, yet now ſhe forgave them, being ſatisfied that they were miſled by this man's ſuggeſtions (*b*). Sir James Melvile, who wrote at that time, and who ſeems to have had ſome prejudice againſt Daviſon, ſaid very candidly and fairly, upon this occaſion, that he was deceived by the Council (*i*). As ſoon as the proceeding was over, the Queen, to put it out of doubt with the King of Scots, that his mother was put to death without her privity or intention, ſent him the judgment given againſt Daviſon, ſubſcribed by thoſe who had given it, and exemplified under the Great Seal, together with another inſtrument, under the hands of all the Judges of England, that the ſentence againſt his mother could not in the leaſt prejudice his title to the ſucceſſion (*k*). As for Mr Daviſon, now left to a ſtrange reward for his paſt ſervices, a long impriſonment, which brought upon him downright indigence, he comforted himſelf with the thoughts of his innocence; and, to ſecure his memory from being blaſted by that judgment which had withered his fortune, he had long before wrote an Apology for his own conduct, which he addreſſed to Secretary Walſingham, as the man moſt intereſted in it, and who could beſt teſtify whether what he affirmed was truth or not. In this he gave a very clear and natural detail of the tranſaction, which coſt him all his ſufferings [*H*]. It is allowed by all who have written on this ſubject, and more eſpecially by Camden,

(*g*) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 20.

(*b*) In the MSS. in the Bodleian Library, at the cloſe.

(*i*) Memoirs of the remarkable Affairs of State in England and Scotland, p. 172.

(*k*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 547, 548.

ral, was, that the Queen, from her innate clemency, never intended the Queen of Scots, though condemned, ſhould have been put to death, notwithſtanding which, ſhe ordered the warrant to be drawn up, and committed it to Daviſon's truſt and ſecrecy. Neither of the other trials come up to this, but ſay, only, that ſhe committed the warrant of ſpecial care and truſt, to Mr Daviſon, that it might be ready on any ſudden occaſion. Mr Daviſon's defence in the Cambridge manuſcript, differs in ſeveral things from Camden's account of it; the Oxford manuſcript differs from both, eſpecially in this, that it aſſerts, Mr Daviſon affirmed therein, that when the Queen delivered him the warrant, ſhe did it with this expreſſion, 'Now you have it, let me 'be troubled no more with it.' It is in all the trials agreed, that the Lord Treaſurer's evidence, and Daviſon's own examinations, were all the proofs inſiſted upon; but that the Queen's Counſel refuſed to read thoſe examinations, as things improper to be divulged; nor is there a ſyllable of them in any of the trials. Yet they are ſtill preſerved, and the curious reader may have recourſe to them if he pleaſes.

[*H*] *Which coſt him all his ſufferings.*] The following paper is ſo curious, and ſo difficult to be met with, that it is preſumed the reader will be very well pleaſed to find it here, as it muſt be eſteemed one of the moſt valuable pieces, which, for the illuſtration of Hiſtory, has been inſerted in this collection (22).

(22) Tranſcribed by Mr John Urry, of Chriſt-church, from the Papers of Sir Amias Pawlet.

Secretary Daviſon's Apology, addreſſed to Sir Francis Walſingham.

On Wedneſday the firſt of this preſent, about ten of the clock, came one of the Grooms of the Chamber to me, to let me underſtand, that her Majeſty had called for me by my Lord Admiral, who was in the Privy-Chamber. I found his Lordſhip there, who told me the cauſe of my ſending for. Having firſt ſummarily diſcourſed unto me, ſome ſpeech that had paſſed that morning betwixt her Majeſty and him, touching the execution of the Scottiſh Queen, the concluſion of which was, that ſhe would no longer defer it, and therefore had commanded him to ſend expreſsly for me to bring the warrant unto her: whereupon, returning to my chamber, I took both that and divers other things to be ſigned for her ſervice, and returning back, ſent in Mr Brook to ſignify my being there to her Majeſty, who immediately called for me. At my coming in, her Majeſty, firſt aſking me Whether I had been abroad that fair morning? adviſing me to uſe it oftener, and reprehending me for the contrary, finally demanded, What I had in my hands? I anſwered, divers warrants, and other things, to be ſigned for her Majeſty's ſervice. She enquired whether my Lord Admiral had not ſent for me, and whether I had not brought up the warrant for the Scots Queen? I anſwered yes, and thereupon calling for it, I delivered it into her hands. After the reading thereof, calling for pen and ink, ſhe ſigned it, and laying it from her, aſked me, Whether I was not heartily ſorry that it was done? mine anſwer was, that I was ſorry a Lady ſo near in blood to herſelf, and of her place and quality, ſhould ſo far forget her duty to God and her Majeſty, as to give her this cauſe. But ſithence this act of her Majeſty was in all men's opinion of that juſtice and neceſſity, that ſhe could not defer it without the manifeſt danger of her perſon and ſtate, I could not be ſorry to ſee her Majeſty take this courſe of removing the cauſe of that danger, which threatened the one and the other; proteſting nevertheleſs, that I was ſo far from thirſting after the blood of that unhappy Lady, that if there had been any other way to preſerve her Majeſty and the State from miſchief, than by taking her life, I could have wiſhed it. But the caſe ſtanding ſo in the opinion of all men, that either her Majeſty or ſhe muſt die, I muſt confeſs freely, that I preferred the death of the guilty before the innocent. After this ſhe commanded me to carry it to the Seal, and to give my Lord Chancellor order from her to uſe it as ſecretly as might be, and, by the way, to ſhow it to Mr Secretary Walſingham, becauſe ſhe thought the grief thereof would kill him outright, for ſo it pleaſed her Majeſty to ſay of him. This done, ſhe called for the reſt of the warrants, and other things I had to ſign, and diſpatched them all with the beſt diſpoſition and willingneſs that could be. In the mean time, repeating unto me ſome reaſons why ſhe had ſo long deferred the matter, as, namely, for her honour's ſake, that the world might ſee that ſhe had not been violently or maliciouſly drawn unto it, ſhe concluded, that ſhe was never ſo ill adviſed as not to ſee and apprehend her own danger, and the neceſſity ſhe had to proceed to this execution; and thereupon, after ſome intermingled ſpeech here and there, ſhe told me, ſhe would have it done as ſecretly as might be, and miſliking that it ſhould be executed in the open Court, or green of the caſtle, expreſsly willed, that it ſhould be done in the hall; which I take to be a certain argument, both of her meaning it ſhould be done, and in the form preſcribed in the warrant. But after I had gathered up my papers, and was ready to depart, ſhe fell into ſome complaint of Sir Amias Pawlet and others, that might have eaſed her of this burthen, wiſhing me yet to deal with Mr Secretary, and that he would jointly write to Sir Amias and Sir Drury, to ſound their diſpoſitions, aiming ſtill at this, that it might be ſo done, as the blame might be removed from herſelf. And though I had always refuſed before to meddle therein, upon ſundry of her Majeſty's former motions, as a thing I utterly condemned, yet was I content, as I told her for her ſatisfaction, to let Sir Amias underſtand what ſhe expected at his hands; albeit I did before-hand aſſure myſelf it ſhould be ſo much labour loſt, knowing the wiſdom and integrity of the gentleman, who I thought would not do any unlawful act for any reſpect in the world; but finding her Majeſty deſirous to have him ſounded in this behalf, I departed from her Majeſty with

Camden, that he was a very unhappy, though, at the ſame time, a very capable and honeſt

with promiſe to ſignify ſo much to Mr Secretary, and that we would both acquaint Sir Amias of her pleaſure. And here repeating to me again, that ſhe would have the matter cloſely handled, becauſe of her danger, I promiſed to uſe it as ſecretly as I could; and ſo, for that time, departed. That afternoon I repaired to my Lord Chancellor, where I procured the warrant to be ſealed, having in my way viſited Mr Secretary, and agreed with him about the form of the letter which ſhould be written for her Majeſty's ſatisfying to Sir Amias Paulet and Mr Drury, which, at my returning to my Lord Chancellor, was diſpatched. The next morning I received a letter from Cranmer, my ſervant, whom I left at Court, ſignifying unto me her Majeſty's pleaſure, that I ſhould forbear going to my Lord Chancellor's till I had ſpoken with her. And within an hour after came William Killigrew, with the like meſſage from her, whom I returned with this anſwer, that I would be at the Court as ſoon as himſelf, and give her Majeſty an account of what I had done. At my coming to her, ſhe aſked me whether I had been at my Lord Chancellor's? I anſwered her, Yes; ſhe demanded, What needed that haſte? I anſwered, that I had done no more than ſhe commanded, and thought it no matter to be dallied withal; but, faith ſhe, methinks the beſt and ſafeſt way for me is to have it otherways handled, particularizing a form, that ſhe, as ſhe pretended, liked better, naming unto me ſome that were of that opinion, whoſe judgments ſhe commended. I anſwered, that I took the honourable and juſt way to be the beſt and ſafeſt, if ſhe meant to have it done at all; whereto her Majeſty replying nothing for that time, left me, and went to dinner. Within a day or two after, her Majeſty being in the Privy Chamber, called me unto her, and ſmiling told me, how ſhe had been troubled with me that night, upon a dream ſhe had that the Scots Queen was executed, pretending to be ſo troubled with the news, that if ſhe had had a ſword ſhe could have run me through; but this being delivered in a pleaſant and ſmiling manner, I anſwered her Majeſty, that it was good I was not near her ſo long as that humour laſted; but withal, taking hold of her ſpeech, I aſked her Majeſty in great earneſtneſs, What it meant? and Whether, having proceeded thus far, ſhe had not a meaning to go forward with the execution? Confirming this with a ſolemn oath, and ſome vehemency, ſhe anſwered yes; but ſhe thought it might receive a better form, becauſe, ſaith ſhe, this caſteth the whole burthen upon myſelf; whereto I replied, that the form preſcribed by her warrant was ſuch as the law required, and the only form that was to be kept in honour and juſtice. She anſwered, there were wiſer men than myſelf of another opinion; I told her I could not anſwer for other men, but this I was ſure of, that I never heard any man give ſound reaſon to prove it either honourable or ſafe for her Majeſty, to take any other courſe than that which ſtandeth with law and juſtice: ſo without farther replication or ſpeech at that time, her Majeſty roſe up and left me.

The ſame afternoon (as I take it) ſhe aſked me if I had heard from Sir Amias Paulet, I told her no: but within an hour or two after, going to London, I met with letters from him in anſwer to thoſe that were written to him by Mr Secretary and myſelf. The next morning having acceſs to her Majeſty, upon ſome other occaſion, I told her I had letters from Mr Paulet, which her Majeſty, deſirous to ſee, took and read, but finding thereby that he was grieved with the motion made unto him, offered his life and all he had to be diſpoſed of by her Majeſty, but abſolutely refuſing to be an inſtrument in any ſuch action as was not warranted in honour or juſtice. Her Majeſty falling into ſome terms of offence, complaining of the dainty (as ſhe called it) perjury of him and others, who, contrary to their oath of aſſociation, did caſt the burthen upon herſelf, ſhe roſe up, and, after a turn or two, went into the gallery, whither I followed her: and there renewing her former ſpeech, blaming the niceneſs of thoſe preciſe fellows, who in words would do great things for her ſafety, but in deed perform nothing: and concluded, ſhe would have it well enough done without them; and here, entering into particularities, named unto me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, ſhe aſſured me, would, with ſome others, undertake it: which gave me occaſion to ſhew unto her Majeſty, how diſhonourable, in my poor opinion, any ſuch courſe would be; how far off ſhe would be from ſhunning the blame and ſtain thereof, which ſhe ſought ſo much to avoid; and here, falling particularly into the caſe of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, told her, that 'twas a marvellous extremity ſhe would have expoſed theſe two gentlemen unto, for if, in a tender care for her ſecurity, they ſhould have done that which ſhe deſired, ſhe muſt either allow their act or diſallow it: if ſhe allowed it, ſhe took the matter upon herſelf, with her infinite diſhonour; if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe overthrew thoſe faithful gentlemen, who, ſhe knew, did truly and faithfully love her; and not only themſelves, but their whole eſtate and poſterity; and therefore thought this a moſt dangerous and diſhonourable courſe, both for herſelf and them; and ſo, after ſome particular ſpeech of Mr Secretary and others, touching ſome matters paſt heretofore, her Majeſty calling to underſtand whether it was time to go to the cloſet, brake off our diſcourſe.

At my next acceſs to her Majeſty, which I take was Tueſday, the day before my coming from Court, I having certain things to be ſigned, her Majeſty entered of herſelf into ſome earneſt diſcourſe of the danger ſhe daily lived in, and how it was more than time this matter was diſpatched, ſwearing a great oath, that it was a ſhame for them all that it was not done; and thereupon ſpake unto me to have a letter written to Mr Poulet for the diſpatch thereof, becauſe the longer it was deferred, the more her danger increaſed; whereunto (knowing what order had been taken by my Lords in ſending the commiſſion to the Earls) I anſwered, that I thought there was no neceſſity of ſuch a letter, the warrant being ſo general and ſufficient as it was. Her Majeſty replied little elſe, but that ſhe thought Mr Poulet would look for it. And this, as near as I can poſſibly remember, is a faithful and true report of what hath paſſed betwixt her Majeſty and me, from the day of ſigning the warrant, and the commandment given unto me to carry it unto the Seal, until the hour of my departure from the Court. In all which I muſt proteſt unfeignedly before God, that I neither remember any ſuch commandment given me by her Majeſty as is pretended, neither did ever I conceive ſuch an intent or meaning in her; and that my innocency herein may the better appear, let it be conſidered, firſt, what the commandment is; and next, upon what conſiderations it was granted: the commandment, as I underſtand it, hath two parts, one, that I ſhould conceal it from the reſt of her Majeſty's Council; another, that I ſhould retain it by myſelf until ſome tumultuary time, as a thing her Majeſty meant not otherwiſe to put in execution; both which, I muſt in all duty and humbleneſs, under her moſt gracious favour, abſolutely deny. And, for the firſt, I truſt, her Majeſty, in her princely and honourable nature, will not deny, but that ſhe firſt ſent for me by my Lord Admiral to bring the warrant unto her, which proveth that his Lordſhip was acquainted with her purpoſe; and next, that ſhe gave me expreſs word, both to carry it forthwith to the Seal, with a meſſage to my Lord Chancellor, who conſequently muſt be acquainted with it, and alſo, by the way, to impart it to Mr Secretary; ſo that theſe three being made privy to it with her own good liking, and myſelf, as I ſay, not reſtrained from the contrary by any ſuch commandment as is pretended, what reaſon had I to conceal it from my Lord Treaſurer, to whom my Lord Admiral had firſt imparted it, or from my Lord Leiceſter, to whom her Majeſty had ſignified as much; as, likewiſe, to Mr Vice-Chamberlain; and, as they are all well acquainted with the reſt of the whole proceeding, and, as far intereſted in the cauſe as myſelf or any of the others, unleſs her Majeſty had a meaning that Mr Secretary and I ſhould have dealt alone in ſending of it to the Earls, which, for mine own part, I confeſs I never liked, knowing her Majeſty's purpoſe was often to myſelf to remove as much of the burthen as ſhe might from her own ſhoulders upon others, which I knew my own unfit to ſuſtain. Now, ſeeing the end of ſigning

and

honeſt man. As ſuch we have ſeen him recommended to Queen Elizabeth by the Treaſurer Burleigh (*l*), and as ſuch he was ſtrongly recommended by the Earl of Eſſex to King James. It ſeems, that noble perſon ſtuck faſt by him under his misfortunes, which plainly ſhews the party to which he had always adhered. That Lord loſt no opportunity of ſolliciting the Queen in his favour, and never let ſlip any occaſion of teſtifying for him the warmeſt and the ſincereſt affection (*m*). At length, it ſeems, he was not altogether unſucceſsful; for though, upon the death of Secretary Walſingham, the Queen abſolutely rejected his motion, that Mr Daviſon ſhould come into his place, yet, afterwards, it ſeems, that ſhe yielded, in ſome degree, as plainly appears by the Earl's letter to King James, which, for that reaſon, is placed in the notes [*I*]. That we are under an incapacity of tracing him farther, is owing to the profound ſilence of the writers of thoſe times, who,

(*l*) In the letters cited in note [*F*].

(*m*) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

and ſealing this warrant, in all reaſonable probability and judgment, was to go forward, withal that the delay thereof did infinitely increaſe her Majeſty's peril, and thereby hazard the whole eſtate; ſeeing it was imparted to ſome by her Majeſty's own order, and no cauſe or poſſibility being ſealed to keep it from the reſt, as much intereſted in the cauſe as myſelf; and, finally, ſeeing I could neither, as I take it, in law nor duty of a good ſubject, conceal it from them, the cauſe importing ſo greatly her Majeſty's life as it did, and the diſpoſition both of the time and the ſtate of things at home and abroad, being ſuch as it was, I truſt it ſhall ſufficiently appear, that I was both in reaſon, duty, and neceſſity, forced thereunto, unleſs I would have wilfully endangered myſelf, whoſe offence, if aught in the mean time had happened amiſs unto her Majeſty, muſt have been in my own cenſure, worthy of a thouſand deaths; and as to my proceeding therein with the reſt of my Lords, after it was reſolved that it was neither fit nor convenient to trouble her Majeſty any farther with it, conſidering that ſhe had done all that the law required at her hands, and that ſhe had both to myſelf and others ſignified, at other times, her indiſpoſition to be acquainted with the particular circumſtances of time, place, &c. and that to detain the warrant, in expectation of any farther directions from herſelf, was both needleſs and dangerous, conſidering the hourly hazards her Majeſty lived in. And finally, that my Lords knowing her Majeſty's unwillingneſs to bear all the burthen alone, were content moſt reſolutely, honourably, and dutifully, to eaſe her as much as they might; with what reaſon and juſtice ſhould I have hindered the courſe of juſtice, tending ſo greatly to her Majeſty's ſafety, and preſervation of the whole realm; and for the other part of keeping it by me to ſuch ends as is before alledged, I truſt the world doth not hold me ſo undutiful to her Majeſty, or ill adviſed for my particular, as to take ſuch a charge upon me, to the evident peril of her Majeſty's life, ſubverſion of the whole eſtate, and mine own utter overthrow; neither is there cauſe to think, I ſpeak in all reverence, and under her Majeſty's gracious favour, that her Majeſty having proceeded ſo far as ſhe had done, to the trial of that lady's fact, found her guilty, by a moſt honourable jury of her Nobility, aſſembled her Parliament only for that purpoſe, graciouſly heard their petitions, and diſmiſſed them with ſo great hope, publiſhed afterwards the Proclamation for her diſablement, rejected the ſuits both of the French and Scottiſh Kings for her life, and returned their Ambaſſadors hopeleſs; confirmed the impriſonment by her letters to both Princes, (ſome of which it pleaſed her to communicate with myſelf,) proteſted many hundred times her neceſſity and reſolution to go through with all, (albeit for ſundry reaſons ſhe had ſo long deferred it) having given her commandment to me many days before, to bring up the warrant unto her, and then voluntarily ſent for it by my Lord Admiral, ſigning it as ſoon as I brought it, her expreſs commandment given me to carry it to the Seal, and to have it ſecretly handled. And, finally, her particular direction, whilſt ſhe was ſigning other things, at the ſame time to have the execution done in the Hall, miſliking that it ſhould be done in the Green or open Court, with a number of other foregoing and following circumſtances, may ſufficiently teſtify her Majeſty's diſpoſition to have it proceeded in. Albeit ſhe had to myſelf and others declared her unwillingneſs to have been made acquainted with the time, and other circumſtances, having done all that the law required of her, or that in honour was fit and expedient for her to do.

[*I*] *Which for that reaſon is placed in the notes.*] We will, in this note, diſcuſs with as much a brevity as poſſible, what relates to the character and fortune of Secretary Daviſon. After his account of his trial in the Star-Chamber, Camden winds up his relation in the following words (23). 'Thus Daviſon, a man of 'good ſenſe, but not at all ſkilled in court-arts, having, as many thought, been introduced upon the ſtage 'purely to perform his part in this tragedy, was obliged 'to quit his ſtation now it was over, and thruſt behind 'the ſcene, not without general compaſſion, into a 'tedious impriſonment.' It appears plainly, that this was our author's own ſentiments of the matter, tho' introduced by him, as the common opinion of the times. But if Daviſon was brought in only to act a part, it may be enquired who it was that recommended him as a fit perſon for ſuch a purpoſe? In the Oxford copy of his trial (24), it is ſaid, that Mr Daviſon, in his defence, affirms, that he communicated it only to the Treaſurer, and the Treaſurer to the reſt of the Council; that Lord was alſo the only witneſs againſt him, and from hence one would imagine, that *he* thought him fit to act his part, if his own letters, which the reader has ſeen, did not ſpeak a very contrary language. We have already ſhewn, that Daviſon was brought into buſineſs by the Earl of Leiceſter and his friends, but he was made Secretary by the Queen herſelf. The Earl of Eſſex in one of his letters to Mr Daviſon, writes thus (25), 'I told her how many 'friends and well-wiſhers the world did afford you, 'and how for the moſt part throughout the whole realm, 'her beſt ſubjects did wiſh, that ſhe would do herſelf 'the honour to repair you, and reſtore you to that 'ſtate which ſhe had overthrown; your humble ſuffering of theſe harms, and reverend regard to her 'Majeſty, muſt needs move a princeſs ſo noble and ſo 'juſt, to do you right; and more I had ſayd, if 'my gift of ſpeech had been any way comparable to 'my love. Her Majeſty ſeeing her judgment opened 'by the ſtory of her own actions, ſhewed a very feeling 'compaſſion for you; ſhe gave you many praiſes, and 'amongſt the reſt, that which ſhe ſeemed to pleaſe 'herſelf in, was, that you were a man of her own 'choice. In truth, ſhe was ſo well pleaſed with thoſe 'things, that ſhe ſpake and heard of you, as I dare, 'if of things future there be any aſſurance, promiſe to 'myſelf, that your peace will be made to your own 'content, and the deſires of your friends, I mean in 'her favour and your own fortune, to a better eſtate 'than, or at leaſt the ſame you had, which with all 'my power I will employ myſelf to effect.' It is not eaſy to make this agree with the ſtory of a man brought upon the ſtage to act a particular part, and then to be ſtripped and neglected. But farther ſtill, upon the death of Sir Francis Walſingham, in 1590 (26), the Earl of Eſſex again repreſented to the Queen, that Mr Daviſon was the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed him, and that ſhe could not find a perſon in England, that in the ſpace of three or four years, would know how to ſettle himſelf, to ſupport ſo great a burthen. How the Queen received this, take in his own words. 'She 'gave me leave to ſpeak, heard me with patience; 'confeſſed with me, that none was ſo ſufficient, and 'could not deny, but that which ſhe lays to your 'charge, was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, 'or any reſpect of your own, but merely for her ſafety 'both of ſtate and perſon. In the end, ſhe abſolutely 'denied to let you enjoy that place, and willed me to 'reſt ſatisfied, for ſhe was reſolved. Thus much I 'write to let you know, I am more honeſt to my 'friends, than happy in their cauſes. What you will

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 544, 545.

(24) See the former reference to that MS.

(25) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

(26) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 621.

who, while they celebrate the fortunate and great, leave the leſs happy in obſcurity, however virtuous or worthy. But, as it is, we have not only collected the ſcattered materials of his memoirs into a body, and thereby added a conſiderable character to this extenſive collection, but have alſo (which is one of the principal intentions of this work) detected a great deal of falſe hiſtory, which has been long obtruded on the world, to the prejudice of truth, and of this Gentleman's memory, who, by his contemporaries, was eſteemed worthy of all honours. We ſee he came not ſuddenly or ſurpriſingly into his high office, but eaſily, naturally, and gradually, in the very ſame way that his predeceſſors Cecil, Smith, and Walſingham, had done, and with the general approbation of all the Council. We ſee that, as he was no mean or obſcure perſon when called to that high employment, ſo he was not given to ſerve turns at the peril of his life and reputation; and that, notwithſtanding the Star-Chamber ſentence, he very well knew how to make his innocence plain, both to that age and to poſterity. Whatever motives thoſe authors might have, who lived near theſe times, to palliate or conceal the circumſtances of that action, which proved the cauſe of Mr Daviſon's fall, we lie under no temptation, and are as free from any inclination to hide or to throw a ſhade over truth. In removing all ſuch obſtructions, and bringing into open day theſe ſingular and intereſting points, we not only rectify the partial accounts which are contained in private memoirs, and ſupply the neceſſary deficiences of general hiſtories, but apply to their proper uſe, and bring to the publick view, in an agreeable light, thoſe remains of theſe buſy times, which, otherwiſe, might lie hid in ſtudies, and be at moſt known only to a very few, who, either through indolence or timidity, decline any communication of what, by a long courſe of reading in this way, they have diſcovered.

'have me do for your ſuit, I will as far as my credit is any 'thing worth. I have told moſt of the Council, of my 'manner of dealing with the Queen; my Lord Cham-'berlain tells me, he hath dealt for you alſo, and they 'all ſay, they wiſh as I do, but in this world that is 'enough.' It may be preſumed, that the principal ground of the Queen's reſolution, was the conſequences which ſhe foreſaw muſt attend making Daviſon again Secretary, in reference to the King of Scots, and the apprehenſion of this, very probably occaſioned the Earl of Eſſex to write the following letter to that monarch (27).

(27) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

'Moſt excellent King, for him that is already bound 'for many favours, a ſtile of thankfulneſs is much 'fitter than the humour of ſuing; but ſo it falls out, 'that he, which to his own advantage would have 'ſought nothing in your favour, but your favour itſelf, 'doth now for another, become an humble petitioner 'to your Majeſty: your Majeſty cannot be ſuch a 'ſtranger to the affairs of this country; but as you 'know what actions are done in this place, ſo you un-'derſtand the minds of the men by whom they are done. 'Therefore I doubt not, but the man for whom I ſpeak, 'is ſomewhat known to your Majeſty, and being 'known, I preſume of greater favour (Mr Secretary 'Daviſon) being fallen into her Majeſty's diſpleaſure 'and diſgrace, beloved of the beſt and moſt religious of 'this land, doth ſtand as barred from any preferment, 'or reſtoring in his place, except out of the honour and 'nobleneſs of your own royal heart, your Majeſty will 'undertake his cauſe. To leave the nature of his 'fault to your Majeſty's beſt judgment, and report of 'your own ſervant; and to ſpeak of the man, I muſt 'ſay truly, that his ſufficiency in Council and matters 'of ſtate, is ſuch, as the Queen confeſſeth, in her 'kingdom ſhe hath not ſuch another. His virtue, 'religion, and worth, in all degrees, is of the world 'taken to be ſo great, as no man in his good fortune 'hath had more general love than this gentleman in 'his diſgrace: and if to a man ſo worthy in himſelf, 'and ſo eſteemed of all men, my words might avail; 'I would aſſure your Majeſty, you would get great 'honour and great love, not only here amongſt us, 'but in all places of Chriſtendom where this gentleman 'is any thing known, if you ſhould now be the author 'of his reſtoring to his place, which in effect he now 'is, but that as a man not acceptable to her Majeſty, 'he doth forbear to attend. I do in all humbleneſs, 'commend this cauſe to your Majeſty, having the war-'rant of a good conſcience, that I know to be both 'honourable and honeſt, and your Majeſty to the 'bleſſed protection of that mighty God, to whom will 'pray, for your Majeſty's happy and proſperous 'eſtate, he that will do your Majeſty all humble ſer-'vice.'

Greenwich, April 18th, 1589. R. ESSEX.

E

DAWES (Sir WILLIAM) Archbiſhop of York in the XVIIIth century, was the youngeſt ſon of Sir John Dawes, Baronet [*A*], by Jane his wife, the daughter and only child of Richard Hawkins, of Braintree, in the county of Eſſex, Gent. He was born September 12, 1671, at Lyons (a ſeat which came by his mother) near Braintree (*a*); and received the firſt rudiments of learning at Merchant-Taylors-School in London, from Mr John Hartcliffe, and Mr Ambr. Bonwicke ſucceſſively maſters of that ſchool: under whoſe care he made great proficiency in the knowledge of the Claſſicks; and was a tolerable maſter of the Hebrew tongue, even before he was fifteen years of age; which was chiefly

(*a*) Preface to the Works of the moſt Rev. Father in God Sir William Dawes, Bart. in 3 Volumes, 8vo. Lond. 1733. p. i, &c.

[*A*] *Was the youngeſt ſon of Sir John Dawes, Knt.*] That family was once poſſeſs'd of a very large eſtate: and Sir Abraham, our author's great grand-father, was accounted one of the richeſt commoners in his time, and in ſplendor and magnificence of houſe-keeping liv'd up to the port of any nobleman. But, in the time of the civil wars, the family adhering to the royal cauſe ſuffer'd great loſſes and depredations in their fortune. An eſtate of theirs, particularly, in one county (1), was ſequeſter'd to the value of 1500 l. *per ann.* and the family ſeat at Rowhampton in Surrey, where the furniture amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds, was plunder'd. To make the family ſome ſort of amends, K. Charles II. created, in 1663, Sir John (the father of the late Sir William, of whom we are writing) a baronet; in memory of paſt ſervices and ſufferings, and eſpecially as an acknowledgment of the ſeveral conſiderable ſums of money, tranſmitted by him and his father to the royal family, during their exile. Sir John was a perſon of excellent qualities, every way ſuitable to the dignity he was promoted to: but his exaltation to honour would not have ſo well become the depreſſion of his fortune, had it not been his happineſs to marry a lady of a very plentiful one, Jane, the daughter and only child of Richard Hawkins, Gent. as is above-mention'd; by whom he had ſeveral children, and among the reſt, three ſons, whereof Sir *William* was the youngeſt (2).

(1) Lincolnſhire.

(2) Preface, &c. as above, p. v, vi, vii, viii.

[*B*] *Upon*

chiefly owing to the additional care that Dr Kidder, afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells, was pleaſed to take of his education (*b*). In Act Term 1687, he became a ſcholar of St John's College in Oxford, and after his continuance there two years or upwards, was made Fellow (*c*). But his father's title and eſtate ſoon deſcending to him, upon the death of his two brothers which happened about the ſame time [*B*]; he left Oxford, and entering himſelf a Nobleman in Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, lived in his eldeſt brother's chambers; and, as ſoon as he was of fit ſtanding, took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*). His intention, from the very firſt, was to enter into holy orders; and therefore to qualify himſelf for that purpoſe, among other introductory works, he ſeems to have made ſome of our late eminent Divines a conſiderable branch of his ſtudy, even before he was eighteen years of age: And he ſhewed always a ſerious and devout temper of mind, and a true ſenſe and love of piety and religion (*e*). After he had taken his Maſter of Arts degree, not being of age to enter into holy orders, he thought it proper to viſit the eſtate he was now become owner of, and to make a ſhort tour into ſome other parts of the kingdom, which he had not yet ſeen. But his intended progreſs was, in ſome meaſure, ſtopped by his happening to meet with Frances, the eldeſt daughter of Sir Thomas Darcy, of Braxſtead-Lodge, in Eſſex, Baronet, a fine and accompliſhed woman, whom he made his addreſſes to, and, not long after, married (*f*). As ſoon as he came to a competent age, he was ordained Deacon and Prieſt by Dr Compton, Biſhop of London [*C*]. Shortly after, he was created Doctor in Divinity, by a Royal Mandate, in order to be qualified for the Maſterſhip of Catherine-Hall; to which he was unanimouſly elected, in 1696, upon the death of Dr John Echard (*g*). At his coming thither he found the bare caſe of a new chapel, begun by his predeceſſor; to the finiſhing, and fitting up of which, he contributed very liberally (*h*). And, among other beneficial acts to his College, he obtained, through his intereſt with Queen Anne and her chief Miniſters, an act of Parliament for annexing the firſt prebend of Norwich, which ſhould become vacant, to the Maſterſhip of Catherine-Hall for ever (*i*). Not long after his election, he became Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and diſcharged that dignity with univerſal applauſe (*k*). In 1696, he was made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to King William; and, ſhortly after, was preſented by his Majeſty to a Prebend of Worceſter (*l*) [*D*], in which he was inſtalled Auguſt 26, 1698 (*m*). On the 10th of November 1698, he was collated by Archbiſhop Tenniſon to the Rectory, and, the 19th of December following, to the Deanery, of Bocking in Eſſex (*n*): and behaved in that pariſh in a very charitable and exemplary manner [*E*]. After Queen Anne's acceſſion to the throne, he was made one of her Majeſty's Chaplains, and by his excellent behaviour came to be ſo great a favourite with her, that he had a reaſonable expectation of being advanced to ſome of the higheſt dignities in the Church. Accordingly, though he happened accidently to miſs of the Biſhoprick of Lincoln [*F*], which became vacant in the year

(*b*) Ibid. p. viii, ix. Dr Kidder was for ſome time Rector of Rayne near Braintree.

(*c*) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1088.

(*d*) Preface, &c. as above, p. xii, xiii.

(*e*) Ibid. p. xi, xiii.

(*f*) Ibid. p. xvi.

(*g*) Ibid. p. xxi.

(*h*) It was conſecrated Sept. 1, 1704. Ibid. p. xxvi.

(*i*) Ibid. p. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.

(*k*) Ibid. p. xxviii, xxix.

(*l*) Ibid. p. xx.

(*m*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. 1727. 4*to*. p. 674.

(*n*) Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum, &c. by Ric. Newcourt, Vol. II. Lond. 1710. p. 68, 70.

[*B*] *Upon the death of his two brothers, which happened about the ſame time.*] The elder of the two, Sir Robert, then a nobleman of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, died unexpectedly of a violent fever; and the younger, whoſe name was John, then a Lieutenant of a ſhip belonging to a ſquadron commanded by Sir John Narborough, was (in waiting on ſome company from on board) much about the ſame time unhappily drown'd. Their deaths were in a manner ſo coincident, that one and the ſame poſt brought the news of both (3).

(3) Ibid. p. xii, xiii.

[*C*] *He was ordained Deacon and Prieſt by Dr Compton Biſhop of London.*] Upon which occaſion (as we are told) he was often heard to ſay, 'That, when he laid 'aſide his lay-habit' (in which he was as elegant, as others of the like ſtation) 'he did it with the greateſt 'pleaſure in the world, and look'd upon Holy Orders 'as the higheſt honour that could be conferr'd upon 'him (4).'

(4) Ibid. p. xvii, xviii.

[*D*] *Was preſented by his Majeſty to a prebend of Worceſter.*] In a ſermon, preach'd at Whitehall, Nov. 5, 1696 (5), he pleaſed the King ſo well, that his Majeſty ſent for him, and without any manner of ſollicitation gave him a Prebend of Worceſter, with this ſhort compliment, 'That the thing indeed was but ſmall, 'and not otherwiſe worth his acceptance, but as it was 'an earneſt of his future favour, and a pledge of what 'he intended to him (6).'

(5) The firſt in his poſthumous Works, 3 Vols. 8*vo*.

(6) Preface, &c. as above, p. xx.

[*E*] *And behaved in that pariſh in a very charitable and exemplary manner.*] The author of the preface to his ſermons informs us, that 'The care of mens ſouls 'was the principal ingredient of his character; but 'what gave an additional luſtre to this, and made him 'indeed the darling of the whole neighbourhood, was 'the reſpect he likewiſe had to men's bodily wants and 'infirmities, in his kind condeſcenſion and liberality to 'the poor. For as he was a ſtranger to that ſupercilious diſdain, which a ſenſe of ſuperiority, either in 'birth or fortune, is apt to create in weak heads, and 'an utter enemy to thoſe little feuds about dues and 'perquiſites, which are often known to embroil whole 'pariſhes, and breed confuſion, wherever they are too 'rigidly inſiſted on; ſo, to preſerve an harmony and 'good underſtanding with his people, his cuſtom was, '*every Sunday, to invite a certain number of the better 'ſort to dine with him*, when, all the while, ſuch a 'freedom was viſible, as made every one to think himſelf at home, and ſuch a plenty withal, as ſhew'd that 'his liberality was extended to many more than thoſe, 'who had the honour to ſit at his table (7). —— He 'uſed to preach, himſelf, conſtantly, while he continued Rector of that pariſh. And his uſual method 'was, to make choice of ſome principal paſſage out of 'the goſpel for the day, in the morning, and to preach 'upon the ſame text in the afternoon, by way of repetition and improvement. His diſcourſes were uſually 'plain and familiar, and ſuch as were beſt adapted to 'a country audience (8): and yet, under his manage-'ment and manner of expreſſion, they far ſurpaſs'd the 'moſt elaborate compoſitions of other men: for ſuch 'was the comelineſs of his perſon, the melody of his 'voice, the decency of his action, and the majeſty of his 'whole appearance, that he might well be pronounced 'the moſt compleat Pulpit-Orator of his age (9).'

(7) Ibid. p. xxiv, xxv.

(8) Ibid. p. xxiii.

(9) Ibid. p. xxxvi.

[*F*] *Though he happen'd accidentally to miſs of the Biſhoprick of Lincoln.*] The reaſon of his miſſing of it, was this; being appointed to preach before Queen Anne on the 30th of January, (whilſt that Biſhopric was vacant by the death of Dr James Gardiner) Sir William was not afraid to utter ſome bold truths, which at that time were not ſo well reliſh'd by certain perſons in power, who took occaſion from thence to perſuade the Queen (contrary to her inclination) to give it to Dr W. Wake, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury. This however made no impreſſion upon Sir William: and therefore

year 1705; yet her Majesty, of her own mere motion, named him to the see of Chester (o), in the year 1707, upon the death of Dr Nicolas Stratford: and he was consecrated February 8, 1707-8 (p). In 1713-4, he was, by the recommendation of his worthy predecessor Dr John Sharp, translated to the archiepiscopal see of York; being elected thereto February 26, and enthronized by proxy the 24th of March following (q). He continued above ten years in this eminent station [G], honoured and respected by all. At length a diarrhœa, to which he had been subject several times before, coming to be attended with a fever, and ending in an inflammation of his bowels, it put a period to his life April 30, 1724, in the fifty-third year of his age (r). He was buried in the chapel of Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, near his Lady, who died December 22, 1705, in the 29th year of her age. By her he had seven children, William, Francis, William, Thomas, who all died young; and Elizabeth, Jane, and Darcy, that survived him (s). He was author of several things; some whereof were published by himself [H], and others after his decease under this title, 'The whole Works of the most Reverend Father in God, Sir William Dawes, Baronet, late Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England, and Metropolitan. In three Vols. *8vo.* With a Preface, giving some Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of the Author. *Lond.* 1733.' With regard to his person and character: The figure of his body was tall, proportionable, and beautiful. There was in his look and gesture something easier to be conceived than described; that gained upon every one in his favour, even before he spoke one word. His behaviour was easy and courteous to all. His civility free from the formality of rule, flowing immediately from his good sense. His conversation lively without any tincture of levity, and chearful without betraying the dignity of his high station. He had a genius well fitted for a scholar, a lively imagination, a strong memory, and a sound judgment. He was a kind and loving Husband, a tender and indulgent Parent, and so extraordinary good a Master, that he never was observed to be in a passion; and took care of the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of his domesticks. In his episcopal capacity, he behaved in a most worthy and exemplary manner [I]. And, in general, was a kind Friend, a generous Patron, a devout Christian, a laborious Prelate, a fine Gentleman, and a worthy Patriot. We shall give the rest of his character in the note [K].

(o) Preface, &c. as above, p. xxix, xxx, xxxi.

(p) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. as above, p. 338.

(q) Ibid. p. 63.

(r) Preface, &c. as above, p. xxxii, xxxiii.

(s) Ibid. p. li.

therefore when he was told by a certain nobleman, that he had lost a bishopric by his preaching, his reply was, 'That, as to that he had no manner of concern upon 'him, because his intention was never to gain one by 'preaching (10).'

(10) Ibid. p. xxx, xxxi.

[G] *He continued above ten years in this eminent station*] Upon his being promoted thereto, he was made *a Privy-Counsellor*. And after Queen Anne's demise, he was constituted one of the Lord's Justices of the kingdom, until the arrival of the late King George, by whom he was call'd again to his place in the Privy-Council (11).

(11) Ibid. p. xxxi.

[H] *He was author of several things; some whereof were publish'd by himself.*] Those publish'd by himself, were, I. 'An Anatomy of Atheism.' London, 1693, 4°. being a Poem in five sheets; dedicated to Sir Geo. Darcy, Bart. It has not indeed all the perfections of a poetick composition; a luculency of fancy, and pomp of expression may perhaps be thought wanting in it: but then it has this equivalent excellence, that the arguments both for and against the existence of a God, are urg'd and answer'd in a clear method, and easy diction, fitted for the comprehension of every common reader. This Poem was wrote by the author, before he was eighteen years of age (12). II. 'The Duties 'of the Closet,' &c. written by him before he was twenty one years of age (13). III. 'The Duty of 'communicating explain'd and enforc'd, &c.' compos'd for the use of his parish of Bocking, in order to introduce there a monthly celebration of the Holy Communion; which used to be administred, before his coming thither, only at the three great festivals of the year (14). IV. 'Sermons preach'd upon several occasions before 'King William, and Queen Anne,' London, 1707, 8°. dedicated to Queen Anne. V. He also drew up the preface to the works of Offspring Blackall, D. D. late Bishop of Exeter, London, 1723, fol. 2 volumes.

(12) Preface, &c. as above, p. xi.

(13) Ibid. p. xiii, xiv.

(14) Ibid. p. xxiii.

[I] *In his episcopal capacity, he behav'd in a most worthy and exemplary manner.*] He visited his large diocese with great diligence and constancy, Nottinghamshire one year, and Yorkshire another; but every third year he did not hold any visitation. He perform'd all the offices of his function with becoming seriousness and gravity. He took great care and caution, to admit none but sufficient labourers into the Lord's harvest; and when admitted, to appoint them stipends adequate to their labour. He administred justice to all with an equal and impartial hand; being no respecter of persons, and making no difference between the poor and rich, but espousing all into the intimacy of his bosom, his care, his affibility, his provision, and his prayers (15).

(15) Preface, &c. p. xliv, xlv.

[K] *We shall give the rest of his character in the note.*] So strict an observer was he of his *word*, that no consideration whatever could make him break it; and so inviolable in his *friendship*, that without the discovery of some essential fault indeed, he never departed from it. A great point of conscience it was with him, how he made *promises* for fear of creating fruitless expectances: but when, upon proper considerations, he was induced to do it, he always thought himself bound to employ his utmost interest to have the thing effected; and till a convenient opportunity should present itself, was not unmindful to support the petitioner (if in mean circumstances) at his own expence: for *charity* indeed was the predominant quality of his soul (16). —— Both as a Bishop and Peer of the realm, he consider'd himself as responsible for the souls committed to his charge in one respect, and as intrusted with the lives and fortunes of his fellow subjects, in the other. If in some parliamentary debates (wherein he made a very considerable figure) he happen'd to dissent from other great men, who might have the same common good in view, but seem'd to pursue it in a method incongruous to his sentiments; this ought to be accounted his honour, and a proof of his integrity, but cannot, with any colour of justice, be deem'd party-prejudice, or a spirit of contradiction in him; because those very men, whom he sometimes oppos'd, at other times he join'd himself to, whenever he perceiv'd them in the right. The truth is, all parties he disclaim'd. His opinion was, that whoever enters the Senate-house, should alway carry his conscience along with him; that the honour of God, the renown of his prince, and the good of his fellow-subjects should be, as it were, the Pole-star to guide him; that no multitude, though never so numerous; no faction, though never so powerful; no arguments, though never so specious; no threats, though never so frightful; no offers, though never so advantageous and alluring, should blind his eyes, or pervert him to give any the least vote, not directly answerable to the sentiments of his own breast (17).

(16) Ib. p. xxxviii, xxxix.

(17) Ibid. p. xlii, xliii, xliv.

DEE (JOHN) a perſon famous in the XVIth century for his extenſive learning, more eſpecially in the Mathematical Sciences; but withal extreamly credulous, extravagantly vain, and a moſt deluded enthuſiaſt. He was deſcended from an ancient family of that name in Radnorſhire (*a*): his father's name was Rowland Dee, a perſon in good circumſtances, and, as Mr Wood tells us, a Vintner in London (*b*). He was born July 13th, 1527 (*c*), at London, and, after ſome time ſpent at ſchool there, and at Chelmſford in Eſſex, he was, in the year 1542, ſent to St John's College at Cambridge, where he applied himſelf, as he aſſures us, with wonderful diligence to his ſtudies (*d*) [*A*]. In the month of May 1547, he went into the Low-Countries, on purpoſe to converſe with Gemma Friſius, Gerardus Mercator, Gaſpar à Mirica, Antonius Gogava, *&c*; and, either at the cloſe of that year, or the beginning of the next, returned to Cambridge (*e*), where, upon the erecting Trinity College by King Henry the VIIIth, he was choſen one of the Fellows (*f*), and entered the new College with great applauſe; which fair reputation he held not long [*B*]. In 1548 he had the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*); but, being poſſeſſed with a roving diſpoſition, diſturbed with the injurious reports that were ſpread of him, or deſirous of making the Mathematical Knowledge he had acquired, by indefatigable diligence, more conſpicuous, he again left England, the ſame year, and went to the Univerſity of Louvain, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf extreamly, ſo that he was viſited by the Duke of Mantua, by Don Lewis de la Cerda, afterwards Duke of Medina, Cœli, and other perſons of great rank (*h*). While he remained there, Sir William Pickering was his pupil (*i*); and in this Univerſity, it is probable, he had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him, though it does not certainly appear. July 15th, 1550, he went from thence to Paris, where, in the College of Rheims, he read lectures upon *Euclid's Elements*, with prodigious applauſe, and very great offers were made him in caſe he would have accepted a Profeſſorſhip in that Univerſity; which, however, he refuſed (*k*). In 1551 he returned into England, was well received by Sir John Cheke, introduced to Mr Secretary Cecil, and even to King Edward himſelf, from whom he firſt received a penſion of one hundred crowns a year, which was afterwards exchanged for a grant of the Rectory of Upton upon Severne, his Majeſty's preſentation to which he received May 9th, 1553 (*l*). In the next reign he was, for ſome time, very kindly treated,

(*a*) Vita Joannis Dee, Mathematici Angli, Thom. Smitho ſcriptore, p. 43.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142.

(*c*) Compendious Rehearſall of John Dee, *&c.* chap. i.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142. Compendious Rehearſall, ch. i.

(*e*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 4.

(*f*) Compendious Rehearſall, ch. i.

(*g*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 5.

(*h*) Compendious Rehearſall, ch. ii.

(*i*) The ſame who was afterwards ſo great a favourite with Queen Elizabeth.

(*k*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 7.

(*l*) Compend Rehearſall, ch. iii.

[*A*] *With wonderful diligence to his ſtudies*] We have the life of this extraordinary-perſon written in ſeveral languages and by various hands, which ſhews, that, notwithſtanding all his errors and follies, it was thought a point of conſequence, not to our own only, but to the literary hiſtory of all Europe, that a juſt account of his life and labours ſhould be preſerved (1). This may apologize for the pains taken in this article, which we dare aſſure the reader, is both fuller and more correct than any thing that has been yet publiſhed concerning him; but, at the ſame time we muſt readily acknowledge, that the greateſt part of it is founded on that excellent Latin life of this author, publiſhed by Dr Thomas Smith, compared, however, throughout with many other writers of our own and other nations, and with Mr Dee's own writings. He appears from them, as from every thing elſe that relates to him, to have been a man vain and conceited in the higheſt degree, of which it will be judged no ſmall proof, that he drew and exhibited to his friends an ample ſcheme of his pedigree, which he pretended to deduce from Roderick the Great, Prince of Wales. Anthony Wood ſays, that his father Rowland Dee was a Vintner, as is mentioned in the text. Dr Smith, who was much better informed, contents himſelf with obſerving, and that, perhaps, from conjecture only, this Rowland Dee was a man in good circumſtances; but we are elſewhere told, which is probably the truth, that his father was a menial ſervant to King Henry VIII, that ſome way or other he had been indifferently treated at Court, which recommended his family in a peculiar manner to the deſcendants of this Monarch (2). A very learned perſon, who was acquainted with our author's perſon and family, tells us, that he was deſcended from the Dees of Nanty Groes, and that the name was originally written Du, which in the Britiſh language ſignifies black (3). It appears from ſome of our author's correſpondencies, that he was ſometimes ſtiled by others, and perhaps wrote himſelf, Dey inſtead of Dee. As to the life he led at Cambridge, take it in his own words (4): '*Anno* 1542, I was ſent 'by my father Rowland Dee to the univerſitie of 'Cambridge, there to begin with Logick, and ſo to 'proceed in the learning of good arts and ſciences, 'for I had before been meetly well furniſhed with un-'derſtanding of the Latin tongue, I being then ſome-'what above fifteen years old. In the years 1543, '1544, 1545, I was ſo vehemently bent to ſtudie, 'that for thoſe years I did inviolably keep this order, 'only to ſleep four hours every night; to allow to 'meat and drink, and ſome refreſhing after, two hours 'every day; and of the other eighteen hours, all, 'except the time of going to, and being at, the divine 'ſervice, was ſpent in my ſtudies and learning.'

(1) Vita Joannis Dee, Mathematici Angli, Scriptore Thoma Smitho, S. T. D. Niceron Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. I. p. 345. Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, p. 310. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142. Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 478.

(2) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 353.

(3) Jo. Dav. Rheſus in Cambro Britannicæ Linguæ inſtitutionibus, &c. Lond. 1592. fo. p. 60.

(4) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. i.

[*B*] *Which fair reputation he held not long.*] He brought over with him from the Low Countries ſeveral mathematical inſtruments, made by the direction of Gemma Friſius, together with a pair of great globes made by Gerard Mercator, with other things of conſiderable value; of all which he not only freely granted the uſe to his fellow ſtudents, but made a preſent of them to his college at his departure (5). However, his aſſiduity in making aſtronomical obſervations, which, in thoſe days, were always underſtood as connected with the deſire of penetrating into futurity, brought ſome ſuſpicion upon him, which was ſo far increaſed by a very ſingular accident that befel him, as to draw the imputation of a Conjurer, which he could never ſhake off in the ſpace of threeſcore years after. As to this accident it happened ſoon after his removal from St John's, and being choſen one of the Fellows of Trinity, and he relates it thus (6): 'I was out of St John's 'college, choſen to be one of the Fellows of Trinity-'college, at the firſt erection thereof by King Hen-'ry VIII. I was alſo aſſigned there to be the Under 'Reader of the Greek tongue, Mr Pember being the 'Chief Greek Reader then in Trinity-college. Here-'upon, I did ſet forth, and it was ſeen of the univer-'ſity, a Greek Comedy of Ariſtophanes, named in 'Greek Εἰρήνη, in Latin *Pax*, with the performance 'of the Scarabœus, or beetle, his flying up to Jupiter's 'palace with a man and his baſket of victuals on her 'back, whereat was great wondering, and many vain 'reports ſpread abroad, of the means how that was 'effected.'——He adds—— 'In that college alſo by 'my advice and my endeavours divers ways uſed with 'all the other colleges, was their Chriſtmas Magiſtrate, 'firſt named and confirmed an Emperor. The firſt 'was one Mr Thomas Dun, a very goodly man of 'perſon, ſtature, and complexion, and well learned 'alſo. They which yet live, and were hearers and 'beholders then, can teſtify more than is meet here to 'be written of theſe my boyiſh attempts, and exploits 'ſcholaſtical.'

(5) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 4.

(6) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. i.

ed, as having, in his youth, been fellow ſtudent with ſome of Queen Mary's principal Miniſters; but, however, it was not long that he continued in this ſituation, a charge being brought againſt him, of a very high nature, upon which he was committed to ſafe (m) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 8. cuſtody, and in very great danger of his life (*m*) [*C*]. At length, however, through the juſtice and clemency of King Philip and Queen Mary, he obtained his liberty, and thought his credit ſo little impeached by what had happened, that, the very next year, he (n) See this Memorial in note [*D*]. preſented a memorial to Queen Mary, for preſerving ancient writings and monuments (*n*), and for recovering ſuch as were in danger of periſhing; which, aſſuredly, was a very good deſign, and would have been attended with conſequences very favourable to literature, if it had taken effect. By what accident it was hindered we have not any account; yet, that Mr Dee was a perſon well qualified to execute what he propoſed, and ſupported his requeſt by very weighty and rational arguments, the reader may perceive by his Memorial, which is inſerted in the notes [*D*]. Upon the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, at the deſire

[*C*] *And in very great danger of his life.*] At the very entrance of Queen Mary's reign, Mr Dee entered into ſome correſpondence with ſeveral of the Lady Elizabeth's principal ſervants, while ſhe was at Woodſtock and at Milton, which being obſerved, and the nature of his correſpondence not known, two informers, whoſe names were Ferrys and Prideaux, charged him with practiſing againſt the Queen's life by inchantments, upon which he was ſeized at Hampton-Court, while his lodgings in London were ſearched and ſealed, and, after being ſome time in confinement, he was examined upon four articles by Sir John Bourne, then Secretary of State; afterwards upon eighteen more, before the Privy-Council; next he was transferred to London, and underwent an examination before the Lord Chief-Juſtice Brooke of the Common-Pleas, which did not prevent his being brought into the Star-Chamber, where, after a trial, being diſcharged of all ſuſpicion of treaſon, he was turned over to Biſhop Bonner, to ſee if he could find any hereſy in him. In the Biſhop of London's priſon he was bedfellow to Barthlet Green who was burned for his firm adherence to the Proteſtant faith; as to Mr Dee, his religious notions did not lead him to burning, ſo that after this tedious perſecution, Auguſt 19, 1555, he was, by an order of Council, reſtored to his liberty; entering into a recognizance, however, to appear the firſt and laſt days (7) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 8. in the enſuing term, and for his good behaviour (7).

[*D*] *By his memorial, which is inſerted in the notes.*] The reaſons which may juſtify our inſerting the following paper are mentioned in the text, to which we will add here, that, if our author may be relied upon, that famous treatiſe of Cicero, the loſs of which is ſo much regretted by the learned world, was once extant in this kingdom, which is a fact not generally known. In this our author Dee followed the example of the celebrated John Leland, who was very zealous and active for the ſame purpoſe; neither is poſterity barely indebted to them for their good intentions, but owes them likewiſe much in their private capacities, for preſerving many valuable manuſcripts, that have come down even to our time. But to return to the point.

A ſupplication to Queen Mary by John Dee, for the recovery and preſervation of antient writers and monuments. Dated the fifteenth of January, 1556 (8).

(8) In the Cotton Library, Vitellius, c. vii.

To the Queen's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaining, beſeecheth your Highneſs, your faithful and loving ſubject John Dee, Gent. to have in remembrance how, that among the exceeding many moſt lamentable diſpleaſures that have of late happened unto this realm, through the ſubverting of religious houſes, and the diſſolution of other aſſemblies of godly and learned men, it hath been, and for ever, among all learned ſtudents, ſhall be, judged not for the leaſt calamity, the ſpoil and deſtruction of ſo many and ſo notable libraries, wherein lay the treaſure of all antiquity, and the everlaſting ſeeds of continual excellency, within this your Grace's realm. But albeit that in thoſe days, many a precious jewel, and antient monument, did utterly periſh, as at Canterbury did that wonderful work of the ſage and eloquent Cicero, *de Republica*; and in many other places the like: yet if in time great and ſpeedy diligence be ſhewed, the remanents of ſuch incredible ſtore, as well of writers theological, as in all other liberal ſciences, might be ſaved and recovered, which now, in your Grace's realm, being diſperſed and ſcattered, yea, and many of them, in the unlearned men's hands, do ſtill yet in this time of reconciliation daily periſh, and perchance of purpoſe by ſome envious perſon encloſed in walls, or buried in the ground, to the great injury of the famous and worthy authors, and the pitiful hindrance of the learned in this your Highneſs's realm, whoſe travailes, watchings, and pains, might greatly be relieved and eaſed, for that ſuch doubts and points of learning as much cumber and vex their heads, are moſt pithily, in ſuch old monuments, debated and diſcuſſed. Therefore your ſaid ſuppliant maketh moſt humble petition unto your Majeſty, that it might ſtand with your good will and pleaſure, ſuch order and means to take place, as your ſaid ſuppliant hath deviſed, for the recovery and continual preſervation of all ſuch worthy monuments as are yet extant, either in this your Grace's realm of England, or elſewhere in the moſt part of all Chriſtendome. Whereby your Highneſs ſhall have a moſt notable library, learning wonderfully be advanced, the paſſing excellent works of our fore-fathers from rot and worms preſerved, and alſo hereafter, continually, the whole realm may, through your Grace's goodneſs, uſe and enjoy the whole incomparable treaſure ſo preſerved, where now no one ſtudent, no, nor any one college, hath half a dozen of thoſe excellent jewels, but the whole ſtock and ſtore thereof drawing nigh to utter deſtruction and extinguiſhing, will here and there, by private men's negligence, and ſometimes malice, many a famous and excellent author's book is rent, burnt, or ſuffered to rot and decay. And your ſaid ſuppliant is ſo much the more willing to move this ſuit unto your Highneſs, for that by his ſaid device, your Grace's ſaid library might, in very few years, moſt plentifully be furniſhed, and that without any one penny charge unto your Majeſty, or doing injury to any creature. Finally, in the erecting of this your Library Royal, your Grace ſhall follow the footſteps of all the famous and godly Princes of old time, and alſo do like the worthy Governors of Chriſtendom at theſe days, but far ſurmounting them all, both in the ſtore of rare monuments, and likewiſe in the incredible fruit, which of this your Highneſs's act, will follow e'er it be long. The merit whereof ſhall redound to your Majeſty's honourable and everlaſting fame here on earth, and undoubtedly in Heaven be highly rewarded, as knoweth God. Whom your ſaid ſuppliant moſt heartily beſeecheth, long to preſerve your Grace in all proſperity. Amen.

Imprimis, The Queen's Majeſty's commiſſion to be granted for the ſeeing and peruſing of all places within this her Grace's realm, where any notable or excellent monument may be found, or is known to be. And the ſaid monument, or monuments, ſo found and had by the ſaid Commiſſioner, then of the former poſſeſſor in the Queen's Majeſty's name to be borrowed, and ſo, nevertheleſs, to be reſtorable to the ſaid former poſſeſſor, after ſuch convenient time, wherein of every ſuch monument, one fair copy may be written, if the ſaid former poſſeſſor be diſpoſed to have his ſaid monument or monuments again; and thereupon, either he, or his aſſigns, do, at the ſaid library, the place whereof is by the Queen's Grace to be appointed, demand the ſaid monument or monuments by bill aſſigned with the hand of the ſaid Commiſſioner, wherein both the name or names of the ſaid monument or monuments, is, or are, particularly expreſſed; and alſo the convenient time for the ſaid reſtitution preſcribed.

That

deſire of Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leiceſter, he delivered ſomewhat upon the principles of the ancient Aſtrologers, about the election of a fit day for the coronation of the Queen (*o*); and, as ſtrange and ridiculous as this may ſeem in our times, yet it is very certain, that, by theſe notions, he recommended himſelf to the potent favourite before-mentioned, and to ſeveral others of the Nobility, nay, and to the Queen herſelf, in ſuch a degree, that ſhe promiſed to be kinder to him than her brother King Edward had been, and actually afforded him ſome very extraordinary marks of her notice and favour [*E*]. He was, by this time, become an author; but, as the learned author of his life very well obſerves, a little unluckily, for his books were ſuch as ſcarce any pretended to underſtand; and though he tells us himſelf, that Queen Elizabeth condeſcended to be his ſcholar (*p*), and to receive his inſtructions, as to the concealed ſenſe of them, yet it does not appear that ſhe reaped any great benefit from this aſſiduity. As his talent lay, in a great meaſure, in treating myſterious ſubjects in ſo obſcure a manner, that his words ſeem ſcarce to convey any meaning, ſo the rewards that were beſtowed upon him proved of the like nature, the Queen making him a promiſe of the Deanery of Glouceſter, which was, notwithſtanding, conferred upon Mr Man, when he was ſent Ambaſſador to Spain; and other gifts, of the like kind, to Mr Dee proved of no ſervice to him, though it is likely that, from time to time, he had preſents made him in ready money (*q*). In the ſpring of the year 1564, he went abroad again, to preſent the book which he dedicated to the then Emperor Maximilian, and returned into England in the ſummer (*r*); in the courſe of which journey he was ſo ſerviceable to the Marchioneſs of Northampton, that ſhe remained his conſtant patroneſs ever after. In 1568, by the advice, as he ſays, of Secretary Cecil, he engaged the Earl of Pembroke to preſent the Queen with his *Propædumata Aphoriſtica* (*s*), which was graciouſly received; and, on his preſenting one to the Earl himſelf, he gave him twenty pounds (*t*). In 1570 Sir Henry Billingſley's tranſlation of Euclid appeared, with our author's preface before it, and enriched throughout with his notes, which did him much more honour than all his other performances, as they furniſhed inconteſtible proofs of a more than ordinary ſkill in the Mathematicks (*u*). In 1571 we find him in Lorrain, where falling grievouſly ſick, and in great danger of death, the Queen was graciouſly pleaſed to ſend him two Phyſicians, and to afford him other marks of royal beneficence (*w*). After his return to England, he ſettled himſelf in his houſe at Mortlake, where he continued to proſecute his ſtudies with extraordinary diligence; and with great induſtry, and, at a large expence, collected a noble library, conſiſting of the moſt curious books in all ſciences, and a very numerous and valuable collection of manuſcripts, moſt of which were afterwards diſperſed and loſt (*x*) [*F*]. In 1572 the appearance

(*o*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. v.

(*p*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 11.

(*q*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*r*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 12.

(*s*) See the catalogue in note [*P*]. No. 1.

(*t*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*u*) See the catalogue, No. v, vi.

(*w*) Comp. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*x*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

That it may be referred to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the next Synod, to conclude an order for the allowance of all neceſſary charges, as well toward the riding and journeying for the recovery of the ſaid worthy monuments, as alſo for the copying out of the ſame, and framing of neceſſary ſtalls, deſks, and preſſes, meet for the preſervation and uſe of the ſaid monuments, in the Queen's Majeſty's library aforeſaid.

That the ſaid commiſſion be with ſpeed diſpatched, for three cauſes eſpecially: Firſt, leſt after this motion made, the ſpreading of it abroad might cauſe many of them to hide, and convey their good and antient writers, which, nevertheleſs, were very ungodly done, and a certain token that ſuch are not ſincere lovers of good learning. Secondly, that by the travel of theſe three months, February, March, and April next, going before the Synod in May next appointed, the ſaid Synod may have good proof, whereby to conjecture how this matter will take ſucceſs. And thirdly, upon the ſaid trial of three months, the proportion of the charges in riding and writing, may the better be weighed what they will in manner amount unto.

A meet place to be forthwith appointed for the ſaid monuments to be ſent unto, until the ſaid library may be made apt in all points neceſſary; and that, in this ſaid place, before, or at, the ſaid Synod time, the ſaid monuments may be viewed and peruſed, according to the pleaſure of my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the ſaid next Synod.

Finally, that by farther device of your ſaid ſuppliant John Dee, God granting him his life and health, all the famous and worthy monuments that are in the notableſt libraries beyond the ſea, (as in the Vatican at Rome, S. Marci at Venice, and the like at Bononia, Florence, Vienna, &c.) ſhall be procured unto the ſaid library of our Sovereign Lady and Queen, the charges thereof, beſide the journeying, to ſtand in the copying of them out and the carriage into this realm only. And as concerning all other authors printed, that they likewiſe ſhall be gotten, in wonderful abundance, their carriage only into this realm to be chargeable.

[*E*] *Some very extraordinary marks of her notice and favour.*] That account which our author has given us of his own life, very juſtly claims entire credit, for reaſons that will appear hereafter. In this he affirms, that William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Robert Dudley, carried him to Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall before her coronation, when ſhe took him to her ſervice, and promiſed that where her brother had given him a crown ſhe would give him a noble. Her Majeſty alſo gave directions to Dr Matthew Parker Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to grant Mr Dee a diſpenſation for enjoying the rectories of Upton and Long Lednam for ten years, as well as any other that he ſhould obtain within that term. The Queen alſo promiſed him the Maſterſhip of St Catherine's, upon the removal or death of Dr Mallet who was then poſſeſſed of it, notwithſtanding which, however, it was afterwards given to Dr Wilſon. One may from hence collect, that he had frequent employment given him, upon which theſe pretenſions were founded, but that, notwithſtanding, his credit at Court was not ſufficient to overcome the publick odium he lay under, and which was the true cauſe of his miſſing theſe and other greater preferments (9).

(9) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

[*F*] *Moſt of which were afterwards diſperſed and loſt.*] This library of his conſiſted of four thouſand books, of which above a fourth part were manuſcripts, he had ſpent near forty years in collecting them, and they had been valued by thoſe who were good judges at two thouſand pounds (10). Amongſt his inſtruments there was a quadrant made by the famous Richard Chancellor, of five foot ſemidiameter; two globes of Mercator's, a loadſtone of great value, a very curious clock, a great collection of original Iriſh records, the like collection of Welſh records, grants, donations, and pedigrees; a box full of ſeals, and other curioſities of the ſame kind. A great part of theſe he ſays he took out of the corner of a church, where many of them

(10) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 17. Compendious Rehearſall, ch. vii.

appearance of a new ſtar, occaſioned, according to the humour of that age, many ſtrange, and ſome very ſuperſtitious ſpeculations, the true principles of Aſtronomy being but indifferently underſtood; we need not wonder, when ſo fair an opportunity offered, our author ſhould make a diſplay of his abilities among the reſt (*y*); but it certainly deſerves to be remembered to his honour, that the learned Camden, taking notice, in his hiſtory, of this phænomenon, was pleaſed, at the ſame time, to ſpeak of Mr Dee with great reſpect (*z*) [*G*]. On the 16th of March, 1575, the Queen, attended by many of her Nobility, went to Mr Dee's houſe, in order to have ſeen his library, but being informed, that his wife had been buried but a few hours before, ſhe declined going into the houſe, yet deſired him, however, to bring out a glaſs, but of what kind we find no where expreſſed, which had occaſioned much diſcourſe; which he accordingly did; ſhewed her the properties of it, and explained to her Majeſty their cauſes, in order to wipe off the aſperſion under which he had ſo long laboured, of being a Magician (*a*). In 1577 a comet appeared, which ſtruck weak minds with great apprehenſions, and made way for many wild and groundleſs predictions, which met with much more notice than they deſerved. Upon this occaſion Queen Elizabeth ſent for Mr Dee to Windſor, where, for three days together, according as ſhe had leiſure, ſhe heard his diſcourſes upon that ſubject (*b*). He made many obſervations of this comet, and intended to have publiſhed the reſult of them, but his papers are loſt, and Dr Smith very truly obſerves, that Aſtronomy will not much ſuffer by their miſcarriage (*c*), for, with all his learning, he was certainly one of the moſt ſuperſtitious and credulous men that age produced. The Queen, however, was ſo well pleaſed with the pains he took upon this occaſion, that ſhe gave him her promiſe he ſhould not be interrupted in his lucubrations, and that, notwithſtanding the vulgar reports to his prejudice, he might depend upon her royal protection in the proſecution of his ſtudies (*d*). In the ſucceeding year her Majeſty, being greatly indiſpoſed, he was ſent abroad to confer with the German Phyſicians, and upon this, and other occaſions, received, as he has left inconteſtible evidence to prove, ſome very memorable tokens of the Queen's affording countenance to his endeavours; though certainly they were none of the wiſeſt, and could be excuſed only by the honeſty of his intention (*e*) [*H*]. In reſpect to

(*y*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 5, 6.

(*z*) Annal. Eliz. p. 272.

(*a*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*b*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 18.

(*c*) This comet was obſerved by Tycho Brahe very exactly.

(*d*) Comp. Rehearſall, ch. v.

(*e*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 13.

them had been ſpoiled and rotted, by the falling of the rain continually upon them through the decayed roof. He does not tell us what church this was, but I have reaſon to believe that it was Wigmore chapel, becauſe I find that he applied himſelf to Sir William Cecil afterwards Lord Burleigh, for an order to Mr Harley, Keeper of the Records in that chapel, to be allowed the liberty of examining and tranſcribing them (11). He had likewiſe a large chemical laboratory, the materials of which coſt him upwards of two hundred pounds. It was upon his leaving the kingdom in 1583, as is afterwards related in the text, that the populace, who always believed him to be a conjurer, and one who dealt with the devil, broke into his houſe at Mortlake, where they tore and deſtroyed many things, and diſperſed the reſt, part of which, with great difficulty, and by the help of publick authority, he recover'd, but the reſt were totally loſt, at leaſt to him. We may judge from the expence he was at in making and procuring this collection, that he obtained occaſionally, very conſiderable bounties from the Queen, or from her Miniſters, ſince it does not appear that any great fortune was left him by his father, and he was beſides, as might be very eaſily proved, a very expenſive man (12).

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 354.

(12) Hooke's Poſthumous Works, p. 206.

[*G*] *Was pleaſed at the ſame time to ſpeak of Mr Dee with great reſpect.*] This paſſage in Camden, being both ſingular and ſhort, the reader will perhaps be pleaſed to ſee, as it gives us ſome light into our author's notions as an aſtronomer (13). 'I know not whether 'it be worth while, ſays he, to mention that which all 'Hiſtoriographers of our time have recorded, viz. 'That in November, a new Star appeared in Caſſiopea's Chair, which, as myſelf obſerved, in brightneſs 'exceeded Jupiter in the perigee of his excentrick 'and epicycle. It continued in the ſame place 'full ſixteen months, being carried about with the diurnal motion of the Heaven. Thomas Diggs and 'John Dee, two famous mathematicians amongſt us, 'have learnedly proved by the doctrine of parallaxes, 'that it was in the celeſtial, not in the elementary region, and were of opinion, that it diſappeared by a 'little and little, by aſcending. 'Tis certain, that after eight months, all men perceived it to grow leſs 'and leſs. Theodore Beza, wittily applied it to the 'ſtar which appeared at the birth of Chriſt, and the 'ſlaughter of the infants under Herod, and admoniſhed 'Charles IX, King of France, who had acknowledged 'himſelf author of the maſſacre of Paris, to beware in 'this verſe,

'Tu vero, Herodes ſanguinolente, time.

'Nor was he out in his conjecture. For in the 5th 'month after the diſappearing of this ſtar, after long 'and horrible pains, he died of exceſſive bleeding.'

(13) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 272.

[*H*] *By the honeſty of his intention.*] It is certain, that, according as the manners and cuſtoms vary in ſeveral ages, people are apt to change their notions of things which muſt be an excuſe for our venturing to cenſure that ſingular reſpect which was paid to our author by Queen Elizabeth, and the principal perſons of her court. To juſtify theſe cenſures, we muſt have recourſe to his own pen, where ſpeaking, or rather writing, of what he did in the year 1577, and the next year, he delivers himſelf thus (14). 'My careful and faithful 'endeavour was with great ſpeed required, as by di'vers meſſages ſent to me one after another in one 'morning, to prevent the miſchief which divers of her 'Majeſty's Privy-Council ſuſpected to be intended a'gainſt her Majeſty's perſon, by means of a certain 'image of wax, with a great pin ſtuck into it, about 'the breaſt of it, found in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, &c. 'wherein I did ſatisfie her Majeſty's deſire, and the 'Lords of the honourable Privy-Council within few 'hours, in godly and artificial manner, as the honour'able Mr Secretary Wilſon, whom at the leaſt I re'quired to have by me a witneſs of the proceedings, 'which his Honour, before me, declared to her Ma'jeſty, then ſitting without the Privy Park, by the 'landing place at Richmond, the honourable Earl of 'Leiceſter being alſo by.

(14) Compendious Rchearſall, ch. v.

'My dutiful ſervice was done in the diligent confe'rence, which, by her Majeſty's commandment, I had 'with Mr Dr Bayley, her Majeſty's phyſician, about 'her Majeſty's grievous pangs and pains, by reaſon of 'tooth-ake, and the rheume, &c. A. 1578, October.

'My very painful and winter journey, about a thou'ſand five hundred miles by ſea and land, was under'taken and performed, to conſult with the learned 'phyſicians and philoſophers beyond the ſeas, for her 'Majeſty's health recovering and preſerving, having by 'the Right Honourable Earl of Leiceſter, and Mr Se'cretary Walſingham, but one hundred days allowed 'unto me to go and come again in, A. 1578. My 'paſſport may ſomewhat give evidence, and the jour'nal

to this, the Queen must have been very thoroughly satisfied; and, as she was a very wise Princess, and could judge perfectly of the dispositions of men, she knew how to dispose them to her service, of what kind soever they were; and of this it may be, that few better instances can be given than in our author, whose parts, learning, and application were equally extraordinary, and might have performed great things, if under the direction of a sound and solid judgment. This, certainly, the Queen sometimes laboured to supply; for September 17th, 1580, as she came from Richmond to London in her coach, she took Mortlake in the way, and seeing Mr Dee at his door, beckoned him to come to her, and, when he was at her coach-side, pulled off her glove, gave him her hand to kiss, desired him to come oftener to Court, and to let her know, by some of her Privy-Chamber, that he was there (*f*). At this time it is highly probable that she gave him a hint, of her desire to be thoroughly informed as to her title to countries discovered in different parts of the globe, by subjects of England, or persons employed in the service of any of her predecessors; to which the indefatigable Mr Dee applied himself with such vigour, that, on the 3d of October following, he presented to the Queen, in her garden at Richmond, two large rolls, in which those countries were geographically described, and historically explained; with the addition of all the testimonies and authorities necessary to support them from records, and other authentick vouchers; these the Queen very graciously received, and, after dinner, the same day, conferred with Mr Dee about them in the presence of some of her Privy-Council, and of the Lord Treasurer especially (*g*). That wise man seemed not to have any high opinion of them, but the Queen directed him to peruse and examine them, which he did, and then returned them to Mr Dee, on the 10th of the same month, and the same day, about five in the afternoon, the Queen came to our author's house, called for him, and told him, that the Treasurer highly approved of the pains he had taken, and of what he had performed in this respect for her service (*h*). This work of his, for a copy of which, he assures us, he was offered one hundred pounds, but refused it, as a thing improper for him to grant, is still preserved in the Cotton Library (*i*). His next employment, of consequence enough to be remembered, was about the reformation of the Calendar, which, though it never took effect, yet was one of the best of his performances, did him the most credit with those who were the best judges (*k*), procured him the honour of many conversations with the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who not only vouchsafed to read his book very carefully, but also wrote his sentiments upon it to his son Sir Robert Cecil (*l*), who likewise made notes upon it; and, though it was never published, yet it has passed through the hands of several of our most eminent Mathematicians with singular approbation, considering the time in which it was composed [*I*]. We come now to that period of Mr Dee's life, by which

(*f*) Compendious Rehearsall, ch. iv.

(*g*) See the catalogue of his Works, No. 3. Vita Joannis Dee, p. 19.

(*h*) Compend. Rehearsall, ch. iv.

(*i*) Sub Augusto I.

(*k*) See this fully proved in note [*I*].

(*l*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 354, 355.

'nal little book of every day's journey or abode for 'those hundred days account may suffice.' It is not at all impossible, that Mr Dee might render other, and those too, more considerable services than any of these which he has mentioned, and which he might have his reasons for not inserting; such as are acquainted with Leicester's Common-Wealth, and other secret histories of those times, will easily allow this to be credible, and may perhaps form a shrewd guess at the nature of those services (15).

(15) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 31.

[*I*] *Considering the time in which it was composed.*] The reader will find the title of this, amongst the rest of the works of Mr Dee, in a subsequent note. It was addressed to the Lord Burleigh, but without any epistle dedicatory or apology whatever; at the end of it there was a petition to the Queen, that this reformation of his might receive the sanction of publick authority; to facilitate which, there is added a scheme of the year, 1583, as it would have stood, if, as our author flattered himself, his proposal had taken place (16). We know not by what means this learned treatise came into the hands of Mr Thomas Allen of Gloucester-Hall, but very probable it might be by gift, since Mr Dee was his particular friend, and both of them favourites with the Earl of Leicester. He disposed of it by will to Sir Kenelm Digby, who, notwithstanding he gave a large number of manuscripts to the Bodleian Library, kept this nevertheless in his own hands, till in the year 1635 he bestowed it upon Mr John Barber, from whom it was purchased by Elias Ashmole, Esq; and remains still amongst the manuscripts bestowed by him on the University of Oxford (17). At the time it was composed and presented to the Lord Treasurer, it was referred by the Privy-Council to the perusal and examination of three of the best Mathematicians in the kingdom; and their report, as it is a curiosity, the reader will perhaps be glad to see. It runs thus (18).

(16) See the Catalogue of his Works, No. 38.

(17) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 20.

(18) Smith's Manuscript Collections, Vol. XC. p. 139.

'It was agreed by Mr Digges, Mr Savile, and 'Mr Chambers, that upon their several perusal of 'the book written by Mr Dee, as a discourse upon 'the Reformation of the Vulgar Calendar for the 'Civil Year, that they do allow of his opinion; that 'whereas in the late Roman Calendar reformed, there 'are ten days cut off to reduce the Civil Year to the 'state it was established in at the Council of Nice; 'the better reformation had been to have cut off 'eleven days, and to have reduced the Civil Year ac'cording to the state it was in at the Birth of Christ. 'And so they all agree, that such a reformation had 'been more agreeable to the account of Christ. And 'so they do also assent, that having regard to the 'Council of Nice, the substraction of ten days is 'agreeable to truth: And therefore, the better to a'gree with all countries adjacent, that have received 'their reformation of substracting ten days only, they 'think it may be assented unto without any manifest 'error: Having regard to observe certain rules here'after, for omitting some leap-years in some hundred 'years. And for the substracting of ten days, Mr Dee 'has compiled a form of a calendar, beginning at 'May and ending at August, wherein every of these 'four Months, May, June, July, August, shall have 'in the ends of them some days taken away, without 'changing of any feast or holiday, movable or fixed, 'or without altering the courses of Trinity Term, that 'is to say, May to consist of twenty-eight days, tak'ing from it three days; June to have twenty-nine 'days, taking from it but one day; July to consist of 'twenty-eight days, taking from it three days; Au'gust to consist of twenty-eight days, taking from it 'three days; all which days substracted, make ten 'days. In the which four months, no festival day is 'changed, but remain upon the accustomed days of 'their months. And because the Roman Calendar 'hath joined to it a great company of rules, of which 'only are capable the skillful computists or astrono'mers, it is thought good to make a short table, like 'an Ephemerides, to continue the certainty of all the 'feasts

which he has been moſt known to the world, though for matters which have rendered him very juſtly leaſt to be regarded, inaſmuch as they ſhew, that he had not only a boundleſs curioſity, but likewiſe a depraved judgment. His ambition to ſurpaſs all men in knowledge carried him, at length, into a deſire of knowing beyond the bounds of human faculties, and, in order thereto, of having recourſe to methods equally contrary to the laws of God, and to the rules of right reaſon (*m*). In ſhort, he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded into a firm opinion, that, by certain invocations, an intercourſe or communication with ſpirits might be obtained, from whence he flattered himſelf he might gain great inſight into thoſe which are ſtiled occult ſciences, and which, in truth, are no ſciences at all. He found, very unluckily for him, a young man, who had dipped more deeply into the practice of theſe follies than himſelf, one Edward Kelley, a native of Worceſterſhire, and who readily undertook to be his inſtrument in theſe matters, for which he was to give him fifty pounds a year (*n*). December 2d, 1581, they began their incantations, in conſequence of which Edward Kelley was, by the inſpection of a certain table, conſecrated for that purpoſe, with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, enabled to acquaint Mr Dee with what the ſpirits thought fit to ſhew and diſcover; theſe conferences were continued for about two years, during which ſpace he ſeems to have totally deſerted his former ſtudies, and to have addicted himſelf entirely to theſe ſpecious and deluſive arts, to which, though ſome inſinuate that he was invited and encouraged by Edward Kelly, yet there ſeems to be no clear proof of this, but rather the contrary; for Mr Dee ſeems to have ſought out Kelley for his purpoſe, retained him long afterwards when he was deſirous of leaving him, and had recourſe to the ſame methods ſome years after Kelley and he were parted (*o*). The ſubjects of theſe converſations he committed to writing, and they are ſtill preſerved, though they were never publiſhed [*K*]. In the mean time there came over hither a Poliſh Lord, one Albert Laſki, Palatine of Siradia, a perſon diſtinguiſhed by his great parts and extenſive learning, no leſs than by his high birth, and the honourable ſtation he held in his own country. He was very kindly received, treated with the utmoſt reſpect, and, in a very extraordinary degree, careſſed by perſons of the firſt rank during his ſtay in England, and, amongſt the reſt, by Robert Earl of Leiceſter, the Queen's great favourite, and our author's chief patron (*p*). To contribute more effectually to this foreigner's ſatisfaction, that Earl ſent for Mr Dee to Court, July 31ſt, 1583, and

(*m*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 46.

(*n*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 479.

(*o*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 23. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*p*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 400.

'feaſts movable, depending only upon Eaſter, and 'agreeing with the Roman Calendar, which may 'ſerve for an hundred or two hundred years, and ſo 'eaſily renewed as we ſee yearly almanacks are, if the 'ſins of the world do not haſten a diſſolution.

'Whereupon her Majeſty may pleaſe upon report 'to commit it to conſideration of counſel, whether 'ſhe will have this reformation publiſhed, which if ſhe 'will, it were expedient that it were done by procla-'mation from her Majeſty, as thereunto adviſed and 'allowed by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, to whoſe 'office it has always belonged to determine and eſta-'bliſh the cauſes belonging to eccleſiaſtical govern-'ment. March 25, 1583.'

I intended to have added here the ſentiments of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh upon Mr Dee's project, which not only ſhew the great opinion that able ſtateſman had of our author's learning; but do alſo much honour to that Miniſter's memory, as they clearly demonſtrate how much attention he ſhewed to whatever came before him, and had any tendency to the publick benefit (19). But conſidering that this life has already ſwelled beyond the bounds which I deſigned it, I ſhall content myſelf with pointing out where the papers of Lord Burleigh, and of his ſon Sir Robert Cecil, may be ſtill found by the inquiſitive reader: I think myſelf however obliged to add, that whenever this matter has been in later times brought upon the carpet, we never fail of finding Mr Dee's opinion mentioned, and his treatiſe upon this ſubject conſulted. As for inſtance, when this matter was propoſed at Oxford in 1645, the celebrated Mr John Greaves, then the ableſt man in theſe matters, conſidered and commended what John Dee had written; and in 1699, when moſt people expected that ſomething of this kind would have been done, the very judicious Dr Wallis, though he was againſt any alteration, and actually hindred it, yet approved clearly of what our author had delivered (20). This abundantly ſhews that, with all his whims and weakneſſes, Mr Dee was a man of learning and ſenſe, and that there is no reaſon for burying his memory or his writings in oblivion. Yet as impartiality and truth ought ever to appear in collections of this kind, it is but juſt this note ſhould be concluded with an intimation that poſſibly Mr Dee himſelf might derive great aſſiſtance from a treatiſe written long before by the incomparable Roger Bacon (21) upon this ſubject.

(19) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 355.

(20) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 257. §. 4.

(21) Biographia Britan. Vol. I. p. 353.

[*K*] *Though they were never publiſhed.*] We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to mention the collections ſent abroad by the learned Meric Caſaubon, out of the Cottonian Library, which begin in the month of May 1583. At preſent we are to take notice of what are ſtill preſerved, though not publiſhed (22). Theſe conſiſt of the firſt five books of Dr Dee's tranſactions with ſpirits, all written with his own hand, with as much care and exactneſs as poſſible; they begin with what was performed upon the 22d of December 1581, and have an appendix, in which the hiſtory is continued to the 23d of May 1583; and as Caſaubon's book begins with the 28th of the ſame month, there is nothing more evident than that the entire hiſtory of what paſſed while Dee and Kelley were together, is yet in being. This firſt part was very near being burnt in the cheſt which contained it, in the great fire of London in 1666, but being preſerved by accident, and without any body's knowing what the contents of that cheſt were, the diſcovery of them, when they came to be opened, made ſo much noiſe, as reached the ears of Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; a great collector of curious Papers, and indeed of ſingularities of every kind. By him they were purchaſed, cleanſed, digeſted into their proper order, and, together with many more valuable monuments of the knowledge and induſtry of our anceſtors, are repoſited in his noble Muſeum (23). The reaſon of my being thus particular, in which however I follow the example of Dr Smith, is this; there has been, as the reader will be informed hereafter, a very ſtrong ſuſpicion (though, for my own part, I muſt confeſs I think there is little ground for it) that this regular hiſtory of Mr Dee's intercourſe with ſpirits is a mere mummery, that we are the dupes, not he, and that the whole ought to be conſidered as a journal of private intelligence, which he received and tranſmitted to the court of Queen Elizabeth, in the ſpace of between ſix and ſeven years, that he continued in thoſe parts. Now if any ingenious and inquiſitive perſon ſhould ever be able to make this out, or ſo much as probable, it would become a matter of great conſequence to know where the unprinted part of theſe tranſactions is, and to what period of time it extends, a due ſenſe of which gave occaſion to this note.

(22) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 23.

(23) In the 3d Vol. of Papers written by, and relating to, Mr Dee.

[*L*] *In*

and told him, that, in two days time, he would bring that Poliſh Lord to dine with him, which obliged Mr Dee to diſcloſe his circumſtances plainly to the Earl, importing no leſs than that, without ſelling his plate, he was not able to provide them with a dinner; which declaration procured him, that very day, upon the Queen's coming to Sion from Greenwich, a preſent of forty angels in gold (*q*). This foreigner being once introduced, became a conſtant viſitant to Mr Dee, and, having himſelf a byaſs to thoſe ſuperſtitious arts that, in thoſe times, were but in too much credit in almoſt all the Courts in Europe, he became wonderfully taken with the company of one whom he eſteemed to be ſo great a man, in poſſeſſion of ſuch high and valuable ſecrets, and who, as he perſwaded himſelf, had a conſtant communication with the Angels and ſpiritual Beings (*r*). After much intreaty, he was received, by Mr Dee, into their company, and into a participation of their ſecrets (*s*). But, within a ſhort ſpace of time, all their affairs running into great diſorder, the Palatine of Siradia propoſed that they ſhould accompany him, with their families, into his own country; to which, upon aſſurance of being provided for there, Mr Dee and Mr Kelley yielded; and accordingly, September the 21ſt, in the ſame year, they went all privately away from Mortlake, in order to embark for Holland (*t*) [*L*]. After running great hazards at ſea, they landed at the Brill, and from thence travelled by land through Germany into Poland, where, February 3d, 1584, they arrived at the principal caſtle belonging to Albert Laſki (*u*), whom, together with all his family, they miſerably abuſed with their fanatical pretences to a converſation with ſpirits; but, at length, wearied with theſe deluſions, the Palatine of Siradia found means to engage them to leave that country, to go and pay a viſit to the Emperor Rodolph the IId, at the city of Prague, the capital of his kingdom of Bohemia, which they accordingly did; and, in the month of Auguſt, the ſame year (*w*), by the recommendation of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, Mr Dee had an audience of that Prince, who was thought to ſpend too much of his time with Chymiſts, and ſuch ſort of people, and to allow them a greater meaſure of reſpect than they deſerved (*x*). It is no wonder therefore Rodolph was inclined to hear what a man, who had made ſo much noiſe over Europe, had to offer; the rather, as he pleaded the protection of his father the Emperor Maximilian, to whom he had dedicated one of his books (*y*); but Dee entered into ſuch a tedious diſplay of his own importance, and ſuch extravagant ſtories of the chryſtal that was brought him by an angel (*z*), that he was quickly diſguſted, and declined all farther interviews (*a*). Upon this Mr Dee, who had made a tour into Poland (*b*), and brought away his wife and family from thence, finding himſelf in deep diſtreſs, and not knowing how to ſubſiſt, applied himſelf to his old patron Albert Laſki (*c*), whom he prevailed upon to introduce him to Stephen King of Poland; which accordingly he did, April 17th, 1585, at Cracow (*d*). But that Prince, after hearing what he had to propoſe, detected his deluſions ſo clearly, that, deſpairing of making any great figure in that Court, he reſolved, in a few months, to return to Prague (*e*), his pride being ſuch, that he could not bear ſtaying long in a place, where thoſe honours were refuſed which, he had the vanity to think, were due even from the greateſt Potentates, to a perſon of his extraordinary merit. He did not remain long in that high credit he ſo much affected, on his return to the Emperor's Court; for the Pope's Nuncio interfering, and giving the Emperor to underſtand how ſcandalous it appeared to the Chriſtian world, that he ſhould entertain two ſuch notorious Magicians as Dee and Kelley, his Imperial Majeſty, at laſt, reſolved to baniſh them his dominions (*f*), which he accordingly did; but, notwithſtanding this, William Count of Roſenbergh, a young Nobleman, who had great power, and a vaſt eſtate in Bohemia, one of their pupils, gave them ſhelter in the caſtle of Trebona (*g*), which belonged to him, and where they not only remained in ſafety, but lived in ſplendour, Kelley having, in his poſſeſſion, (as is reported) that philoſophical

(*q*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*s*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 20, 22, 25.

(*t*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 481, from Mr Dee's Diary. Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 33.

(*u*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 27.

(*w*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*x*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 28, 29.

(*y*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 230, 231.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*a*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 30. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*b*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 31.

(*c*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 379.

(*d*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 33.

(*e*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 403, 408.

(*f*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 35, 36.

(*g*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 444.

[*L*] *In order to embark for Holland.*] In this note I ſhall endeavour to give ſome particulars, as to the ſtate and condition of the ſeveral perſons in this company, as being very neceſſary for the better apprehending the facts ſtated in the text. Albert Laſki was a learned man, middle aged, well ſhaped, of a graceful appearance, and who wore a very long beard; he had been received with all imaginable reſpect here in England, feaſted and careſſed by the Univerſity of Oxford, but after ſtaying about four months in this kingdom, he privately withdrew, ſays the hiſtorian, being got deeply into debt (24). It is not at all improbable, that he might have been drawn into theſe bad circumſtances through his acquaintance with Dee and his family, for, as we have ſeen, they were in extream want when this Poliſh gentleman arrived. That they flattered him in a high degree is very apparent, ſince it is owned that they promiſed him the kingdom of Poland, with the addition of Moldavia, and deviſed a pedigree for him, as if he had deſcended from the noble Houſe of Lacy, allied, by their intermarriages with the Mortimers, to the Blood-royal of England (25). As for John Dee he was now in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and on the 5th of February, 1578, had married Jane Fromond, his ſecond wife, who had formerly lived in the family of the Lady Howard, wife to the Lord High-Admiral, his ſon Arthur was then in the fourth year of his age, and beſides he had two or three other children (26). Edward Kelley was in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and had lately married a wife, by whom he had no children. They went in boats down to Graveſend, where they embarked on board a Daniſh ſhip bound for Holland, their houſhold-ſtuff and effects being on board another ſhip; but meeting with very tempeſtuous weather, they were obliged to go on ſhore again at Queenborough in Kent, and in their paſſage from the ſhip, were in the utmoſt danger of periſhing. On the 3d of October, they ſet out from the Brill for Rotterdam, on the 17th of the ſame month they came to Emden, and on the 26th to Bremen, where they ſtaid for ſome time; on the 7th of November they came to Lubeck, and on the 14th of December to Roſtoch, from thence on Chriſtmas-day to Stetin in Pomerania, and on the 3d of February 1584, to the town of Laſki (27).

(24) Camden. Annal. p. 400.

(25) See the beginning of the relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, publiſhed by Dr Caſaubon.

(26) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 22, 26.

(27) Theſe dates are collected from Dee's own Diary.

[*M*] *Not*

philoſophical powder of projection, by which they were furniſhed with money, not competently only but profuſely (*b*) [*M*]. While they were in this ſituation, Mr Dee was ſtill very earneſt in the proſecution of their commerce with ſpirits, notwithſtanding that Kelley, from time to time, expreſſed great reluctancy, gave him frequently to underſtand, that he was in a miſerable ſtate of deluſion, and that thoſe which he took for angels were evil ſpirits, and from the profligate actions, and ſcandalous impurities, which, by their ſuggeſtions, (if the whole are not downright romances) they were drawn into manifeſtly appeared (*i*). But Kelley, in the mean time, made frequent journies to different places, once into Poland, and often elſewhere, to confer with the moſt famous Chymiſts, of which there were many at that time in Germany; and from them it is thought he learned many things about the powder (*k*) which they brought out of England, that he did not communicate to his friend Mr Dee. This ſeems to be certain, that there were great quarrels and diſputes between them, and ſuch jealouſies and heart-burnings in their families, as brought on, at length, an abſolute rupture; but, in this tranſaction, Kelley ſeemed to have acted a much wiſer part than his companion, ſince it appears, from an entry in Mr Dee's Diary, that he was ſo far intimidated, as to deliver up to Kelley, January 4th, 1589, the powder, the books, the glaſs, with ſome other things; and thereupon received his diſcharge in writing, under his hand and ſeal (*l*). This tranſaction, of which no footſteps remain but what is contained in the entry before-mentioned, there is good reaſon to believe, proved the foundation of Kelley's future fortunes, and the ſource of Dee's ſubſequent miſeries (*m*). The noiſe that their adventures made in the world, if not ſome ſecret and more material reaſon, induced Queen Elizabeth and her Miniſters to invite Mr Dee home, to which he was at length perſwaded; and, on the firſt of May, 1589 (*n*), he ſet out from Trebona in his way to England. On the 9th of April he arrived at Breame, where he received a letter of compliment from the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, to whom, in return, he made a preſent of twelve Hungarian horſes. November the 16th he came to Staden, where he met with Mr, afterwards Sir Edward Dyer, who was going the Queen's Ambaſſador to Denmark, and who had been ſent the year before to him from the Court. Beſides all this, he was attended by a guard of horſe (*o*), whom he paid very liberally, and, beſides waggons for his goods, had no leſs than three coaches for the uſe of his family; ſo that the whole of his charges, in this ſhort journey, as he ſtated it to the Queen's Commiſſioners, fell ſhort only by four of the ſum of eight hundred pounds (*p*). Upon the 23d of November following he landed at Graveſend, and, on the 9th of December, preſented himſelf to the Queen at Richmond, and was very graciouſly received (*q*). He retired ſoon after to his own houſe at Mortlake, which he found in a very ſad condition, and, by the aſſiſtance of perſons in power, began to collect together the ſcattered remains of his library, and the furniture belonging to it; in which he was more ſucceſsful than he could well expect, ſince he recovered about three-fourths of his books, and did not eſtimate his whole loſs at full four hundred pounds (*r*). It is amazing to find how ſoon he was in wants again, of which the Queen had quickly notice, as well as of the vexations he ſuffered on account of the averſion

(*b*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 481. Dr Dee's Diary.

(*i*) Relation of Dr D.e's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 16, 17, 19, 20.

(*k*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*l*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 53. Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*n*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*o*) Compendious Rehearſall, ch. ix. Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(*p*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. ix.

(*q*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144. Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*r*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. viii.

[*M*] *Not competently only, but profuſely.*] It is very remarkable that in all Dr Dee's book of Tranſactions with Spirits, though there is mention more than once of the powder, and of Kelley's finding it in the earth, yet there is not the leaſt circumſtance of their making projection. But from the time of their coming to Trebona we find no more lamentations for want of money; and that before his departure Mr Dee delivered up the powder to Kelley, yet, perhaps, not without ſome ſmall reſerve, as we ſhall ſee hereafter reaſon to believe; Mr Aſhmole found in Dee's private diary ſome hints as if Kelley (28) had communicated the great ſecret to him, of which, however, there is not the leaſt probability. Anthony Wood tells us that at this time Arthur Dee, who was about eight years old, played at quoits with pieces of gold made by projection, as the young Count Roſenbergh did with pieces of ſilver. This is very certain, that Sir Edward Dyer, Queen Elizabeth's Miniſter, firmly believed that Kelley had the powder at leaſt, if not the ſecret, and made Queen Elizabeth, and even the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh believe it, which coſt Sir Edward a ſhort confinement at Prague; and Kelley, who was then become a Baron by the Emperor's patent, his life. Sir Thomas Brown, the famous phyſician of Norwich, gave the following account in a letter to Anthony Wood, of what he had learned from the mouth of Dr Arthur Dee, ſon to John Dee, upon this ſubject (29). 'That 'he, the ſaid Arthur, hath affirmed to him with an 'oath, that he had ſeen projection made by his father 'and Kelley, and tranſmutation of pewter diſhes and 'flaggons into ſilver, which the goldſmiths of Prague 'bought of them. — That the ſaid tranſmutation was 'made by a ſmall powder they had found in ſome 'old place, and a book lying by it containing nothing 'but Hieroglyphicks, which book his father beſtowed 'much time upon, but he could not hear that he could 'make it out. He ſaid alſo that Kelley dealt not 'juſtly with his father, and that he went away with 'the greateſt part of the powder, and was afterwards 'impriſoned by the Emperor in a certain caſtle, from 'whence attempting an eſcape he fell and broke his 'leg, and was impriſoned again. That his father, Dr 'John Dee, preſented Queen Elizabeth with a little 'part of the powder, who having made trial thereof 'ſhe attempted to get Kelley out of priſon, and ſent 'certain perſons for that purpoſe, who giving opium 'drink to the keepers, laid them ſo faſt a ſleep that 'Kelley found an opportunity to attempt an eſcape, 'and there were horſes ready to carry him away, but 'the buſineſs unhappily ſucceeded; Arthur Dee was a 'youth when he ſaw the projection made in Bohemia, 'with which he was ſo inflamed that he fell wholly 'upon that ſtudy, and read not much all his life but 'books of that ſubject.—Two years before his death 'he contracted with John Huniades, or Hans Hungar, 'in London, to be his operator. This Hans Hungar 'having lived long in London, and growing in years, 'he reſolved to return to Hungary; whereupon going 'firſt to Amſterdam he had orders giving him to re'main there till Dr Arthur Dee came to him.—The 'Doctor, to my knowledge, was ſerious in this matter, 'and had provided all things in readineſs to go, but 'ſuddenly he heard that Hans Hungar was dead and 'ſo deſiſted, &c.'

(28) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(29) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142.

[*N*] *He*

averſion the common people had conceived againſt him (s). To diſpel the former, the Queen, in 1590, promiſed to give him two hundred angels to keep his Chriſtmas; one half of which ſum he received, and gives a broad hint, that the Queen and himſelf were cheated of the other (t); to quiet his apprehenſions as to the latter, ſhe ſent him a meſſage by Thomas Cavendiſh, Eſq; that he might freely purſue his ſtudies, and depend upon her protection and favour; of which indeed he received, from time to time, continual proofs (u) [N]. He yet retained as much credit as ever with ſuch of his old friends as were living (w); for as to the Earl of Leiceſter, and many other of his former patrons, they were taken away by death during his abſence. Of thoſe that were left he received frequent viſits, ſome preſents, and very kind offers, particularly from Sir Thomas Jones (x), who would have given him his caſtle of Emlin in Wales, with all neceſſary accommodations to live in; which, however, he did not think fit to accept, as depending upon far greater helps from the Queen (y). At length, however, after meeting with many diſappointments, his creditors growing impatient, and ſome of his friends leſs ready to grant him their aſſiſtance than he had formerly found them, he took a reſolution of applying in ſuch a manner to the Queen, as might, at laſt, procure him ſome ſettled ſubſiſtence. Accordingly, November 9th, 1592, he ſent the Queen a memorial by the Counteſs of Warwick (z), in which he very earneſtly preſſed, that commiſſioners might be appointed to hear his pretenſions, to ſee and examine the teſtimonies he was able to exhibit in ſupport of his ſeveral claims, to receive a juſt ſtate of his affairs, to know what would relieve, and give him ſatisfaction, and, finally, to report all theſe to her Majeſty. This had a good effect; for, upon the 22d of the ſame month, Mr Wolley, who was the Queen's Secretary for the Latin tongue, and Sir Thomas Gorge, went, by her Majeſty's command, to Mortlake (a), where Mr Dee exhibited a book, containing a diſtinct account of all the memorable tranſactions of his life, thoſe which occurred in his laſt journey abroad only excepted; and as he read this hiſtorical narration, he produced all the letters, grants, and other evidences requiſite to confirm them, and where theſe were wanting, named living witneſſes (b). This original book falling into the hands of the learned Dr Thomas Smith, induced him to write his Latin life of our author (c), and, though theſe memoirs are but uncouthly drawn up, as, from the quotations, the reader will ſufficiently diſcern, yet there ſeems to be no juſt ground to queſtion the truth of the matters of fact which they contain [O]. The point he chiefly laboured to carry, by this application, was a grant

(s) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(t) Compend. Rehearſal, ch. iv.

(u) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(w) Comp. Rehearſal, ch. x.

(x) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(y) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(z) See that Memorial at the beginning of the Compendious Rehearſal.

(a) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(b) All this appears from the Compendious Rehearſal, which is the book mentioned.

(c) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 40.

[N] *He received from time to time continual proofs.*] The Queen graciouſly recommended Mr Dee to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſiring that ſome proviſion might be made for him, and ſignified to him at the ſame time that Mr Dee's laſt journey abroad was not without her allowance (30), which is a point worthy of remark, becauſe the contrary ſeems apparent from all who have written any thing about him. In conſequence of this there was a grant made to Dr Aubrey, Maſter of Requeſts, of five advowſons of rectories in the dioceſe of St David's, to the amount in the whole of near one hundred pounds *per Annum*, in truſt for Mr Dee, which Grant ſerved only to raiſe a clamour againſt him as if he had received vaſt things from the Crown, and yet this Grant, like the reſt, never produced him a ſingle penny, though he obſerves that he paid all the fees that were uſually paid for paſſing it (31). It was the Archbiſhop alſo that thought of the Hoſpital of St Croſſe, affirming that it was a fit living for him, and Mr Dee a fit man to have it. This induced our author to apply himſelf to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, November 6, 1592, in hopes of having his aſſiſtance, who uſed him very civilly, and told him, That if he could procure any other friend to move it to her Majeſty, he would do as much as in him lay to ſupport his demand with the Queen, which was all he could deſire; and upon theſe motives he reſolved to petition the Queen for this Maſterſhip of St Croſſe, which the Queen herſelf had once before promiſed him, and had even given him room to hope he ſhould be made Provoſt of Eaton (32).

(30) See the letter printed at the end of Dr Caſaubon's Preface.

(31) Compend. Rehearſal, ch. iv.

(32) Idem, ibid.

[O] *To queſtion the truth of the matters of fact which they contain.*] The title of this work which he read to the Commiſſioners, the original of which ſtill remains in the Cotton Library (33), and a tranſcript of it amongſt Dr Smith's written collections, runs thus,

(33) Vitellius C. VII.

'The Compendious Rehearſal of John Dee, his dutiful Declaration and Proof of the Courſe and Race 'of his ſtudious Life for the Space of half an hundred 'Years, now by God's Favour and Help fully ſpent, 'and of the very great Injuries, Damages, and Indignities which for theſe laſt nine Years he hath in 'England ſuſtained, contrary to her Majeſty's very 'gracious Will and expreſs Commandment made unto 'the two honourable Commiſſioners by her moſt Excellent Majeſty thereto aſſigned, according to the Intent of the moſt humble Supplication of the ſaid 'John, exhibited to her moſt Gracious Majeſty at 'Hampton-Court, *Ann.* 1592, Nov. 9.'

This book is divided into fourteen chapters, with an appendix, which brings it down to the year 1593. In theſe he ſets forth the ſeveral facts that have been recited in the text; the offers made to him by the Univerſity of Oxford, and various foreign Univerſities, to have engaged him to have accepted of a Profeſſor's Chair: Letters upon particular occaſions from her Majeſty, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Leiceſter, the Lord Chancellor Hatton, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and many others; he ſhews in what manner he had been injured; the ways he had ſubſiſted for ſeveral years, receiving in gifts five hundred pounds, and having run into debt to the amount of three hundred and three; the conſtant ſervices he had rendered the Queen; the many diſappointments he had met with, in which, to the preferments before-mentioned, he adds, the Wardenſhip of Wincheſter College and the Maſterſhip of Sherborne; nor does he forget what offers had been made him by Princes beyond the ſeas, which, as a ſpecimen of this ſingular memorial of his own merit, be pleaſed to take in his own words (34).

(34) Compend. Rehearſal, ch. ii.

'It may ſuffice me, a poor ſtudious gentleman, for 'my foreign credit for ever, that in this tract of my 'ſtudious race I might have ſerved five Chriſtian Em'perors, namely, Charles the Vth, Ferdinand, Maxi'milian, this Rodolph, and this preſent Moſcovite, 'of every one their ſtipend, directly or indirectly, of'fered, and mounting greater each than other, as 'from five hundred dollars yearly ſtipend, to a thou'ſand, two thouſand, three thouſand, and laſtly, by 'a meſſenger from this Ruſſia or Muſcovite Emperor, 'purpoſely ſent with a very rich preſent unto me at 'Trebona Caſtle, and with proviſion for the whole 'journey, (being above twelve hundred miles from the 'caſtle where I lay) of my coming to his court at 'Moſkow, (with my wife, children, and my whole 'family) there to enjoy at his Imperial hands two 'thouſand pounds ſterling, yearly ſtipend, and of his 'Protector yearly, a thouſand rubles, with my diet al'ſo to be allowed me free out of the Emperor's own 'kitchen,

grant of the Maſterſhip of St Croſſe, then poſſeſſed by Dr Bennet, when he ſhould be promoted to a Biſhoprick; and many reaſons he alledged, why that preferment would be more convenient, as well as more acceptable, to him than any other (*d*). Upon the report made by the Commiſſioners to the Queen, her Majeſty deſired the Lady Howard to comfort Mrs Dee by a letter and preſent, which was brought by Mr Secretary Wolley, on the 2d of December following, with a preſent of one hundred marks from the Queen, a promiſe of his having the preferment he deſired when it ſhould become vacant, and a penſion of two hundred pounds a year out of the revenues of the Biſhoprick of Oxford, till ſuch time as he could be put in poſſeſſion of it (*e*). Theſe promiſes, like the former, coming to nothing, he, on the 15th of February, 1593, having firſt conſulted his friend Sir John Wolley, engaged his patroneſs the Counteſs of Warwick to preſent another ſhort Latin petition to the Queen; but what followed upon that does not appear (*f*). However, December 8th, 1594, he obtained a grant of the Chancellorſhip of St Paul's (*g*); but this not anſwering his end, he applied himſelf next by letter to Dr Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which he inſerted a large account of all the books he had either publiſhed or written, of which ſome account will be given in the notes [*P*]. In conſequence

(*d*) Compendious Rehearſal, ch. xiii, xiv.

(*e*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 40. Compendious Rehearſal in the Appendix.

(*f*) This petition is likewiſe annexed to the book laſt cited.

(*g*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

'kitchen, and to be in dignity with authority amongſt 'the higheſt ſort of the Nobility there, and o. his 'Privy Councellors, &c. Of this laſt great prefer-'ment offered many Engliſhmen yet living, and in 'this kingdom, be witneſſes; the Landgrave of Heſſe 'Caſſel his letter is ready to be ſhowed, and other 'letters of men of credit, can be ſufficient teſtimonies, 'beſides the fore-runner to ſeek me, and the Embaſ-'ſadors or Meſſengers their own writings thereof here 'lying.

'*Note*, That the Commiſſioners jointly read two of 'the Teſtimonies.'

The laſt line of the quotation was left on purpoſe to ſhew the manner in which Mr Dee proceeded, for he or one of his ſervants read the book, and then the letters, inſtruments, books, and other evidences were put into the Commiſſioners hands. It is indeed true, that we have only Mr Dee's word for this; but then we muſt conſider the book was not written to be publiſhed, conſequently not to impoſe upon the world, and the rewards afterwards promiſed, and more eſpecially the preferments obtained in conſequence of the Commiſſioners report, is an unexceptionable teſtimony that it was believed. One thing by the way; there was an entry of this matter in Mr Dee's Diary, copied from thence by Mr Aſhmole, but ſo as that if this work of Dee's had not remained, it might have rendered his whole hiſtory ſuſpicious; for Mr Aſhmole has ſet down (35) Secretary Walſingham inſtead of Wolley, as one of the Commiſſioners, who was dead near two years before, miſled no doubt by Mr Dee's writing only the initial letter of his name.

(35) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 480.

[*P*] *Of which ſome account will be given in the notes.*] This catalogue, is, for the moſt part, tranſcribed out of the ſixth chapter of the treatiſe mentioned in the foregoing note, with ſome explanations by Dr Smith, to which we ſhould have added ſome others, if we had not been deterred by an apprehenſion that it might draw this article into too great a length, and, as they ſtand, theſe catalogues are very curious and correct.

Books printed and publiſhed.

I. Propædeumata Aphoriſtica de præſtantioribus quibuſdam naturæ virtutibus Aphoriſmi. 12mo, Londini, anno 1558.

II. Monas Hieroglyphica ad Regem Romanorum Maximilianum. Antwerpiæ 1564.

III. Epiſtola ad eximium Ducis Urbini Mathematicum, Fredericum Commandinum, præfixa libello Machometi Bagdedini de ſuperficierum diviſionibus, edito opera Devi & ejuſdem Commandini Urbinatis. Piſauri 1570.

IV. *The Britiſh Monarchy, otherwiſe called The Petty Navy Royal*, 1576 (36).

(36) This is extant in MS. in the Aſhmolean Collection.

V. *Preface Mathematical to the Engliſh Euclid, publiſhed by Sir Henry Billingſley, Knt. where he ſays many more arts are wholly invented, by name, definition, property, and uſe, than either the Grecian or Roman Mathematicians have left to our knowledge*, 1570.

VI. *Divers and many Annotations and Inventions diſperſed and added after the tenth book of Engliſh Euclid*, 1570.

VII. Epiſtola præfixa Ephemeridibus Joannis Feldi a, 1557, cui rationem declaraverat Ephemerides conſcribendi

VIII Parallaticæ commentationis praxeoſque Nucleus quidam. Londini 1573.

Unpubliſhed, of which ſome were left imperfect.

I. *The great volume of famous and rich diſcoveries, wherein alſo is the Hiſtory of King Solomon every three years, his Ophirian voyage, the originals of Preſbyter Joannes, and of the firſt great Cham and his ſucceſſors for many years following The deſcription of divers wonderful Iſles in the northern, Scythian, Tartarian, and the other moſt northern ſeas, and near under the North Pole, by record written* 1200 *years ſince, with divers other rarities*, 1576. Exſtat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana ſub Vitellio C. VII.

2. *The Britiſh complement of the perfect Art of Navigation. A great volume. In which are contained our Queen Elizabeth her tables gubernautick for navigation by the Paradoxall Compaſs, invented by him* (*ann.* 1557) *and navigation by great circles, and for Longitudes and Latitudes, and the Variation of the Compaſs, finding moſt eaſily and ſpeedily, yea, if need be, in one minute of time, and ſometimes without ſight of ſun, moon, or ſtars, with many other new and needful inventions gubernautick.* 1576.

3. *Her Majeſty's title royal to many forraigne countreys, kingdoms, and provinces, by good teſtimony, and ſufficient proof recorded, and in twelve volume ſkins of parchment, fair written for her Majeſty's uſe, and at her Majeſty's commandment*, 1578.

4. De Imperatoris nomine auctoritate & potentia: *dedicated to her Majeſty in Engliſh*, 1579.

5. Prolegomena & Dictata Pariſienſia in Euclidis Elementorum Geometricorum, librum primum & ſecundum, in Collegio Rhemenſi, 1550.

6. De uſu Globi Cœleſtis, ad R. Edwardum Sextum, 1550.

7. *The Art of Logick in Engliſh*, 1547.

8. *The thirteen Sophiſtical Fallacies, with their Diſcoveries, written in Engliſh meeter*, 1548.

9. Mercurius Cœleſtis, Libri 24; *written at Louvaine*, 1549.

10. De nubium Solis, Lunæ, ac reliquorum Planetarum, imo ipſius Stelliferi Cœli, ab infimo terræ centro diſtantiis, mutiuſque intervallis, & eorundem omnium magnitudine, liber ἀποδεικτικὸς ad Edwardum Sextum, Angliæ Regem, 1551.

11. Aphoriſmis Aſtrologici 300. 1553.

12. *The true cauſe and account not vulgar of Floods and Ebbs, written at the requeſt of the Right Honourable Lady, Lady Jane, Ducheſs of Northumberland*, 1553.

13. *The Philoſophical and Poetical Original occaſions of the Configurations and names of the heavenly aſteriſmes: written at the requeſt of the ſame Ducheſs*, 1553.

14. *The Aſtronomical and Logiſtical Rules and Canons, to calculate the Ephemerides by, and other neceſſary accounts of heavenly motions; written at the requeſt, and for the uſe, of that excellent Mechanicien, Maſter Richard Chancellor at his laſt voyage into Moſcovia.* 1553.

15. *De*

conſequence of this letter, and, perhaps, of other applications, he obtained a grant of the Wardenſhip of Mancheſter-College, vacant by the promotion of Dr Hugh Bellot to the Biſhoprick of Cheſter, his patent paſſing the Great Seal May 25th, 1595 (*b*); and, on the 14th of February 1596, he arrived, with his wife and family, in that town; and, on the 20th of the ſame month, was inſtalled in his new charge (*i*). He continued there about ſeven years; but, whether through his own ill management and haughty behaviour, or, as he alledged, through the reſtleſs and unquiet diſpoſition of the Fellows of that College, ſo it was, that the greateſt part of that time he lived but an unquiet life; to which, perhaps, it might not a little contribute, that, during the whole ſpace he remained there, he was looked upon, by the inhabitants of the place, and of all the country round, as a perſon who had a kind of ſupernatural ſkill, and who could afford them relief in a variety of caſes that lay out of the reach of Phyſick (*k*). However this might be, ſo uneaſy he grew, from the diſputes in the College, and from the reports that prevailed abroad, that, June 5th, 1604, he preſented a petition to King James, earneſtly deſiring him that he might be brought to a trial, that, by a judicial ſentence, he might be delivered from thoſe ſuſpicions and ſurmiſes, under which he had now laboured for upwards of fifty years (*l*); and, on the eighth of the ſame month, he addreſſed the like ſupplication to the Parliament (*m*); but the King having been informed, by the Earl of Saliſbury, as to the nature of his ſtudies, was very far from giving him any mark of royal countenance (*n*) or favour, which muſt have made a very deep impreſſion upon a man of his vain and ambitious ſpirit, which all his misfortunes could never alter or amend. In the month of November, in the ſame year, being then in a very weak and bad ſtate of health, he quitted Mancheſter (*o*) with his family, in order to return to his houſe at Mortlake,

(*b*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 41.

(*i*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*l*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*n*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42. Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*o*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

15. De acribologia Mathematica volumen magnum ſex decim continens libros. 1555.

16. Inventum Mechanicum paradoxum de nova ratione delineandi circumferentiam circularem unde valde rara alia excogitari percifique poterunt problemata. 1556.

17. De ſpeculis comburentibus libri 6. 1557. Aliquantilla pars exſtat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, ſub *Vitellio* C. VII.

18. De perſpectiva illa qua peritiſſimi utuntur Pictores. 1557.

19. Speculum unitatis, ſive Apologia pro Fratre Rogerio Bacone Anglo: in quo docetur nihil illum per dæmoniorum feciſſe auxilia, ſed Philoſophum fuiſſe maximum naturaliterque, & modis homini Chriſtiano licitis maximas feciſſe res quas indoctum ſolet vulgus in dæmoniorum referre facinora. 1557.

20. De Annuli Aſtronomici multiplici uſu. 1557.

21. Trochilica inventa, lib. 2. 1558.

22. Περὶ ἀναβιβασμῶν θεολογικῶν. lib. 3. 1558.

23. De tertia & præcipua perſpectivæ parte quæ de radiorum fractione tractat. lib. 3. 1559.

24. De itinere ſubterraneo. lib. 2. 1560.

25. De triangulorum rectilineorum areis. lib. 3. demonſtrati ad excellentiſſimum Mathematicum Petrum Nonium conſcripti. 1560.

26. Cabbalæ Hebraicæ compendioſa tabella. 1562.

27. Reipublicæ Britannicæ Synopſis, *in Engliſh*, 1562.

28. De trigono circinoque analogico opuſculum Mathematicum & Mechanicum, lib. 4. 1565. Exſtat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, ſub Vitellio C. VII.

29. De Stella admiranda in Caſſiopeiæ aſteriſmo, cœlitus demiſſa ad orbem uſque veneris iterumque in cœlis penetralia perpendiculariter retracta poſt decimum ſextum ſuæ apparitionis menſem. 1573.

30. Hipparchas redivivus Tractulus. 1573.

31. De unico Mago & triplicæ Herode eoque Antichriſtiano. 1570.

32. *Ten ſundry and very rare Heraldical blaſonings of one creſt or cognizance, lawfully confirmed to certain ancient armes, lib. i.* 1574.

33. Atlantidis vulgariter Indiæ Occidentalis nuncupatæ emendatior deſcriptio Hydrographica quam ulla alia adhuc evulgata. 1580.

34. De modo Evangelii Jeſu Chriſti publicandi, propagandi, ſtabiliendique, inter infideles Atlanticos volumen, magnum libris diſtinctum quatuor quorum primus ad Sereniſſimam noſtram Potentiſſimamque Reginam Elizabetham inſcribitur: ſecundus ad ſummos privati ſuæ ſacræ Majeſtatis Conſilii Senatores: tertius ad Hiſpaniarum Regem Philippum Quartus ad Pontificem Romanum. 1581.

35. Navigationis ad Cathayam per ſeptentrionalia Scythiæ & Tartariæ litora delineatio Hydrographica Arthuro Pett & Carolo Jackmanno Anglis verſus illas partes navigaturis in manus tradita cum admirandarum quarundam inſularum annotatione in illis ſubpolaribus partibus jacentium. 1580.

36. Hemiſphærii Borealis Geographica atque Hydrographica deſcriptio longe à vulgatis chartis diverſa: Anglis quibuſdam verſus Atlantidis Septentrionalis litora navigationem inſtituentibus dono data. 1583.

37. *The originals and chief points of our antient Britiſh Hiſtories diſcourſed upon and examined*, 1583.

38. *An Advice and Diſcourſe about the reformation of the vulgar Julian Year, written by her Majeſty's Commandment, and the Lords of the Privy Council.* 1582

39. *Certain Conſiderations and Conferrings together of theſe three ſentences, antiently accounted as oracles*, Noſce teipſum: Homo homini Deus: homo homini lupus. 1592.

40. De hominis corpore, ſpiritu, & anima, ſive microcoſmicum, totius naturalis Philoſophiæ compendium. lib. 1.

41. *The Compendious Rehearſal of John Dee his dutiful Declaration, and proof of the courſe and race of his ſtudious life, for the ſpace of half a hundred years, &c.* 1592.

42. De horizonte æternitatis. 3. libr. 1. de horizonte: liber Mathematicus & Phyſicus, 2. De Æternitate: Liber Theologicus, Metaphyſicus, & Mathematicus. 3. De horizonte æternitatis: liber Theologicus, Mathematicus, & Hierotechnicus.

43. Thalattocratia Britannica, ſive de Britannico maris imperio Collectanea extemporanea quatuor dierum ſpatio celeri conſcripta calamo. Sept. 20, Manceſtriæ.

Beſides theſe enumerated and owned by himſelf, there are likewiſe ſeveral other pieces of his remaining, agreeable to what himſelf inſinuates at the end of his catalogue, as well in his Compendious Rehearſal, as in his Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Amongſt theſe there are three volumes of Miſcellanies in the Aſhmolean Library, in the laſt of which is contained that collection of papers, relating to his commerce with ſpirits, which precedes, in point of time, that which is to be the ſubject of the next note. There are likewiſe preſerved in the Cotton Library the ſeveral treatiſes following, *viz.*

44, Correctiones & Supplementa Sigeberti ex MS. Codicibus per Joannem Dee.

45. De coni recti atque trianguli ſectione illa quæ Parabola ab antiquis Geometris vocabatur.

46. *Several Letters and Papers between John Dee and Roger Edwards, of a Theological Argument*

lake, but came first to London, where he remained but a short time; and finding himself now very old, infirm, and destitute of any powerful protector, (the Earl of Salisbury, to whom he had offered his service, having slighted him,) he had recourse to his former invocations, and so came to deal again, as he believed, with spirits (*p*). He pursued the same practices at Mortlake, where we find him in the year 1607, having procured one Bartholomew Hickman to serve him in the same manner as Edward Kelley had formerly done (*q*). His friend John Pontoys also returned out of Poland, and was admitted into his confidence (*r*). These transactions were continued to Monday the 7th of September 1607, which is the last date in that journal published by Casaubon (*s*) [2]. As this book made a very great noise upon it's first publication, so many years after the credit of it was revived by one of the wisest and ablest Mathematicians of his time, the celebrated Dr Hooke, who believed, that not only Dr Casaubon but Archbishop Usher, and other learned men, were entirely mistaken in their notions about this book, and that, in reality, our author Dee never fell under any such delusions, but was a man of great art and intrigue (*t*), and made use of this strange method of writing to conceal things of quite another nature, as the reader shall be acquainted in the notes [*R*]. In the latter end

(*p*) Relations of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 32.

(*q*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

(*r*) Relations of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 44.

(*s*) Idem, ibid.

(*t*) Hooke's Posthumous Works, p. 206, 207.

[2] *In that Journal published by Casaubon.*] The title of this work at large runs thus:

'A true and faithful Relation of what passed for 'many years between Dr John Dee, a Mathemati'cian of great fame in Queen Elizabeth and King 'James their reigns, and some Spirits, tending, had 'it succeeded, to a general Alteration of most States 'and Kingdoms in the world. His private Confe'rences with Rodolph, Emperor of Germany: Ste'phen, King of Poland; and divers other Princes 'about it. The Particulars of his Cause, as it was a 'gitated in the Emperor's Court by the Pope's inter'vention. His Banishment and Restoration in part; 'as also the Letters of sundry great men and Princes, 'some whereof were present at some of these Confe'rences, and Apparitions of Spirits to the said Dr Dee, 'out of the original Copy written with Dr Dee's own 'hand: kept in the Library of Sir Thomas Cotton, 'Knt. Baronet, with a Preface confirming the Rea'lity (as to the point of Spirits) of this Relation, and 'shewing the several good uses that a sober Christian 'may make of all. By Meric Casaubon, 'D. D.' Lond. 1659, fol.

We shall give the reader a short passage out of Dr Casaubon's Preface, to justify the pains we have taken in a former note to shew, that the piece which he apprehended was totally lost is still preserved, and if any use can be made of it (for which I would not be willingly bound) may be produced to publick view as well as the rest. The passage is this, which gives a fair account of what he published. 'In the year of our 'Lord 1584, September the 3d, being a Monday, 'Dr Dee first appeared, being presented by honou'rable persons, and expected before the Emperor Ro'dolph. Among other things he then told him, that, 'for these two years and a half, God's holy angels 'had used to inform him: Our book or first action here 'beginneth, 28 May, 1583, according to this reckon'ing it must be, that, above a year and three months 'before began the first apparition. The account then 'of fifteen months from the first apparition we want: 'How much in bulk that might come to I cannot tell, 'neither will I warrant all perfect from this 28 May '1583, to the fourth of April 1587, though, for the 'most part, the coherence is right enough to that 'time: but from thence to the twentieth of March '1607, there is a vast chasm or hiatus of no less than 'twenty years: How this hath happened I cannot tell 'certainly; what I guess is this, some years after 'Dr Dee's death, about *anno Dom.* 1608, Sir Robert 'Cotton bought his library (what then remained of 'it) with his Magical Table, and the original manu'script written with his own hand, whereof this is a 'copy: The book had been buried in the earth, how 'long years or months I know not; but so long, tho' 'it was carefully kept, since yet it retained so much 'of the earth, that it began to moulder and perish 'some years ago, which when Sir T. Cotton afore'mentioned observed, he was at the charges to have it 'written out before it should be too late: Now full fifty 'years, or not many wanting, being passed since this 'original came to Sir Robert, it is very likely, that, 'had any more in all that time been heard of, Sir Ro'bert, or Sir Thomas his son and heir, would have 'heard of it, and got it as soon as any body else: 'And because no more hath been heard of all this 'while, it is more than probable, that no more is ex'tant not in England, nor I think any where else: 'haply the rest might perish some part (if not all) even 'whilst the Doctor lived.'

[*R*] *Shall be acquainted in the notes*] We are told by Dr Hooke, that what first put him upon suspecting there was somewhat concealed under the strange relations contained in Dr Dee's book, was his vehement protestation, upon the peril of his soul if he lied, in his letter to the Archbishop (37), that he had never meddled with unlawful arts, or deviated into any practices unbecoming of a Christian. What confirmed him in his opinion, cannot be either better or more briefly expressed than in his own words, which are these: 'Upon turning it over, and comparing several parti'culars in it one with another, and with other writings 'of the said Dr Dee, and considering also the life, 'actions, and estate, of the said author, so far as I 'can be informed, I do conceive that the greatest part 'of the said book, especially all that which relates to 'spirits and apparitions, together with their names, 'speeches, shews, noises, clothing, actions, and the 'prayers and doxologies, *&c.* are all Cryptography, 'and that some parts also of that which seems to be a 'Journal of his voyage and travels into several parts of 'Germany, are also cryptographical, that is, that under 'those feigned stories which he there seems to relate 'as matters of fact, he hath concealed relations of quite 'another thing, and that he made use of this way of 'absconding it, that he might the more securely escape 'discovery if he should fall under suspicion, as to the 'true designs of his travels, or that the same should 'fall into the hands of any spies, or such as might be 'employed to betray him, or his intentions concerning 'the inquisition that should be made, or prosecution, 'if discovered, would be more gentle for a pretended 'enthusiast than for a real spy. What his designs or 'business with the Emperor, the King of Poland, and 'others, was, is hard to determine, *i. e.* first, Whe'ther he were sent upon some private message by the 'Queen, or any of the then Ministers of State, to enquire 'into, and discover, the secret designs or actions of 'that Court, is hard now to determine; but 'tis likely. 'For in his apology he alledges, that the Lord Trea'surer had, by the Queen's orders, written to the 'Archbishop to signify, that he went beyond sea by 'her good favour and licence; and we find also, that 'the Queen did send several letters and messengers to 'call him home, and that upon his return the Queen 'received him kindly at Richmond, and that she used 'to call at his house at Mortlack, and shewed herself 'courteous to him upon all occasions. ——— When 'he returned he left Kelley with the Emperor, who 'for several years afterwards kept correspondence with 'Dr Dee here, which might possibly continue to exe'cute the same design, Kelley being now grown Sir 'Edward Kelley, and the Emperor's Chemist. And, 'in probability, Dr Dee might have sufficiently fur'nished him with Cryptography enough to send what 'intelligencies he pleased without suspicion, which 'was easily conceived under any other feigned story. 'I will not determine whether this were his business I 'say,

(37) See this in Mr Dee's Letter before-mentioned at the end of Dr Casaubon's *Preface*. *Hooke's* Posthumous Works, p. 206, 207.

end of his life he became miſerably poor, as we are told by Anthony Wood, and was obliged to diſpoſe of his books to procure ſubſiſtence, which, at certain times, when, through his own ill management, he brought himſelf into ſuch diſtreſs, might be true; but there ſeems to be good ground to believe he held his preferment to the laſt, and did not ſell his houſe at Mortlake, which was his own, and which ſeems to have been of ſome conſiderable value, ſince, in his former diſtreſſes, he had thoughts of mortgaging it for four hundred pounds (*u*). It is highly probable, that he remained under theſe deluſions to his end, and was actually providing for a new journey into Germany, when, worn out by age and diſtempers, he breathed his laſt ſome time in the year 1608, being in the eighty-firſt year of his age (*w*). He was buried in the chancel of the church at Mortlake, but without any tomb-ſtone, or other memorial; and yet the ancient inhabitants of that place were able, in 1672, to ſhew the very ſpot where he was interred (*x*). He left behind a numerous poſterity, both male and female, and, amongſt theſe, his eldeſt ſon Arthur, who was bred at Weſtminſter-ſchool under the learned Camden (*y*), applied himſelf to Phyſick, and became Phyſician in ordinary firſt to the Grand Duke of Muſcovy, and afterwards to King Charles the Firſt (*z*).

(*u*) Compendious Rehearſal, ch. ii.

(*w*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 43.

(*x*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*y*) Camd. Epiſt. p. 47.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 141.

'ſay, or whether it might not be upon his own account, to ſee if he could make a fortune under the Emperor, by means of Chemiſtry, or Mathematicks, or Aſtrology, or Mechanicks, all which I find by his writings he was well verſed in, and eſpecially in the buſineſs of Opticks, Perſpective, and Mechanick contrivances, an effect of which I conceive his cryſtal, or angelical ſtone, or *Chryſtallum Sacratum*, as he terms it, to have been, for that it was of a conſiderable bigneſs, and was placed upon a pedeſtal or table, which he calls a Holy Table, which might contain the apparatus to make apparitions, when he had a mind, to be ſeen in it, as likewiſe to produce noiſes and voices if there were occaſion. All which might be done by art, as hath been ſhewn both formerly by Roger Bacon, and of late by the echoing head. ——— He was likewiſe well verſed in Cabaliſtical learning and Cryptography, as appears by the title of a treatiſe written by him upon that ſubject, and by that book which he ſeems to have prized ſo much, and calls the book of Enoch, which I take to be of no other uſe than for Cryptography and Cabaliſms. I will not determine, I ſay, whether his deſign might not be by theſe, and ſome other ſuch ingenuities, as particularly a glaſs which he mentions, p. 256, the ſecret of which he opened to Dr Curtz, the Emperor's Phyſician, for battering in a dark night, *&c.* which what he means by it I underſtand not, but Dr Curtz told him, that concluſion would be very acceptable to the Emperor. He had alſo written ſix books *de Speculis Comburentibus*; two books of the aſtronomical ring, or ring dial; and two books alſo of clock-work, to find entertainment and encouragement from the Emperor. But I do rather conjecture that he was employed by the Queen for ſome private affairs of State, and that he made uſe of theſe his inventions in order to obtain the freer and more unſuſpected acceſs to the Emperor, which having not ſucceeded as might have been expected, he was recalled and returned into England in November 1589. That a great part of this treatiſe is Cryptography, I conceive is very probable from theſe and divers other conſiderations: Firſt, for that he took ſuch care to preſerve the book of Enoch, which I conjecture to contain the methods and keys of what was concealed in this book: next, for that the method and manner thereof is ſo like to that of Trithemius his Cryptography, that I conceive, were it worth while, it would not be difficult to decypher a great part of it by analogy thereunto. Now tho' at that time the key or method of that book were not ſo well and commonly known, yet I do not doubt but this inquiſitive man had got knowledge of it in his travels and enquiries in Germany, poſſibly when he preſented his *Monas Hieroglyphica* to the Emperor Maximilian 1564, and poſſibly it might be upon the ſame account that he made choice of his way of invocations and revelations to conceal his meaning, that I ſhewed before Trithemius had done in his. Trithemius alſo pretended to revelation, as may be ſeen in the Hiſtory of his Life, though not ſo frequent as this author has done in this book, at leaſt if the ſenſe thereof be underſtood literally, but that I conceive to be nothing but the outward form, appearance, or dreſs, of the ſubſtance and ſubject of the book, which lay abſconded from common diſcovery under that maſk or diſguiſe, though yet I am apt to believe, he had ſome artificial contrivances to perform this alſo when he ſaw cauſe. Thirdly, for that there are very many plain inſtances of Cryptography, both by changing and putting ſome letters for others, and numbers for letters, and numbers alſo for words, and tables for diſpoſing or placing letters according to ſeveral orders and methods, to be ſeen in the book itſelf: and the book which he calls the book of Enoch ſeems to be nothing elſe: Beſides, the words that he ſets down as delivered by his ſpirits, are many of them inarticulate according to the commonly accepted ſounds or pronunciation of thoſe characters they are written with, and therefore were not put to ſignify thoſe letters. It would be too long to give inſtances out of the book itſelf of theſe particulars, and 'tis needleſs, ſince they are ſo very many and frequent in every part of the book. He hath likewiſe divers polygonal figures, as I conceive, for the ſame purpoſe, and many other ſuch indications of Cryptography.' There is, without doubt, ſomething very plauſible, as well as highly ingenious, in this learned gentleman's conjectures, in which, if he had made a trial of decyphering, and had ſucceeded even in the ſmalleſt part, would have put his ſentiment beyond contradiction. As it is, there ſeems to be three reaſons, that, duly weighed, will ſcarce allow us to ſubſcribe to his judgment of this book. The firſt is, that Mr Dee began theſe actions in England, for which, if we ſuppoſe the whole treatiſe to be written in cypher, there is no account can be given, any more than for purſuing the ſame practices in King James's time, who cannot be imagined to have uſed him as a ſpy. The ſecond, that he admitted Albert Laſki, Francis Puccius, and William Roſenbergh (38), to be preſent at theſe conſultations, which is not very reconcileable to the notion, that the whole is no more than an allegorical hiſtory, for then all that they did muſt have been mere artifice and impoſture, which, in ſo long a ſpace of time, and under the inſpection of ſo many witneſſes, would certainly have been diſcovered. Laſtly, upon the return of Mr Dee from Bohemia, Mr Edward Kelley (39) did actually ſend an account to the Queen, of practices againſt her life, but then this was in a plain and open manner, and in conſequence of his publick declarations of his unſhaken loyalty towards her Majeſty's perſon and government, which declarations were not only unneceſſary, but very inexpedient for him to make at Prague, if he had been employed there as a ſpy, neither would he have taken this way of informing the Queen, if there had been any ſuch miſterious correſpondence between Mr Dee and her Miniſters as Dr Hooke ſuggeſts.

(38) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 34.

(39) Stryp's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 1.

E

DENHAM (Sir JOHN), an eminent Poet of the XVIIth century, was the only ſon of Sir John Denham, Knight, of Little Horſely in Eſſex, ſome time Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, and one of the Lords Juſtices of that kingdom, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of Sir Garret More, Knight, Baron of Mellefont in Ireland (*a*). He was born at Dublin in the year 1615 (*b*); but was brought over from thence very young, upon his father's being made one of the Barons of the Exchequer in England, in 1617. He had his education in grammar learning at London, and, in Michaelmas Term 1631, he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner in Trinity-College in Oxford, being then ſixteen years of age; where (as Anthony Wood expreſſes it) 'being looked upon as a ſlow, 'dreaming, young man, and more addicted to gaming than ſtudy, they could never 'imagine he could ever enrich the world with the iſſue of his brain, as he afterwards 'did.' After three years ſtay in the Univerſity, and having been examined in the publick ſchools for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he entered himſelf in Lincoln's-Inn; where he was generally thought to apply himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of the Common Law. But, his itch of gaming continuing, he was often ſtript of all his money; and, his father chiding him ſeverely, and threatning to diſcard him, if he did not reform, he wrote thereupon a little *Eſſay againſt Gaming*, which he preſented to his father, to convince him of his deteſtation of it (*c*). His father dying in 1638 (*d*), he fell to gaming again, and ſquandered away ſeveral thouſand pounds. In the latter end of the year 1641, he publiſhed his tragedy called *The Sophy* [*A*]; which was greatly admired, and gave Mr Waller occaſion to ſay of our author, that *he broke out like the Iriſh Rebellion, threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, when no body was aware, or in the leaſt ſuſpected it.* Soon after he was pricked for High-Sheriff of the county of Surrey, and made Governor of Farnham-Caſtle for the King. But, not being well ſkilled in military affairs, he ſoon quitted that poſt, and retired to his Majeſty at Oxford, where he publiſhed his poem called *Cooper's Hill* [*B*]. In 1647, he was entruſted by the Queen with a meſſage to the King, then in the hands of the army, and employed in other affairs relating to his Majeſty [*C*]. In April 1648, he

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 422.

(*b*) This is collected from his age at the time of his admiſſion in the Univerſity.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) He died Jan. 6. and was buried at Egham in Surrey, where he had an eſtate.

[*A*] *His Tragedy called The Sophy.*] It was acted at the private houſe in Black Friars, with great applauſe, and firſt printed in 4*to*, London 1642; afterwards in 8*vo*, 1667, and again in 8*vo*, 1671. The plot is the ſame with that of Baron's *Mirza*, taken from Herbert's *Travels*, in the *Life of Abbas* (1).

[*B*] *His Poem called Cooper's Hill.*] It was printed at Oxford in 1643, in one ſheet and an half, in 4*to*; reprinted with additions at London in 1650 and 1655, in 4*to*; and again in 1667 and 1668, in 8*vo* (2). The editions of 1667, *&c.* after the Reſtoration, differ conſiderably from the preceding ones; as may be ſeen in the *Miſcellany Poems publiſhed by Mr Dryden* (3). It was tranſlated into Latin verſe by Mr Moſes Pengry, of Brazen-noſe college in Oxford, and publiſhed there in 1676 in 4*to*, under the title of, *Cooper's Hill, Latinè redditum, ad nobiliſſimum Dominum* Gulielmum *Dominum* Cavendiſh, *honoratiſſimi Domini* Gulielmi *Comitis* Devoniæ *filium unicum* (4). Mr Dryden, ſpeaking of *Cooper's Hill* (5), ſays, it is *A Poem, which for majeſty of the ſtyle, is, and ever will be, the exact ſtandard of good writing.* And the noble author of an *Eſſay on Human Life* obſerves (6), that 'Cooper's 'Hill has met with univerſal applauſe, though it's 'ſubject ſeems rather deſcriptive than inſtructing: but 'it is not the hill, the river, nor the ſtag-chace; it is 'the good ſenſe, and the fine reflexions ſo frequently 'interſperſed, and as it were interwoven with the reſt, 'that gives it the value, and will make it, as was ſaid 'of true wit, everlaſting like the ſun.' Mr Pope celebrates this poem in the following lines of his *Windſor Foreſt* (7).

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 423. and Langbaine's Account of the Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691. p. 128.

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(3) Part v. p. 73 & 82. edit. 1727.

(4) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 188.

(5) Epiſtle Dedicat. before his Rival Ladies.

(6) In the Preface to the 2d edit. 1736, 4to.

(7) Works of Alex. Pope, Eſq; Lond. 1736. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 78.

Ye ſacred Nine, that all my ſoul poſſeſs,
Whoſe raptures fire me, and whoſe viſions bleſs;
Bear me, O bear me, to ſequeſter'd ſcenes,
The bow'ry mazes, and ſurrounding greens:
To Thames's bank, which fragrant breezes fill;
Or where ye Muſes ſport on *Cooper's Hill.*
(On *Cooper's Hill* eternal wreaths ſhall grow,
While laſts the mountain, or while Thames ſhall flow.)
I ſeem thro' conſecrated walks to rove,
I hear ſoft muſick die along the grove:
Led by the ſound, I roam from ſhade to ſhade,
By godlike Poets venerable made:
Here his firſt lays majeſtick *Denham* ſung;
There the laſt numbers flow'd from *Cowley*'s tongue.

And Mr Somerville has the following lines (8) on our Poet.

(8) The Chace, a Poem, Book iii. v. 366.

——Tread, with reſpectful awe,
Windſor's green glades, where *Denham*, tuneful bard,
Charm'd once the liſtning Dryads with his ſong.
Sublimely ſweet. O! grant me, ſacred ſhade,
To glean ſubmiſs what thy full fickle leaves.

There is in the following verſes (9) a fooliſh inſinuation that Sir John Denham was not the author of *Cooper's Hill.*

(9) The Seſſion of the Poets, in the Miſcell. Poems, Part ii. p. 92.

Then in came *Denham*, that limping old bard,
Whoſe fame on the *Sophy* and *Cooper's Hill* ſtands;
And brought many Stationers, who ſwore very hard,
That nothing ſold better, except 'twere his lands.

But Apollo adviſed him to write ſomething more,
To clear a ſuſpicion, which poſſeſs'd the Court,
That *Cooper's Hill*, ſo much bragg'd on before,
Was writ by a Vicar, who had forty pound for't.

[*C*] *He was intruſted by the Queen with a meſſage to the King——and employed in other affairs relating to his Majeſty.*] Our Poet himſelf ſhall give us an account of this circumſtance of his life. In his Dedication of his Poems to King Charles II, he addreſſes that Prince as follows. 'Sir, after the delivery of 'your royal father's perſon into the hands of the army, 'I undertaking to the Queen-Mother, that I would 'find ſome means to gain acceſs to him, ſhe was 'pleaſed to ſend me, and by the help of Hugh Peters 'I got my admittance, and coming well inſtructed 'from the Queen, (his Majeſty having been long kept 'in the dark) he was pleaſed to diſcourſe very freely 'with me of the whole ſtate of his affairs. —— 'At his departure from Hampton-Court, he was 'pleaſed to command me to ſtay privately in London, 'to ſend to him, and receive from him, all his letters 'from and to all his correſpondents at home and a-'broad, and I was furniſhed with nine ſeveral cyphers 'in order to it. Which truſt I performed with great 'ſafety to the perſons with whom we correſponded: 'but about nine months after, being diſcovered by 'their knowledge of Mr Cowley's hand, I happily eſ-'caped both for myſelf and thoſe that held correſpon-'dence with me.'

[*D*] *He*

he conveyed away James Duke of York [*D*], then under the tuition of Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, from St James's, and carried him into France to the Prince of Wales, and the Queen-mother. Not long after, he was ſent Ambaſſador from King Charles II. to the King of Poland [*E*]. In 1652, or thereabout, he returned into England; and, his paternal eſtate being greatly reduced by gaming and the Civil Wars, he was kindly entertained by the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, and continued with that Nobleman about a year. At the Reſtoration, he entered upon the office of Surveyor of his Majeſty's Buildings [*F*], in the room of Inigo Jones, deceaſed; and, at the coronation King Charles II, was created Knight of the Bath. Upon ſome diſcontent ariſing from a ſecond marriage, he loſt his ſenſes: but ſoon recovering from that diſorder, he continued in great eſteem at Court, and with all perſons of taſte, for his Poetical Writings [*G*]. He

[*D*] *He conveyed away James Duke of York.*] So we are told by Anthony Wood: but my Lord Clarendon aſſures us, the Duke went off *with Col. Bamfield only* (10), who contrived the means of his eſcape.

(10) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. III. P. i. p. 130. edit. Oxf. 1720.

[*E*] *He was ſent Embaſſador from King Charles* II, *to the King of Poland.*] William (afterwards Lord) Crofts was joined in the embaſſy with Sir John Denham (11). Among our author's Poems is one intitled, *On my Lord* Crofts *and my Journey into Poland, from whence we brought* 10000 *l. for his Majeſty, by the decimation of his Scottiſh ſubjects there.*

(11) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 423.

[*F*] *He entered upon the office of Surveyor of his Majeſty's Buildings.*] Mr Wood pretends (12), King Charles I had granted our Poet the reverſion of that place after the deceaſe of Inigo Jones: but Sir John himſelf, in the Dedication of his Poems, aſſures us, King Charles II, at his departure from St Germains to Jerſey, was pleaſed freely, without his aſking it, to confer it upon him.

(12) Ibid.

[*G*] *He was in great eſteem ——— for his poetical writings.*] In the Dedication of his Poems to King Charles II, he tells us, he had been diſcouraged by King Charles I. from writing verſes. 'One morning '(ſays he) waiting on him (*the King*) at Cauſham, 'ſmiling upon me, he ſaid he could tell me ſome news 'of myſelf, which was that he had ſeen ſome verſes of 'mine the evening before (being thoſe to Sir R. Fanſhaw) and aſking me when I made them, I told him 'two or three years ſince: he was pleaſed to ſay, that 'having never ſeen them before, he was afraid I had 'written them ſince my return into England; and 'though he liked them well, he would adviſe me to 'write no more, alledging, that when men are young, 'and have little elſe to do, they might vent the overflowings of their fancy that way; but when they 'were thought fit for more ſerious employments, if 'they ſtill perſiſted in that courſe, it would look as 'if they minded not the way to any better. Whereupon I ſtood corrected, as long as I had the honour 'to wait upon him.' But King Charles II was an encourager of our author's Muſe, eſpecially while he *had the good fortune to wait upon his Majeſty in* Holland *and* Flanders; *and was pleaſed ſometimes to give him arguments, to divert and put off the evil hours of their baniſhment, which now and then*, he tells us, *fell not ſhort of his Majeſty's expectation.* After his promotion to the office of Surveyor of the royal buildings, *he gave over poetical lines, and made it his buſineſs*, he ſays, *to draw ſuch others, as might be more ſerviceable to his Majeſty, and, he hoped, more laſting.* Then he adds: 'Since that time I never diſobeyed my old maſter's 'commands, till this ſummer at the Wells, my retirement there tempting me to divert thoſe melancholy 'thoughts, which the new apparitions of foreign inva'ſion and domeſtick diſcontent gave us; but theſe 'clouds being now happily blown over, and our ſun 'clearly ſhining out again, I have recovered the re'lapſe, it being ſuſpected it would have proved the 'epidemical diſeaſe of age, which is apt to fall 'back into the follies of youth: yet Socrates, Ariſtotle, 'and Cato, did the ſame; and Scaliger ſaith, that 'fragment of Ariſtotle was beyond any thing that Pin'dar or Homer ever wrote.' Our author's Dedication concludes with a farewel to the Muſes. 'As for 'thoſe latter parts, *ſays he, ſpeaking of his Poems*, 'which have not yet received your Majeſty's favourable 'aſpect, if they who have ſeen them do not flatter me, '(for I dare not truſt my own judgment) they will 'make it appear, that it is not with me as with moſt 'of mankind, who never forſake their darling vices, 'till their vices forſake them; and that this divorce 'was not *Frigiditatis cauſa*, but an act of choice, and 'not of neceſſity. Therefore, Sir, I ſhall only call it 'an humble petition, that your Majeſty will pleaſe to 'pardon this new amour to my old miſtreſs, and my 'diſobedience to his commands, to whoſe memory I 'look up with great reverence and devotion; and 'making a ſerious reflexion upon that wiſe advice, it 'carries greater weight with it now, than when it was 'given: for when age and experience has ſo ripened 'man's diſcretion as to make it fit for uſe, either in 'private or publick affairs, nothing blaſts and corrupts 'the fruit of it ſo much as the empty, airy, reputation 'of being *Nimis Poeta*; and therefore I ſhall take my 'leave of the Muſes, as two of my predeceſſors did, 'ſaying;

'Splendidis longum vale dico nugis.
'His verſus et cætera ludicra pono.'

Our author's poems are as follow: I. *Cooper's Hill* (13). II. *The Deſtruction of Troy: an Eſſay on the Second Book of Virgil's Æneis. Written in the Year* 1636. London, 1656, in four ſheets and a half in 4*to* (14). III. *On the Earl of Strafford's Trial and Death.* IV. *On my Lord* Crofts', *&c. Journey into Poland, &c.* (15). V. *On Mr* Thomas Killegrew's *Return from Venice, and Mr* William Murrey's *from Scotland.* VI. *To Sir* John Mennis, *being invited from Calais to Bologne, to eat a Pig.* VII. *Natura Naturata.* VIII. Sarpedon's *Speech to* Glaucus, *in the twelfth Book of* Homer. IX. *Out of an epigram of* Martial. X. *Friendſhip and Single Life, againſt Love and Marriage.* XI. *On Mr* Abraham Cowley, *his Death, and Burial amongſt the antient Poets.* XII. *A Speech againſt Peace, at the Cloſe Committee.* XIII. *To the Five Members of the Honourable Houſe of Commons: The humble Petition of the Poets.* XIV. *A Weſtern Wonder.* XV. *A Second Weſtern Wonder.* XVI. *News from Colcheſter: Or, a proper new Ballad of certain carnal Paſſages betwixt a Quaker and a Colt, at Horſly near Colcheſter in Eſſex.* XVII. *A Song.* XVIII. *On Mr* John Fletcher's *Works* XIX. *To Sir* Richard Fanſhaw, *upon his Tranſlation of* Paſtor Fido. XX. *A Dialogue between Sir* John Pooley *and Mr* Thomas Killigrew. XXI. *An Occaſional Imitation of a Modern Author upon the Game of Cheſs.* XXII *The Paſſion of* Dido *for* Æneas. XXIII. *Of Prudence. Of Juſtice.* Theſe two pieces are tranſlated from the Latin of *Mancini*, a noble Italian, who was contemporary with *Petrarch* and *Mantuan*, and not long before *Taſſo*. The author wrote upon the four *Cardinal Virtues*; but Sir John Denham tranſlated only the two firſt, 'not (he tells us) to turn the kindneſs he in'tended the author into an injury; for the two laſt 'are little more than repetitions and recitals of the 'firſt; and (to make a juſt excuſe for him) they could 'not well be otherwiſe, ſince the two laſt virtues are 'but deſcendants from the firſt, *Prudence* being the true 'mother of *Temperance*, and true *Fortitude* the child 'of *Juſtice* (16). XXIV. *The Progreſs of Learning.* XXV. *Cato Major, of Old Age, a Poem.* It is taken from the Latin of *Tully*, though much altered from the original, not only by the change of the ſtyle, but by addition and ſubſtraction. Our author tells us, that 'intending to tranſlate this piece into proſe (where 'tranſlation ought to be ſtrict) finding the matter very 'proper for verſe, he took the liberty to leave out 'what was only neceſſary to that age and place, and 'to take, or add, what was proper to this preſent age 'and occaſion, by laying the ſenſe cloſer, and in fewer 'words, according to the ſtyle and ear of theſe times.'

(13) See the Remark [*B*].

(14) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(15) See the Remark [*E*].

(16) Poems, &c. by Sir John Denham, p. 90.

The

He died at his office near Whitehall, in March 1688, and was interred in Weſtminſter, near the tombs of Chaucer, Spencer, and Cowley (e).

(e) Wood, ibid. col. 423.

The three firſt parts, ſays he, *I dedicate to my old friends, to take off thoſe melancholy reflexions, which the ſenſe of age, infirmity, and death, may give them. The laſt part I think neceſſary for the conviction of thoſe many, who believe not, or at leaſt mind not, the immortality of the ſoul, of which the Scripture ſpeaks only poſitively, as a Law-giver, with an* Ipſe dixit. *But if a Heathen Philoſopher bring ſuch arguments from reaſon, nature, and ſecond cauſes, which none of our atheiſtical Sophiſters can confute, if they may ſtand convinced, that there is an immortality of the ſoul, I hope they will ſo weigh the conſequences, as neither to talk, nor live, as if there was no ſuch thing* (17). XXVI. *The Sophy, a Tragedy* (18). The above pieces have been ſeveral times printed together, in one volume, in 12*mo*, under the title of *Poems and Tranſlations, with the Sophy, a Tragedy: Written by the Honourable Sir John Denham, Knight of the Bath.* The ſixth edition is of 1719. Beſides theſe, Anthony Wood mentions *A Panegyrick on his Excellency the Lord General* George Monk, *Commander in Chief*, &c. Lond. 1659, in one ſheet, in 4*to*. Though our author's name is not to it, it was generally aſcribed to him. *A Prologue to his Majeſty at the firſt play preſented at the* Cock-Pit *in* Whitehall, *being part of that noble entertainment, which their Majeſties received, Nov.* 19, *ann.* 1660, *from his Grace the Duke of Albemarle.* This Prologue was printed at London, in 1660, on one ſide of a broad ſheet of paper.. *A new Verſion of the Pſalms of David. The True Preſbyterian without diſguiſe: or, a character of a Preſbyterian's ways and actions.* Lond. 1680, in half a ſheet in *folio*. Our author's name is to this poem; but it was then queſtioned by many whether he was the author of it. In the year 1666, there were printed by ſtealth, in 8*vo*, certain *Poems* intituled, *Directions to a Painter*, in four copies or parts, each dedicated to King Charles II. They were very ſatirically written againſt ſeveral perſons engaged in the Dutch war in 1665. At the end of them was a piece intituled, *Clarendon's Houſe-warming*, and after that his *Epitaph*, both containing bitter reflexions on Edward Earl of Clarendon. Sir John Denham's name is to theſe pieces; but they were generally thought to be written by Andrew Marvel, Eſq; The Printer of them, being diſcovered, was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory for the ſame (19).

(17) Ibid. p. 119.

(18) See the Remark [A].

(19) Wood, ibid. col. 423, 424.

T

DENNY (Sir ANTHONY) Knight, favourite, and one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, to King Henry VIII, was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Denny [A], of Cheſhunt, in the county of Hertford, Eſq; by Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Mannock (a). He had his education in St Paul's ſchool, London, under the famous William Lilly (b); and afterwards in St John's College in Cambridge: in both which places he ſo improved himſelf, that he became an excellent ſcholar, as well as a perſon of great worth (c). His merit having made him known at Court, he was conſtituted, by King Henry VIII, one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, Groom of the Stole, and a Privy-Counſellor; and likewiſe received the honour of Knighthood from that Prince (d): with whom being in great favour, he raiſed a conſiderable eſtate upon the ruins of the diſſolved Monaſteries. For, in 1537, King Henry gave him the Priory of Hertford, together with divers other lands and manors [B]. He further granted him, in 1539, on the 15th of December, the office of Steward of the manor of Bedwell and Little Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire [C]. Beſides which, Sir Anthony alſo obtained the manor of Butterwick, in the pariſh of St Peter in St Alban's (e); the manors of the Rectory, and of the Nunnery, in the pariſh of Cheſhunt (f); and of Great Amwell (g), all in the county of Hertford. Moreover, in 1541, there was a large grant made to him, by Act of Parliament, of ſeveral lands that had belonged to the Abbey of St Alban's, lately diſſolved [D]. Not

(a) From the pedigree of the family of the Denny's, taken by Sir M. Cary, and inſerted into the *Hiſtorical Antiq. of Hertfordſhire*, by Sir Henry Chauncy. Edit. fol. 1700. p. 298.

(b) See the life of Dr John Colet, &c. by Samuel Knight, D. D. 8vo. Lond. 1724. in the Miſcellanies, at the end, No. 4. p. 392.

(c) See the life of Sir John Cheke, &c. by John Strype, M. A. 8vo. edit. 1705. p. 217.

(d) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

(e) Hiſtor. Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, &c. by Sir Henry Chauncy, as above, p. 460.

(f) Idem, p. 301.

(g) Ibid. p. 283.

[A] *Was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Denny.*] The family of Denny is traced up by ſome as high as the year of Chriſt 725. About that time, the Moors having invaded France with a prodigious army, were oppoſed by Charles Martel: who had under him an officer named *Denny*, by whoſe bravery and conduct the French ſlew thirty thouſand of the enemy in one battle, and got a glorious victory. Deſcended from him, as is ſuppoſed, was *John Denny*, Eſq; who ſerved King Henry V, in his wars in France, and being ſlain there, was buried at St Denis in Paris. His deſcendants were ——*Henry*: ——*William*, of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, and High-Sheriff of that county in the year 1480 (1)——*Edmund*, [whom Sir William Dugdale by miſtake calls Edward (2)] He was a Clerk in the Exchequer; and in 1504 conſtituted the King's Remembrancer (3): and on the 6th of May 1514, one of the Barons of the Exchequer (4). He died on the 22d of December 1520 (5).——His eldeſt ſon, John, died without iſſue: and his ſecond ſon ——*Thomas*, was the father of Sir *Anthony*, who is the ſubject of this article.

(1) Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, p. 12.

(2) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Chronica Juridicialia, under the year 1514.

(5) Chauncy, as above, p. 298.

[B] *Together with divers other lands and manors.*] Particularly the tythes iſſuing out of Almeſhoe-manor in St Hippolits near Hitchin (6).

(6) Chauncy, as above, p. 399.

[C] *The office of Steward of the manor of Bedwell and little Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire.*] And, moreover, the office of Keeper of the park of Bedwell, and the deer; and of Keeper of the dwelling-houſe of Bedwell: alſo the herbage and pannage of the ſaid park, and the free-warren of the rabbets, within the pariſhes of Eſſingdon and Berkhamſtead (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 280.

[D] *Moreover, in* 1541, *there was a large grant made to him, by Act of Parliament, of ſeveral lands that had belonged to the abbey of St Alban's lately diſſolved.*] For in the Parliament begun at Weſtminſter the 16th of January 33 Henry VIII, it was enacted, that Anthony Denny, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, ſhould have to him and his heirs, all the manor or lordſhip of the king of Parkbury in the county of Hertford, and all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances in *Park*, called Boreham, Spirth, and Grimeſgate-field, late in the occupation of John Coningſby, the firſt crop of a meadow in *Park* called Mapenham-mead, ſeven acres of land called Cleypits next Eiwood; one annual penſion or yearly rent of 26*s*. 8*d*. accuſtomed to be paid yearly out of the vicarage of St Stephen, all the tythes of hay in Sleep, Smalford, Thread, Huſſes, and Beach, the two watermills called the Park-mill and the Moor-mill, with all watercourſes and profits belonging to them, the grange or farm called the Bech, and the grange or meſſuage called Butterwick, in the pariſh of St Peter's; the views of Franc-pledge, courts, profits of views of franc-pledge and courts, heriots, relieves, eſcheats, waifes, eſtraies, wards, marriages, liberties, and all other hereditaments with their appurtenances, in the pariſhes of St Stephens, Park, Sleep, Smalford, Thread, Huſſes, and Beach, Boreham, Idleſtre, Britiſh, and Naſthide, belonging to the manor of Parkbury, alſo Stordwood, Beach-grove, Ballſgrove, Meadgrove, Butterwick-copice, Haily-grove, and Parkgrove; except Cowley-mill, Stanford-mill, Sopwell-mill, and the advowſons and patronages of churches, chapels, and chauntries, to hold of the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in chief by Knights ſervice, to wit by the

Not content with that, he found means to procure a thirty-one years leaſe, of the many large and rich demeſnes, that had been poſſeſſed by Waltham-Abbey in Eſſex (*b*): of which his lady purchaſed afterwards the reverſion [*E*]. In 1544, the King gave him the advantageous Wardſhip of Margaret, the only daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Audeley, deceaſed (*i*). On the 31ſt of Auguſt 1546, he was commiſſioned, with John Gate, and William Clerk, Eſquires, to ſign all warrants in the King's name (*k*). In this reign he did an eminent ſervice to the great ſchool of Sedberg in Yorkſhire, belonging to the College wherein he had received his education. For, the building being fallen to decay, and the lands appropriated thereto ſold and embezzled, he cauſed the ſchool to be repaired, and not only recovered, but alſo ſettled the eſtate ſo firmly, as to prevent all future alienations (*l*). When King Henry VIII was on his death-bed, Sir Anthony had the honeſty and courage to put him in mind of his approaching end; and deſired him, to raiſe his thoughts to heaven, to think of his paſt life, and to call on God for mercy through Jeſus Chriſt (*m*). So great an opinion had that King of him, that he appointed him one of the executors of his will, and one of the Counſellors to his ſon and ſucceſſor King Edward VI: and bequeathed him a legacy of three hundred pounds (*n*). He did not live long after this: for he died in the year 1550 (*o*); Dr Fuller being miſtaken when he ſays it was in 1548 (*p*). By his wife Joan, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury in Devonſhire, a Lady of great beauty and parts [*F*], he had ſix children; of whom Henry, the eldeſt, was father of Edward Denny, knighted in 1589, ſummoned to Parliament in 1605, and advanced, on the 24th of October 1626, to the dignity of Earl of Norwich (*q*). As for Sir Anthony Denny's character; one of his contemporaries informs us, that his whole time and cares were taken up with, and employed about, Religion, Learning, and the care of the Public (*r*): and highly commended him for his prudence and humanity. The learned Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, wrote an excellent epitaph for him, ſome years before his deceaſe [*G*]. And Sir John Cheke, who had a great eſteem for him, honoured his memory with an elegant Heroick Poem [*H*].

(*b*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey at the end of his Hiſtory of the Church. Lond. 1655. p. 12.

(*i*) Chauncy, as above, p. 129.

(*k*) Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer. Tom. XV. p. 100.

(*l*) Fuller, as above, & Aſcham Ep. p. 331.

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. i. 2d edit. p. 350.

(*n*) Conventiones, &c. by T. Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 101. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book v. p. 243, &c.

(*o*) Chauncy, as above, p. 129.

(*p*) Fuller, Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

(*q*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) *Religio, Doctrina, Reſpublica, omnes curas tuas ſic occupant, ut extra has tres res nullum tempus conſumat.* Aſcham Epiſtol. commend. p. 329. Edit. Oxon. 1703.

the 20th part of one whole Knight's-fee, at the yearly rent of 1*l* 10*d*. ſterling, payable at the feaſt of St Michael the archangel (8).

(8) Statut. 33 H. VIII. See the Hiſtorical Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, &c. as above, p. 494, 504.

[*E*] *Of which his Lady purchaſed afterwards the reverſion.*] She bought it of King Edward VI, for the ſum of three thouſand pounds and upwards; and obtained with it large privileges in Waltham-foreſt (9).

(9) Fuller's Hiſtory of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

[*F*] *A Lady of great beauty and parts.*] And alſo a favourer of the Reformed Religion, in the moſt dangerous times. For ſhe ſent eight ſhillings by her man to Anne Aſcough, when ſhe was impriſoned in the Counter (10).

(10) Fuller, ibid. and Fox's Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1238, 1239.

[*G*] *Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, wrote an epitaph for him, ſome years before his deceaſe.*] Which is as follows:

Death, and the King, did, as it were, contend,
Which of them two bare Denny greateſt love:
The King, to ſhew his love can farre extend,
Did him advance his betters farre above.
Nere place, much wealth, great honour, eke him gave,
To make it knowne, what power great Princes have.

But when death came with his triumphant gift,
From worldly carke (*) he quit his wearied ghoſt
Free from the corpes, and ſtraight to Heaven it lift.
Now deme that can, who did for Denny moſt.
The King gave welth, but fading and unſure:
Death brought him bliſſe, that ever ſhall endure.

(*) *i. e.* Cares.

(11) Hiſtory of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

This epitaph, as Mr Fuller obſerves (11), was made by a poetical prolepſis, or anticipation. For, the noble and ingenious author of it did not ſurvive Sir Antony; being ſacrificed, in the year 1546, to the jealouſy of that bruriſh tyrant Henry VIII.

[*H*] *Sir John Cheke——honoured his memory with an elegant Heroick Poem.*] In which he highly commends his piety, his zeal for religion, his obliging behaviour to the King his maſter, his readineſs to do good to all, his inoffenfive temper, &c. Some of the verſes are as follow:

Deneius venit ad ſuperos mortalia linquens,
Britannos inter clarus——
Quis dignam illius factis vocem, quis promere verba
Poſſit, & excelſas laudes æquare canendo?
Quæ pietas, & quanta viri? Quis fervor in illo
Relligionis erat? Quam purus cultus in illo
Cæleſtis patris? Quanta in Chriſtum Fidei vis
Extitit illius ſacrata morte redempti?
Munera quæ rurſum? Quos & libavit Honores
Juſtitiæque Speique Deo? Quæ Victima laudis
Cæſa fuit? ——
O quibus Hic (*) Studiis, quo illum eſt amplexus amore, (*) Hen. VIII.
Quem ſibi ſubjectumque bonum, ſervumque fidelem
Scribat, & officia hæc haud parvo munere penſans,
Oſtendit ſe herumque bonum, regemque benignum.
Conſiliumque Lepos quantum ſuperadditus auget,
Et juvat optatas ad res bene conficiendas,
Ille alios tantum ſuperat, qui flectere mentem
Henrici potuit, miſcens nunc utile dulci,
Seria nunc levibus texens, nunc grandia parvis.
Quam facilem curſum hic aliis ad vota ſequenda
Fecerat, atque aditum multis facilem patefecit?
Quam bona multa aliis, & quam mala nulla cuiquam
Intulit? Et laudem ſummam virtutis habebat
Hujus, qui nullos nec apertos læſerat hoſtes, &c. (12).

(12) Life of J. Cheke, as above, by J. Strype, p. 219, 229.

C

DERHAM (WILLIAM) a moſt excellent Chriſtian Philoſopher, and Divine, who flouriſhed in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was born at Stowton near Worceſter, on the 26th of November 1657. He had his ſchool-education at Blockley in his native county, under the Reverend Mr Nathaniel Collier: And, May 14, 1675, in the eighteenth year of his age, was admitted into Trinity-College, Oxon. under the tuition of the learned Dr Willes, father of the preſent Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts January 28, 1678-9; and by that time, had ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and other valuable and eminent qualifications, that he was earneſtly recommended by Dr Ralph Bathurſt, then Preſident of Trinity-College, to Dr Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury: By whoſe intereſt and recommendation, he became Chaplain, as ſoon as he had entered into

holy orders, to Catharine Lady Dowager Grey of Warke. He was ordained Deacon by Dr Compton, Biſhop of London, May 29, 1681, and Prieſt by Biſhop Ward, juſt now mentioned, July 9, 1682. On the 5th of July 1682, he was preſented by Mr Neville to the Vicarage of Wargrave in Berkſhire. But he did not long continue there, for, on the 31ſt of Auguſt 1689, he was preſented by Mrs Jane Bray to the Rectory of Upminſter in Eſſex (*a*), a living of above two hundred pounds value, and not more than fifteen miles from London: Which lying at ſo convenient a diſtance from that metropolis of the kingdom, gave him an opportunity of converſing, and keeping a correſpondence, with the greateſt virtuoſo's in the nation. Being therefore placed in that quiet and retired ſtation, ſuitable to his contemplative and philoſophical temper, he applied himſelf, with great eagerneſs, to the ſtudy of Nature, and to Mathematicks, and Experimental Philoſophy. In which he became ſo eminent, that he was, ſoon after, choſe Fellow of the Royal Society. And he proved one of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious Members of it, frequently publiſhing, in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, curious obſervations, and valuable pieces, of which the particulars follow. 'Part of a Letter —— dated Dec. 6, 1697. Giving 'an account of ſome Experiments about the Height of the Mercury in the Barometer, 'at top and bottom of the Monument:' [in London] and a Deſcription of a portable Barometer (*b*). 'A Letter —— dated Jan. 13, 1697-8, about a contrivance to meaſure 'the Height of the Mercury of the Barometer, by a Circle on one of the Weather-'plates: With a Regiſter, or Diary of the Weather, obſerved every day at Upminſter, 'during the year 1697 (*c*).' 'A Letter to Dr Sloane; with a Regiſter of the Weather, 'Winds, Barometer's Height, and Quantity of Rain falling at Upminſter in Eſſex, 'during the year 1698 (*d*).' A Regiſter of the Weather, *&c.* as above, for the year 1699 (*e*) [*A*]. Obſervations on the Death-Watch; or, that Inſect which makes a Noiſe like the Beats of a Watch (*f*). Obſervations on the Weather, Rain, Winds, *&c.* for 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702. compared with other Obſervations made at Townley in Lancaſhire by Mr Townley, and communicated to our author (*g*). An Account of ſome Spots obſerved in the Sun in June 1703 (*h*). Obſervations on the Great Storm Nov. 26, 1703 (*i*). The Hiſtory of the Death-Watch (*k*) [*B*]. Account of an Inſtrument for finding the Meridian, with a Deſcription of the ſame (*l*). Experiments on the Motion of Pendulums *in vacuo* (*m*). A Proſpect of the Weather, Winds, and Height of the Mercury in the Barometer, on the firſt day of the Month; and of the whole Rain in every Month in the year 1703, and the beginning of 1704. Obſerved at Townley in Lancaſhire by R. Townley, Eſq; and at Upminſter in Eſſex by our author (*n*). Account of a Glade of Light ſeen in the Heavens, 20 March, 1705-6 (*o*). Tables of the Weather, *&c.* for the year 1705 (*p*). Account of a pyramidal Appearance in the Heavens, ſeen in Eſſex April 3, 1707 (*q*). Experiments and Obſervations on the Motion of Sound: in Latin, a long and curious paper (*r*) [*C*]. On the Migration of Birds (*s*). Account of an Eclipſe of the Sun Sept. 3, 1708, as obſerved at Upminſter (*t*): And of an Eclipſe of the Moon, Sept. 18, 1708 (*u*). Account of a ſtrange Meteor, or *Aurora Borealis*, in Sept. or Octob. 1706 (*w*). An Account of a Child's crying in the Womb (*x*) [*D*]. The Hiſtory of the great Froſt in 1708 (*y*). Account of Spots obſerved in the Sun by our author, from 1703 to 1708 (*z*): and from 1707 to 1711 (*a*). Of ſubterraneous Trees found at Dagenham-Breach in Eſſex (*b*). Account of an Eclipſe of the Moon, ſeen at Upminſter

(*a*) Moſt of theſe particulars, eſpecially the dates, were communicated to us by his worthy ſon, Dr W. Derham, Fellow of St John's College, Oxon.

(*b*) No. 236, p. 2, &c. of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

(*c*) No. 237, p. 45, &c.

(*d*) Ibid. No. 249, p. 45, &c.

(*e*) No. 262, p. 527.

(*f*) No. 271, p. 832.

(*g*) No. 286, p. 1443.

(*h*) No. 288, p. 1504.

(*i*) No. 289, p. 1530.

(*k*) No. 291, p. 1586.

(*l*) No. 291, p. 1578.

(*m*) No. 294, p. 1785.

(*n*) No. 297, p. 1877.

(*o*) No. 305, p. 2220.

(*p*) No. 309, p. 2378.

(*q*) No. 310, p. 2411.

(*r*) No. 313, p. 2.

(*s*) No. 315, p. 123.

(*t*) No. 320, p. 312.

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 310.

(*x*) No. 324, p. 485, 487.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 454.

(*z*) No. 330, p. 270.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 278.

(*b*) No. 335, p. 478.

[*A*] *A Regiſter of the Weather*, &c.] In theſe Regiſters, he exhibits to view, in ſeparate columns, every day at the hours of 8, 12, and 9, the *Weather*, *Winds*, *Clouds*, height of the *Barometer*, (and in that for 1699 only, of the *Thermometer*) *Rain*, &c.

[*B*] *The Hiſtory of the Death-watch.*] In treating of this inſect, he gives, firſt, a draught of it as it appeareth to the naked eye, and as magnified with a microſcope. Then he informs us, That it is very much like a louſe in ſhape and colour, but runneth more nimbly: and is common in every houſe in the warm months; but in the cold ſeaſon of the year, they hide themſelves in dry and obſcure places. Their eggs, which are much ſmaller than the nits of lice, though ſhaped like them but more tranſparent, they lay in dry duſty places. Theſe are hatch'd by the warmth of the approaching ſpring, about the begining of March; and at the firſt leaving their egg-ſhell, are perfectly like the mites in cheeſe, but exceedingly ſmall, ſo as ſcarce to be diſcerned by the ſharpeſt eye, without the help of a Convex-glaſs. In this ſhape they continue ſix weeks, or two months, and then gradually grow to their more perfect ſtate. Their *ticking noiſe* is a wooing-act, and is commonly in July, and about the beginning of Auguſt. But they do not every Year beat alike, doing it ſometimes ſooner, ſometimes later, ſometimes much, ſometimes little. After they have ſpent ſome time in ticking, they copulate. Death-watches, both young and old, feed upon dead inſects, and upon little crumbs of biſket, tallow, &c. mix'd among the duſt.

[*C*] *Experiments and obſervations on the motion of ſound, &c.*] In this curious paper, he obſerves, (in the firſt place,) the diſagreement between the moſt eminent authors concerning the velocity of ſound, that is, how many Engliſh feet a ſound moves in one ſecond of time; and gives a table of it. Then from the experiments he had made upon that ſubject, he deduces the following obſervations, That there is no variation of ſound from the different elevation or direction of the gun: that the motion of ſound, is not alter'd by the alterations in the air: that ſounds produced from different bodies, move with the ſame velocity: that the motion of ſound is uniform. He likewiſe treats therein of the following ſubjects; of an echo at a great diſtance, and in the air; and of the motion of echo's; of the aſcending and deſcending of ſounds; of the remiſſneſs and intenſeneſs of ſounds, according to the alteration of the air; of the influence of winds, on the motion of ſounds; of the velocity of winds, and of ſounds. Experiments on ſounds made in Italy, &c.

[*D*] *An account of a child's crying in the womb.*] 'Twas the child of one Clark of Horn-Church is Eſſex, who was heard to cry in his mother's womb, at times, for five weeks. And though the poſſibility of ſuch a thing is queſtion'd by Etmuller and Diemerbroek (1), yet our author proves from ſeveral matters of fact, that it is not only poſſible, but alſo has happen'd many times; although it was not of ſo long continuance, and with ſuch frequent re-iterations of the crying, as it happened in this inſtance.

(1) Etmullerl *Diſſertat. de abſtruſo reſpirationis humanæ negotio*, &c. where Diemerbroek's opinion is related.

[*E*] *Miſchiefs*

Upminſter Jan. 12, 1711-12 (*c*). Of a Woman big with Child, and having the Small-pox, delivered of a Child having the ſame Diſtemper, Sept. 8, 1713 (*d*). An Account of the Rain at Upminſter for eighteen Years (*e*). Tables of the Barometrical Altitudes for 1708, at Zurich in Switzerland; and of the Rain at Piſa in Italy, and Zurich, and Upminſter, for 1707, 1708. With Remarks on the Winds, Heat, and Cold, *&c* (*f*). Miſchiefs occaſioned by ſwallowing the Stones of Bullace and Sloes (*g*) [*E*]. Extracts from Mr Gaſcoigne's and Mr Crabtrie's Letters, proving Mr Gaſcoigne to have been the Inventer of the Teleſcopick Sights of Mathematical Inſtruments, and not the French (*h*). Obſervations about Waſps, and the Difference of their Sexes (*i*) [*F*]. Obſervations on the *Lumen Boreale*, or Streaming, on Oct. 8, 1726 (*k*). Tables of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites, from 1700 to the Year 1727; with Remarks on thoſe Tables (*l*). The Difference in Time of the Meridians of divers Places computed from Obſervations of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites (*m*). A Letter to Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. R. S. Pr. *&c.* containing a Deſcription of ſome uncommon Appearances obſerved in an *Aurora Borealis*, the thirteenth of October, 1728 (*n*). Of the Meteor called the *Ignis Fatuus* [Will of the wiſp] from obſervations made in England, by our Author, and others in Italy, communicated by Sir Thomas Dereham, Bart. (*o*) [*G*]. I have placed theſe ſeveral pieces here together, becauſe they are of the ſame kind and nature, and were all publiſhed in the ſame collection, *i. e.* the Philoſophical Tranſactions. To return now to other books compoſed in the mean time by our ingenious author. He publiſhed in his younger years, 'The Artificial Clock-maker. A Treatiſe of Watch and Clock-work, 'ſhewing to the meaneſt Capacities, the Art of Calculating Numbers to all Sorts of 'Movements; the Way to alter Clock-work; to make Chimes, and ſet them to Muſical 'Notes; and to calculate and correct the Motion of Pendulums. Alſo Numbers for di-'vers Movements: With the ancient and modern Hiſtory of Clock-work; and many 'Inſtruments, Tables, and other Matters, never before publiſhed in any other book [*H*]. The fourth Edition, with large Emendations, was publiſhed in 1734, 12*mo*. In the years 1711 and 1712, he preached ſixteen Sermons at Mr Boyle's Lecture [*I*], which, having put into a new form, he publiſhed in 1713, under this title, 'Phyſico-Theology: 'or, a Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God, from his Works of Crea-'tion. Being the Subſtance of Sixteen Sermons preached in St Mary le Bow Church, 'London, at the Honourable Mr Boyle's Lectures, in the year 1711 and 1712. With 'large Notes, and many curious Obſervations, 8*vo* [*K*].' And, in purſuance of the ſame

(*c*) No. 336, p. 522.

(*d*) No. 337, p. 165.

(*e*) No. 341, p. 130.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 342.

(*g*) No. 349, p. 484.

(*h*) No. 352, p. 603.

(*i*) No. 382, p. 53.

(*k*) No. 398, p. 245.

(*l*) No. 402, p. 415.

(*m*) No. 407, p. 33.

(*n*) No. 410, p. 137.

(*o*) No. 411, p. 204. Our ingenious author communicated alſo to the Royal Society, ſeveral pieces which he received from his learned correſpondents. See Philoſophic. Tranſactions, No. 366, p. 121. No. 369, p. 250. & No. 382, p. 67.

[*E*] *Miſchiefs occaſioned by ſwallowing the ſtones of bullace and ſloes.*] There being a notion, 'that the 'ſtones of ſloes, cherries, &c. are uſeful in preventing 'a ſurfeit from the fruit,' our ingenious author ſhews in this paper, the danger of that ill-grounded opinion, in the inſtance of a neighbouring clergyman's ſervant: who having in his youth been a great lover of fruit, uſed greedily to devour all ſorts he could come at, and bullace and ſloes being the eaſieſt to be gotten, he uſed to ſwallow great quantities of them, without evacuating many of the ſtones by ſtool. But the conſequence of it was, That he came to have exceſſive pains in his ſtomach, and to vomit up, whatever he eat. At length, after violent vomitings, he brought up, at divers times, above one hundred and twenty bullace and ſloe-ſtones, beſides many others of which he could not keep account.

[*F*] *Obſervations about waſps, &c.*] In theſe obſervations he ſhews, that there are three ſorts of waſps. The *Queens*, or *Females*, which never work; the *Kings*, or *Males*; and the *common Labouring Waſps*; each of them very diſtinct. The Queen, or Female-Waſp (by many called the *King-Waſp*) is much longer in the body, and larger, than any other Waſp. The Male-Waſps are leſſer than the Queens, but as much longer and larger than the common Waſps, as the Queen is longer and larger than theſe. Theſe males alſo have no ſtings, which the Queens and common Waſps all have. And they may be known from other Waſps, by their *Antennæ*, or horns; which are longer and larger than either thoſe of the Queen or common Waſps, and with them they ſeem, in running, to feel more than the others do. But the grand and chief difference, are the parts of generation of theſe Male-Waſps, which the curious author accurately deſcribes (2).

(2) Ubi ſupra, No. 382, p. 53, &c.

[*G*] *Of the Meteor call'd the* Ignis Fatuus, &c.] He proves in this paper, from obſervations made by himſelf and by Sir Tho. Dereham, that the *Ignes Fatui* are not, as divers ſkilful Naturaliſts have imagined, only the ſhining of a great number of the Male-Glow worms in England, or of the *Pyrauſtæ* in Italy, flying together; but, are very much like that ſort of *Phoſphorus*, which doth indeed ſhine in the dark, but doth not burn any thing as common fire doth. Moreover, that they appear, in Italy, moſtly in moraſſy grounds, in dark nights, and in cold, ſnowy, and even rainy weather; but not ſo much in ſummer (3).

(3) No. 411, as above, p. 204, &c.

[*H*] *The Artificial Clock-Maker, &c.*] In the preface the ingenious author informs us, that 'this little book was 'a part of the diverſion of his juvenile years, and at firſt 'drawn up in a rude manner, only to pleaſe himſelf, and 'divert the vacant hours of a ſolitary country life. But 'was publiſh'd, purely in hopes of its doing ſome good in 'the world, among ſuch whoſe genius and leiſure lead 'them to mechanical ſtudies, or thoſe whoſe buſineſs 'and livelihood it is.' ——— Afterwards he adds, — 'Upon the account of the innocence of my end in 'publiſhing this book, and that it was written only as 'the harmleſs (I may add alſo the virtuous) ſport of 'leiſure hours; I think myſelf excuſable to God and 'the world, for the expence of ſo much time, on a 'ſubject different from my profeſſion.'

[*I*] *In the years* 1711 *and* 1712, *he preached ſixteen Sermons at Mr Boyle's lecture.*] How he came to be appointed to preach that lecture, he tells us in the following words. ——(4) 'Having the honour to be a 'member of the Royal Society, as well as a Divine, 'I was minded to try what I could do towards the im-'provement of Philoſophical matters to Theological 'uſes; and accordingly laid a ſcheme of what I have 'here publiſhed a part of, and when I had little elſe 'to do, I drew up what I had to ſay, making it ra-'ther the diverting exerciſes of my leiſure hours, than 'more ſerious Theological ſtudies. This work (altho' 'I made a conſiderable progreſs in it at firſt, whilſt a 'novelty, yet) having no thoughts of publiſhing, I 'laid aſide, until your Grace, being informed of my 'deſign by ſome of my learned friends both of the 'Clergy and laity, was pleaſed to call me to the un-'expected honour of preaching Mr Boyle's lectures: 'an honour I was little aware of in my country pri-'vacy, and not much acquainted with perſons in high 'ſtations, and not at all particularly, with your 'Grace.'——

(4) In the Dedication of his Phyſico-Theology to Thomas Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

[*K*] *Phyſico-Theology, &c.*] This curious treatiſe, which was intended for young gentlemen at the univerſities (5), is divided into eleven books, ſubdivided into the following chapters. Book I. Of the outworks of the terraqueous globe in general. Ch. 1. Of the

(5) See the Preface to that book, p. 8.

ſame noble and pious deſign, he publiſhed, in 1714, 'Aſtro-Theology: or, a Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God, from a Survey of the Heavens. Illuſtrated with Copper-plates, 8vo [*L*].' Upon the acceſſion of the late King George I, due notice being taken of our learned author's worth and ingenuity, his preſent Majeſty, then Prince of Wales, made him his Chaplain, and procured for him a Canonry of Windſor, into which he was inſtalled Sept. 19, 1716. The Univerſity of Oxford, likewiſe, in conſideration of his merit, learning, and ingenuity, conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, by diploma, the 26th of June 1730 [*M*]. But to return to our author's writings: When Eleazar Albin publiſhed his Natural Hiſtory of Birds, and Engliſh Inſects (*p*), with many beautiful Cuts, they appeared illuſtrated 'with very curious 'Notes and Obſervations by our learned Author.' And he alſo reviſed *Miſcellanea Curioſa* (*q*). The laſt thing he publiſhed of his own compoſition, was, 'Chriſto-Theology: 'or, a Demonſtration of the Divine Authority of the Chriſtian Religion, being the Subſtance of a Sermon preached at Bath, on November 2, 1729, and publiſhed at the 'earneſt Requeſt of the Auditory. *Lond.* 1730, 8vo.' — It was not only with his own writings that this excellent author obliged the world, but alſo with thoſe of ſeveral great and learned men. For he publiſhed ſome pieces of the late moſt worthy and ingenious Mr Ray [*N*], and gave new editions of others, with great additions from the author's own

(*p*) In four volumes, 4to.

(*q*) In three volumes, 8vo. 1726.

the atmoſphere in general. Ch. 2. Of the winds. Ch. 3. Of the clouds and rain. Ch. 4. Of light. Ch. 5. Of gravity. Book II. Of the terraqueous globe itſelf in general. Ch. 1. Of the figure of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 2. Of the bulk of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 3. The motions of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 4. Of the place and ſituation of the terraqueous globe, in reſpect of the heavenly bodies. Ch. 5. The diſtribution of the earth and waters. Ch. 6. The great variety and quantity of all things upon, and in the terraqueous globe, provided for the uſes of the world. Book III. Of the terraqueous globe in particular, more eſpecially the earth. Ch. 1. Of the ſoils and moulds in the earth. Ch. 2. Of the various *ſtrata* or beds obſervable in the earth. Ch. 3. Of the ſubterraneous caverns, and the vulcano's. Ch. 4. Of the mountains and vallies. Book IV. Of animals in general. Ch. 1. Of the five ſenſes in general. Ch. 2. Of the eye. Ch. 3. Of the ſenſe of hearing; and of ſound. Ch. 4. Of the ſenſe of ſmelling. Ch. 5. Of the taſte. Ch. 6. Of the ſenſe of feeling. Ch. 7. Of reſpiration. Ch. 8. Of the motion of animals. Ch. 9. Of the place allotted to the ſeveral tribes of animals. Ch. 10. Of the ballance of animals, or the due proportion in which the world is ſtocked with them. Ch. 11. Of the food of animals. The apparatus for the gathering, preparing, and digeſtion of the food; and the great Sagacity of animals in finding out and providing their food. Animals care of their young, and the preſervation of animals in winter. Ch. 12. Of the cloathing of animals. Ch. 13. Of the houſes and habitations of animals. Ch. 14. Of animals ſelf-preſervation. Ch. 15. Of the generation of animals. A ſurvey of the particular tribes of animals. Book V. A ſurvey of man. Ch. 1. Of the ſoul of man. Of man's invention. Ch. 2. Of man's body, particularly its poſture. Ch. 3. Of the figure and ſhape of man's body, Ch. 4. Of the ſtature and ſize of man's body. Ch. 5. Of the ſtructure of the parts of man's body. Ch. 6. Of the placing the parts of man's body. Ch. 7. Of the proviſion in man's body againſt evils. Ch. 8. Of the conſent between the parts of man's body. Ch. 9. Of the variety of men's faces, voices, and hand-writing. Book VI. A ſurvey of quadrupeds. Ch. 1. Of their prone poſture. Ch. 2. Of the heads of quadrupeds. Ch. 3. Of the necks of quadrupeds. Ch. 4. Of the ſtomachs of quadrupeds. Ch. 5. Of the heart of quadrupeds. Ch. 6. Of the difference between man and quadrupeds in the nervous kind. Book VII. A ſurvey of birds. Ch. 1. Of the motion of birds, and the parts miniſtring thereto. Ch. 2. Of the head, ſtomach, and other parts of birds. Ch. 3. Of the migration of birds. Ch. 4. Of the incubation of birds. Book VIII. Of inſects and reptiles. Ch. 1. Of inſects in general. Ch. 2. Of the ſhape and ſtructure of inſects. Ch. 3. Of the eyes and *antennæ* of inſects. Ch. 4. Of the parts and motion of inſects. Ch. 5. The ſagacity of inſects to ſecure themſelves againſt winter. Ch. 6. Of the care of inſects about their young. Book IX. Of reptiles and the inhabitants of the waters. Ch. 1. Of reptiles. Ch. 2. Of the inhabitants of the waters. Book X. Of vegetables; their anatomy. Flowers and ſeeds; their ſupport. Vegetables that are peculiarly uſeful. Book XI. Contains practical inferences from the foregoing ſurvey. Wherein he ſhews, that God's works are great and excellent; ought to be enquired into; are manifeſt to all; ought to excite us to fear and obedience to God; and to thankfulneſs; and that we ought to pay God all due homage and worſhip, particularly that of the Lord's day.

This curious and valuable book hath paſſed through many editions (6), and been tranſlated into French, and ſeveral other languages.

(6) There were three editions of it within the firſt year. And the 8th was publiſhed in 1732.

[*L*] *Aſtro-Theology.*] This treatiſe is divided into eight books. Book 1. The magnitude of the univerſe. Book 2. Number of the heavenly bodies. Book 3. The due ſituation of them. Book 4. The motions of the heavens. Book 5. Of the figure of the heavenly bodies. Book 6. Of attraction and gravity. Book 7. Of light and heat. Book 8. Practical inferences—— It is dedicated to his preſent Majeſty, who was, at the time of its publication, Prince of Wales.

[*M*] *The univerſity of Oxford——conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma,* &c.] The diploma was as follows:

Cancellarius, Magiſtri, & Scholares Univerſitatis Oxonienſis Omnibus ad quos hæ Literæ pervenerint, ſalutem in Domino Sempiternam.

Cum eum in finem Honores Academici à majoribus noſtris inſtituti fuerint, ut Viri de re literaria bene meriti Gratia quadam peculiari inſignirentur; Cumq; Vir Reverendus & Doctiſſimus *Gulielmus Derham*, olim è Col. S. S. Trinitatis, A.M. & Eccleſiæ Windleſorienſis Canonicus, ob Libros ab ipſo editos (quibus Phyſicam & Matheſin auctiorem reddidit, & ad religionem veramque Fidem exornandam revocavit) apud Literatos tam exteros quam noſtrates in maximo pretio haberetur; Sciatis, Nos Cancellarium, Magiſtros, & Scholares antedictos, Virum cum primis Principi, Eccleſiæ, Orbique literato percarum, ſummo quo potuimus Honore proſequi volentes, eundem Reverendum Doctiſſimumq; *Gulielmum Derham* hoc 26 die menſis Junii A. D. 1730, in ſolenni & frequentiſſimo Doctorum & Magiſtrorum ſenatu, unanimi Suffragio, Doctorem in S. S. Theologia conſtituiſſe & renunciaſſe, eumque omnibus & ſingulis Doctoralis in S. Theologia Gradûs Privilegiis & Honoribus cumulaſſe. In cujus rei teſtimonium ac fidem, Publicum Univerſitatis noſtræ Oxon. Sigillum his literis apponi juſſimus. Dat. in Domo Convocationis noſtræ Die Annoq; ſupradict.

[*N*] *He publiſhed ſome pieces of the late moſt worthy and ingenious Mr Ray.*] Namely, I. Mr Ray's Synopſis of Birds and Fiſhes, under this title, Joannis Raii *Synopſis Methodica Avium & Piſcium; Opus Poſthumum, quod vivus recenſuit & perfecit ipſe inſigniſſimus author: In quo multas ſpecies, in ipſius Ornithologia & Ichthyologia deſideratas adjecit: Methodumque ſuam Piſcium Naturæ magis convenientem reddidit. Cum Appendice & Iconibus.* Lond. 1713, 8vo. The editor informs us in his preface, that this book was finiſhed by the learned author about the year 1693, or 1694, and lay a long time in the hands of a diſhoneſt bookſeller, who would neither publiſh it, nor let Mr Ray's friends have it again. II. In 1718, he publiſhed, 'Philoſophical

own manuſcripts [O]. To him the world is likewiſe indebted for the publication of the 'Philoſophical Experiments and Obſervations of the late eminent Dr Robert Hooke, 'F. R. S. and *Geom. Prof. Greſh.* and other eminent virtuoſo's in his time. *Lond.* 1726, '8*vo.* with copper Cuts.' Among other curioſities, of which he had great numbers, he had collected a ſpecimen of Inſects (*r*), and likewiſe nicely preſerved the male and female of moſt kinds of Birds in this iſland. Thus, this good and great man, having ſpent his life in the moſt agreeable ſtudy of Nature, and made all his reſearches therein ſubſervient to the glorious end of promoting the honour of God, and true piety and religion in the world [*P*], gave up his pious ſoul to his Maker on the 5th of April 1735, at Upminſter, and was buried there. Dr Derham, as to his perſon, was pretty tall, and ſeemed to be of a ſtrong and healthful conſtitution. His moral character was quite amiable; and, among other inſtances of his bounty, he was a Phyſician to the Bodies as well as to the Souls of his Pariſhioners; none, or but few, of them, having occaſion to apply to any one elſe but him for relief in the time of illneſs. Such was his ſkill in Phyſick, as well as in all other branches of Knowledge!

(*r*) See Philoſophical Tranſact. No. 291, p. 1586.

'phical Letters between the late learned Mr Ray, and 'ſeveral of his ingenious correſpondents, natives and 'foreigners. To which are added thoſe of Francis 'Willughby, Eſq; The whole conſiſting of many cu'rious diſcoveries and improvements in the hiſtory of 'quadrupeds, birds, fiſhes, inſects, plants, foſſils, '*&c.*' Lond. 8*vo.*

[O] *And gave new editions of others with great additions from the author's manuſcripts.*] That is, of 'The Wiſdom of God manifeſted in the Works of the 'Creation, *&c.*' the 6th edit. 8*vo*, 1714. And of 'Three Phyſico-Theological Diſcourſes, concerning, '1. The primitive chaos, and creation of the world. 'The general deluge, its cauſes and effects. 3. The 'diſſolution of the world, and future conflagration,' *&c.* The 3d edition, illuſtrated with copper-plates, and much more enlarged than the former editions, from the author's own MSS, 8*vo*, 1713.

[*P*] *Promoting the honour of God, and true piety and religion in the world.*] What he ſays himſelf of his Aſtro-Theology in particular (7), may in general be applied to his works; they are 'deſigned for the good 'of mankind, particularly for the conviction of infi'dels and irreligious, for the promotion of the fear 'and honour of God, and the cultivating of true reli'gion.'

(7) In the concluſion of the Preliminary Diſcourſe.

C

DEVEREUX (WALTER) the firſt Earl of Eſſex of this name and family, a General equally diſtinguiſhed for his courage and conduct, and a Nobleman not more illuſtrious by his titles than by his birth. He was deſcended from a moſt ancient and noble family, being the ſon of Sir Richard Devereux, Knight, by Dorothy, daughter of George Earl of Huntingdon (*a*), and grandſon of Walter Viſcount of Hereford, ſo created by King Edward the VIth, with a very peculiar circumſtance of honour (*b*) [*A*]. He was born about the year 1540, at his grandfather's caſtle in Carmarthenſhire (*c*), educated in his youth with all the care due to his high birth, and applied himſelf to his ſtudies with great diligence and ſucceſs (*d*). He ſucceeded to the titles of Viſcount Hereford and Lord Ferrers of Chartley, in the nineteenth year of his age (*e*), and being early diſtinguiſhed for his modeſty, learning, and loyalty, ſtood in high favour with his Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth (*f*). In the year 1569, upon the breaking out of that deſperate rebellion in the north, under the potent Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, he ſhewed his duty by raiſing a conſiderable body of forces (*g*), which joining thoſe belonging to the Lord Admiral and the Earl of Lincoln, he was declared Marſhal of the Army; which did good ſervice, in obliging the rebels to diſperſe, and the Earls to retire for ſhelter into Scotland (*h*). This behaviour ſo highly recommended him to the Queen, that, in 1572 (*i*), ſhe honoured him with the Garter, and on the 4th of May, the ſame year, created him Earl of Eſſex (*k*), as being deſcended, by his great grandmother, from the noble family of Bourchier, long before honoured with the ſame title (*l*). In the preamble of his patent, his deſcent from that houſe is mentioned, as well as the ſervice he had rendered the Queen by his aſſiſtance in the ſuppreſſing that formidable rebellion (*m*), and with great ceremony he was inveſted with his new dignity, being conducted into the Queen's preſence

(*a*) Baronagium Angliæ, A. D. 1596. MS. penes Author. fol. 12.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 177.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*d*) From the Biſhop of St David's Sermon at this Earl's Funeral. See note [G].

(*e*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 177.

(*f*) Speed's Hiſt. of England, p. 842.

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 664.

(*h*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1212. *b.* n. 40.

(*i*) Nobilitas politica vel civilis per Thom. Milles, fol. 1608. p. 180.

(*k*) Vincent's Correction of Brook's Catalogue, p. 187.

(*l*) Catalogue of the Succeſſions, &c. by R. Brook, p. 84.

(*m*) From a copy of this Earl's Patent.

[*A*] *With a very peculiar circumſtance of honour.*] This family of Devereux deſcended from William Devereux of Bodynham in the county of Hereford, of which he was Sheriff in the forty-fifth of Edw. III (1). His grandſon, Sir Walter Devereux, married Anne, ſole daughter and heir of William Lord Ferrers of Chartley; and in the thirty-fourth of Henry VI, was Sheriff of Glouceſterſhire (2). In the firſt year of Edward IV, he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Ferrers, and had large grants from the Crown, out of the forfeitures of thoſe who adhered to Henry VI (3). This Walter Lord Ferrers was ſlain at Boſworth field, fighting valiantly in the cauſe of Richard III (4). His ſon, John Lord Ferrers of Chartley, eſpouſed Cecily, daughter to Henry Bourchier Earl of Eſſex (5), by whom he had Walter his ſon and heir, who in the ſeventeenth of Henry VIII was conſtituted Juſtice of South Wales, being then Knight of the moſt noble Order (6) of the Garter. It was this noble perſon, who, on the ſecond of February, in the fourth of Edward VI, was advanced to the dignity of Viſcount Hereford (7), with this ſingular clauſe in his patent, 'that he and his heirs 'male, ſhould enjoy the rank and degree of Viſcount 'Hereford in all Parliaments and Councils within the 'realm of England, and other the King's territories 'and kingdoms (8);' which, in the opinion of Sir Richard St George, Garter King at Arms, gave the Viſcounts of Hereford a right to ſit in the Parliament of Ireland. This Walter Viſcount Hereford married, firſt, Mary, daughter of Thomas Marquis of Dorſet (9), by whom he had Sir Richard Devereux, Knt. father to Walter Earl of Eſſex of whom we are ſpeaking, and alſo Sir William Devereux, who died without iſſue male. By his ſecond wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Garniſh of Kenton, in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; he had one ſon, Sir Edward Devereux of Caſtle Bromwich in the county of Warwick, whoſe deſcendants were Viſcounts of Hereford (10), till the title became extinct in Price, late Lord Viſcount Hereford, who died July 22, 1748 (11).

(1) Rot. Fin. 45 E. III. membr. 8.

(2) Rot. Fin. 34 H. VI. mem. 6.

(3) Pat. 1 E. IV. p. 5. m. 1. Pat. 10 E. IV. m. 6.

(4) Polyd. Virgil. p. 564.

(5) Clauſ. 1 H. VII. in dorſo. Polyd. Vergil. p. 512. n. 30.

(6) Pat. 17 H. VIII. p. 2.

(7) Pat. 4 E. VI p. 8.

(8) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 276.

(9) Baronagium Angliæ MS. fol. 12.

(10) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 182.

(11) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XVIII. p. 333.

preſence by the Earls of Suſſex and Huntingdon, the cap and circle of gold being carried by the Earl of Leiceſter, the Earl of Bedford bearing the ſword of ſtate, the Queen herſelf hanging the ſword croſs his ſhoulders, and impoſing the cap and coronet with her own hand (*n*). In the month of January following, he was one of the Peers that ſat in judgment upon the Duke of Norfolk (*o*). At this time he was ſo favourably looked upon by the Queen, that ſome, who were for confining her good graces to themſelves, and to their friends, began to wiſh him at a greater diſtance, and therefore greatly encouraged an inclination he ſhewed, to adventure both his perſon and fortune for her Majeſty's ſervice in Ireland (*p*) [*B*]. Accordingly, on the 16th of Auguſt 1573, he embarked at Liverpool, accompanied by the Lord Darcy, the Lord Rich, and many other perſons of diſtinction, together with a multitude of volunteers, whom the hopes of preferment, and his Lordſhip's known reputation, inclined to follow his fortune (*q*). His reception in Ireland was not very promiſing from the beginning; for landing at Knockfergus, on the 16th of September, he found the chiefs of the rebels profeſſing a ſtrong inclination to ſubmit, but that was only to gain time, and to accompliſh their own purpoſes; for then they withdrew again, and broke out into open rebellion (*r*). The Lord Rich was called away by his own affairs, and, by degrees, moſt of thoſe who went abroad with the Earl dropped off, and came home again, upon a variety of pretences (*s*). In this ſituation Eſſex deſired the Queen to carry on the ſervice in her own name, and by her own command, though he ſhould be at one half of the expence (*t*). Afterwards he applied to the Earls of Suſſex and Leiceſter, and the Lord Burleigh, to induce the Queen to pay one hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot; which, however, did not take effect: but the Queen, perceiving how hardly this Nobleman was dealt with, and how, in contempt of her commands, the Lord Deputy had delayed ſending him his commiſſion, ſhe was inclined to recal him out of Ulſter, if Leiceſter and others, who found their account in his abſence, had not diſſwaded her (*u*). The Lord Deputy having at laſt, in 1574, ſent him his patent, perceiving him buſy in fortifying Clandeboy, which was indeed the great end of his coming thither, diſpatched poſitive orders to him to purſue the Earl of Deſmond one way, while himſelf preſſed him another (*w*). The Earl of Eſſex obeyed, though with reluctance, and had the good luck to force, or to perſwade, the Earl of Deſmond to ſubmiſſion (*x*). He gained great honour by this, and, it is high probable, would have performed much higher things, if the ſame fallacious arts had not with-held his hands in the winter, which had blaſted his beſt endeavours in the ſummer [*C*]. The ſame

(*n*) Milles, de Nobilitate politica & civili, p. 71, 72.

(*o*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 82.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 677.

(*q*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

(*r*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. i. p. 341.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*t*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 287.

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*w*) Chronicles of Ireland by Vowell, alias Hooker, p. 136.

(*x*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. i. p. 342.

[*B*] *For her Majeſty's ſervice in Ireland.*] It is of great conſequence to the perſonal hiſtory of this Nobleman, which very well deſerves to be known, and which nevertheleſs has been but very obſcurely repreſented, that the original cauſe of his going to Ireland ſhould be thoroughly underſtood. The troubles of Ireland were at this juncture very great, for in Ulſter, Brian Mac-Phelim, who had ſeized a great part of the country of Clandeboy, burnt the town of Knockfergus, that is, Fergus's rock, and others in thoſe parts began to raiſe tumults (12). Againſt theſe, Walter Earl of Eſſex craved leave to undertake an expedition, following therein the counſel of thoſe, who deſired above all things to have him farther off, and to plunge him into dangers, under pretence of procuring him honour, which he knew well enough, but being a ſtirring man, and one addicted to a martial life, from his youth, he held his reſolution, and made an agreement with the Queen, that, upon certain conditions, the one half of Clandeboy, if he drove out the rebels, ſhould be granted to him and his ſoldiers (13). For the defence whereof, he ſhould maintain, at his own charge, two hundred horſemen, and four hundred foot; and, to furniſh himſelf for the war, he borrowed of the Queen ten thouſand pounds of Engliſh money, mortgaging his lands in Eſſex for the ſame (14). Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy of Ireland, fearing leſt the name of ſo great an Earl ſhould eclipſe his glory in Ireland, adviſed the Queen that he might not be ſent, feigning, ſays Camden, I know not what general revolt of all Ulſter (15). But Eſſex for all that was ſent, and that the Lord Deputy's honour and authority might ſtand unеclipſed, he was commanded to receive his patent from him, whereby to be made Governor of Ulſter, which he was long in procuring, and that not without very importunate ſollicitation. Dr Fuller treats this ſubject, as indeed he does all ſubjects, very facetiouſly; he ſays, the Earl of Eſſex mortgaged his fine eſtate, and afterwards ſold it outright for money to buy a bear's-ſkin, but that when he came to take and flay the bear, he found greater difficulties than he expected; and at the ſame time intimates, that as this was the firſt, ſo it was the laſt bargain of the kind made with that Queen (16), in which he is certainly miſtaken, for bargains of that kind were common enough, tho', as he very juſtly obſerves, they very ſeldom turned to the benefit of thoſe who made them. All this ought not, however, to bring any imputation upon the underſtanding of this noble perſon, who moſt certainly acted like a very wiſe, as well as a very honeſt and brave man. He had in view the ſervice of the Queen, the nation, and himſelf, and if he had been as fairly dealt with as his fidelity deſerved, all his views would have been fully accompliſhed, that is to ſay, the rebels would have been reduced, the country planted, and his family would have derived from his labours a very large eſtate.

(12) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 286.

(13) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(14) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 178.

(15) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 286.

(16) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

[*C*] *Which had blaſted his beſt endeavours.*] As ſoon as the Earl had engaged Deſmond to lay down his arms, he undertook a long march againſt Turlough Lenigh, O Donnel (17) joining with him; but from Con O Donnel, Turlough's ſon-in-law, who would not ſerve under him, he took the caſtle of Liffer, and gave it to Hugh O Donnel: Turlough, in the mean while, ſpinning out the time with parties, till Eſſex was of neceſſity to return, who, as he had tired out his body with labours and cares all the ſummer, ſo, winter approaching, he conſidered ſeriouſly, by what means Ulſter, which had been ſo long neglected that it was grown wild and ſavage, might be reduced to civility. And, upon mature deliberation he ſhewed, that if three towns were built at the Queen's charge, and ten forts by the common purſe of the ſoldiers, in ſuch convenient places as he had deſigned, above ſeven thouſand pounds of Engliſh money might be gathered yearly from thoſe people, and after two years the Queen ſhould not need to maintain any more garriſons there. Whilſt he was wholly taken up about theſe projects, and other commendable endeavours, he narrowly eſcaped being ſlain by the rebel Iriſh. For Brian Mac Phelim, who had treacherouſly ſlain one Moore, an Engliſh Captain, had conſpired with Turlough and the Scots to cut him off. Which as ſoon as he underſtood, he thought it beſt not to expect their coming but to attack them. And attack them he did ſo reſolutely, that, with the ſlaughter of two hundred Iriſh, he took Brian, and Rory Oge his half

(17) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 341. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 487.

ſame misfortune attended his ſubſequent attempts; and, except the zeal of his attendants, the affection of the Engliſh ſoldiers, and the eſteem of the native Iriſh, he gained nothing by all his pains. Worn out at length with theſe fruitleſs fatigues, he, the next year, deſired leave to conclude, upon honourable terms, an accommodation with Turlough Oneile, which was refuſed him (*y*). He then ſurrendered the government of Ulſter into the Lord Deputy's hands, as believing the forces allowed him altogether inſufficient for it's defence; but the Lord Deputy, of a ſudden, obliged him to reſume it, and to march againſt Turlough Oneile, which he accordingly did; and his enterprize being in a fair way of ſucceeding, he was ſurprized to receive inſtructions, which peremptorily required him to make peace (*z*). This likewiſe he concluded without loſs of honour, and then turned his arms againſt the Scots from the weſtern iſlands, who had invaded, and taken poſſeſſion of his country. Theſe he quickly drove out, and, by the help of Norris, followed them into one of their iſlands, and was preparing to diſpoſſeſs them of other poſts, when he was required to give up his command, and afterwards to ſerve at the head of a ſmall body of three hundred men, with no other title than their Captain (*a*). Theſe were the artifices of Leiceſter, to ruffle and diſtract him; but the Earl, notwithſtanding he was inwardly grieved, continued to perform his duty punctually, without any ſhew of reſentment, out of reſpect to the Queen's ſervice (*b*) [*D*]. In the ſpring of the ſucceeding

(*y*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 302.

(*z*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 188.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 302. Stype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 388. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 302.

half brother, and Brian's wife. Thus, ſays Camden, the year was brought to a cloſe to no man's advantage, but to the great misfortune and loſs of the Earl of Eſſex (18). It muſt, however, be obſerved, that this learned perſon is in a great miſtake as to the year, for he ſets it down expreſly 1573, whereas it was 1574, and indeed his own relation ſhews it muſt have been ſo, for in the year 1574 he ſets down nothing of the affairs of Ireland, becauſe he had in reality ſet them down before.

(18) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 289.

[*D*] *Out of reſpect to the Queen's ſervice.*] We find all theſe matters very clearly ſtated by Mr Camden, who wrote from good memoirs, and, ſo far as we are able to judge, with great candour and impartiality. He has not, however, as indeed it was not his buſineſs, cleared up this matter entirely, and ſhewn us how this worthy Lord was ſo groſsly abuſed. It is certain that Queen Elizabeth meant nothing like it, nor is it at all probable that her Miniſters, in general, had any ſuch deſign; but thus the matter appears to have been managed. The Queen intended to have gratified the Earl in moſt of his requeſts, but at the ſame time to have done this in ſuch a manner, as not to leſſen either the dignity or the power of the Lord Deputy Fitz-Williams. She therefore directed a letter, dated March 15. 1574-5, to both of them, in which ſhe ſhews what ſhe thought reaſonable in behalf of the Earl, and refers the manner and other circumſtances to the Lord Deputy (19), who knowing perhaps he ſhould make himſelf friends at home by ſuch a conſtruction, boldly took upon him, under colour of this letter, to diſprove the whole enterprize, and after all the labours and loſſes of the Earl of Eſſex, to ſtrip him of every thing. The chief reaſon of this ſeems to have been, that the Earl had intimated ſomething, which, if well improved, might have ſaved the Queen great ſums of money, and promoted the ſervice of Ireland very much. What this was, will appear from the following paſſage in his Lordſhip's letter to the Queen (20). 'Your Majeſty taketh hold of my 'words written to the Lords in October, to diminiſh 'your numbers to two thouſand men of all ſorts. 'It may pleaſe you therefore to conſider of my words, 'which were theſe: And I ſee no reaſon, but if her 'Majeſty kept two thouſand ſoldiers (without which, 'obedience or profit will not be had of Iriſh or En'gliſh in Ireland) why thirteen hundred of them ſhould 'not, for the moſt part, reſide in Ulſter. This was, 'and is ſtill, my opinion, and I hope cannot be con'ſtrued but by theſe ſoldiers were meant Engliſh bands, 'and not to be extended towards officers or Kearne, 'which are neither at commandment, nor can be em'ployed but in their charges. Beſides, I never took 'upon me to ſet down my opinion for the government 'of the whole realm, wherewith I neither had to do, 'nor with your favour will have to do, but only of 'my charge, and therefore I truſt my words have not 'procured this diminiſhment of your Majeſty's army. 'But now I will ſay directly, that which before I 'ſpake conjecturally, that two thouſand Engliſh ſol'diers, under bands, well maintained, will be enough 'to govern all the whole realm of Ireland, and to 'make all that be rebels, or that be of the Iriſh fac'tion, to quake, and either to be good ſubjects, or 'to ſeem good ſubjects.' How the Earl reſented this uſage, will beſt appear from his own ſhort and ſignificant letter to the Council, in which, with great ſpirit and freedom, and yet with the utmoſt modeſty and decorum, he very accurately ſtates his own caſe (21).

(19) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 341. Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 63. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 488.

(20) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 68. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 488.

(21) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 69, 70.

'My good Lords,

'I Have of late ſeen a letter ſigned by the Queen's 'Majeſty, and jointly endorſed to my Lord De'puty and me, concerning mine enterprize in the pro'vince of Ulſter, which, although it carry a ſhew of 'a preſent proceeding therein, and of a conſent to all 'my petitions, yet hath it brought forth none other 'effects but the preſent diſcharge of all that ſerve un'der me, and a final diſſolving of my enterprize. 'Whereunto, what anſwer I have made to her Ma'jeſty, may appear unto you by the copy of my letter 'herein incloſed; and although it become me to ſtand 'contented with any thing that her Majeſty ſhall ſig'nify to be her will, yet when I compare this conclu'ſion to the courſe that hath been taken with me ſince 'my coming hither, I cannot but think the dealing 'very ſtrange. Firſt, I came with the good liking of 'all your Lordſhips, and with the allowance of the 'Council here, ſo as by the conſents of both realms I 'took my journey, the matter being firſt thoroughly 'debated, and ſo digeſted, as though no ſcruple ſhould 'at any time ariſe. I had not been here three months, 'but that it was given forth that the continuance of 'the enterprize was in queſtion, and in that ſtay hath 'it remained ever ſince, till now, that in all appear'ance the proceeding therein is agreed upon, and all my 'petitions granted, and yet the ſame letter that ſo doth 'aſſure me of all this gracious favour, is a warrant to 'my Lord Deputy (as he taketh it) to overthrow the 'whole. My Lords, I humbly deſire you to conſider 'well of this matter: It is ſomewhat to me (although 'little to others) that my houſe ſhould be overthrown, 'with ſuffering me to run myſelf out of breath with 'expences. It is more, that in the word of the Queen 'I have, as it were, undone, abuſed, and bewitched, 'with fair promiſes, Odonell Mac Mahon, and all o'thers that pretend to be good ſubjects in Ulſter. It 'is moſt that the Queen's Majeſty ſhall adventure 'this eſtate, or elſe ſubdue rebellion with intolerable 'charge. For will not all parts of this realm take 'hold of this diſſolution? or, can any in Ulſter, or 'in any part of the realm, hope of defence hereafter? 'But to return to my own eſtate: let my life here, my 'good Lords, be examined by the ſtricteſt Commiſſioners 'that may be ſent, I truſt in examining my faults 'they will alledge this for the chief, that I have unſea'ſonably told a plain, probable, honourable, and ef'fectual way, how to do the country good. For of 'the reſt they can ſay nothing of me, but witneſs my 'miſery by plague, famine, ſickneſs, continual toil, 'and continual wants of men, money, carriages, vic'tuals, and all things meet for great attempts: and if 'any of theſe have grown by my default, then con-

'demn

ing year he came over to England, where he was very far from ſtifling the juſt indignation he had conceived againſt the all-powerful favourite, for the inexcuſable uſage he had met with (*c*). But as it was the cuſtom of that great man to debaſe his enemies by exalting them, ſo he procured an order for the Earl of Eſſex's return into Ireland, with the ſounding title of EARL-MARSHALL (*d*) of that kingdom, and with promiſes, that he ſhould be left more at liberty than in times paſt; but, upon his arrival at Ireland, as the judicious Mr Camden tells us (*e*), he found his ſituation ſo little altered for the better, that he pined away with grief and ſorrow, which, at length, proved fatal to him, and brought him to his end. There is nothing more certain, either from the publick hiſtories, or private memoirs, and letters of that age, than that this noble Earl was one of the worthieſt, honeſteſt, and beſt of men (*f*); one who, in his publick capacity, ſhewed himſelf a ſtout Soldier, a loyal Subject, and a moſt diſintereſted Patriot, as, in his private life, he was of a very chearful temper, kind, affectionate, and beneficent to all who were about him; and, to ſay much in a little compaſs, one commended by all parties (*g*), and to whoſe prejudice there is not the ſlighteſt inſinuation to be met with in all the papers of thoſe times. He was taken ill of a flux on the 21ſt of Auguſt, and, in great pain and miſery, languiſhed to the 22d of September 1576, when he departed this life at Dublin, being ſcarcely thirty-five years old (*h*). There was a very ſtrong report at the time, of his being poiſoned; and, if we may judge from what the learned Camden ſays upon the ſubject, it was no eaſy matter to decide whether that report was without grounds (*i*) [*E*]. It

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

(*e*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 308.

(*f*) Holinſhed, Strype, Speed, &c.

(*g*) See the letters from Sir Henry Sidney and Sir Nich. White in the notes.

(*h*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 309.

'demn me in the whole. I pray you, my Lords, 'pardon my earneſtneſs, I think I have reaſon that am 'thus amazed with an overſudden warning, that muſt 'take a diſcharge before I am made acquainted with 'the matter; I think it had been a better courſe, that I 'might have had time to have made ſome profitable 'peace with Tyrlanghe, which hath been fought at 'my hands, and not at one inſtant to loſe my travail, 'my money, my credit, and, with the ſame, hazard 'the honour of her Majeſty, and of the realm of En'gland. I truſt, my Lords, my plain dealing ſhall 'not do me hurt with you; for my own part, a ſoli'tary life is beſt for a diſgraced perſon, but becauſe 'there is none of you but hath profeſſed favour to'wards me, and ſome of your Lordſhips are mixed 'with me in blood and alliance, I crave of you all, 'that, as I have entered into this action with your 'good liking and advices, ſo now the failing, being 'no way to be laid upon me, you will all be means 'for me to her Majeſty to deal well with me for my 'charge, as in honour, conſcience, and juſtice, you 'ſhall think good.' What was the ſenſe of diſintereſted people in thoſe days upon theſe points, will moſt unexceptionably appear from the following paſſages, in a letter from Sir Nicholas White, Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, to the Lord Burleigh (22): 'But what 'good thing can be hoped for here, when a Prince's 'determination, touching ſo great an enterprize, in 'the hands of ſo ſufficient and ſo honourable a ſubject 'to perform it, ſhall be ſo ſuddenly revoked. And if 'I might with all humility ſay it to her Highneſs, 'there are two things of great moment, that ſeem 'ſtrange to us here if they be true. The one is, the 'letting of the realm to farm, wherein ſo many hearts 'may be alienated from the landlord to the farmer. 'And the other is, the caſting up of the Earl's enter'prize between the fallow and the ſeed; which will 'make Ulſter deſperate, and all the reſt doubtful. 'And truly, if ſhe look not back where ſhe began, 'and review both the man and the matter, ſhe ſhall 'puff up the Iriſh into incorrigible pride, and pull 'down the hearts of all good Engliſh ſubjects to a per'petual diffidence of any ſettled government in this 'realm. ——— There cannot go out of this land a 'man with greater fame of honour, nor can come in, 'whoſe bounty hath deſerved more. And if that no'ble mind of his, deſirous of honour, and ſo careleſs of 'gain, were employed with the aſſociation of grave 'council, I believe God hath ordained him to do 'great things.'

(22) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 388.

[*E*] *Whether that report was without grounds.*] There were few facts that happened in this reign which have made more noiſe in the world than the death of this Earl of Eſſex; and though Camden, as a wiſe man and a grave hiſtorian, treats the ſuſpicion of poiſon as a popular report, and takes occaſion to affign the reaſon of ſuch reports in a manner which does great honour to the Earl's memory; yet it is evident enough that he did not altogether diſbelieve it himſelf, or intend to make his readers diſbelieve it. But let us hear what he ſays (23). 'The death of this Nobleman 'carried with it a ſuſpicion of poiſon among the vul'gar ſort, who always ſuſpect them to be poiſoned 'whom they eſteem and love, altho' Sidney, Lord 'Deputy of Ireland, after diligent inquiſition made, 'wrote to the Council in England, that the Earl, 'upon his firſt taking his bed, ſaid many times, 'that this was a thing uſual and ordinary with him; 'that whenſoever he was troubled and perplexed in 'mind he fell into the Bloody-flux, and that he ſuſ'pected nothing at all of the poiſon, and that his 'body retained the ſame colour in his ſickneſs which 'it had in his perfect health; no ſpot, no infection, 'no ſhedding of the hair or nails, and being embowel'led no ſign at all of poiſon appeared; that though 'the Phyſicians differed in their judgments, yet they 'applied nothing againſt the force of poiſon; and that 'his cupbearer was falſely accuſed of infuſing ſome'thing in water, and mixing it with wine. Yet have 'we ſeen the ſame man openly pointed at for a poi'ſoner.' In a famous book, publiſhed when all the parties were living, and in which, though commonly treated as a libel, there are abundance of ſtrange truths, we have the whole proceſs of this execrable affair ſet forth to publick view, in the following terms (24). 'It was my chance to come to the underſtanding of 'divers particulars concerning that thing, both from 'one Lea, an Iriſhman, Robert Honnies, and others, 'that were preſent at Penteneis, the Merchant's houſe 'in Dublin, upon the key where the murder was com'mitted. The matter was wrought, eſpecially by 'Crompton, Yeoman of the Bottles, by the procure'ment of Lloyd; and there was poiſoned at the ſame 'time, and with the ſame cup, as given of courteſy by 'the Earl, one Mrs Alice Draycot, a goodly gentle'woman, whom the Earl affectioned much; who de'parting thence towards her own houſe, which was 'eighteen miles off, the aforeſaid Lea accompanying 'her, and waiting upon her, ſhe began to fall ſick 'very grievouſly upon the way, and continued with 'increaſe of pains, and exceſſive torments, by vomit'ing until ſhe died, which was the Sunday before the 'Earl's death, enſuing the Friday after; and when ſhe 'was dead her body was ſwolne into a monſtruous 'bigneſs and deformity, whereof the good Earl hear'ing the day following, lamented the caſe greatly, 'and ſaid, in the preſence of his ſervants, Ah, poor 'Alice, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it 'were thy hard deſtiny to taſte thereof; young Hon'nies alſo, whoſe father is maſter of the children of 'her Majeſty's chapel, being at that time page to the 'ſaid Earl, and accuſtomed to take the taſte of his 'drink (though ſince entertained alſo, among other, 'by my Lord of Leiceſter, for better covering of mat'ters) by his taſte that he then took of the compound 'cup (though in very ſmall quantity, as you know the 'faſhion is) yet was he like to have loſt his life, but 'eſcaped in the end, being young, with the loſs only 'of

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309.

(24) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 25, 26.

It must, however, be owned, that an inquiry was immediately made by authority, and Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord-Deputy of Ireland, wrote very fully upon this subject to the Privy-Council in England (*k*), and to one of the members of that Council in particular (*l*), of which something will be said in the notes [*F*]. The corps of the Earl was

(*k*) Sidney Papers, Vol. I. p. 140.

(*l*) The Earl of Leicester; see Note [*F*].

'of his hair, which the Earl perceiving, and taking 'compassion of the youth, called for a cup of drink 'a little before his death, and drank to Honnies, 'saying, I drink to thee, my Robin, and be not afraid, 'for this is a better cup of drink than that whereof 'thou tookest the taste when we were both poisoned, 'and whereby thou hast lost thy hair, and I must 'lose my life. This, hath young Honnies reported 'openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen 'of worship, since his coming into England; and the 'aforesaid Lea, the Irishman, at his passage this way 'towards France, after he had been at the fore-named 'Mrs Draycot's death, with some other of the Earl's 'servants, have, and do most constantly report the 'same, where they may do it without the terror of 'my Lord of Leicester's revenge.' The same tale, with the same circumstances, is very prettily told in verse, by an anonymous writer, who took an ill natured care of preserving the Earl of Leicester's memory (25). There want not, however, authorities from writers of unsuspected credit. Sir Nicholas White (26), in his letter to the Lord Burleigh, immediately after the death of the Earl of Essex, tells him, That he was frequently with his Lordship in his last sickness, who doubted that he was poisoned, and at the same time acquitted that nation of having any hand therein, saying, with some passion, No, Turlough Oneile, himself, would have attempted no villany against my person. There is a long, full, and most instructive history of his last sickness yet extant (27); written, as, from some circumstances, I conjecture, by the Earl's faithful dependant, Sir Edward Waterhouse, the beginning of which the reader will not be displeased to see. 'Walter, the noble Earl of Essex 'and Eu, Earl Marshal of Ireland, Knight of the most 'honourable Order of the Garter, falling sick on a 'laske, as it was supposed, called *dysenteria*, thorough 'adustioun of choller, on Friday the 21st of August; 'or whether it were of any other accident, the living 'God knoweth, and will revenge it; he was grievously tormented by the space of twenty-two days, 'having such abundance of water as every day and 'night he had few less than twenty, thirty, or some 'times forty stools, through which, being sore weakened in body, and natural strength diminished, he addressed himself to that; which his friends and servants feared, that is, to finish his life, to our great 'sorrow, but to his everlasting joy.'

(25) Leycester's Ghost, or the Life and Death of the Earl of Leicester. MS. but printed under the title of Leicester's *Ghost*.

(26) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 464, 465.

(27) There are several copies of this MS. In some it is addressed to the Earl of Sussex. It is printed in T. Hearne's Preface to his edition of Camden's Annals.

[*F*] *Of which something will be said in the notes.*] This Lord-Deputy of Ireland, Sir Henry Sydney, had shewn great civility and respect to the Earl of Essex, and gave as high testimonies to the merit of that Nobleman when deceased, as the warmest and best affected friend in the world could have done. He was not at Dublin, but in a country progress, at the time of this Nobleman's decease, which is an unlucky circumstance, as it left it out of his power to speak, otherwise than by hearsay; which might be the cause of that visible inconsistency in the following letter of his to Sir Francis Walsingham, to be laid before the Council, in which, he says, the Earl of Essex did not think himself poisoned; that those about him did not think so either, but pretended to think so to please the Earl; and yet that it was not the Earl's own thought, but was put into his head by others; so that if from the whole of his relation the council could receive any satisfaction, it must have been by relying entirely upon his sentiment in that matter, as the reader will judge from the perusal (28). 'Hearing, besides, 'that letters had been sent over, as well before his 'death as after, that he died of poison, I thought 'good to examine the matter as far as I could learn, 'and certify you, to the end you might impart the 'same to the Lords, and both satisfy them therein, 'and all others whom it might please you to participate the same unto, and would believe the truth. 'For in truth there was no appearance, or cause of suspicion that could be gathered, that he died of poison. 'For the manner of his disease was this: a flux took 'him on the Thursday at night, being the thirtieth of 'August last past, in his own house, where he had that 'day both supped and dined; the day following he 'rid to the Archbishop of Dublin's, and there supped 'and lodged: the next morning following he rid to 'the Viscount of Baltinglas, and there did lie one 'night, and from thence returned back to this city: 'all these days he travelled hastily, fed three times a 'day without finding any fault, either through inflammation of his body, or alteration of taste, but often 'he would complain of gripes in his belly, and sometimes say, that he had never hearty grief of mind 'but that a flux would accompany the same. After 'he returned from this journey, he grew from day to 'day sicker and sicker, and having an Irish Physician 'sent to him by the Earl of Ormond, Dr Trevor, an 'Oxford man; and my Physician, Mr Chaloner, Secretary of this State, and not unlearned in Physick, 'and one that often for good will, giveth counsel to 'his friends in cases of sickness; and one Mr Knell, 'an honest Preacher in this city, and a Chaplain of his 'own, and a Professor of Physick, continually with 'him, they never ministred any thing to him against 'poison. The Irish Physician affirmed, before good 'witness, that he was not poisoned; what the other 'do say of that matter, by their own writings, which 'herewith I send you, you shall perceive. And drawing towards his end, being specially asked by the 'Archbishop of Dublin, whether he thought that he 'was poisoned or no, constantly affirmed that he 'thought he was not, nor that he felt in himself any 'cause why he should conjecture so to be. In his 'sickness his colour rather bettered than impaired, 'no hair of his body shed, no nail altered, no tooth 'loosed, nor any part of his skin blemished. And when 'he was opened, it could not appear that any entrail 'within his body, at any time had been infected with 'any poison. And yet I find a brute there was that 'he was poisoned, and that arose by some words spoken of by himself, and yet not originally at first conceived of himself, as it is thought by the wisest here, 'and those that were continually about him: but one 'that was very near him at that time, and whom he 'entirely trusted, seeing him in extream pain with flux 'and gripings in his belly, by reason of the same said 'to him, *By the Mass, my Lord, you are poisoned.* 'Whereupon the Yeoman of his cellar was presently 'sent for to him, and mildly and lovingly he questioned with him, saying, that he sent not for him to 'burden him, but to excuse him. The fellow constantly answered, that if he had taken any hurt by 'his wine he was guilty of it, for, my Lord, saith he, 'since you gave me warning in England to be careful 'of your drink, you have drank none but it passed my 'hands. Then it was reported, that the boiled water 'which he constantly drank with his wine, should be 'made of water wherein flax or hemp should be 'steeped, which the Yeoman of his cellar flatly denied, 'affirming, the water which he always boiled for him 'was perfect good. Then it was imputed to the sugar, he answered, he could get no better at the 'Steward's hands, and fair though it were not, yet 'wholsome enough, or else it had been likely that a 'great many should have had a shrewd turn, for my 'household and many more have occupied of the same 'almost this twelve months. The Physicians were 'asked what they thought? that, they spake doubtfully, 'saying, it might be that he was poisoned, alledging 'that this thing or that thing might poison him, since 'they never gave him medicine for it, they constantly affirm that they never thought it, but for argument's sake, and partly to please the Earl. He 'had two gentlewomen that night at supper with him 'that the disease took him, and they coming after to 'visit him, and he hearing that they were troubled 'with some looseness, said, that he feared that they 'and he had tasted of one drug, and his page (who 'was gone with his body over before I returned). 'The women, upon his words, were afraid, but never 'sick, and be in as good a state of health as they were 'before they supped with him.' It is to be observed, that

(28) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 140. See also the other relations of his death before-mentioned. Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

was ſpeedily brought over to England, carried to the place of his nativity Carmarthen (*m*), and buried there with great ſolemnity, and with moſt extraordinary teſtimonies of the unfeigned ſorrow of all the country round about [G]. This great and good Peer married Lettice,

(*m*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1263. Strype's An. Vol. II. p. 466, 467. Fuller's Worthies Wales, p. 28.

that in this letter there is a fair character given of a ſpiritual and corporal Phyſician, who attended the Earl of Eſſex, but the Lord Deputy found cauſe to change his ſentiments of him afterwards, as appears from the following letter written by Sir Henry Sidney to his brother-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, upon this melancholy ſubject, dated from Dundalk, February 4, 1576 (29).

(29) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 80. Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, Folio. Vol. II. col. 1404.

'My deareſt Lord, I received not your letter of the '25th of November until the 24th of this January, 'by James Preſcot, who was ſeven times at the ſea 'and put back again before he could recover this coaſt. 'I truſt I have ſatisfied your Lordſhip with my writ'ing, and others by my procurement ſent by Paken'ham, touching the falſe and malicious report of the 'Earl of Eſſex's poiſoning. If not, what you will 'have more done ſhall be done. I am ſorry I hear 'not how you like of that I have done, and the more 'for that I am advertiſed of Pagnaney's arrival there. 'I would not have doubted to have made Knell to 'have retracted his inconſiderate and fooliſh ſpeech 'and writing, but God hath prevented me by taking 'him away, dying of the ſame diſeaſe that the Earl 'died, which moſt certainly was free from poiſon, 'and a mere flux; a diſeaſe appropriated to this 'country, and whereof there died many in the latter 'part of the laſt year, and ſome out of mine own 'houſhold, and yet free from any ſuſpicion of poiſon.' There is no queſtion to be made, that the Lord-Deputy's care in this reſpect was very acceptable to the Earl of Leiceſter, and perhaps might have gone a great way, if not in ſilencing the clamour, at leaſt in preventing the belief, which the Earl's ſtrange illneſs had created of his dying by poiſon, if the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf had not kept the mouth of fame open, by his indiſcreet marriage of the Counteſs of Eſſex, which gave occaſion to ſuch as envied him and hated him to ſay, that if what was ſuſpected had not been true, there would have been no ſuch willingneſs found either in him or her, ſo haſtily, and in the midſt of ſuch rumours, to have concluded this indecent marriage (30), which by an odd accident was made doubly indecent: Sir Francis Knolles, the father of the Lady, being not able to perſuade himſelf that the match was really made ſo ſoon, and being reſolved to truſt no other eyes but his own, obliged them to be married again in his preſence (31), which made a freſh outcry in the nation, and kept thoſe ſtories alive and in remembrance, which, in this world at leaſt, had otherwiſe ſunk into oblivion.

(30) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 26. Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 486.

(31) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309.

[G] *Of all the country round about.*] The Earl's body was brought over to Wales as ſoon after his deceaſe as poſſible, by Mr Waterhouſe, but was not interred till the 26th of November, when his obſequies were performed in the pariſh church of Carmarthen (32), and his funeral ſermon preached by Dr Richard Davies Lord Biſhop of St David's. That Reverend Prelate had been long and intimately acquainted with this noble perſon, and from his own knowledge gave him a very high character. He ſaid (33), that taking no pride in the nobility of his birth, he had made it the buſineſs of his life to render his titles illuſtrious by his actions; that, inheriting the courage of his anceſtors, he had given ſuch proofs of it upon all occaſions, that her Majeſty, if he had lived, might have uſed his ſervice to be a terror to all enemies foreign and domeſtick; that his prudence and diſcretion were admirable from his youth; that his eloquence was natural and eaſy; his affability, and gentleneſs of behaviour, altogether unaffected; that his piety was perfectly ſincere; ſo that religion loſt in him an excellent advocate, and a zealous protector. That, from his youth, he was conſtantly inclined to ſuch ſtudies as ſuited his condition, to Hiſtory in general, and to that of his own country in particular; and that if any thing more eſpecially claimed his attention, it was genealogies, deſcents, and pedigrees, in which he was ſo thoroughly verſed, as to be well acquainted with all the noble houſes in Europe. That for his fortitude he was revered in England and Ireland, and that there was no ſubject could affright or corrupt him from the execution of ſtrict juſtice. That to the haughty and arrogant he was as a lion, to the humble and meek as a lamb. That he had the utmoſt abhorrence for oppreſſion; and that he once remembered, when complaint was made to his Lordſhip of one of his men who had done a violent thing, he ſaid that his ſervant could do him no greater diſhonour, than, by pretence of his authority, to do any poor man wrong; and the Biſhop appealed to all who heard him for the truth of this part of his character, that he was a comfortable refuge to all in adverſity, and the conſtant ſupport of ſuch as were oppreſſed by power: he added farther, that as in the time of King Richard II. Sir Thomas Montacute was called the good Earl of Saliſbury, and in the reign of Henry VI, Sir Thomas Beauchamp was ſtiled the good Earl of Warwick, ſo in this of Queen Elizabeth he deſerved, for the like qualities, to be called the good, the virtuous, and the valiant Earl of Eſſex. This ſermon, together with a long genealogical epitaph in Latin verſe, was printed and dedicated to the young Earl by Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Waterhouſe (34), and was held ſo remarkable in thoſe days, that Raphael Holinſhed having brought his book juſt then to a cloſe, inſerted it at the end of his Chronicle. After all, Queen Elizabeth herſelf did the greateſt honour to this noble Peer, when, in a letter under her hand, ſhe ſtiled him (35) *the rare jewel of her realm, and the bright ornament of her nobility.*

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 466.

(33) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1263.

(34) This is only an extract of the ſermon in Holinſhed.

(35) In the Dedication by Mr Waterhouſe to Robert Earl of Eſſex.

Before we part with this ſubject, it may be proper to give the reader the two laſt paragraphs of that celebrated Dedication, becauſe they contain matter very curious in itſelf, and which, though frequently mentioned elſewhere, yet always ſuppoſed to be grounded upon this *indiſputable authority*.

'To the end, ſays Mr Waterhouſe to the young 'Earl, that you may know what you are by birth and 'blood, and that you ſhould not by ignorance, or 'lack of knowledge of yourſelf, do any thing un'worthy the noble houſes from whence you are de'ſcended: a well-wiſher of your's hath joined to this 'ſermon, amongſt other epitaphs containing your fa'ther's due praiſes, his ſtately deſcent in well-digeſted 'Latin verſes, not to puff you up with any ſwelling 'vanities, but to give you a reaſon how you bear your 'armour and badges of honour, and to remember you 'what error you enter into, if you ſhould blemiſh the 'virtues of your noble anceſtors, or to do any thing as 'I ſaid unworthy your birth and calling.

'Laſtly, my Lord, have always before your eyes the 'fear of God, and the counſel of the Earl your father 'at his death, namely, that you ſhould ever be mindful 'of the moment of time aſſigned both to your father 'and grandfather, the eldeſt having attained but to 'ſix and thirty years, to the end, that upon conſide'ration of the ſhort courſe of life that you in nature 'are to look for, you might ſo employ your tender 'years in virtuous ſtudies and exerciſes, as you might 'in the prime of your youth become a man well ac'compliſhed to ſerve her Majeſty and your country, 'as well in war as peace, whereunto he commanded 'you to bend all your endeavours, and with thoſe con'ditions heaped his bleſſings upon you. I pray there'fore that God will increaſe thoſe conditional bleſſings, 'and the cauſes of them in you, to the end that her 'Majeſty may think of you hereafter, as of a true ſer'vant, and humble ſubject, one of the pillars of her 'eſtate, her Majeſty's kinſman by many alliances, 'and the ſon of a moſt noble father.'

In order to his clearly underſtanding the firſt part of the foregoing quotation, it is neceſſary for the reader to ſee the titles given to this noble Peer, at, and after his deceaſe. He was then ſtiled (36) 'The Right Ho'nourable Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex and Eu, 'Earl Marſhal of Ireland, Viſcount Hereford, and 'Bourcher, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourcher, and 'Louvain, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the 'Garter.' It does not however appear, that this noble perſon in his life-time ever took the title of Earl of Eu, or of Viſcount Bourcher, which may more clearly appear by the manner in which Garter proclaimed his ſtile at the time of his creation, and this was in the following

(36) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1263.

Lettice, daughter to Sir Frances Knolles, Knight of the Garter, who ſurvived him many years, and whoſe ſpeedy marriage after his death to the Earl of Leiceſter, upon whom common fame threw the charge of haſtening his death, did not at all contribute to diſcredit that report (*n*). By this lady he had two ſons, Robert and Walter. Of the former we ſhall ſpeak in the next article, and incidentally likewiſe of the latter; as alſo two daughters, Penelope, firſt married to Robert Lord Rich, and then to Charles Blount Earl of Devonſhire; and Dorothy, who, becoming the widow of Sir Thomas Perrot, Knight, eſpouſed for her ſecond huſband Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland (*o*).

(*n*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309. Fuller's Worthies. Wales, p. 28.

(*o*) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fol. 12. Vincent's Correction of Brooke's Catalogue, p. 187. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

following words (37): *Du treſhault & puiſſant Seigneur Gautier d'Evereux Count d'Eſſex, Viſcount de Hereford, Baron Ferrers de Chartley, & Chevalier du treſnoble Order de la Jarretiere.* However, as it recited in the preamble of this noble Lord's Patent, that he was heir male of the noble family of the Bourchers, Earls of Eſſex; it was from thence inferred, that he was the heir of all their honours: now William Bourcher was created by Henry V Earl of Eu in Normandy (38), and his ſon Henry Bourcher was, in the twenty-fifth of Henry VI, created Viſcount Bourcher (39), and by that title ſummoned to Parliament (40); and in the firſt year of Edward IV, he was created Earl of Eſſex (41). Thus the writer ſees clearly how theſe titles came to be attributed to the family of Devereux. E

(37) Milles de nobilitate polit. vel civil. p. 72.

(38) Rot. Norman. 7 H. V. p. 1. m. 4.

(39) Clauſ. 25 H. VI. m. 24. in dorſo.

(40) Vincent's Corrections of Brooke, p. 192.

(41) Chart. 1 E. IV. p. 2. n. 1.

DEVEREUX (ROBERT) Earl of Eſſex, a gallant ſoldier, a great favourite, and an unhappy victim to the arts of his enemies and his own ambition, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was ſon to Walter Earl of Eſſex, of whom we have ſpoken in the preceding article, and Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knolles, who was related to Queen Elizabeth, born November 10th, 1567, at Nethewood, his father's ſeat in Herefordſhire (*a*), when that noble perſon had attained no higher title than that of Viſcount Hereford (*b*). In his tender years it is reported, that there did not appear any pregnant ſigns of an extraordinary genius; and one, who was long in his ſervice, and could not but be well acquainted with the ſecrets of the family, aſſures us, that his father died with but a very cold conceit of him (*c*), which, ſome thought, proceeded from his extraordinary affection for his younger ſon Walter Devereux, who, it ſeems, had quicker and more lively parts in his childhood. When Walter Earl of Eſſex breathed his laſt in Ireland, he recommended this ſon of his, then in the tenth year of his age, to the protection of Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Suſſex, and to the care of William Cecil Lord Burleigh (*d*), whom he appointed his guardian. Mr Waterhouſe, then Secretary for Ireland, a perſon equally favoured by his father, and Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, had the immediate direction of his perſon and eſtate, which, though not a little injured by his father's publick ſpirit, was, however, very conſiderable; and the regard ſhewn for his concerns, by the moſt powerful perſons at Court, was ſo remarkable, that Mr Waterhouſe made no difficulty of affirming, there was not, at that time, any man ſo ſtrong in friends as the little Earl of Eſſex (*e*). It was, certainly, out of reſpect to both families, that this Gentleman laboured earneſtly to bring, to a happy concluſion, a treaty of marriage, which had been for ſome time on foot between Mr Philip afterwards Sir Philip Sydney, the Lord-Deputy's ſon, and Penelope, ſiſter to the Earl of Eſſex; in which, however, he had not the ſucceſs he deſired (*f*). His application on behalf of the young Earl, that he might be preſerved in the poſſeſſion of thoſe honours which his father had enjoyed in Wales, and which were attended with power and influence rather than profit, had better fortune through the aſſiſtance of the Earl of Suſſex (*g*), who eaſily procured from the Queen this mark of favour for a tender youth, whoſe father had deſerved ſo well [*A*]. In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, he was ſent to the Univerſity

(*a*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*c*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19, 20.

(*d*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 221.

(*e*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 147.

(*f*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863. Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 147.

(*g*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 465.

[*A*] *Whoſe father had deſerved ſo well.*] We have mentioned Sir Edward Waterhouſe in the text, as the perſon who took care of the young Earl of Eſſex immediately after his father's death. He was indeed a very extraordinary perſon, and deſerves to be as much remembered as any man of his rank that ever lived; he was deſcended from an antient and honourable family ſeated in Hertfordſhire, where King Henry VIII, dining at his father's houſe, that Monarch, upon a view of his children, ſaid of Edward who was the youngeſt, *this will be the crown of your family* (1). His parts were ſo great, and his probity ſo generally underſtood, that he was at once the favourite of the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Henry Sydney, and the Lord Burleigh. When the firſt was dying he is ſaid to have taken his leave of this gentleman with many kiſſes, crying out, *Oh my Ned, Oh my Ned, farewel! Thou art the faithfulleſt and friendlieſt Gentleman that ever I knew* (2). His fidelity reached beyond the grave, for he immediately tranſported the Earl's dead corps to Wales, where he was infinitely beloved, and from thence, on the third of October, he wrote to the Earl of Suſſex, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, with a requeſt concerning the young Earl (3), 'That whereas 'his Lordſhip, for the education of his children, and 'payment of his legacies, by aſſurance in his life-time, 'and by his laſt Will and Teſtament, repoſed eſpe'cially therein upon his Lordſhip, foraſmuch as the 'late Earl had in his life-time divers offices, as the 'keeping of the caſtle of Carmarthen, ſtewardſhip of 'divers of her Majeſty's ſeigneuries in thoſe parts of 'South Wales, the whole fees accuſtomed to ſuch 'offices, not amounting to above one hundred marks: 'which fees his Lordſhip always beſtowed upon his 'under officers. By occaſion of which offices, the in'habitants in thoſe ſeigneuries did the rather depend 'upon his Lordſhip, and now would be ſorry that any 'other than the new Earl of Eſſex ſhould have com'mandment in ſuch office over them: and becauſe he 'well underſtood that the having of theſe ſmall offices 'might be to the new Earl's great continuing of the 'hearts of his countrymen, and beſides might be the 'better able, when he ſhould come to years, to do 'ſervice to his Sovereign; he therefore was, in behalf 'of his Lordſhip and my Lord Treaſurer, to requeſt, 'that all theſe offices might be beſtowed upon this new 'Earl of Eſſex. Which ſhould be as well executed as 'if his Lordſhip were of full age. And if occaſion of 'ſervice ſhould require, his Lordſhip might, although 'he were an infant, have the willing hearts of many 'to do him ſervice.' By this application thoſe offices were preſerved to the young Earl, who ſpent his youth in

(1) Fuller's Worthies, Hertfordſhire, p. 21.

(2) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 537.

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 465.

ſity of Cambridge by the Lord Burleigh, who placed him in Trinity-College, under the care of Dr Whitgift, then maſter of it, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*). He was educated there with much ſtrictneſs, and applied himſelf to learning with great diligence, ſo that, his quality conſidered, there were few young men of his ſtanding more diſtinguiſhed, either for ſolidity of judgment, or for an eaſy and eloquent manner of expreſſing their ſentiments (*i*). Some bold writers have aſſerted, that, as Dr Whitgift roſe in his preferments (*k*), he ſunk in the eſteem of his pupil, who, as they would have us believe, conceived an early diſlike to Biſhops; but ſuch as knew the world well in thoſe days, and had the faireſt opportunities of knowing the Earl, aſſert the direct contrary, and that he continued always to treat the Archbiſhop as his particular friend, and to reſpect him as a parent (*l*). In 1582, having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he ſoon after left Cambridge (*m*), and retired to his own houſe at Lampſie in South Wales, where he ſpent ſome time in privacy and retirement; and was ſo far from having any thing of the eagerneſs or impetuoſity natural to youth, that, inſtead of being diſpleaſed, he became enamoured of his rural retreat (*n*), inſomuch, that it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon to leave it (*o*). His firſt appearance at Court, at leaſt as a candidate for royal favour, was in the ſeventeenth year of his age; when however he came thither, it is certain he could not have hoped, or even wiſhed, a better reception (*p*) [*B*]. He brought thither, amongſt other ſtrong recommendations, a fine perſon, an agreeable behaviour, and an affability which procured him many friends, beſides the rare qualities of true piety, unaffected zeal for the publick welfare, and a warmth and ſincerity in his friendſhips, which entitled him to univerſal eſteem (*q*). He, by degrees, ſo far overcame that reluctance which he is ſaid to have ſhewn, to uſe the aſſiſtance of the powerful Earl of Leiceſter, that, towards the cloſe of the year 1585, he accompanied him, with many others of the nobility, to Holland, where we find him the next year in the field, with the title of General of the Horſe (*r*); and, in this quality, he gave the higheſt proofs of perſonal courage in the battle of Zutphen, September 22d, 1586, in which action Sir Philip Sydney was mortally wounded (*s*). It was for his gallant behaviour upon this occaſion, that the Earl of Leiceſter conferred upon him the honour of a Knight-Banneret in his camp (*t*). On his return to England it very quickly appeared, that the Queen not only approved but was deſirous alſo of rewarding his ſervices; and his father-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, being advanced to the office of Lord Steward of her Majeſty's Houſehold, ſhe, on the 23d of December 1587, made the Earl of Eſſex Maſter of the Horſe in

(*b*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19. Yet his being bred under that Prelate is doubtful.

(*i*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 221.

(*k*) Codrington's life of Robert the ſecond Earl of Eſſex.

(*l*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19.

(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 136.

(*n*) As he tells us himſelf, in his Apology addreſſed to Mr Anthony Bacon.

(*o*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 2, 3.

(*p*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*r*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

(*s*) Stowe's Annals, p. 737.

(*t*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

in thoſe parts, and had a very great intereſt there; ſo that the world wondered much in the laſt action of his life, this Earl did not rather chooſe to bring over his friends into that part of the iſland from Ireland, where he had ſuch numbers at his devotion; but it was his hard fate to rely upon an influence which he had not, and to ſlight that which he really had (4).

(4) Oſborn's Works, Vol. II. p. 70.

[*B*] *Or even wiſhed a better reception*] It is a very difficult thing to give a true account of this Lord's firſt introduction to favour, as the beſt authors we have, not only contradict each other, but are frequently inconſiſtent with themſelves, in what they have left us upon this ſubject. Sir Henry Wotton ſays (5), 'that there 'was, for ſome time, a very ſtiff averſion in the Earl 'of Eſſex, from applying himſelf to Leiceſter, for 'what ſecret conceits he knew not (which is not a 'little ſtrange, ſince this writer could not be ignorant 'of the report that his father was poiſoned by Lei'ceſter's procuring) but howſoever that humour was 'mollified by time, and by his mother, ſo to the 'Court he came under this Lord.' Sir Robert Naunton, who was very well acquainted with thoſe times, ſeems to doubt of this; for though he agrees that Leiceſter might have his reaſons for bringing that young Lord to Court (6), 'yet (ſays he) that the ſon of a 'Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Viſcount Hereford, and 'Earl of Eſſex, who was of the antient Nobility, and 'formerly in the Queen's good grace, could not have 'a room in her favour without the aſſiſtance of Lei'ceſter, was beyond the rule of her nature, which, as 'I have elſewhere taken into obſervation, was ever 'inclinable to favour the Nobility.' Dr Fuller reckons up, in his manner, the ſeveral titles which the young Earl had to Queen Elizabeth's kindneſs and affection, and amongſt the reſt he lays great weight upon his mother's intereſt, who was of the Queen's kindred. But Camden tells us the Queen hated his mother, which is probable enough, her character being none of the brighteſt. Upon the whole, the Earl of Clarendon ſeems to have given the cleareſt and moſt probable account of this matter (7): 'tho' 'the firſt approach, ſays he, of the Earl to Court was 'under the ſhadow of the great Earl of Leiceſter, yet 'he owed him rather for his invitation thither, than his 'preferment there. For no queſtion he found advan'tage from the ſtock of his father's reputation, the 'people looking on his quality with reverence (for I 'do not find that any young Nobleman had yet ſur'prized their hopes or drawn their eyes) and on his 'youth with pity, for they were nothing ſatisfied con'cerning his father's death, who had been advanced 'to honourable dangers, by the mediation of ſuch as 'delighted not in his company. And if there were 'not any ſuch compaſſion in the Queen, yet ſurely ſhe 'beheld him as the ſon of an excellent man, that died 'in her ſervice, and had left a precious fame ſurviving.' This agrees perfectly well with what the Earl himſelf ſays, *that he had but few friends when he firſt came to Court* (8), and therefore we muſt refer the political endeavours of Leiceſter to plant him in the Queen's favour, either to leſſen the weight of his own attendance, and that burthen of publick hate which fell upon him as a favourite, or elſe to his deſire of giving a counterpoiſe to Ralegh, who, though likewiſe of his own raiſing, had now ſpirit as well as ſtrength enough to ſtand upon his own legs, to his return from Holland, where he had received the higheſt honours, behaved himſelf with ſo much courage, modeſty, and generoſity, upon all occaſions, that the fame of his actions abroad was the harbinger that procured him ſo good quarter at home (9). The Queen loved to ſee her Nobility reſpected and eſteemed by foreigners, more eſpecially when theſe honours did not leſſen a juſt ſenſe of their dependance upon, and duty to, herſelf, which was the caſe of this Earl, who, at the beginning, ſhewed ſuch a profound deference and ſubmiſſion to the Queen, as of all things wrought moſt upon her nature; beſides, at that time, the Earl being a new man at Court, had no party that rendered him formidable, which made the Queen more eaſy in beſtowing her favours, eſpecially when ſhe ſaw this young Nobleman was very acceptable to the people; ſo that ſhe did not ſeem to make him ſo much her own, as to receive him for her favourite from their choice, which ſhe lived afterwards to repent (10).

(5) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 4.

(6) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(7) Diſparity between George Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Eſſex.

(8) See his Apology near to the beginning.

(9) Stowe's Annals, p. 736, 737.

(10) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

[*C*] *That*

in his room (*u*). In the ſucceeding year, which ſome have held the moſt critical of that reign, he continued to riſe, and, indeed, almoſt reached the ſummit of his fortune; for, when her Majeſty thought fit to aſſemble an army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom, in caſe the Spaniards had landed, ſhe gave the command of it, under herſelf, to the Earl of Leiceſter, and created the Earl of Eſſex General of Horſe (*w*), ſhewing him, upon that occaſion, not only as much countenance as his own high ſpirit could expect, but a degree of favour even ſuperior to that of Leiceſter (*x*); ſo that, from this time, he was conſidered as the favourite declared; and, if there was any mark yet wanting to fix the peoples opinion in that reſpect, it was ſhewn, by the Queen's conferring on him the moſt noble of the Garter (*y*). We need not wonder that ſo quick an elevation, and to ſo great a height, ſhould ſomewhat affect the judgment of ſo young a man, and therefore there will not appear any thing ſtrange in the eagerneſs he is ſaid to have ſhewn, in diſputing the Queen's favour with Sir Charles Blount (*z*), who, in proceſs of time, became Lord Montjoy and Earl of Devonſhire; which, however, coſt him ſome blood; for that brave man taking diſtaſte at ſomewhat the Earl ſaid of a favour beſtowed upon him by the Queen, challenged him, and, in Marybone-Park, after a ſhort diſpute, wounded him in the knee; with which the Queen, who did not love to be controuled in her actions, was ſo far from being diſpleaſed, that ſhe ſwore a round oath, it was fit that ſome one or other ſhould take him down, otherwiſe there would be no ruling him (*a*). However, ſhe reconciled the rivals, and it will remain an honour to both their memories, that, profeſſing themſelves friends, they remained ſuch, ſo long as they lived together (*b*).

In the beginning of the year 1589, the Earl of Eſſex took a very extraordinary ſtep, which, how much ſoever it might increaſe the reputation of his courage, did certainly no great credit to his prudence (*c*). Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake had undertaken an expedition, for reſtoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal, which the Earl beheld as an action too glorious for others to perform, while he was a ſpectator only. He followed the fleet and army therefore to Spain, and, having joined them at Corunna, proſecuted the reſt of the expedition with great vigilance and valour; which, however, was not attended with much ſucceſs, at the ſame time that it expoſed him to the Queen's diſpleaſure (*d*) [C]. At his return, however, he ſoon recovered her Majeſty's good graces; nor was

(*u*) Pat. 30 Eliz. p. 18.

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 749.

(*x*) Earl of Clarendon's Diſparity between George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(*y*) Milles de Nobilitate Politica vel Civili, p. 180.

(*z*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*a*) See the article of BLOUNT (CHARLES) Earl of Devonſhire.

(*b*) As appears by Bacon's Apology addreſſed to this Nobleman.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 752.

(*d*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 6, 7.

[C] *That it expoſed him to the Queen's diſpleaſure.*] The reaſons which induced the Earl of Eſſex to riſque at once his life and the Queen's favour, by thruſting himſelf into the dangers of this expedition both by ſea and land, are very differently repreſented; ſome ſay that it was merely from a thirſt of glory that he quitted the pleaſures of a Court, to expoſe himſelf firſt at ſea, and then in the field (11); others, that his hatred to the Spaniards was what chiefly prompted him; while there want not thoſe again, who aſcribe that action to a ſofter paſſion, his pity for the unfortunate Don Antonio King of Portugal (12). Mr Camden indeed ſuggeſts, that he flattered himſelf with the honour of commanding in chief, becauſe moſt of the officers ſtood indebted for his brother's aſſiſtance in obtaining their commiſſions (13). The truth ſeems to be, that he was inſtigated by a mixture of all theſe motives except the laſt, and chiefly by the deſire of being preſent at ſettling the new King upon the throne of Portugal, which thoſe beſt acquainted with the Hiſtory of theſe times, and with the conduct of that expedition (14), acknowledge to have been feaſible enough, if they had proceeded directly to Liſbon, but they failed by making an attempt upon Corunna, with which the Earl was not acquainted, and ran a great hazard by ſeeking the Engliſh fleet upon the coaſt of Portugal, while they were thus employed. His Lordſhip carried with him his brother Walter Devereux, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Roger Williams, and Sir Edward Wingfield (15). They joined the Engliſh fleet on the 13th of May, 1589; on the 16th they landed, and the ſame day the Earl ſkirmiſhed with the Spaniards. He was preſent in every action that paſſed in the neighbourhood of Liſbon, and, by a trumpet, challenged the Governor, or any of equal quality with himſelf, to ſingle combat (16). At length, when for want of artillery it appeared impracticable for them to become maſters of the caſtle, and their army, which had been much leſſened by the attack upon Corunna, diminiſhing daily, it was found neceſſary to return home, which they did towards the cloſe of the month of June (17). This may ſerve for a fair account of what happened to the Earl abroad in this adventure; as to the conſequences of it at home, they are very conciſely as well as elegantly repreſented by Sir Henry Wotton (18).

(11) Stowe's Annals, p. 752.

(12) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 603.

(14) See what the Earl himſelf ſays on this ſubject in his Apology.

(15) Stowe's Annals, p. 754.

(16) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 223.

(17) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 15, 16, 17.

(18) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 6, 7.

'All his hopes of advancement, ſays he, had like 'to have been ſtrangled almoſt in the very cradle, by 'throwing himſelf into the Portugal voyage without 'the Queen's conſent, or ſo much as her knowledge, 'whereby he left his friends and dependants near ſix 'months in deſperate ſuſpence what would become of 'him. And, to ſpeak truth, not without good rea'ſon: For firſt, they might well conſider, that he was 'himſelf not well plumed in favour for ſuch a flight: 'Beſides that now he wanted a Lord of Leiceſter at 'home, for he was dead the year before, to ſmooth 'his abſence, and to quench the practices at Court. 'But above all, it lay open to every man's diſcourſe, 'that though the bare offence to his Sovereign and 'miſtreſs was too great an adventure, yet much more 'when ſhe might, as in this caſe, have fairly diſ'charged her diſpleaſure upon her laws. Notwith'ſtanding, a noble report coming home before him, 'at his return all was clear, and this excurſion was 'eſteemed but a ſally of youth: nay, he grew every 'day more and more in her gracious conceit. Whe'ther ſuch intermiſſions as theſe do ſometimes foment 'affection, or that having committed a fault he be'came the more obſequious and pliant to redeem it; 'or that ſhe had not received into her royal breaſt any 'ſhadows of his popularity.' The truth of this relation, with reſpect to the Queen's reſentment, will appear more clearly from her Majeſty's own letter (19) upon his firſt departure from Court.

(19) Fuller's Worthies in Herefordſhire, p. 38.

'ESSEX,

'YOUR ſudden and undutiful departure from our 'preſence and your place of attendance, you 'may eaſily conceive how offenſive it is and ought to 'be unto us. Our great favours beſtowed upon you 'without deſerts, hath drawn you thus to neglect and 'forget your duty: for other conſtruction we cannot 'make of theſe your ſtrange actions. Not meaning 'therefore to tolerate this your diſordered part, we 'gave directions to ſome of our Privy-Council, to let 'you know our expreſs pleaſure for your immediate 'repair hither, which you have not performed as your 'duty doth bind you, increaſing thereby greatly your 'former offence and undutiful behaviour in departing in 'ſuch ſort without our privity, having ſo ſpecial office 'of attendance and charge near our perſon. We do 'therefore charge and command you forthwith, upon 'the receipt of theſe our letters, all excuſes and delay 'ſet apart, to make your preſent and immediate repair 'unto us, to underſtand our farther pleaſure. Where'of

was it long before this was teſtified to the world, by his obtaining new marks of favour, in grants of a very conſiderable value, a circumſtance in which his credit with the Queen ſeemed much ſuperior to that of all her other favourites (*e*). He had now loſt the ſupport of his father-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, who died the preceding year, and who, tho' he was ſuppoſed to act the Politician, in preferring him to the Queen's favour, (if, indeed, that was at all his work,) yet ſhewed the ſincerity of his affection to him by ſeveral clauſes in his will (*f*), notwithſtanding which loſs, he kept his ground at Court, and by careſſing Mr Cartwright and others, looked upon as Puritans, ſeemed to affect becoming the head of that party which adhered to Leiceſter while living (*g*). About this time he ran a new hazard of the Queen's favour by a private, and, as it was then conceived, inconſiderate match with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, and the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, which her Majeſty apprehended to be, in ſome meaſure, derogatory to the honour of the houſe of Eſſex (*h*); and though, for the preſent, this buſineſs was paſt by, yet it is thought that it was not ſo ſoon forgot. In 1591, Henry the Fourth of France, having demanded freſh aſſiſtance from the Queen, though he had already a body of her troops in his ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed to ſend the Earl of Eſſex with four thouſand men, a ſmall train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy, where it was propoſed that he ſhould join the French army, in order to undertake the ſiege of Rouen (*i*). The French King however, either through want of power, the diſtraction of his affairs, or ſome other cauſe, neglected to perform his promiſe, notwithſtanding that Eſſex made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, at that Monarch's requeſt, in order to have concerted meaſures for giving the Queen ſatisfaction (*k*). Upon his return from this journey, which proved of little conſequence, Eſſex, to keep up the ſpirit of his officers, conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of them, a circumſtance with which the Queen was much offended (*l*). He likewiſe made excurſions from his camp to the very walls of Rouen; and the Earl, expoſing his perſon very freely in theſe ſkirmiſhes, came off indeed unhurt himſelf, but loſt there his only brother Walter Devereux, then in the flower of his age, being two years younger than the Earl (*m*). He returned ſome time after, to give an account of the ſtate of things to the Queen, and then came back to his charge, the ſiege of Rouen being formed, and the French King expreſſing a great deſire to become maſter of it. This winter ſervice harraſſing the troops exceedingly, provoked Eſſex not a little, who ſollicited King Henry for leave to proceed in his manner, promiſing to make a breach with his own artillery, and then to ſtorm the place with the Engliſh troops; which the King, however, refuſed, as being not at all deſirous of having that rich place taken and plundered by the Engliſh, in his ſight (*n*). Eſſex ſtill more diſpleaſed at this, and reſolved not to continue in a place where no reputation was to be got, firſt challenged the Governor of Rouen, Mr Villars, and, upon his refuſing to fight (*o*), left the command of the Engliſh troops to Sir Roger Williams, an officer of great courage and experience, and then embarked for England, where his preſence was become very neceſſary, his enemies having repreſented his behaviour in a very indifferent light to the Queen his miſtreſs (*p*) [*D*]. At this time he was exceedingly courted by very different ſorts

(*e*) Camd. Annal. p. 862.

(*f*) See that Earl's Teſtament in the Introduction to the Sidney Papers.

(*g*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 349.

(*h*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 312.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 462.

(*k*) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 628.

(*l*) She ſaid his Lordſhip had done well to have built his almſhouſes before he had made his Knights.

(*m*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(*n*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 630.

(*o*) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 223.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. p. 647.

'of ſee you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our 'indignation, and will anſwer for the contrary at your 'uttermoſt peril. The 15th of April, 1589.'

[*D*] *In a very indifferent light to the Queen his miſtreſs.*] It is very ſeldom that ſkilful Courtiers are at a loſs in framing general accuſations againſt ſuch as they would ruin, more eſpecially if they have an opportunity of doing this in their abſence. Againſt the Earl of Eſſex his enemies inſinuated, that having carried a fine body of troops under old and experienced officers out of the kingdom, with a promiſe of great things, he had nevertheleſs done little or nothing; that with ſome danger to himſelf, and much more to the troops, he had made a long journey to the French King, which ended in no more than an audience of compliment; that his fierce and haſty ſpirit had led him to thoſe uſeleſs and dangerous excurſions under the walls of Rouen, where he had loſt an only brother, the Queen a gallant officer, and the nation a perſon infinitely beloved; that whereas he was ſent abroad to ſerve his country, by reducing Rouen, which might ſerve as a place of arms, and a cautionary town for the ſecurity of Engliſh auxiliaries, he had ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the French Monarch, had ſerved him in the accompliſhment of other deſigns, leaving this, for which he was ſent, uneffected; and, laſtly, that notwithſtanding his troops had been very little in ſervice, they had ſuffered ſo much as not to be able to keep the field without recruits; ſo that, in all this time, the Queen had been loſing her ſubjects and acquiring nothing (20).

But the Earl of Eſſex, upon his return, defended himſelf with great ſenſe and ſpirit againſt this accuſation. He ſhewed that the inaction of the troops upon their firſt going over was a great affliction to him, but far from being his fault, as he was continually labouring to perſuade the King to comply with his agreement, and to undertake the ſiege of Rouen, which, if he could not bring about it was far from being a crime, though he knew it to be a misfortune; that to remove this inaction he made a hazardous journey to the King's quarters, in which he ſhewed his ſtrong deſire for accompliſhing what he was ſent for; that he had expoſed himſelf in thoſe excurſions as much as any man, and as he was principally wounded by the loſs of his brother, ſo the credit of the nation inſtead of ſuffering, was raiſed by that high eſteem which the French expreſſed of the bravery ſhewn by the Engliſh in thoſe encounters; that the aſſiſtance he had given the French King and his Generals, was to remove thoſe obſtacles which prevented the ſiege, and which, if not removed, it had never been undertaken; that the loſs which the army had ſuſtained was through the fortune of war, and not from any fault of his, ariſing chiefly from diſeaſes, great inclemency of the weather, and the want of thoſe conveniencies which the allies ought to have furniſhed, and which, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he could make, had been neglected (21).

The French Hiſtorians do all the juſtice imaginable to the Queen's punctuality in performing her promiſes, and to the zeal of the Earl of Eſſex in promoting the ſervice (22). They acknowledge that the ſiege was chiefly retarded by the Marſhal de Biron's opening the trenches before the fort of St Catherine's, they add, that having demanded the government of the place when it ſhould be taken, and the King having told him that he was under a promiſe to another, the Marſhal

(20) Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Robert Naunton, Camden, &c.

(21) See the Earl's Apology, addreſſed to Mr A. Bacon, and the Authors before-cited.

(22) Abrege Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, par le Sieur de Mezeray, Tom. VI. p. 63.

ſorts of people, for many of the young Nobility, who were deſirous of entering into the world under the patronage of ſome eminent perſon, preferred the Earl, as well on account of his great affability to his followers, as becauſe of his known intereſt with the Queen (*q*). All the military men that were not of a very old ſtanding, looked upon him as their chief, and one from whoſe favour they were to derive preferment; the Puritan Miniſters alſo, and their dependants, conſidered him as the ſucceſſor to the Earl of Leiceſter, and, conſequently, as their Protector (*r*). One need not wonder therefore, that, having ſuch power, he had ſo many enemies, and that theſe ſhould gain advantages over him in his abſence; but, upon his return, he triumphed for the moſt part; and the Queen, who looked upon herſelf as tied to him by former acts of kindneſs, ſeldom refuſed him any new marks of favour, for which he was importunate in his demands (*s*). We find him preſent in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter, February 19th, 1592-3 (*t*), in which ſeſſion, chiefly through his intereſt, Sir Thomas Perrot, who had married his ſiſter, was reſtored in blood, which had been corrupted by the attainder of Sir John Perrot his father, who had been Lord-Deputy of Ireland; and in this ſeſſion it was, that the Houſe of Peers paid a very extraordinary complement to the Earl of Eſſex (*u*) [*E*]. About this time alſo the Queen, who had given him ſo many marks of her favour, added to them a new honour, which was, at the ſame time, a very high teſtimony of her confidence, by cauſing him to be ſworn one of the members of her moſt honourable Privy-Council (*w*). He met, however, in this, and in the ſucceeding years, with various cauſes of chagrin, partly from the loftineſs of his own temper, but chiefly from the artifices of thoſe who envied his great credit with the Queen, and were deſirous of reducing his power within bounds. Occaſion was taken, in this reſpect, from a dangerous and treaſonable book, written abroad by Perſons the Jeſuit, and publiſhed under the name of Doleman, with intention to create diſſention in England about the ſucceſſion to the Crown (*x*); which book, as the whole deſign of it was moſt villainous, ſo, from a ſuperior ſpirit of malice, it was dedicated to the Earl of Eſſex, on purpoſe to create him trouble; in which it had it's effect (*y*). But what chiefly grieved and broke his ſpirits, or, rather, ſowred them, was his perceiving plainly, that, though he could, in moſt ſuits, prevail for himſelf, yet he was able to do little or nothing for his friends, as particularly appeared in the caſe of Sir Francis Bacon, which, though the Earl bore with ſome impatience, yet it gave him an opportunity of ſhewing the greatneſs of his mind, by giving that Gentleman a ſmall eſtate in land, which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes (*z*) [*F*]. Indeed, the Earl of Eſſex was never wanting, upon any occaſion, to his friends,

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*r*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*s*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 9.

(*t*) Dewes's Journals of the Reign of Queen Eliz. p. 456.

(*u*) Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, p. 41.

(*w*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 179. Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.

(*x*) A Conference about the next Succeſſion to the Crown of England, 4to. 1593. The Dedication is dated the laſt day of that year.

(*y*) Sidney State Papers, p. 350, 357.

(*z*) See this in Bacon's Apology addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire.

(23) Memoires de Sieur du Pleſſis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 95.

(24) Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. cap. cxxxiii.

(25) Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, p. 41.

(26) Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 463, 464.

(27) Cabala, p. 213, 214, 215.

(28) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 783.

(29) See the Articles of BACON and CUFF in this Dictionary.

(30) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 13, 14.

ſhal was inclined to let that enterprize fail (23), and they farther admit, which is a full juſtification of the Earl of Eſſex, that he offered with his own troops to have opened the trenches between the Mountain of St Catherine and the town (24), in which, if his advice had been followed, the place muſt certainly have been taken before the Duke of Parma could have marched to it's relief.

[*E*] *Paid a very extraordinary compliment to the Earl of Eſſex.*] As this matter of fact appears to be of a very ſingular, as well as a very commendable nature, it was judged that the reader would not be diſpleaſed with ſeeing it taken notice of here. On Tueſday the 13th of March 1592-3, the Biſhop of Worceſter, took notice that ſeveral poor ſoldiers were ſeen begging in the ſtreets, who were wounded or maimed in the ſervice of their Queen and country, in France, in the Low Countries, or on the ſeas, and therefore moved, that their Lordſhips would condeſcend to a contribution for their relief. This was immediately agreed to, and it was ordered, that every Archbiſhop, Marquis, Earl, and Viſcount, ſhould pay forty ſhillings; every Biſhop thirty ſhillings; and every Baron twenty ſhillings; which ſums the Biſhop of Worceſter was appointed to receive from the Lords Spiritual, and the Lord Norris from the Temporal Peers; the diſtribution of the ſaid collection being referred by their Lordſhips to the Earl of Eſſex and the Lord Willoughby of Ereſby (25). On Thurſday the 5th of April following, the Houſe of Lords made a further order, reciting that beforementioned, that it had been complied with, and that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, had alſo contributed very largely, but that the number of diſtreſſed objects being great, and the relief but ſmall, it was farther decreed by them, That all the Lords of Parliament who had been abſent, and did not contribute before the end of the ſeſſion, ſhould be required by the Lords who had their proxies, or by the Lord Keeper, to pay double the ſums beforementioned, and notice is likewiſe taken of an order to the ſame purpoſe by the Houſe of Commons; it is added at the cloſe, if any Lord Spiritual or Temporal ſhould refuſe to do this, which it was hoped in honour none would, there ſhould be means uſed to levy the ſame (26).

[*F*] *Which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes.*] There are few circumſtances relating to the life of this noble perſon that do greater honour to his memory, than the reſpect he ſhewed for men of parts and learning, in which he acted with ſo much ſincerity and greatneſs of mind, as evidently demonſtrated, that if on any occaſion he had recourſe to their ſervices, they were ſure to find in him not only a kind and very acceſſible patron, but a real friend, and, to the utmoſt of his power, a conſtant and zealous protector. It was this diſpoſition of mind that led him to afford ſo many teſtimonies of friendſhip to Mr Daviſon, when he laboured under his misfortunes (27); to teſtify ſuch kindneſs to his ſon, as appears in that admirable letter of his which is ſtill extant, and of which it is hard to ſay, whether the peruſal of it raiſes a higher idea of his parts or of his probity. It was this turn of his that induced him to cauſe the immortal Spenſer to be interred at his expence (23). It was this that, in the latter part of his life, engaged him to take the ingenious Sir Henry Wotton, and the learned Mr Cuffe, into his ſervice, as in his earlier days he had engaged thoſe incomparable brothers, Anthony and Francis Bacon, to ſhare his fortunes and his cares (29). He had a high opinion, as indeed who had not, of the eloquence, and other great abilities of the younger brother, whoſe pen he uſed, when either his want of leiſure or his diffidence would not allow him to employ his own, which indeed was ſecond to none. It was the ſenſe he had of the great ſagacity, the ſtrong penetration, and the extenſive knowledge of the elder brother, more eſpecially in foreign affairs, that inſpired him with a deſire of having him for his conſtant companion, in order to which he gave him an apartment in his houſe, a plentiful penſion out of his purſe, beſides large preſents for occaſional ſervices (30). Some appearances there are, that ſpeak neither of theſe brothers ſo hearty in his intereſt as might have been expected from the ſtrong ties of gratitude they were under.

But

friends, as many of the writers of thoſe times agree, and of which Camden gives a remarkable inſtance in the year 1595, in his attending the funeral of Sir Roger Williams, an old experienced officer, whom he had long encouraged and ſupported; though the roughneſs of his behaviour had expoſed him to the diſlike of Sir Walter Raleigh, and other conſiderable perſons (*a*). But whatever diſadvantages Eſſex might labour under from intrigues at Court, yet, in times of danger, the Queen had commonly recourſe to his aſſiſtance. Thus, in 1596, when the Spaniards in the month of April laid ſiege to Calais, and the diſcharges from their batteries were heard at Greenwich, an army was haſtily raiſed, and marched towards Dover, the command of which was given to the Earl of Eſſex (*b*), the Queen intending to have embarked theſe troops for the aſſiſtance of the French, which, however, they wiſely declined, being willing rather to let the Spaniards keep Calais for a little while, than ſee it reſcued from them by the Engliſh, who would, preſuming on their old rights, probably keep it for ever (*c*). The Queen, however, taking advantage of that warm diſpoſition which appeared in her people, to contribute, as far as in them lay, to keep the war at a diſtance, and to prevent the Spaniards from meditating a ſecond invaſion, ordered a fleet to be equipped for attacking Cadiz, beſt part of the expences being born by the principal perſons engaged in that enterprize (*d*). The command of this army and fleet was, with joint authority, intruſted to Robert Earl of Eſſex, and Charles Lord Howard, then Lord High Admiral of England, with whom went many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, both for the land and ſea ſervice, that were then in England; the Council being compoſed of Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford; the fleet, for it's number of ſhips, and for the land ſoldiers and mariners aboard, being the moſt conſiderable that, in thoſe times, had been ſeen (*e*). On the firſt of June they ſailed from Plymouth, but were forced to put back by a contrary wind, which changing, they took the firſt opportunity of putting again to ſea. On the 18th of the ſame month they arrived at Cape St Vincent, where they met with an Iriſh bark, which informed them, that the port of Cadiz was full of ſhips, and that they had no notice whatever of the ſailing of the Engliſh fleet, or that ſuch an expedition was ſo much as intended (*f*). After this welcome news they purſued their voyage, and, on the 20th in the morning, they anchored near St Sebaſtian's, on the weſt-ſide of the iſland of Cadiz, where the Admiral would have had the forces debarked, in order to their immediately attacking the town; which Eſſex cauſed to be attempted, but found to be impracticable, and, upon the advice of Sir Walter Ralegh, deſiſted (*g*). Camden indeed charges this raſhneſs upon Eſſex, but Sir Walter Ralegh, who is certainly better authority in this point, ſtates it the other way (*h*). It was then propoſed by the Earl to begin with attacking the fleet, which was a very hazardous enterprize, but, at laſt, agreed to by the Lord Admiral; of which, when Eſſex received the news, he threw his hat into the ſea for joy. The next day this gallant reſolution was executed with all imaginable bravery, and, in point of ſervice, none did better, or hazarded his perſon more, than the Earl of Eſſex (*i*), who, in his own ſhip, *The Due Repulſe*, went to the aſſiſtance of Sir Walter Ralegh, and offered, if it had been neceſſary, to have ſeconded him in boarding the St Philip (*k*). The Spaniards behaved very gallantly, ſo long as there were any hopes, and when there were none, ſet fire to their ſhips, and retired (*l*). The Earl of Eſſex then landed eight hundred men at the Puntall, and, having firſt taken proper meaſures for deſtroying the bridge, next attacked the place with ſo much fury, that it was very quickly taken, and, the next day, the citadel ſurrendered upon a capitulation, by which a great ranſom was ſtipulated for the town (*m*). An offer was then made of two millions of ducats to ſpare the ſhips, and more might have been obtained, but the Lord Admiral ſaid, *He came there to conſume and not to compound*; of which, when the Spaniards were informed, they reſolved to have the burning of their own fleet, which they accordingly ſet on fire; their loſs by which was computed at twenty millions (*n*). The Earl was very deſirous of keeping Cadiz, which he offered to have done with a very ſmall garriſon, but the Council differed from him in opinion; ſo that, having plundered the iſland, and demoliſhed the forts, they embarked on the 5th of July, and bore away for the port of Faro in Algarve, which they plundered and deſtroyed; thence they proceeded to Cape St Vincent, and being driven by a briſk wind out to ſea, it fell under conſideration, whether they ſhould not ſail for the Azores, in hopes of intercepting the Plate Fleet, which was carried in the negative; and the Earl's propoſal, with two of her Majeſty's ſhips, and ten others, to make this attempt, was rejected likewiſe (*o*); which Mr Camden attributes to the deſire of ſome of the officers, who had made

(*a*) Annal. Eliz. p. 707.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, p. 770.

(*c*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 718.

(*d*) See the Earl of Eſſex's Apology.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 771.

(*f*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 28.

(*g*) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by William Oldys, Eſq; p. 95.

(*h*) Annal. Eliz. p. 722.

(*i*) See the Cadiz Voyage in Hakluyt. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. fo. 1929. Sir Wm. Monſon's Account, &c. p. 29.

(*k*) Sir Walter Ralegh's Relation of the Cadiz action in his Genuine Remains, publiſhed by his grandſon, p. 23.

(*l*) See the account of this Action at large in Hakluyt.

(*m*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 30, 31.

(*n*) Stowe's Annals, p. 774.

(*o*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 32.

But we muſt not always truſt appearances, more eſpecially in caſes where direct and plain proofs might certainly be had, if the ſuſpicion raiſed upon thoſe appearances were in reality well founded. As to Anthony Bacon, we have already ſhewn that whatever precautions he took for his own ſafety, his affection to and for his noble patron followed him beyond the grave. His brother Francis was of a warmer, but at the ſame time of a leſs firm and ſteady temper; he was ſuſceptible both of hopes and fears, and ſtill more ſuſceptible of praiſe, and with much of his eloquence, had a tincture of Tully's vanity, as well as his timidity, otherwiſe he would never have pleaded the Queen's *taking a liking to his pen* in defence of a declamation againſt the memory of his friend (31). His refuſal might indeed have coſt him dear, but it would have preſerved his reputation, which is more tarniſhed in this than in any other point of his private character.

(31) See the beginning of his Apology addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire.

made large booties, to get their treaſure ſafe on ſhore (*p*). They looked in, however, at Corunna, and the Earl would have then proceeded to St Andero and St Sebaſtian; but others, thinking they had done enough, the fleet returned proſperouſly to Plymouth, on the 8th of Auguſt following, and the Earl, with his ſquadron, two days after (*q*). He was very well received by the Queen, and highly applauded by the people; but, as it was too common with him, not entirely ſatisfied in himſelf; which induced him to write (at a time when ſome faults were imputed to him) a kind of narrative of this exploit, and a cenſure upon other mens conduct; which gained him little credit, and did him leſs good (*r*) [*G*]. Yet, whatever the ſentiments might be of the graver and wiſer part of the Court, it appears plainly, that, upon his return from this expedition, the Earl of Eſſex ſtood very high in the favour of the Queen, and of the nation; and, perhaps, it might have gained him an acceſſion of favour with the former, if the Earl had not enjoyed ſo much of the latter, or had ſeemed to value it leſs than he did; but, as he had little of diſſimulation in his temper, ſo the warmth with which he diſcovered either his affection or diſlike, expoſed him continually to the ſiniſter practices of his enemies, who were thoroughly ſkilled in thoſe arts which he knew leaſt about (*s*). They inſinuated, therefore, to the Queen, that, conſidering the Earl's popularity, it would not be at all expedient for her ſervice to receive ſuch as he recommended to civil employments; and this they carried ſo far, as to make even his approbation deſtructive to mens fortunes (*t*), whom they had encouraged and recommended themſelves; a thing hardly to be credited, if we had not the higheſt evidence to prove it [*H*]. It was a natural conſequence that the

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. P. 728.

(*q*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, P. 33.

(*r*) See this explained in the Notes.

(*s*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*t*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 730.

[*G*] *Gained him little credit, and did him leſs good*] It is commonly ſaid, that, upon the Earl of Eſſex's returning from Cadiz, his glory and his power were both in their utmoſt ſplendor; the Queen and her people being equally diſpoſed to afford the kindeſt reception to their joint favourite. We may, however, form ſome doubt of this for various reaſons, of which we will mention only a few: Firſt then, the Queen was unwilling the Earl ſhould have gone at all, if he could have been perſuaded to have ſtaid at home; ſhe took amiſs his objections to a divided command, and gave many other teſtimonies of her entertaining ſome prejudices againſt him before his departure (32). Next, at his return he was blamed for his partiality to the land officers, for his countenancing opinions directly oppoſite to thoſe of the majority, and for miſrepreſenting the reaſons upon which the ſentiments of the majority were grounded, which, on his firſt coming home, had much weight, and prevented, as will be ſeen in a ſucceeding note, his being able to provide, by his recommendations, for his beſt friends (33). In order to ſupport and maintain himſelf, the Earl drew up a narrative in which he ſhewed the advantages, and diſplayed the beneficial conſequences of this expedition, 'in 'which, ſays he, the Engliſh took two galleons, 'routed fifteen gallies with an unequal number of 'ſhips, freed many of their countrymen condemned 'to the gallies, and releaſed ſeveral Spaniards from 'impriſonment; took the beſt fortified city in all 'Spain, and ſtayed thirteen days in their country; 'brought home, beſides the galleons aforeſaid, a hundred braſs guns, with a rich booty: and the ſailors, 'but eſpecially the ſoldiers, great plunder. The 'enemy loſt thirteen of his moſt ſerviceable ſhips, forty 'India merchant-men, and four others; beſides vaſt 'quantities of ammunition, proviſions, &c. rendering 'it almoſt impoſſible he ſhould in ſome time appear 'again at ſea in a formidable manner (34).' If he had ſtopped here it had been well, for as this did credit to all, ſo there is no doubt that all would have joined in ſupporting the credit which it gave them. But it fell out that the Earl, forgetting his own miſtakes, and more eſpecially making ſo many Knights, the far greater part from amongſt his own deſcendants, would needs write a cenſure of this voyage, by ſetting down whatever was omitted in the proſecution of it, and then, by way of anſwer to thoſe objections, imputing all miſcarriages to other men, by which he raiſed to himſelf many implacable enemies, and there is too much reaſon to believe, did not gain him one friend. A ſpecimen of the laſt objection and it's anſwer will abundantly confirm this obſervation, and at the ſame time give great light into his perſonal hiſtory, as well as a ſtrong inſtance of his capacity for writing well, if he had choſen his ſubject better (35).

(32) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, P. 94.

(33) Camd. Ann. P. 729, 730.

(34) Extracted from the Earl's Narrative by Camden.

(35) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, P. 363, 364.

Objection. '*That ſince the chief of our ſervice 'conſiſted in the taking or deſtroying the Spaniſh ſhipping and naval ſtores, Why did we not look into 'their principal ports, and do them all the miſchief 'we were able?*

'*Anſwer.* That my end in going to Cadiz was 'not only becauſe it was a principal port, but the moſt 'likely to be held by us, in regard not only to the 'ſituation and natural ſtrength thereof, but that alſo 'from thence we might (if ſome greater ſervice did 'not divert us) go to all the ports betwixt that and the 'nethermoſt parts of Biſcay, which ſeemed better to 'me than to have alarmed the enemy firſt in the 'midſt of his country, or the neareſt parts thereof to 'ours, in regard that by acting in that manner, our 'attempts would have been more difficult, and our retreat at laſt from thoſe parts leſs ſafe, conſidering the 'wants, ſickneſs, and other inconveniences, which 'generally attend fleets and armies in long voyages. 'But after we had done what we could at Cadiz, it 'was by all our ſea officers thought a capital offence, 'ſo much as to mention the paſſing over the bar of 'St Lucar.

'Between St Lucar and Liſbon there is not any good 'port, and from the latter I was reſtrained by my 'inſtructions: nay, though we had been permitted to 'have gone thither, yet I found our ſeamen of the 'ſame caſt that Sir Francis Drake and his company 'were, when they loſt the opportunity of taking that 'place, not caring to paſs by the caſtle of St Julian.

'From Liſbon to the Groyne there is not any port 'capable of containing either the King of Spain's, or 'other large ſhipping; but to the latter place I at 'length prevailed with them, not without great difficulty, to go, having both vowed and proteſted againſt their refuſal, and even parted company with 'them when they offered to hold on their courſe; but 'when we came to the mouth of the harbour, and 'ſent in ſome veſſels, we could not diſcover any thing 'there, nor at Ferrol, for in that port we alſo 'looked.

'After this we held our laſt council, and then I 'urged going to St Andrew's Paſſage, St Sebaſtian's, 'and all the principal ports along the coaſt; but the 'Lord Admiral abſolutely refuſed going farther, complaining of wants, and repreſenting the danger of 'being embayed, with many other inconveniencies, in 'which opinion Sir Walter Ralegh confirmed him, ſo 'that both of them ſeemed deſirous to have the honour of fruſtrating the deſign; and as to our landing 'at the Groyne, and attempting the town, they would 'by no means hear of it, but every one preſently 'cried out, *let us make ſail homewards*, ſince which 'time they have uſed ſuch ſpeed, that by my endeavouring to bring with me the St Andrew taken at 'Cadiz, and the fly-boat with our artillery, I have 'loſt company with them all, except Monſieur 'Duvenvoord and his ſquadron, and ſome ſmall 'ſhips (36).'

(36) Sir Henry Wotton ſpeaks much like a courtier, if this be the piece of which he ſpeaks when he ſays, that the Cadiz Expedition was the Earl's moſt fortunate action, and no leſs modeſt, for there he wrote, with his own hand, a cenſure of his omiſſions.

[*H*] *If we had not the higheſt evidence to prove it.*] It is a juſt obſervation made upon theſe times, that the great

the Earl, who wanted not penetration enough to ſee, or ſpirit to reſent this, ſhould behave towards thoſe he took to be the authors of ſuch counſels with viſible marks of anger and diſcontent; and this conduct of his made him frequently upon bad terms even with the Queen herſelf, who was a Princeſs very jealous of her authority, and, in caſes of this nature, bore but very indifferently with any expoſtulations (*u*). However, as well out of her natural kindneſs to him, as from a deſire of ſhewing a juſt acknowledgment for his late ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed, on the 19th of March 1597, to appoint him Maſter of the Ordnance by patent (*w*). This ſeems to have had a good effect, in quieting the mind, and raiſing the ſpirits, of this great Nobleman, who, upon the report that the Spaniards were forming a new fleet at Ferrol and Corunna, for the invaſion of Ireland at leaſt, if not England, readily offered his ſervice to the Queen, and chearfully declared, as Camden aſſures us, that he would either defeat this new armada, which had threatned England for a year together, or periſh in the attempt, as one willingly devoted for the ſervice of his country (*x*). The Queen, well pleaſed with this propoſal, gave it all the countenance that could be deſired, and cauſed a conſiderable fleet, though not ſo conſiderable as the action required, to be equipped for this ſervice. The Earl of Eſſex was appointed General, Admiral, and Commander in Chief, the Lord Thomas Howard Vice, and Sir Walter Ralegh Rear-Admirals, the Lord Montjoy was Lieutenant-General of the land-forces, and Sir Francis Vere, Marſhal. We may gueſs at the intereſt which the Earl had in the ſucceſs of this voyage by the number of his friends, who engaged therein as volunteers, and, amongſt them of the Nobility, were the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the Lords Cromwell and Rich (*y*). His ſanguine hopes however were, in ſome meaſure, diſappointed; for ſailing about the 9th of July from Plymouth, they met, at ſixty leagues diſtance, with ſo rough a ſtorm, and of four days continuance, that they were obliged to put back to Plymouth, where they remained wind-bound for the ſpace of a month (*z*), in which time a great part of their proviſions was conſumed. While the fleet was thus laid up, the Earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Ralegh ſet out poſt for the Court, in order to receive freſh inſtructions (*a*). The propoſals made by Eſſex, even after this diſappointment, were very bold and great, but, as Camden ſeems to inſinuate, very difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable; ſo that the Queen would not countenance his projects, but rather left the direction of the expedition to the Commanders in Chief, according as the ſeaſon and circumſtances might encourage or permit (*b*). The ſame Hiſtorian, and almoſt all who have written upon this ſubject after him, ſpeak of an old miſunderſtanding between Eſſex and Sir Walter Ralegh before they left England, which was productive of moſt of the miſchiefs that afterwards happened; which there is good reaſon however to believe

(*u*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 24, 25.

(*w*) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 7.

(*x*) Annal. Eliz. p. 738.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 783.

(*z*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 738.

(*a*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1935.

(*b*) Annal. Eliz. p. 739.

great Stateſmen knew how to poiſon with oil, and to break men's fortunes by contributing to their exaltation. The rivals of the Earl of Eſſex, whenever he made any propoſals for the publick ſervice, were ſure to provoke him with objections, which, out of the warm ſincerity of his heart, he commonly anſwered by promiſing to perform even more than he firſt offered, and then they were ſure to find out pretences for ſending thoſe with him, who would perplex him as much in the execution, as they had done in the firſt contrivance of his project; but how ſucceſsful ſoever theſe arts might be in the cabinet of a Princeſs now full of years and of ſuſpicions, and ſurrounded with the enemies of Eſſex, yet it could not impoſe upon the nation, for which reaſon it did not in the leaſt leſſen that Nobleman's popularity; and therefore thoſe who envied his greatneſs, contrived to render this criminal, by repreſenting to the Queen, that though ſhe might ſafely beſtow honours and employments upon the Earl himſelf, in order to avail herſelf of his great virtues and extraordinary talents, yet nothing could be more dangerous to her tranquillity, than to receive into her ſervice even ſubordinate Miniſters of his recommendation; becauſe being already maſter of the military, he would by that means draw the civil power into his hands. We have ſeen that he could not reſtore Daviſon whom the Queen had made Secretary of State, and whom ſhe thought fitter for that office than any other man. We have ſeen that he could not make Sir Francis Bacon Sollicitor-General, though he exerted for that purpoſe the whole ſtrength of his intereſt. We ſhall now ſee, that a promotion being reſolved his approbation was ſufficient to prevent it; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, the perſon injured reſents the good will of the Earl, inſtead of taking amiſs that inſolent abuſe of power, which other Miniſters had exerciſed in ſetting him aſide, and this in breach too of their own promiſes. The perſon thus treated was Sir Thomas Bodley, and, as nobody can deſerve better credit in this buſineſs, he ſhall tell his ſtory himſelf, who having acknowledged that the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh intended to have made him Secretary of State, in caſe the Earl of Eſſex, upon the general rumour of it, had not highly commended him, tells us, that he had learned from his ſon the Earl of Saliſbury, that they had no other motive to ſet him aſide, but the Earl's good opinion, which was grounded only on his belief of Bodley's merit, who, upon this ſubject, makes theſe reflections (37): 'When I had thoroughly now 'bethought me firſt in the Earl, of the ſlender holdfaſt 'he had in the favour of the Queen, of an endleſs 'oppoſition of the chiefeſt of our Stateſmen, like ſtill 'to wait upon him; of his perillous, and feeble, and 'uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the 'cauſes of his friends: and when moreover for myſelf I had fully conſidered, how very untowardly 'theſe two Counſellors were affected unto me, upon 'whom before in cogitation I had framed all the fabrick of my future proſperity, how ill it did concur 'with my natural diſpoſition, to become, or to be 'counted, either a ſtickler or partaker in any publick 'faction; how well I was able by God's good bleſſing to live of myſelf, if I could be content with a 'competent livelihood; how ſhort time of further life 'I was then to expect by the common courſe of nature. When I had, I ſay, in this manner repreſented 'to my thoughts my particular eſtate, together with 'the Earl's, I reſolved thereupon to poſſeſs my ſoul 'in peace all the reſidue of my days: to take my full 'farewel of State employments, to ſatisfy my mind 'with that mediocrity of worldly living that I had of 'my own, and ſo to retire me from the Court, which 'was the epilogue and end of all my actions and endeavours of any important note, till I came to the 'age of fifty-three.' This event happened at the time the great perſons beforementioned were at open enmity, and before that treaty was concluded, of which the reader will have an ample account in the ſucceeding note.

(37) Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, written by himſelf.

[I] *Which*

believe a groundleſs imputation upon both (*c*) [*I*]. As ſoon as the fleet was repaired, and the land-forces were debarked that, by the Queen's command, were to remain at home, they ſailed again from Plymouth the 17th of Auguſt, having now two points in view, the one to burn the Spaniſh fleet in their own harbours, the other to intercept the ſhips they expected from the Weſt-Indies. Camden blames Eſſex for appearing openly within ſight of the Spaniſh coaſt, and thereby alarming the enemy; but Sir William Monſon acquaints us with the true reaſon of the Earl's conduct, which was, by making a ſhow of a few ſhips to draw out the enemies fleet, it being found impoſſible to burn them in port (*d*). He alſo inſinuates, that Sir Walter Ralegh kept at a diſtance from the fleet, which was another diſcouragement; but, from the beſt accounts we have, this alſo appears to be a groundleſs imagination (*e*). Sir Walter is afterwards ſaid to have ſeparated from the fleet by deſign, under pretence of repairing his ſhip; but Sir William Monſon tells us plainly, that this ſeparation was owing to an involuntary miſcarriage in Eſſex himſelf (*f*). When they joined again at the iſlands it appears plainly, that Eſſex and Ralegh were very good friends, notwithſtanding there were ſome, on both ſides, who laboured all they could to incenſe them againſt each other. When they had refreſhed at Flores, Eſſex commanded Ralegh to ſail for Fayall, which he intended to attack with the whole fleet; but Sir Walter coming there firſt, and apprehending that the ſmalleſt delay might have prevented their deſign, very gallantly attacked, and very happily ſucceeded, in making himſelf maſter of the iſland before the arrival of Eſſex with the reſt of the fleet (*g*). This gave occaſion to Sir Walter's enemies to repreſent his vigilance and activity in the light of diſobedience and contempt to Eſſex, which occaſioned very high diſputes, but, by the interpoſition of Lord Thomas Howard, all things were compromiſed, Sir Walter excuſed what had happened to the Earl, and the Earl accepted his excuſe (*h*). As the relations of this, which is called the *Iſland Voyage*, already publiſhed, are very exact, and in themſelves larger than this whole life, it cannot be expected that we ſhould enter here into all the other particulars of this voyage; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that, notwithſtanding the Spaniſh fleet eſcaped, and ſome other untoward accidents happened, in which the Earl was not altogether without blame, yet three ſhips from the Havannah, the cargoes of which amounted to near one hundred thouſand pounds, were taken, by which the beſt part of the expences of the undertaking were defrayed, and ſo the fleet returned to England towards the cloſe of October (*i*). In reſpect to what Camden ſuggeſts, that, after their arrival in England, Eſſex and Ralegh accuſed each other, by which great diſturbances were occaſioned (*k*), there is ſome reaſon to doubt the matter of fact, and to believe they were both wiſer men, and knew their reſpective intereſts better than to act in ſuch a manner [*K*]. It is very true, that the Earl of Eſſex, upon his return from the Iſland Voyage,

(*c*) See this explained in the Note.

(*d*) Annal. Eliz. p. 740. Sir Wm. Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 34.

(*e*) Annal. Eliz. p. 740. See the accurate Account of this Expedition, written by Sir Arthur Gorges, in the IVth Vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims.

(*f*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 34. Annal. Eliz. p. 740.

(*g*) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 116.

(*h*) See the Accounts of this Voyage before referred to.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 784. Sir Wm. Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 37, 38.

(*k*) Annal. Eliz. p. 745.

[*I*] *Which there is good reaſon, however, to believe a groundleſs imputation upon both.*] There ſeem to be few opinions better founded than that, which, with due caution, admits the private letters of perſons of good ſenſe and experience, written at the time when things were tranſacted, to be the beſt documents for ſuch points, either of publick or of private Hiſtory, as are not likely to be generally known with the ſame degree of certainty as facts of another ſpecies. Amongſt other papers of a very curious and inſtructive nature, which have been publiſhed lately in a very valuable collection, are the letters of Rowland White, Eſq; to Sir Robert Sydney, at that time Governor of Fluſhing. Mr White was Sir Robert's agent at Court, and from theſe letters it appears, that the Nobleman, on whoſe favour Sir Robert chiefly relied, was the Earl of Eſſex; ſo that we cannot well have better authority, in reference to what paſſed at Court in thoſe days, than the informations of this gentleman, concerned to make the cloſeſt enquiries he could, and bound in honour to relate what proved the reſult of them with the utmoſt fidelity. We learn from him, that, in the beginning of the year 1597, there were great intrigues at Court, where Secretary Cecil was the moſt favoured Counſellor, had long private conferences with the Queen, and retarded or advanced mens ſuits at his pleaſure (38). Eſſex at this time was in ſome diſcontent, tho' a great favourite likewiſe, kept or was ſaid to keep his bed, when he was not very ſick, receiving frequent meſſages from the Queen, and having alſo private audiences (39). In the beginning of the month of March, Sir Walter Ralegh had ſeveral private interviews with the Earl, in order to bring about a good underſtanding between him and the Secretary, which he urged would have ſeveral good conſequences, ſuch as, making the Queen eaſy, removing a great obſtacle in the management of publick affairs, and contributing not a little to forwarding the ſchemes concerted for humbling the common enemy (40). It is eaſy to ſee from hence, that there could be no pique between the Earl and Sir Walter Ralegh, for if there had, Sir Robert Cecil was too wiſe a man to have employed him. While this treaty was in negotiation, there was a competition for the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Robert Cecil ſupporting the new Lord Cobham, and the Earl of Eſſex recommending Sir Robert Sydney firſt, and finding that would not do, ſtanding for it himſelf, upon which it was propoſed that he ſhould accept of the Maſterſhip of the Ordnance, which he did (41). Soon after this, Sir Henry Leigh was, at the recommendation of the Earl of Eſſex, made Knight of the Garter (42); and the Earl concurred in promoting the Lord Borows to the government of Ireland. In May the treaty was in a manner concluded, the Earl, by the mediation of Sir Walter Ralegh, was reconciled to the Secretary, and they concerted together all the meaſures preparatory to the Iſland Expedition, and from the ſame letters we learn, that Sir Walter Ralegh, who was entruſted with the care of victualling the fleet, had been remarkably civil to the Earl of Eſſex in what related to the proviſion of his own ſhip; and when they were obliged to return by contrary winds, Mr White repreſents their coming to London together, as the effects of their perfect intelligence, and does not give the leaſt hint of any variance between them.

(38) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 23.

(39) Ibid. p. 18.

(40) Ibid. p. 24.

(41) Ibid. p. 31.

(42) Ibid. p. 47.

[*K*] *Than to act in ſuch a manner.*] In the text we have given ſeveral inſtances of Mr Camden's inclination to repreſent the diſputes between the Earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Ralegh, as the principal cauſe of the miſcarriages in this voyage, which, from the facts contained in the laſt note, ſeem not very probable. We may add to this, that Sir Arthur Gorges, who wrote the very beſt account of this voyage, tells us, that when the Earl and Sir Walter met at Flores, the Earl acquainted him with the ſurmiſes that had been vented of his abſence, and named to him ſome who had taxed him ſecretly, and yet pretended to love him; upon which Sir Arthur makes the following reflexion (43): 'Though the Earl had many doubts and jealouſies

(43) See his Account of that Voyage in the IVth Vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims.

Voyage, ſhewed evident ſigns of deep diſpleaſure, retired to his houſe at Wanſtead, and, under pretence of ſickneſs, abſented himſelf from the ſervice of Parliament then ſitting; and it is alſo very true which Camden reports, that his diſſatisfaction aroſe from the Lord Admiral's being created Earl of Nottingham in his abſence, with ſome particular clauſes in the preamble of his patent, which, as they were highly honourable for that noble Peer, Eſſex conceived threw ſome diſparagement upon himſelf (*l*). But as to what the ſame Hiſtorian inſinuates, that he was no leſs diſpleaſed that Sir Robert Cecil was advanced to be Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, becauſe he conſidered him as his principal antagoniſt, and a faſt friend to Sir Walter Ralegh (*m*), there is ſome reaſon to queſtion, and in the notes it will be ſhewn, that the firſt was the great if not the ſole cauſe of the Earl's diſquiet, that his diſtaſte was very far from being peeviſh or unreaſonable, and that thoſe who are reputed to have been his greateſt enemies, were, in reality, the very perſons that procured this noble perſon the ſatisfaction he deſired [*L*]. This ſatisfaction conſiſted in creating the Earl of Eſſex Earl-Marſhal of England, which was done December 28th, 1597 (*n*), and he took his place in Parliament accordingly on Wedneſday the 11th of January following; but whereas Camden reports, that this office had been ſuppreſſed, or lain dormant, from the death of the Earl of Shrewſbury, from whence it might be inferred, that it was a very extraordinary thing for the Queen to be drawn to this promotion, it is clearly a miſtake, the Earl of Suſſex ſitting, in this very Parliament, as Earl-Marſhal, and having precedence accordingly (*o*). We may add to this, that Camden himſelf had occaſion to conſider this point of the ſucceſſion, power, and prerogative of the Earls Marſhal of England, very cloſely; nor is it at all improbable, that it was, upon this very occaſion, for the Earl of Eſſex is the laſt Marſhal mentioned in his liſt, and he ſhews very fully his hereditary claim to that great honour (*p*). It is generally agreed, that this noble perſon had nothing of diſſimulation in his nature, and therefore, having obtained this new favour of the Queen, he was perfectly well pleaſed, and very readily promiſed Sir Robert Cecil Secretary of State, who was appointed to execute a commiſſion of great importance to the French King, that nothing to the prejudice of his intereſt ſhould be done in his abſence, without which promiſe the Secretary would not have gone; and this he not only performed with the utmoſt punctuality, but even diſcharged the Secretary's buſineſs, in his abſence, with the utmoſt care and vigilance, and all this time no quarrels with Sir Walter Ralegh, or ſo much as the leaſt coldneſs; on the contrary, Sir Walter knowing that the Earl had engaged himſelf to his relation Sir Robert Sydney, in reference to the poſt of Vice-Chamberlain, which was then vacant, he declined ſolliciting for it purely out of reſpect to Eſſex (*q*). But in the month of May 1598, Sir Robert Cecil returning to England with new notions in relation to the peace, there quickly aroſe freſh diſputes in the Council about the expediency of that meaſure, which was very earneſtly as well as eloquently preſſed by the old and wiſe Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and as warmly decried by the Earl of Eſſex, who wanted not very plauſible reaſons

(*l*) Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 529, 531. Annal. Eliz. p. 746.

(*m*) See this explained in the Note.

(*n*) Spelman's Poſthumous Works, p. 171.

(*o*) Annal. Eliz. p. 746. Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 523.

(*p*) See the Appendix to Camden's Letters, publiſhed by Smith, p. 96.

(*q*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.

'jealouſies buzzed into his ears againſt him, yet I 'have often obſerved, that both in his greateſt actions 'of ſervice, and in the time of his chiefeſt recreations, 'he would ever accept of his counſel and company, 'before many others who thought themſelves more in 'his favour.' In reference to the high diſpute at Fayall, Sir Henry Wotton tells us, that when one, whoſe name he ſays he need not remember, preſſed the Earl to put Sir Walter at leaſt to a Court Martial, he anſwered (44), *That I would do if he were not my friend.* Some copies indeed read, *if he were my friend*, which perhaps is the true reading. We may very eaſily reconcile all this, by ſuppoſing that both the Earl and Sir Walter might have their reaſons for not letting the world know how far they were friends. Mr White, in his Letters to Sir Robert Sydney during the Earl's abſence on this expedition, obſerves, that the creation of Barons, which it was intended ſhould have preceded the meeting of Parliament, was, by Secretary Cecil, put off till the Earl's return (45), and this plainly ſhews that he kept, or would be thought to keep, that treaty of good correſpondence which he had concluded with his Lordſhip.

(44) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(45) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 69.

[*L*] *The ſatisfaction he deſired.*] In order to apprehend this matter clearly, we muſt firſt learn what was the true cauſe of the Earl of Eſſex's diſcontent, which was very far from being ſo idle or unreaſonable as ſome have repreſented it. The Lord Admiral Howard had, in his abſence, been raiſed from the degree of a Baron to the title of Earl of Nottingham, and in the preamble of the patent his taking of Cadiz is particularly mentioned. Now, by virtue of a regulation made in the reign of Henry VIII. the Great Chamberlain of England, the Earl Marſhal, the Admiral, and the Steward of the Houſhold, were to have precedency in Parliament of all Peers of the ſame rank, ſo that if the Earl of Eſſex had attended the ſervice of the Houſe, the Earl of Nottingham, though created but a few days before, would have taken place of him in virtue of this regulation (46), though in the ſervice for which he was raiſed to his new title, the Earl of Eſſex had the precedency, and had no reaſon to believe that the Queen was not perfectly ſatisfied with his behaviour in that expedition. It was this that occaſioned his retiring from Court, and ſhewing ſuch high marks of diſcontent, with the motives of which, when the Queen was thoroughly acquainted, ſhe ſhewed herſelf ſo little pleaſed, that the Earl of Nottingham thought proper to retire, though he was Lord Steward as well as Lord Admiral, and going to his houſe at Chelſea gave out that he was ſick (47). The Queen immediately laid the fault upon the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh and Sir Robert Cecil, who, ſays Mr White, with infinite proteſtations, execrations, and vows, denied it; however, to ſet matters right again they had recourſe to Sir Walter Ralegh, whom they ſent to the Earl of Eſſex to diſpoſe him to admit of ſome expedient (48), which is certainly a proof that Sir Walter and he were not upon bad terms, or had been accuſing one another to the Queen. By his interpoſition the Earl was content, that his hereditary claim to the dignity of Earl Marſhal being admitted, by which he recovered his precedency again, he was willing to forget what was paſt; and it is very remarkable, that, after this agreement was made, Mr White writes to Sir Robert Sydney, that the world exceedingly wondered to ſee the too great familiarity that was grown between the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Ralegh, none but they enjoy him, ſays he, and they carry him away as they liſt (49). This is a very ſingular piece of ſecret Hiſtory, and ſets the whole of theſe tranſactions in a new point of light.

(46) Camd. Ann. p. 745, 746.

(47) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 77.

(48) Idem, ibid.

(49) Ibid. p. 79.

[*M*] *Of*

reaſons in ſupport of what he ſaid (*r*). The Treaſurer, at length, grew into a great heat, inſomuch that he told the Earl of Eſſex, that he ſeemed to be intent upon nothing but blood and ſlaughter; the Earl explained himſelf upon this, that the blood and ſlaughter of the Queen's enemies might be very lawfully his intention, that he was not againſt a ſolid but a ſpecious and precarious peace, that the Spaniards were a ſubtle and ambitious people, who had contrived to do England more miſchief in time of peace than of war; and that as to an enemy, whoſe hands it was impoſſible to bind by treaty, it was better not to tie up our own (*s*). The Treaſurer at laſt drew out a Prayer-Book, in which he ſhewed Eſſex this expreſſion, *Men of blood ſhall not live out half their days* (*t*). Yet Camden, from whom we have all this, acknowledges, that many thought the arguments of Eſſex had weight, and that, in reality, his chief concern was for the honour and happineſs of his native country, which he thought might be better promoted by an open war, which would always keep the King of Spain's hands full at home, than by an unſteady peace, which might give his Catholick Majeſty time to recover his ſucceſſive loſſes, and allow him leiſure alſo to practiſe his uſual arts for weakening us (*u*). As the Earl knew well enough, that various methods would be uſed to prejudice the common people againſt him, more eſpecially ſuch as, in any degree, got their living by trade, or thought themſelves oppreſſed by the taxes levied for the ſupport of the war, he reſolved to write a vindication of his own proceedings, and to deliver his own arguments with all the advantages that his own pathetick eloquence could give them (*w*), which he addreſſed to his dear friend Anthony Bacon, and which ſtill remains a memorial of his great virtues and admirable abilities [*M*]. About this time died the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh (*x*), which was a great misfortune to the Earl of Eſſex, ſince the remembrance of his father, the truſt repoſed in him by committing this his eldeſt ſon to his care, and the reſpect and obedience which had been ſhewn him by the young Lord for ſeveral years, preſerved in him a tenderneſs for his perſon, and a real concern for his fortunes; but when that great Counſellor was gone, thoſe who hated the Earl acted without any reſtraint, croſſed whatever he propoſed, ſtopped the riſe of every man he loved, and treated all his projects with an air of ſupercilious contempt, except one which they thought would be his ruin. By the death of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of Cambridge became vacant, upon which, as the higheſt mark of their reſpect poſſible, that learned body choſe the Earl of Eſſex (*y*) in his room. Upon this account he went down to pay them a viſit, was entertained at Queen's College with great magnificence; and, as a proof of their general affection, the room in which he lay was, long after, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Eſſex Chamber (*z*). We may account this one of the laſt inſtances of this great man's felicity, for he was now advanced too high to ſit at eaſe; and thoſe who longed for his honours and employments, very buſily ſtudied how they might bring about his fall. The firſt great ſhock he had given him in the Queen's favour, was on the ſcore of the perſon he propoſed to be ſent over to Ireland, before he was drawn to have thoughts of going thither himſelf; and though, in appearance, he was reconciled and reſtored to the Queen's favour, yet there is good reaſon to doubt whether it was ever recovered in reality (*a*), or at leaſt to the degree in which he formerly held it. The reader will find the cauſe, the circumſtances, and the conſequences of this quarrel, in the notes [*N*]. An event

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 789. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 765, 766, 767.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 771.

(*t*) See the article of CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh, in this Dictionary. Cabala, P. i. p. 344.

(*u*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 771.

(*w*) This apology ſtole into the world not long after it was written, with which the Queen was exceedingly offended.

(*x*) Camd. Annal. p. 773.

(*y*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 864.

(*z*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 156.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 772, 773.

[*M*] *Of his great virtues and admirable abilities.*] The title of this work runs thus: *To Mr Anthony Bacon, an Apologie of the Earle of Eſſexe, againſt thoſe which falſlie and maliciouſlie take him to be the only Hindrance of the Peace and Quiet of his Countrie* (50). In it he gives a ſuccinct and very impartial account of the undertakings and conduct of his whole life; he declares his love of peace; and his diſlike of war when it is a worſe evil than a bad peace; he explains the cauſes for ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the Spaniſh offers, obſerves, that when they treated before, they at the ſame time laboured to corrupt Dr Lopez, the Queen's Phyſician, to poiſon her, and even at this time he aſſerts, that there was one Anthony Rolles, a priſoner in the Tower, who came over with a commiſſion from the King of Spain, to offer him, the Earl of Eſſex, whatever title, preferment, or penſion he ſhould deſire, for taking their part (51). He next opens the political motives that might, in all probability, induce the Catholick King to conclude a peace, without any true intention of living at quiet; the great advantages that might ariſe from thence to Spain, and bad conſequences to us and our allies, more eſpecially the States of Holland, of whoſe government and intereſts he diſcourſes with great clearneſs and capacity, and ſhews how fit he was to manage, as he did that very year, a new treaty between the Queen his Sovereign and that Republick (52).

(50) Reprinted under the title of the Earl of Eſſex's Vindication of the War with Spain in 1729. 8vo.

(51) Earl of Eſſex's Vindication of the War with Spain, p. 24.

(52) Camd. Annal. p. 776.

[*N*] *In the notes.*] We have the beſt, indeed the only full account of this matter from Camden, who was a very judicious man, as well as furniſhed with the beſt memoirs of that reign that were to be procured, and therefore we will give it in his words. Having mentioned the motives alledged by Eſſex for carrying on the war, he proceeds thus (53): 'There followed after this, ſays he, a pretty warm diſpute between the Queen and Eſſex, about the choice of ſome fit and able perſon to ſuperintend the affairs of Ireland, at which none were preſent but the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary; and Windebanke, Clerk of the Seal: for whereas the Queen looked upon Sir William Knolles, uncle to Eſſex, as the moſt proper perſon for that charge; and Eſſex contending that Sir George Carew would much better execute that office (perhaps on purpoſe to get rid of him), and when the Queen could by no means be perſuaded to approve his choice, he quite forgot himſelf and his duty, and turned his back upon his Prince in a kind of contempt. The Queen, not able to bear his inſolence, beſtowed on him a box on the ear, and bad him go and be hanged. He immediately clapped his hand on his ſword, and the Lord Admiral ſtepping in between, he ſwore a great oath he neither could nor would put up an affront of that nature, nor would he have taken it at the hands of Henry VIII himſelf, and in a great paſſion immediately withdrew from the Court. The Lord Keeper adviſed him, in a ſerious and conſiderate letter, to apply himſelf to the Queen for pardon (54), alledging, *that 'twas the beſt way to ſtoop to her anger for the preſent, remembering that paſſage of Seneca,* If the law puniſhes a guilty perſon he muſt ſubmit to juſtice; if one innocent he muſt yield to fortune. *If he had given the Queen*

(53) Idem, ibid. p. 771.

(54) Theſe letters may be found at large in the Cabala, P. i. p. 216, 217. As alſo in Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 232. where there is a ſtrange miſtake as to the time in which the Earl's anſwer was written.

event happened much about this time, which ſhewed the ſentiments the enemies of England had of this noble perſon, and ought therefore to have endeared him to ſuch as had a real affection for their country: there was one Edward Squire ſeized and impriſoned for treaſon, and his caſe came out to be this; he had been a groom in the Queen's ſtables, went afterwards to ſea with Sir Francis Drake, was taken priſoner and carried to Spain, where he was perſwaded by a Jeſuit to undertake poiſoning the Earl of Eſſex, and afterwards Queen Elizabeth, for performing which he had poiſon given him in a bladder (*b*). He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the pommel of the Queen's ſaddle, got himſelf afterwards recommended to ſerve on board the Earl's ſhip in the Iſland Voyage, where, in like manner, he poiſoned both the arms of his great chair; yet no effect followed in either caſe (*c*). Upon this the Spaniſh Jeſuit ſuſpecting the man, and not his drug, cauſed information to be given in England againſt Squire, who, finding himſelf betrayed by his Confeſſor, opened the whole ſcene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to diſpatch both the Queen and the Earl, for which he was deſervedly executed (*d*). The miſeries of Ireland continued all this time, or rather increaſed, and when propoſals were made, in the Queen's Council, for ſending over a new Governor, with certain reſtrictions, Eſſex took occaſion of ſhewing, that nothing had been hitherto ſo expenſive as an ill-timed frugality, and that the Iriſh rebels had been the only gainers by the reſtraints put upon the Engliſh Deputies (*e*). Thoſe who hated this noble perſon were not diſpleaſed when they found him in this diſpoſition, and, at length, took, in their turn, occaſion, from his objections, to ſuggeſt, that the total reduction of that iſland was to be expected from none but himſelf; which, at firſt, he declined; but perceiving that he could enjoy little quiet or comfort at home, that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit, and that by failing the expectations of his friends he ſhould gradually loſe them, he conſented to accept that fatal preferment, and agreed to go over into that kingdom, which had been the grave of his father's fortunes, and which his beſt friends foreſaw would prove the gulf of his own (*f*). It is indeed true, that he had a great army granted him, and that due care was taken for the payment of it; that his powers were very large, and his appointments very great; but theſe were obtained with many ſtruggles, and notice was taken of every thing he promiſed, or ſeemed to promiſe, in order to obtain them (*g*); and, when all things were regulated, he was ſo far from going with alacrity, as to a place which he had ſought, and to a command which he meditated for the ſake of greater things, that he ſeemed rather to look upon it as a baniſhment, and a place aſſigned him for a retreat from his Sovereign's preſent diſpleaſure, rather than a potent government beſtowed upon him by her favour [O]. On the 12th of March 1598, his commiſſion for Lord Lieutenant paſſed the Great Seal (*b*), and, on the 27th of the ſame month, about two

(*b*) Biſhop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercy, cap. xiv.

(*c*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 779.

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 788.

(*e*) This is affirmed by Bacon in his declaration of the Earl of Eſſex's treaſon.

(*f*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(*g*) As appeared from the ſpeeches of the Lords of the Privy-Council in the Star-Chamber.

(*b*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 111.

Queen a juſt offence, 'twas not in his power to make her amends; whereas if ſhe had done him an injury, he was obliged in prudence, duty, and religion, to bear with his Sovereign, to whom he had ſo many obligations, for that there was a vaſt difference between a Prince and a ſubject. He ſent the Lord Keeper his anſwer in a long and paſſionate letter, which his friends afterwards unadviſedly divulged, wherein he appealed from the Queen to God Almighty, in expreſſions ſomething to this purpoſe: 'That there is no tempeſt ſo boiſterous as the reſentment of an angry Prince: that the 'Queen was of a flinty temper: that he well enough 'knew what was due from him as a ſubject, an Earl, 'and Grand Marſhal of England, but did not under'ſtand the office of a drudge or a porter: that to own 'himſelf a criminal was to injure truth, and the author 'of it, God Almighty: that his body ſuffered in every 'part of it by that blow given him by his Prince: 'that 'twould be a crime in him to ſerve a Queen who 'had given him ſo great an affront. What! was it 'impoſſible for crowned heads to wrong, and ſo to 'ſtand accountable to their ſubjects? Was any power 'below of an unlimited nature? And did not Solo'mon ſay, that he is a fool who laughs when he is 'ſtricken? They only that were gainers by the miſ'carriages of Princes were obliged to take the indig'nities they offered, and thoſe who ſuſpected the om'nipotence of the Deity, might, if they pleaſed, place 'it in earthly Princes: for my part, ſaid he, I have 'ſuffered ſo many and great injuries, that I cannot but 'reſent them from my very heart.' However, in a little time he became more pliant, received his pardon, and was re-admitted into the Queen's favour, who always thought it a leſs crime to offend a perſon, than to proſecute him with a perfect hatred. However, his friends were apt to date his ruin from this unlucky circumſtance, having made this remark, That fortune ſeldom careſſes a caſt-off favourite a ſecond time, and Princes once diſobliged are ſeldom heartily reconciled.

[O] *Beſtowed upon him by her favour.*] The truth of this may be not only probably collected, but in ſome meaſure proved, from an epiſtle of his to the Queen, written after his appointment to the government of Ireland, and before his going thither, of which there is a very imperfect copy in the Cabala (55), but that loſs is now ſupplied, by the following full and correct tranſcript of that valuable and authentick paper, from the collections in the Harleian Library (56). If we conſider the Earl's character, and how incapable he was of diſſembling, the weight of this evidence will be the greater; but without taking in that, I look on the very ſtile of the letter to be ſuch as will put all ſuſpicion of artifice out of the caſe, which will teach the reader what to think of the Declaration of his treaſons, that ſtands entirely upon this bottom, that he had plotted a revolution in England before he went to Ireland, and deſired the Lieutenancy that he might put himſelf at the head of an army, and enter into a confederacy with the rebels.

(55) Cabala, P. I. p. 216.

(56) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 133.

To the Queen.

'FROM a mind delighting in ſorrow, from ſpi'rits waſted with paſſion, from a heart torn in 'pieces with care, grief, and travel; from a man that 'hateth himſelf, and all things elſe that keep him 'alive; what ſervice can your Majeſty expect, ſince 'any ſervice paſt deſerves no more than baniſhment 'and proſcription to the curſedeſt of all iſlands? It is 'your rebels pride and ſucceſſion muſt give me leave to 'ranſom myſelf out of this hateful priſon, out of my 'loathed body, which, if it happen ſo, your Majeſty 'ſhall have no cauſe to miſlike the faſhion of my 'death, ſince the courſe of my life could never pleaſe 'you.

Happy

two in the afternoon, he ſet out from Seething-Lane, and paſſing through the city in a plain habit, accompanied by many of the Nobility, he was attended by vaſt crowds of people out of town; and it was obſerved, with a view, perhaps, to prepare the world to have a bad opinion of his conduct, that the weather was exceeding fair when he took horſe, but, by that time he came to Iſlington, there was a heavy ſtorm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning (*i*). The like bad weather he met with at ſea, ſo that he did not arrive at Dublin, or take upon him his charge, before April 15th, 1599 (*k*). He found things in that country in a ſtate very different from what he expected, and perceived that there was nothing to be done, at leaſt to any purpoſe, till he was well acquainted with the country in which he was to act. He found likewiſe, that the new-raiſed men he had brought over were altogether unfit for action, till they were ſeaſoned to the country, and well acquainted with diſcipline (*l*). Theſe conſiderations hindered him from marching directly to Ulſter, for fear Tir-Oen ſhould make any advantage of his weakneſſes; and the Council deſiring that he would ſuppreſs ſome diſorders in Munſter, he thought that a fair occaſion of exerciſing his new troops, and did it effectually (*m*). On his return to Dublin, that very day two months on which he had received the government, he wrote a letter to the Queen, containing a free, fair, and full repreſentation of the ſtate of things in that country; which moſt admirable performance pointing out all the ſteps that were afterwards taken, and by which his ſucceſſor made an end of the war, remains upon record in Ireland (*n*); but, of the contents thereof, not a ſyllable is mentioned in Camden, or the reſt of our Hiſtorians. This letter he ſent over to the Queen by his Secretary, in hopes that from thence ſhe might have derived a juſt notion of the ſtate of things in that iſland, but it produced no ſuch effect; on the contrary, the Queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into Ulſter, in order to attack Tir-Oen, and repeated her orders upon that head in very ſtrong terms (*o*). Before theſe arrived, Sir Henry Harrington, with ſome of the freſh troops, had been worſted by the O Brians; which ſo provoked Eſſex, that he cauſed the remains of thoſe troops to be decimated (*p*); which, with the throwing a ſoldier over-board in his laſt expedition, with his own hands, are the only inſtances of ſeverity that are recorded of him (*q*). When he received the Queen's orders, and was on the point of marching into Ulſter, he was prevailed upon to enter the country of Ophaly, to reduce the O Connors and the O Moores, which he performed; but his troops were ſo harraſſed and diminiſhed thereby, that, with the advice and conſent of the Council of Ireland, he wrote home for a recruit of two thouſand men (*r*). In the midſt of theſe croſſes in Ireland, an army was ſuddenly raiſed in England, under the command of the Earl of Nottingham; no-body well knowing why, but, in reality, from the ſuggeſtions of the Earl's enemies to the Queen, that he rather meditated an invaſion on his native country, than the reduction of the Iriſh rebels (*s*). At length Eſſex, intending for Ulſter, ſent orders to Clifford, who commanded in Connaught, to march towards the enemy on that ſide, that Tir-Oen might be obliged to divide his forces; which was executed, but with ſuch ill fortune, that the Engliſh, being ſurprized, were beaten, with the loſs of their Commander in Chief, together with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, and one hundred and forty men (*t*). Upon the arrival of the ſuccours which he had demanded, the Lord Lieutenant marched, though with a ſmall force, againſt Tir-Oen, in the latter end of the month of Auguſt; but, on the 8th of September following, was prevailed upon to confer with him alone at the ford of Ballaclynch; and afterwards, with counſellors on both ſides, when he concluded a truce for ſix weeks, and ſo from ſix weeks to ſix weeks, till May, provided that, on a fortnight's notice, either party might be at liberty to reſume the war (*u*). He was lead to this by the weak and deſperate reſolution he had taken of returning to England, whither he had once ſome thoughts of tranſporting a body of his forces, but was diſſwaded from it by his friends. However, upon receiving a ſharp letter, directed to him and the Council, from the Queen, he determined to ſtay no longer, ſettled the government in the beſt manner he could, and, with a few of his friends, came over to England (*w*). He arrived before any notice could be received of his deſign, went directly to the Court at Nonſuch, and preſented himſelf to the Queen on the 28th of September, where he met with a tolerable reception, but was, ſoon after, committed, treated with a mixture of kindneſs and ſeverity, till, upon his abſolute ſubmiſſion, he was brought before ſome of the Privy-Council, ſeverely reprimanded, diſmiſſed from the Board, ſuſpended from the exerciſe of all his great offices, except that of Maſter of the Horſe, and committed to a Keeper, Sir Richard Barkley, who was, not long after, withdrawn (*x*). Such was the iſſue of the Queen's reſentments; as for what happened afterwards, it was the effects of his own ill conduct, wrought up to a degree

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 788.

(*k*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. i. p. 416.

(*l*) Collected from the ſeveral accounts of his proceedings in that kingdom.

(*m*) As is acknowledged in a letter of Sir Robert Cecil's, in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 57, 71.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. ii. p. 418.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. p. 790.

(*p*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(*q*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 30.

(*r*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(*s*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 39.

(*t*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 791, 792.

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 789.

(*x*) Camden. Annal. p. 795—799.

Happy he could finiſh forth his fate
In ſome unhaunted deſart, *moſt obſcure*
From all ſociety, *from* love *and* hate
Of worldly folk; *then ſhould he ſleep ſecure:*
Then wake again and yield God *ever* praiſe,
Content with hips, *and* haws, *and* brambleberry,
In contemplation paſſing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts *to make him merry.*
Who when he dies *his* tomb *may be a* buſh,
Where harmleſs Robin *dwells with gentle* Thruſh.

Your Majeſty's exil'd ſervant,

ROBERT ESSEX.

degree of madneſs from the artifices of his ſubtle enemies [P]. In the ſummer of the year 1600 he recovered his liberty, and, in the autumn following, he received Mr Cuffe, who had been his Secretary in Ireland, into his councils; who laboured to perſwade him, that ſubmiſſion would never do him any good; that the Queen was in the hands of a faction, who were his enemies; and that the only way to reſtore his fortune, was to find a means of obtaining an audience, in which he might be able to repreſent his own caſe, let that means be what it would (y). The Earl heard this dangerous advice without conſenting to it, till he found there was no hopes of getting his farm of the ſweet wines renewed, then it is ſaid that, giving a looſe to his paſſion, he let fall many vehement expreſſions, and, amongſt the reſt, this fatal reflection (z), *That the Queen grew old and cankered, and that her mind was become as crooked as her carcaſe.* Camden ſays (a), that this was aggravated by ſome of the Court Ladies, whom he had diſappointed in their intrigues. The Earl of Clarendon ſeems to ſuſpect the truth of it (b), but another great Hiſtorian, who knew all the paſſages of thoſe times well, is more clear in this reſpect (c). We have elſewhere traced the progreſs of his unlucky contrivance, in which he ſeemed to act rather as the inſtrument of his enemies, in ſhaping his own and his friends deſtruction, than as a man of abilities, (which ſurely he did not want) ſtruggling with the frowns of fortune (d). Thoſe enemies, who had exact intelligence of all that he propoſed, having provided effectually againſt the execution of his deſigns, hurried him upon his fate by a meſſage ſent on the evening of the 7th of February, requiring him to attend the Council, which he declined (e). He then gave out that they ſought his life, kept a watch in Eſſex-Houſe all night, and ſummoned his friends, for his defence, the next morning. The Queen, being informed of the great reſort of people of all ranks to the Earl, ſent the Lord Keeper Egerton, the Earl of Worceſter, Sir Francis Knolles, (his uncle by the mother's ſide) and the Lord Chief-Juſtice Popham, to know his grievances, whom, after a ſhort and ineffectual conference, he confined; and then, attended by the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, the Lord Sands, the Lord Monteagle, and about two hundred Gentlemen, he went into the city, where the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Cromwell, and ſome other Gentlemen, joined him, but his dependance on the populace failed him; and Sir Robert Cecil prevailing upon his brother the Lord Burleigh to go with Sir Gilbert Dethick, then King at Arms, and proclaim Eſſex and his adherents traytors, in the principal ſtreets, the Earl found it impoſſible to return to his houſe by land; and, therefore, ſending Sir Ferdinando Gorges before to releaſe the Chief-Juſtice, who, for his own ſake, thought fit to extend that order to the reſt of the Privy-Counſellors; the Earl, with his principal attendants, returned in boats to Eſſex-Houſe, which was quickly inveſted by the

(y) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(z) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 230.

(a) Annal. Eliz. p. 837.

(b) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 52.

(c) Sir Walter Ralegh's *Prerogative of Parliaments in England.* Middleburgh, 1628. 4to. p. 43.

(d) See the article of CUFFE (HENRY) in this Dictionary.

(e) See the Declaration of Treaſons of the Earl of Eſſex, by Sir Francis Bacon.

[P] *From the artifices of his ſubtle enemies.*] It may not be amiſs, for the ſake of preſerving the connection of this great man's hiſtory, and to prevent that confuſion which may eaſily happen from two diſtinct proceedings againſt him upon this affair, to ſet down the dates a little more particularly, but at the ſame time as conciſely as poſſible. He was preſently after his arrival, that is, on the ſecond of October, confined in the houſe of the Lord Keeper Egerton very ſtrictly, ſo that even his family were not permitted to ſee him, his friends had little countenance at Court, and the Queen ſpoke with more or leſs vehemence, but ever with diſpleaſure (57). But her Majeſty being informed that the people both in town and country took great liberty in their diſcourſes, the Lords of the Council in the Star-chamber, at the laſt ſitting in Michaelmas term, on the twenty-eighth of November 1599, were commanded to ſay, what they thought might juſtify what had been done, and put a ſtop to theſe murmurs; the Lord Keeper began with obſerving, that the Queen was an abſolute Prince, and yet condeſcended to inform her people, that the army lately ſent into Ireland was ſuch a one as a King's ſon might have thought it an honour to command, and a better than our antient Kings had to conquer France, that ſhe forgave the perſon ſhe choſe to command it a debt of eight thouſand pounds, and put into his purſe a gift to the value of twenty-two thouſand; that the ſcheme of the war was laid down in Council, which himſelf approved; that he followed quite another courſe in Ireland, and contrary to the Queen's expreſs commandment, which was a contempt of a very high nature; and ſince his return, the Privy-Council of Ireland had diſavowed his actions, and of theſe points the Lord Keeper directed the Juſtices of Peace to give full information in their reſpective counties. The Lord Treaſurer Buckhurſt ſhewed how the Queen's treaſure had been waſted; the Lord Admiral Nottingham magnified the promiſes the Earl made before he went, his ſaying that he would make the earth tremble beneath him, that notwithſtanding this the army had ſuffered much diſhonour, was greatly weakened, and ſuch propoſals of peace brought over, as, with a great oath, he ſwore the Queen would hazard her perſon, and die amongſt them, before ſhe would grant. The Lord Chamberlain Hunſdon ſaid only, that the army was great, and that with ſuch an officer at their head as the Earl of Eſſex might have endangered Spain. Sir Francis Knolles ſpoke to the ſame effect. The Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, in a ſpeech full of proteſtations, in which he ſtiled thoſe who diſliked the Queen's Miniſters the devil's children and wicked ſpirits, affirmed, that in a little more than ten years the Queen had ſpent three millions four hundred thouſand pounds upon Ireland; that the Earl had a royal army, that he had diminiſhed it without doing any thing, that he returned contrary to her Majeſty's expreſs commands, and that if he had ſtaid but twenty days longer the Queen had ſent him a ſucceſſor (58). The Earl was not preſent at this time, nor had any opportunity of defending himſelf. His confinement continued all the winter with the ſame ſeverity; this threw him into a grievous fit of ſickneſs, from which he recovered but ſlowly through his exceſſive anxiety; at length he was permitted to ſee his Lady, and ſome hopes were given him as if the Queen meant to humble and not to cruſh him. Laſt of all he was brought to a publick audience, before a Committee of the Privy-Council and others, in the Lord Keeper's houſe, June 5, 1600, where, for eleven hours, he heard all the ſpeeches that were made againſt him with great humility, kneeling, till, upon the motion of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was allowed to ſtand, then to lean, and at laſt to ſit upon a ſtool (59); but he knelt again when he received his ſentence, and though no mention was made of his poſt of Maſter of the Horſe, yet the Earl of Worceſter performed the functions of it, and he had no aſſurance of his being reſtored (60). He was remanded into cuſtody, and his keeper continued with him till the 27th of Auguſt, and then he was permitted to retire to Ewelme lodge in Oxfordſhire (61).

(57) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144.

(58) Theſe ſpeeches are annexed to the laſt edition of the Earl's Apology. Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 146.

(59) See the Proceedings upon this Commiſſion, drawn up by Sir Francis Bacon. Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 199.

(60) Idem, ibid. p. 201.

(61) Idem, ibid. p. 213.

[Q] *They*

the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, with a great force, to whom, after many diſputes, and ſome blood ſpilt, he and his adherents, at laſt, ſurrendered (*f*). Eſſex was carried that night to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, with the Earl of Southampton, and the next day they were ſent to the Tower (*g*). On the 19th of the ſame month they were arraigned before their Peers, and, after a long trial, the moſt material circumſtances of which, we have had occaſion to mention elſewhere, they were found guilty, and ſentence of death pronounced by the Lord Buckhurſt, who ſat as Lord High Steward (*h*). Upon this melancholy occaſion all that Eſſex ſaid was, *If her Majeſty had pleaſed, this body of mine might have done her better ſervice; however, I ſhall be glad if it may prove ſerviceable to her any way (i)*. After he was remanded to the Tower, there were great pains taken to draw from him very large and full confeſſions; which was the more eaſy, as he was truly and ſincerely pious; and, after he was once perſwaded, that his project was of a treaſonable nature, made it a point of conſcience to diſcloſe all he knew, though it was highly prejudicial to his friends, and could do no good to himſelf; and, indeed, he did not appear either to deſign or deſire it (*k*). Two reaſons ſeem eſpecially to have moved ſuch as ſet on foot theſe practices, by which the honeſty of Eſſex was rendered fatal even to his laſt breath, and they were ſuch as became politicians, who had nothing but ſelf-intereſt in view, which, if they could promote, they had not either conſideration or pity for others. The firſt was, that, by his proper confeſſion, they might effectually eſtabliſh the truth of his plot, increaſe the number of it's circumſtances, heighten the apparent danger of it's conſequences, and thereby furniſh plentiful materials for proclamations, ſermons, and declarations (*l*), which might remove from the unhappy Earl all means of obtaining mercy, excite in the Queen the utmoſt horror, and, at the ſame time, terify her with diſmal apprehenſions, while the nation in general was aſtoniſhed, and their affection for the unhappy ſufferer cooled, or, at leaſt, confounded. In all which, for a time, they gained their end [*Q*]. The other motive was finding out evidence againſt the chief of his adherents, many of them of great quality, and ſome alſo of great fortune, whom they meant to let eſcape out of the briars, provided nevertheleſs that they left their fleeces behind them, in which they were likewiſe but too ſucceſsful (*m*), rendering highly profitable to themſelves that clemency which their Royal Miſtreſs would have extended freely. Camden adds to this another circumſtance, which wants explaining: he ſays, that he diſcovered many in Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries, who were embarked with him, beſides others in England, and the Lord Montjoy, who ſucceded him in the government of Ireland, ſo that their numbers obliged the Queen to diſſemble what ſhe knew; he adds, that he gave a confeſſion under his hand, which his enemies ſhewing to King James ſome time after, brought him and his friends into great diſeſteem with that Prince (*n*). We ſhall endeavour to give ſome light into this in the notes [*R*]. After

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 792.

(*g*) Camd. Ann. p. 846.

(*h*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 208.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 857.

(*k*) See extracts of his confeſſions at the end of the declaration of his treaſons.

(*l*) See the Earl of Clarendon's Diſparity between the Duke Buckingham and the Earl of Eſſex.

(*m*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 319.

(*n*) Camd. Ann. p. 860.

[*Q*] *They gained their end.*] What it was that in thoſe times the enemies of this unfortunate Peer laboured to impute to him, ſeems to be moſt clearly ſtated by Heylyn (62), as Sir William Dugdale well obſerves, and his account is the true key to what was ſuggeſted by the Attorney-General Coke at the Earl's trial, and is covertly inſinuated in the long Declaration of treaſons, drawn at the Queen's command by Sir Francis Bacon, and much altered by direction as himſelf confeſſes. Take this paſſage in Heylyn's own words: 'While the Prelates of the Church were buſied upon diſputes, the Preſbyterians found themſelves ſome better work, in making friends, and faſtening on ſome eminent patron to ſupport their cauſe. None fitter for their purpoſe than the Earl of Eſſex, gracious amongſt the military men, popular beyond meaſure, and as ambitious of command as he was of applauſe. He had his education in the houſe of the Earl of Leiceſter, and took to wife a daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, who fitted and prepared him for thoſe applications which hitherto he had neglected, upon a juſt fear of incurring the Queen's diſpleaſure. But the Queen being now grown old, the King of Scots, not much regarded by the Engliſh, and very ill obeyed by his natural ſubjects, he began to look up towards the crown, to which a title was drawn for him as the direct heir of Thomas of Woodſtock Duke of Glouceſter, one of the younger ſons of King Edward III. This man the Puritans cry up with moſt infinite praiſes, both in their pulpits and in their pamphlets, telling him that he was not only great in honour and the love of the people, but *temporis expectatione major*, far greater in the expectation which his friends had of him. And he accordingly applies himſelf to thoſe of the Puritan faction, admits them to places of moſt truſt and credit about his perſon, keeps open houſe for men of thoſe opinions to reſort unto, under pretence of hearing ſermons, and hearing no ſermons, with more zeal and edification than thoſe which ſeemed to attribute a power to inferior Magiſtrates for curbing and controuling their undoubted Sovereigns. Which queſtionleſs muſt needs have ended in great diſturbance to the Church and State, if he had not been outwitted by Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Ralegh, and the reſt of their party in the Court by whom he was firſt ſhifted over into Ireland, and at laſt brought upon the ſcaffold, not to receive a crown but to loſe his head. Which happened very opportunely for King James of Scotland, whoſe entrance might have been oppoſed, and his title queſtioned, if this ambitious man had proſpered in his undertakings, which he conducted generally with more heat than judgment.'

(62) Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 349.

[*R*] *In the notes*] We have elſewhere mentioned a letter written to Anthony Bacon, Eſq; concerning the death and confeſſion of this unfortunate Peer (63), and as in that we find a fair and genuine account of his Lordſhip's real intentions, correſponding exactly with what Camden hints, who was unwilling to ſpeak plainer, becauſe, as he elſewhere confeſſed, he knew King James's thoughts upon this matter, notwithſtanding they were none of the plaineſt; for ſometimes he ſtiled Eſſex *his martyr*, and, at others, he expreſſed no great kindneſs for him; what follows will ſufficiently account for both, and fulfil all that has been promiſed for it in the text (64).

(63) See the article of BACON (ANTHONY) in this Dictionary.

'After his Lordſhip's condemnation, upon his ſuit to the Lords, there was ſent to him one Aſhton, that was preacher in his houſe, a man baſe, fearful, and mercenary, but ſuch a one, as, by a formal ſhew of zeal, had gotten a good opinion of that noble Lord, who that way (being himſelf moſt religious) might eaſily be deceived. How the man was prepared I touch not, but how he dealt, the ſubſtance of which was his own confeſſion to a worthy perſon, as he well

(64) In the Appendix to the genuine addition of Camden's Annals by Thomas Hearne.

After drawing out of Eſſex all that he could ſay, and thereby rendering death more deſirable to him than life, the 25th of February was fixed for his execution, as to which the Queen was irreſolute to the very laſt, ſo that ſhe ſent Sir Edward Cary to countermand it; but, as Camden ſays, conſidering afterwards his obſtinacy, his refuſing to aſk her pardon, and declaring that his life was inconſiſtent with her ſafety, ſhe countermanded thoſe orders, and directed he ſhould die (*o*). There is a ſtrange ſtory current in the world about a ring, which the Earl of Clarendon ſtiles a looſe report, that crept into diſcourſe (*p*) ſoon after his miſerable end; yet a foreign writer, of great reputation, gives us this as an undoubted truth, and that upon the authority of an Engliſh Miniſter, who might be well preſumed to know what he ſaid; and therefore, in the words of that writer, we ſhall report

(*o*) Annal. Eliz. p. 860.

(*p*) Diſparity between the Duke of Bucks and Earl of Eſſex.

'well knoweth, I will fully relate unto you. At his coming to my Lord he found his Lordſhip exceeding chearful, and prepared with great contentation for his end, with whom he began to deal to this effect: My Lord, I am unfeignedly ſorry to ſee no more ſenſe in you of theſe great and fearful ſins into which you have fallen, whereby you have diſhonoured God, ſhamed your profeſſion, offended your Sovereign, and pulled upon yourſelf many notes of infamy. You have now manifeſted to the world, that all your ſhew of religion was mere hypocriſy; that you are in heart either an Atheiſt or a Papiſt, which doth plainly appear, in that all your inſtruments, followers, and favourers, were of this quality, moſt of them men of no means, but either baſe perſons whom you had raiſed, or ſuch as had lewdly conſumed their own patrimony. And if there were any of better condition for their ſtate, yet were they either recuſants, or ſuch as were diſcontented with the preſent government, ſo as the badneſs of both your cauſe and action doth herein ſhew itſelf, that not one man, but of the ſort beforementioned, took your part or liked your courſe. Beſides, however you would colour it with other pretences, your end was an ambitious ſeeking of the crown, the hope whereof, for their own raiſing, made theſe men ſo follow, animate, and applaud you. So that if by a true confeſſion and unfeigned repentance you do not unburthen yourſelf of theſe ſins, you ſhall carry out of the world a guilty ſoul before God, and leave upon your memorial an infamous name to poſterity. Therefore I will ſay to you as Joſhua did to Achan, (for you have diſhonoured God more than ever he did) Give glory to God and make confeſſion of your faults, for, as Solomon ſaith, He that hides his ſins ſhall not proſper.

'Many more words of gall and bitterneſs to this effect he ſpake, as himſelf confeſſed, wherein, tho' peradventure I may forget in the preciſeneſs of form, I religiouſly proteſt I fail not in the ſubſtance and matter. My Lord with this ſtrange ſtile was much amazed, his expectation being ſo greatly deceived, as looking rather in his caſe for a comforter, than ſo bitter and ſlanderous an accuſer, who after a ſad and ſilent pauſe made anſwer to this effect: Mr Aſhton you have laid grievous things to my charge, of which if I could not with truth free and clear myſelf, I might juſtly be holden one of the moſt unworthieſt creatures on earth. And I aſſure you to have theſe reports carried and believed in the world, is more grievous to me than a thouſand deaths. Firſt, touching my religion, I have always abhorred atheiſm and ſuperſtition, believing in the true God, and deſiring to ſerve him in that form of his worſhip profeſſed and maintained in England, in which from my infancy I was brought up, and have conſtantly holden the profeſſion thereof to this day. True it is, in thoſe publick ſervices wherein I have been employed, I have had uſe of men of ſundry qualities, but howſoever I loved their valour, faithfulneſs, and knowledge of ſervice that were not religious, I was ever grieved for the want thereof in them, and neglected no opportunity I poſſibly could gain to bring them unto it. For the crown I never affected it, neither, praiſe I God, was I ever ſo careleſs of my ſoul, as, by ſeeking a crown on earth, to which I had no manner of title, to deprive my ſoul of a crown in Heaven where I have ſo aſſured hope. Neither am I ignorant what ſucceſs God, in his juſtice, hath laid upon ſuch ambitious courſes in ages paſt. But being a principal member in this commonwealth, I could not but ſee and feel what miſery was near unto my country, by the great power of ſuch as are known indeed to be Atheiſts, Papiſts, and Penſioners, to the mortal enemies of this kingdom. I knew myſelf bound in conſcience as a Chriſtian to prevent the ſubverſion of religion; and, as an Engliſhman, to have regard of my native country. The only means left to turn away theſe evils was, to procure my acceſs to her Majeſty, with whom I aſſured myſelf to have had that gracious hearing, that might have tended to the infinite happineſs of this State, both in removing evil inſtruments from about her perſon, and in ſettling a ſucceſſion for the crown, to the preventing of Spaniſh ſervitude, and ſaving of many thouſand Engliſhmens lives; no, no, Mr Aſhton, I never deſired other condition than the ſtate of a ſubject, but only to my Sovereign, and not to baſe and unworthy vaſſals under her. My Lord, ſaith Aſhton, theſe are general ſpeeches, and not unlike to thoſe you uſed at your arraignment, and not much more believed of me now, than they were of many then. You muſt remember you are going out of the world, you know what it is to receive ſentence of death here, but yet you know not what it is to ſtand before God's judgment ſeat, and to receive the ſentence of eternal condemnation. Leave therefore all glorious pretences, free your conſcience from the burthen of your grievous ſins, for I proteſt I cannot believe that you had any other pretence than that I have told you, or can name one man (other than ſuch as I have mentioned) that was either adviſer, perſuader, or approver of your purpoſes. Neither ſee I any reaſon why, that I being watchman over your ſoul, ſhould not as well have been adviſed withal, if theſe things had been ſo, as any other. His Lordſhip with infinite grief replied, Mr Aſhton, I cannot marvel though my proteſtations are not believed of my enemies, when they ſo little prevail with a man of your quality. But I am able to tell you that are a Miniſter and preacher of the Goſpel, and the meſſenger of God to me at this my laſt end, by particulars ſo to confirm that which I have ſpoken, as you ſhall no longer doubt of it. Then his Lordſhip ſhewed him, as he confeſſed, his whole end to tend to the ſettling of the ſucceſſion by Act of Parliament on the King of Scotland, as the true and indubitate heir, after her Majeſty, of this kingdom, and named to him ſundry worthy perſons, both of religion, honour, and ſtate, that had their conſents, and were engaged with him therein. Aſhton, having very attentively marked my Lord's words, made this reply, Theſe be great matters your Lordſhip hath opened unto me, and the concealing of them may touch my life. Alſo I hold myſelf bound in allegiance to reveal them; beſides, the publiſhing of them may give ſatisfaction to many that hold the ſame opinion of your courſes which I did; and further, it may be dangerous to her Majeſty's perſon in ſome practice hereafter, by them, or ſome of their inſtruments, the burthen whereof your ſoul muſt bear, if you can and do not prevent it, and I will be a witneſs againſt you that you have ſpoken it. Thus being extreamly urged, he made confeſſion according to the premiſſes, namely, that he meant to have eſtabliſhed the King of Scots's title in ſucceſſion, and that in this intention he had many of the worthieſt perſons of the land in conſent with him, which alſo he had an earneſt purpoſe to have revealed at his death, as Aſhton and others have confeſſed, but that he was ſo mightily diſſuaded and commanded to the contrary as a thing that might tend to the great danger of her Majeſty's perſon.'

port it (*q*) [*S*]. The manner of the Earl's ſuffering death is ſo largely related in Camden, and others, that we ſhall not meddle with it here, farther than to obſerve, that, as many actions of his life ſpoke him a hero, ſo this laſt action ſhewed him a true Chriſtian, by manifeſting that he was far leſs careful of his body than his ſoul, and much more afraid of his ſin than of his puniſhment (*r*). His character is very fully drawn by Sir Henry Wotton (*s*), very fairly by Sir Robert Naunton (*t*), very freely by Camden (*u*), and very finely touched by the maſterly pen of the Noble Hiſtorian (*w*); neither are there wanting ſome uſeful touches in Oſborne (*x*), Fuller (*y*), Lloyd (*z*), Winſtanley (*a*), and other writers of leſs fame. It appears from the compariſon of theſe, that, in reſpect to the publick, he was truly a Patriot, had a great regard to his Sovereign's honour, and no leſs zeal for his country's ſervice; he valued himſelf on loſing a father and a brother, and in ſpending a great part of his ſubſtance, in the cauſe of both; his projects were high but very honourable, and the difficulties with which they were embarraſſed ſeemed rather to invite than to deject him. He was, however, too covetous of royal favour; and, ſome ſay, not reſpectful enough to the royal perſon; and, if there was any truth in this, his fault was inexcuſable, the Queen preventing his merit by her favours, as well as rewarding it by honours; nor did he feel the Sun-ſhine only, but the dew of the Court, ſince, if the Lord Treaſurer Buckhurſt computed right, and he was no enemy to my Lord of Eſſex, he received in grants, penſions, and places, to the amount of three hundred thouſand pounds; but then, as he received all this from, he ſpent it for, the Publick; and if he ſometimes appeared covetous, it was that he might be always generous; for, to his honour be it ſpoke, learning never approached him ungraced, merit unrewarded, or want without receiving relief. His Sovereign's favour he loſt often, the fidelity of his friends, and the affection of the people, never; yet he ſometimes truſted thoſe who had been formerly his enemies, and was not fortunate in all his enterprizes, which renders the wonder greater. As to his perſon, he is reported to have been tall, but not very well made, his countenance reſerved, his air rather martial than courtly, very careleſs in dreſs, and very little addicted to trifling diverſions. Learned he was, and a lover of learned men, wrote with that facility which is the true mark of genius, with that cloſeneſs and perſpicuity which is the happieſt fruit of learning, and that noble ſimplicity which is the characteriſtick of a great mind. Sincere in his friendſhip, but not ſo careful as he ought to have been in making a right choice; ſound in his morals, except in the point of gallantry, and thoroughly well affected to the Proteſtant religion, of which he had very juſt notions, deſpiſing alike the meanneſs of Superſtition, and the folly of Infidelity. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving, by his wife, only one ſon Robert (*b*), of whom in the next article, and two daughters; Frances, who became the wife of William firſt Earl (then Marquis) of Hertford, and laſtly Duke of Somerſet (*c*); and Dorothy, who firſt married Sir Henry Shirley, of Stanton-Harold in the county of Leiceſter, Bart. and

(*q*) Maurier Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de Hollande, p. 215.

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 794.

(*s*) In his parallel between the Earl of Eſſex and the Duke of Buckingham.

(*t*) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*u*) Annal. p. 861—864.

(*w*) Diſparity between the Duke of Bucks and the Earl of Eſſex.

(*x*) In his traditional Memoirs of Q. Elizabeth, and his political deductions from the death of the Earl of Eſſex.

(*y*) Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*z*) State Worthies, p. 563.

(*a*) England's Worthies, p. 221.

(*b*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 863.

(*c*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 179.

[*S*] *We ſhall report it.*] There are without doubt many falſhoods and fables relating to our Hiſtory, recorded very ſeriouſly in foreign writers, for want of having a due knowledge of our cuſtoms and conſtitution; thus the French Ambaſſador here, or his ſon (65), wrote a letter to the Duke de Rohan, in which he aſſures him, that Eſſex's eloquence put all his Judges to ſilence at his trial, and that the Lords were all intoxicated with drink and tobacco when they brought him in guilty. Camden has refuted a ſtory that prevailed very early, as if Queen Elizabeth had ſhewn the head of the Earl of Eſſex to the French Ambaſſadors, who were ſent to congratulate her upon diſcovering his conſpiracy (66). But we know with the greateſt certainty, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty Henry IV was brought to believe there was any truth in it, and that he told the Queen's Miniſter, when he aſſured him that the Earl deſired to die in private, that he knew the contrary, and that Eſſex had deſired earneſtly that his laſt declarations might be made in publick (67). But to the point; the Chevalier Louis Aubery de Maurier, who was many years the French Miniſter in Holland, a man of great parts and unſuſpected veracity, delivers this tale in the following words (68): 'It will not, I believe, be thought 'either impertinent or diſagreable to add here what 'Prince Maurice had from the mouth of Mr Carleton, 'Embaſſador from England in Holland, who died Secretary of State; ſo well known under the name of 'my Lord Dorcheſter, and who was a man of great 'merit. He ſaid, that Queen Elizabeth gave the Earl 'of Eſſex a ring in the height of her paſſion for him, 'ordering him to keep it, and that whatever he ſhould 'commit ſhe would pardon him when he ſhould return 'that pledge. Since that time the Earl's enemies 'having prevailed with the Queen, who beſides was 'exaſperated againſt him for the contempt he ſhewed 'for her beauty, which, through age, began to decay, 'ſhe cauſed him to be impeached. When he was condemned, ſhe expected that he ſhould ſend her the 'ring, and would have granted him his pardon according to her promiſe. The Earl, finding himſelf 'in the laſt extremity, applied to Admiral Howard's 'Lady, who was his relation, and deſired her, by a 'perſon whom he could truſt, to return the ring into 'the Queen's own hands. But her huſband, who was 'one of the Earl's greateſt enemies, and to whom ſhe 'told this imprudently, would not ſuffer her to acquit 'herſelf of the commiſſion, ſo that the Queen conſented to the Earl's death, being full of indignation 'againſt ſuch a proud and haughty ſpirit, who choſe 'rather to die than to implore her mercy. Some time 'after the Admiral's Lady fell ſick, and being given 'over by her Phyſicians, ſhe ſent word to the Queen 'that ſhe had ſomething of great conſequence to tell 'her before ſhe died. The Queen came to her bedſide, and having ordered all the attendants to withdraw, the Admiral's Lady returned her, but too late, 'that ring from the Earl of Eſſex, deſiring to be excuſed that ſhe did not return it ſooner, having been 'prevented doing it by her huſband. The Queen retired immediately, being overwhelmed with the utmoſt grief; ſhe ſighed continually for a fortnight 'following, without taking any nouriſhment, lying 'a-bed entirely dreſſed, and getting up an hundred 'times a night. At laſt ſhe died with hunger and 'with grief, becauſe ſhe had conſented to the death of 'a lover who had applied to her for mercy. This 'melancholy adventure ſhews, that there are frequent tranſitions from one paſſion to another, and 'that as love often changes to hate, ſo hate, giving 'place ſometimes to pity, brings the mind back again 'into it's firſt ſtate.' Sir Dudley Carleton, who is made the author of this ſtory, was a man who deſerved the

(65) This letter is printed in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 296.

(66) Annal. p. 877.

(67) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 309.

(68) Hiſtoire de Hollande, p. 215, 216.

and afterwards to William Stafford, of Blatherwyck in the county of Northampton, Esq; (d). He left also, by Mrs Southwell, a natural son named Walter.

(d) Idem, ibid.

the character that is given of him, and could not but be well informed of what passed at Court; but whoever considers the age of Queen Elizabeth at the time when the Earl of Essex first entered her presence, will find it difficult to believe the Queen ever considered him in the light of a lover. This Countess of Nottingham was the daughter of the Lord Viscount Hunsdon, related to the Queen, and also by his mother to the Earl of Essex. Before we part with this subject it may not be amiss to observe, that something of truth there certainly is as to the Queen's death being hastened by an accident relating to a ring, and by her reflecting on the death of the Earl of Essex. In the ceremony of her coronation she was wedded to the kingdom with a ring, which she always wore, till, the flesh growing over it, it was filed off a little before her decease. About the same time observing, that the loss of Essex, and the confusion of his friends, had put her entirely into the hands of those who began to neglect her, and to court her successor, she could not help saying, in an excess of passion; *They have now got me in a yoke, I have nobody left me that I can trust, my condition is the perfect reverse of what it was* (69). It is also true, that a melancholy sense of this brought her to her end about twenty five months after the death of Essex.

(69) Annal. Eliz. P. 910, 911.

E.

DEVEREUX (ROBERT) son to the former, and the third Earl of Essex of this family. He was born some time in the year 1592, at Essex House in the Strand (a), and, at the time of his father's unhappy death, was under the care of his grandmother, by whom he was sent to Eaton-school, where he received the first tincture of a learned education (b). In the month of January 1602, he was removed to the University of Oxford, entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Merton-College, where he had an apartment in the Warden's lodgings, then Mr Savile, afterwards the celebrated Sir Henry Savile, his father's dear friend, and who, for his sake, was exceedingly careful in seeing that he was learnedly and religiously educated (c). The very next year he was restored to his hereditary honours (d); and in 1605, King James making a visit to the University of Oxford, our young Earl of Essex was created Master of Arts on the 30th of August, for the first time, which, very probably, he had forgot, or he would not have received the same honour above thirty years afterwards (e). At this time Henry Prince of Wales, attended by his Tutor Sir Thomas Chaloner, was matriculated of this University, and, at this time also, from a supposed harmony in their tempers, we are told, that there was a great intimacy between his Royal Highness and the Earl of Essex; they were both of a serious disposition, yet much inclined to rough and robust exercises, more especially tennis, at which, it is said, a quarrel ensued between them, attended with such consequences, as made the King's interposition necessary (f) [A]. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, the Earl spent in academical studies becoming his age and quality, and suitable to the gravity of his temper. In the mean time Robert Earl of Salisbury, and Lord High Treasurer of England, who had acted as Prime Minister from the time of the King's accession, perceiving that this young Nobleman was like to succeed to his father's *fortune* as well as titles, and to become a favourite both with Prince and People, grew very desirous that the antient enmity between their families might be extinguished; and, as he had married his son and heir-apparent to the Lady Catherine Howard, eldest daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, he projected a marriage between the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard, the second daughter of the same noble Peer (g), which proving acceptable enough

(a) Life and Death of the illustrious Robert Earl of Essex, by Robert Codrington, M. A. p. 3.

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 92.

(c) Winstanley's England's Worthies, p. 350.

(d) Vincent's Discovery of Errors in Brooke's Catalogue, p. 188.

(e) Fasti Oxonienses, Vol. I. col. 172, 269.

(f) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Essex.

(g) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, in the second Vol. of the Compleat Hist. of England, p. 686.

[A] *As made the King's interposition necessary.*] There is some cause to wonder, considering the great figure this Nobleman made in the world, we should never have any tolerable account of his life and actions. As for that written by Mr Codrington (1), it is not only entirely defective in point of method, but it is also very barren of facts, such only excepted as are collected from the news writers of those times. The same thing may with equal justice be said of Winstanley's account of this great Peer (2). Yet it is chiefly from these accounts that Mr Wood (3) has taken the memoirs he has given us of this noble person, but then they are much better ranged and digested. As to this story of the Earl's quarrel with Prince Henry it stands upon the credit of Codrington, who mentions no time when it happened, for that is supplied by the conjecture of Mr Wood, in which he has shewn great judgment, by placing it in that period, when, if there be any truth in it, this event must have happened. Take the relation in Mr Codrington's own words: 'Prince Henry and the young Earl, says he, delighting themselves one morning with the exercise and the 'pleasure of the tennis-court, after that a set or two 'were played, there did arise some difference upon a 'mistake: from bandying of the ball, the Prince being 'raised into a choler, did begin to bandy words, and 'was so transported with his passion, that he told the 'Earl of Essex that he was the son of a traitor. The 'Earl of Essex was then in the flourish of his youth, 'and full of fire and courage, and being not able to 'contain himself, he did strike the Prince with his 'racket on the head, and that so shrewdly, that (as it 'is said) some drops of blood did trickle down. The 'news of this was presently brought to the King's ear, 'who having examined the business, and fully understood the manner and the occasion of it, did dismiss 'the Earl without any great check, and being a true 'peacemaker, he told his son that he who did 'strike him then, would be sure with more violent 'blows to strike his enemy in times to come.' It is surprizing that Mr Wilson, who lived many years as a domestick servant with the Earl of Essex, and who took so much pains to do justice to the Earl's actions both in his publick history, and in his private memoirs of his own life, which are now printed, should say nothing of this, more especially when he had so fair an opportunity, as in that passage where he endeavours to account for King James's dislike to the Earl (4), from that instinct, or secret prediction, that divine fate often imprints in the apprehension, whereby he did foresee in him a hand raised up against his posterity, since, without doubt, this quarrel with, and striking the Prince, had been a much more satisfactory reason. Besides, this story does not well agree with the spirit of Prince Henry, who would scarce have borne such an insult, or with that prudence for which he was so remarkable, as to be very unlikely to give any such provocation, more especially as his father, in common discourse, often stiled the Earl of Essex *his martyr*, whence it is improbable the son should take him for a traytor.

(1) Life and Death of the illustrious Robert Earl of Essex, by Robert Codrington, M. A. London, 1646. 4to. This piece is reprinted in the first Vol. of the Harleian Miscellany.

(2) England's Worthies, 1660. 8vo. p. 350.

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 91.

(4) History of Great Britain, &c.

[B] *That*

enough to both families, took place accordingly January 5th, 1606, the Lady being thirteen and the Earl fourteen years of age (*b*). The new-married couple being too young to cohabit together, the Earl was ſent to improve himſelf by travel, and the young Counteſs of Eſſex remained with her mother (*i*). His Lordſhip ſpent about four years beyond the ſeas, and returned in the year 1610, with the reputation of being one of the beſt accompliſhed Noblemen of his time (*k*). The Counteſs of Eſſex, in this ſpace, became diſtinguiſhed for her beauty, but at the expence of her diſcretion, the world having made free with her reputation (*l*), upon which it is certain that ſhe ſet too little value [*B*]. It does not however appear, that any of theſe untoward reports reached the ear of her Lord upon his coming to England, for he was very deſirous of conſummating the marriage, and was ſo indulgent as to look upon the averſion ſhewn by the Lady, as the effects of that modeſty which ought to have been her greateſt ornament. While he was ſolliciting her conſent to go down and live with him at his ſeat in Staffordſhire; he was ſurprized with the ſmall-pox, which were either of the moſt malignant kind, or were rendered ſo by the adminiſtration of drugs, which were the very reverſe of Phyſick (*m*). However, the Earl's youth, temperance, and ſtrong conſtitution, got the better of the diſeaſe, and the Earl of Suffolk compelled his daughter to comply with her huſband's deſires, and to go down with him to Chartley (*n*). There her head ran upon the Viſcount Rocheſter, who was at once the King's favourite and her's; and, in hopes of becoming one day his wife, ſhe entered into a variety of wicked practices againſt the health as well as honour of her Lord; and, at length, having overcome all ſenſe of ſhame, ſhe inſtituted a publick ſuit againſt him, before Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, in 1613 (*o*), which remains a blemiſh to our publick hiſtory [*C*]. In the latter end of the month of September ſentence

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 92.

(*i*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 686.

(*k*) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen years of King James, cap. v.

(*l*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 686.

(*m*) Hiſtorical Narration, &c. cap. vii.

(*n*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 687.

(*o*) See Archbiſhop Abbot's Memorial, in relation to the caſe between the Earl and Counteſs.

[*B*] *That ſhe ſet too little value.*] It appears from the judicial proceedings for diſſolving this marriage, that the Counteſs of Eſſex was about thirteen when ſhe contracted it (5), the Earl returned from his travels four years after, ſo that her love intrigues muſt have commenced very early; it is not however very eaſy to diſcover with whom ſhe had that familiarity which ſullied her reputation before the Earl's return. Mr *Wilſon* tells us (6), 'that ſhe, growing to be a beauty of 'the greateſt magnitude in that horizon, was an object 'fit for admirers, and every tongue grew an orator at 'that ſhrine. The Prince of Wales, now in his puberty, ſent many loving glances as Ambaſſadors of 'his good reſpects, and amorous expreſſions are fit ſubjects for jealous reproaches to work on.' What he adds ſoon after, in reference to Prince Henry's quitting her, and the cauſe of it, ſeems to have happened after the Earl of Eſſex came home. Read it in his own words: 'This Lady being taken with the growing 'fortunes of Robert Car, Viſcount Rocheſter, and 'grounding more hope upon him than the uncertain 'and hopeleſs love of the Prince, ſhe caſt her anchor 'there, which the Prince ſoon diſcovered, and ſlighted 'her accordingly. For dancing one time among the 'ladies, and her glove falling down, it was taken up 'and preſented to him by one that thought he did him 'acceptable ſervice, but the Prince refuſed to receive 'it, ſaying publickly, he would not have it, it was 'ſtretched by another, meaning the Viſcount: this 'was an aggravation of hatred between the King's ſon 'and the King's friend.' Another writer of great diſtinction, who dealt very much in ſecret hiſtory, and who is believed to have been as well verſed in it as any man of his time, gives us a very plain and clear account of this, interwoven with greater matters, with which, as a curioſity, we will gratify our readers. Speaking of the Counteſs of Eſſex, he ſays (7), 'ſhe 'was ſo delicate in her youth, as, notwithſtanding that 'ineſtimable Prince Henry's martial deſires, and initiation into the ways of godlineſs, ſhe being ſet on 'by the Earl of Northampton, her father's uncle, 'firſt caught his eye and heart, and afterwards proſtituted herſelf to him, who reaped the firſt fruits of 'her virginity. But thoſe ſparks of grace, which 'even then began to ſhew their luſtre in him, with 'thoſe more heroick innated qualities derived from 'virtue, which gave the law to his more adviſed 'actions, ſoon raiſed him out of the ſlumber of that 'diſtemper, and taught him to reject her following 'temptations with indignation and ſuperciliouſneſs. 'God beſt knows, whether that haſtened his end; 'moſt certain it is, that ſome months before his Highneſs's death, Viſcount Rocheſter's familiarity and 'her's took it's firſt initiation by Mrs Turner's procurement. The Scots have a conſtant report amongſt 'them, as I learned from one of them, that Sir Thomas Overbury, ſeeing divers croſſings and oppoſitions to happen between that peerleſs Prince and 'ſaid Rocheſter, by whoſe means only he expected to 'riſe, and fearing it would in the end be a means to 'ruin Rocheſter himſelf, did firſt give that damnable 'and fatal advice, of removing out of the way and 'world that royal youth by faſcination, and was himſelf afterwards in part an inſtrument for the effecting 'of it; and therefore ſay they in Scotland, it happened 'by the juſt judgment of God afterwards, as a puniſhment upon him, that he himſelf died by poiſon.'

(5) So it is ſet forth in her libel, and the fact is admitted for truth in the Earl's Anſwer.

(6) Hiſtory of Great Britain, &c. p. 686.

(7) Sir Simmonds Dewes in his Hiſtory of his own life and times, a valuable MS. in the Harleian Library, fol. 47.

[*C*] *Which remains a blemiſh to our publick Hiſtory.*] It was without doubt a great weakneſs in King James to give that countenance which he did to this wicked affair, but he was at that time ſo much addicted to his favourite, afterwards Earl of Somerſet, that he was willing to contribute in any manner whatever to his ſatisfaction (8). It is however highly probable, his Majeſty was perſuaded that the Earl of Eſſex gave his conſent to it, neither was this altogether void of truth, for the Earl, tired with his wife's humours, diſpleaſed with the world's talk, and deſirous to be reſtored to his former free and happy ſtate of life, was willing enough, upon the perſwaſion of the Earl and Counteſs of Suffolk, to part with his Lady, ſuppoſing, at that time, it might be done without loſs of reputation (9). A commiſſion having paſſed the Great-Seal in the ſummer of the year 1613, the libel was filed in the month of June, and the Earl put in his anſwer on the 5th of July. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury was very much diſturbed at this, being equally diſpleaſed, that, by colluſion between the parties, the bond of matrimony ſhould be diſſolved, or that the new diſtinction which the King ſo much approved, that my Lord was *impotens in genere verſus hanc*, ſhould take place, the ſad effects of which, with reſpect to the reputation of the Commiſſioners, and the ill conſequences that muſt attend ſo bad a precedent in the face of the world, he clearly foreſaw. Upon this he deſired to examine the Earl of Eſſex more particularly, which was refuſed, becauſe the Earl, hearing the outcry this matter made, and how much it touched his own character, had altered his ſentiments (10). This forced the Commiſſioners to go on in another way, and to truſt entirely to the evidence of the Lady, ſupported by corroborating circumſtances of a very ſtrange, or rather of a very ſhameful nature. At laſt, September 25, the ſentence of nullity was pronounced, and December 26, the Lady was married again to the Earl of Somerſet in the King's chapel, the foreign Miniſters invited to the marriage, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in a manner compelled to honour it with his preſence (11). To add to the Earl of Eſſex's perplexity, he was called upon to pay back his wife's fortune, which did not agree at all with his circumſtances, whoſe quality obliged him to live at the very extent of his income.

(8) See the Article of COKE, (Sir EDWARD).

(9) This appears from Archbiſhop Abbot's Memorial.

(10) See the Proceedings at large in this cauſe.

(11) As appears from his ſecond Memorial.

ſentence was pronounced by the major part of theſe Commiſſioners, that the marriage was null and void with reſpect to the parties, becauſe of the frigidity alledged by the Counteſs, and acknowledged by the Earl to be in him with reſpect to her; from which, however, diſſented Dr Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr King, Biſhop of London, Sir John Bennet, Francis James, and Thomas Edwards, Doctors of Laws (*p*). The Lady being thus at liberty from a huſband ſhe did not love, married with great pomp and ſplendor, before the cloſe of the year, the man with whom ſhe was ſo much enamoured, while the Earl of Eſſex, to whom the diſgrace, from the thing itſelf, was doubled by the circumſtances which attended it, endeavoured to hide himſelf in the country from the obſervance of the world, and the reproach to which he was expoſed, from the bad conduct of an unhappy woman, born to be undone by that beauty for which ſhe was ſo much admired (*q*). His own venerable caſtle of Chartley in Staffordſhire, which deſcended to him from the antient family of Ferrers, was commonly the place of the Earl's reſidence, where he lived with great magnificence, in a friendly correſpondence with all the Gentlemen of the country round about, and, in proceſs of time, with as general affection and reſpect from all ranks and degrees of people as he could poſſibly deſire. Sometimes he made a tour to Drayton, where his grandmother the Counteſs of Leiceſter reſided, and ſometimes he viſited his brother-in-law the Earl of Hertford in Wiltſhire (*r*). Manly ſports, ſuch as hunting, ſhooting, and riding long journies, made a great part of his ſummer recreations; in the winter, good cheer, feaſting, with maſks and plays, compoſed commonly by Arthur Wilſon, who was his Groom of the Chambers, ſerved to mitigate my Lord's melancholy, and to give the Country Gentlemen content (*s*). In this manner he paſſed near ſeven years, and then, in the ſpring of 1620, the war being hot in the Palatinate, his Lordſhip, at the requeſt of his friend Henry Earl of Oxford, reſolved to go thither, under the command of Sir Horatio Vere, an old ſoldier, and one of great reputation (*t*). The two Earls propoſed to raiſe each a regiment, but carried over companies only for the preſent, compoſed however, for the moſt part, of Gentlemen, who went rather to acquire knowledge in the art of war, than to obtain either pay or preferment in that ſervice (*u*) [*D*]. Though the fatigues and diſappointments they met with, in

(*p*) Caſes of Impotency and Divorce, Vol. III. p. 159.

(*q*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Brirain, &c. p. 693.

(*r*) Arthur Wilſon's Account of his own life, printed in the firſt Vol. of Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, cap. iv.

(*s*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(*t*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 351.

(*u*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. v.

That he might anſwer this demand he was compelled to cut down his fine woods at Adderſton, nor would this have done, if his grandmother, the Counteſs of Leiceſter, had not ſupplied him with a conſiderable ſum of money to prevent his ſelling a part of his eſtate (12). We need not wonder therefore, that the Earl of Eſſex was not over-fond of the Court, or that King James, after buſying himſelf ſo much in this matter, ſhould not be well pleaſed with the ſight of a man, who, in ſo tender a point, had been ſo groſsly injured.

(12) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen year of King James.

[*D*] *Than to obtain either pay or preferment in that ſervice.*] It is ſaid by more writers than one, that the Earl of Eſſex went abroad to learn the art of diſcipline and arms, that he might be the more capable of doing ſervice to his country. It is much more probable, that the accompanying the Earl of Oxford, and the diverting his own melancholy thoughts, were at this time his principal motives, rather than any foreſight he could then have of what afterwards fell out. His company was to have conſiſted of two hundred and fifty men, but ſuch was his intereſt, and the general affection borne him, that when he came to muſter his company in Holland, it conſiſted of full three hundred, ſo that the pay of fifty men came out of his own pocket (13). The Marquis of Spinola, with the Auſtrian army under his command, being in full march for the Palatinate, Prince Henry of Naſſau, with a ſmall body of troops of which the Engliſh made a part, undertook to follow him, and to join that army which the Princes of the Union had raiſed for the defence of that electorate, which his Highneſs accordingly performed with great addreſs. In this march the inhabitants of the town of Coblentz, very unexpectedly, and without any reaſon given, fired upon the Engliſh from their ramparts, when a cannon ball paſſed between General Vere and the Earl of Eſſex who were talking together, and wounded one Mr Flood who ſtood behind them (14). After they had with much difficulty joined the army of the Princes, who by that junction became ſuperior in force to Spinola, the war was carried on in a very dilatory manner, till the ſeaſon of the year rendered it impracticable to keep the field any longer, and then the Engliſh forces being put into garriſon in the Palatinate, the Earl returned home through France, where he met with a very odd adventure, of which Mr Wilſon, his Hiſtorian, gives us the following account (15): 'We had, ſays he, from 'Frankendale, a convoy of a hundred horſe which 'brought us into Lorrain. From Mentz we travelled 'by ourſelves into France, and came to Compeigne in 'Champagne, where my Lord ſent away moſt of his 'train the ſtrait way to Bologne, and himſelf, with 'ſome few of us, took poſt, though he went three 'miles out of the way to come to the poſt road. 'The next ſtage was Gourney; where the knaviſh 'Poſt-Maſter ſeeing us likely to be good gueſts, to 'keep us there all night delayed, or rather indeed 'refuſed us horſes, pretending he could not furniſh 'them till morning. Which being contrary to my 'Lord's intention, for he took the poſt road to make 'more haſte, not to hinder him, he was much troubled. And as we were wrangling for this coarſe entertainment with our hoſt, my Lord's horſes (the 'Gentlemen and Grooms who went with them miſtaking the way) came by. Which ſeen, his Lordſhip with joy preſently mounted his own horſes, to 'go the next ſtage. The inn-keeper, deceived of his 'prey, fell into raging and railing, which my Lord 'not brooking, ran after him with a cudgel (for his 'words were very provoking) to give him a parting 'blow. The inn-keeper's activity carried him to a 'garret, where, thruſting his head out at a window, 'he cried *murder, murder*, with a fury, not thinking 'there were three ſtories betwixt him and his danger. 'It ſeems it was enough: for before we were got twelve 'ſcore yards in the ſtreet, we found ourſelves barricadoed with carts, and encircled with five hundred 'people, men, women, and children, with pitch-forks, ſwords, and guns, ſmiths with iron bars, and 'every one with that came next to hand beſet us. 'We had each a caſe of piſtols, and cloſely ſtood 'upon our guard. The confuſion and noiſe was great; 'no man knew for what. But we were very ſenſible 'of ſome knocks from a little hill above us, by Friers, 'who had filled their laps with ſtones, and kindly diſtributed them among us. Above half an hour we 'ſtood in this condition, ſtaring on one another (no 'man but the virtuous Friers offering us injury) expecting what they had to lay to our charge. At laſt 'a Gentleman came to us who was a Lieutenant of 'horſe, wiſhing us to put up our ſwords and piſtols if 'we loved our ſafety. For if we had done any miſchief it was impoſſible to eſcape, if we had done 'none we ſhould receive none. So he went from us 'to examine the buſineſs, and in a quarter of an hour 'returned, pacified the people, and opened the way 'to us. My Lord commanded me to give him two 'Engliſh pieces, but he refuſed them.'

(13) Hiſtory of Great Britain, &c.

(14) Idem, ibid.

(15) Arthur Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. iv.

[*E*] *Which*

in their firſt martial adventure, might have diſcouraged them from proceeding, yet theſe Lords went over again into Holland in 1621, and, in quality of volunteers, put themſelves under the direction of Prince Maurice of Naſſau, and, by their behaviour, merited the general applauſe of the whole army (*w*). They returned in the winter to England, where they both ſteered the ſame courſe, in giving ſome oppoſition to the deſigns of the Court in Parliament, where, though the Earl of Eſſex was never eloquent, yet he ſpoke very pertinently, and was very well heard; into the royal preſence he came but ſeldom, perceiving that he was not very agreeable to the King; which was attributed to the roughneſs of his deportment, and his affecting the manner and garb of a ſoldier (*x*). An accidental affair induced King James to publiſh more of his mind in this reſpect than he intended, or indeed than it was any way fit he ſhould. The caſe was this; the Nobility of England in general were much diſpleaſed with this Monarch's profuſion of honours, ſo contrary to the practice of his predeceſſor, and which, they apprehended, leſſened the dignity of the Peerage (*y*). Yet what troubled them moſt was, the vanity of ſome Gentlemen of large eſtates, who, by mere dint of money, procured to themſelves either Scotch or Iriſh titles of Viſcounts and Earls, in right of which they pretended to take place of Engliſh Barons. To remedy this grievance a petition was drawn up, and preſented to the King, in which the matter was ſtrongly but ſuccinctly ſtated; which petition was ſubſcribed by thirty-three of the Nobility, amongſt whoſe names the Earl of Eſſex makes the third. King James was highly diſpleaſed with this application, and, as if he had conſidered it as flowing entirely from the Earl of Eſſex, diſcharged upon him the greateſt part of his reſentment, making uſe, as we are told, amongſt others, of this expreſſion, *I fear thee not Eſſex, if thou waſt as well beloved as thy father, and had forty thouſand men at thy heels* (*z*). This ſowre treatment at Court gave the Earl ſo much a greater reliſh for his military expeditions abroad, which, with no other reward than the increaſe of his reputation, he followed the two next ſummers; and, in 1624, when the States of the United Provinces were allowed to raiſe four regiments, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men in England, he commanded a third, and the Lord Willoughby the fourth, which is the more remarkable, as theſe two noble Peers were afterwards at the head of oppoſite armies in our unfortunate Civil War; the Lord Willoughby, by the title of Earl of Lindſey, having the command of the King's army, as the Earl of Eſſex had of that of the Parliament (*a*). This expedition was none of the moſt fortunate, and a great ſickneſs breaking out in the army carried off the Earl of Southampton and his ſon, and the Earl of Oxford, who died before Breda (*b*). In 1625 a grand ſupply was ſent from England, but, by ſome ill management, the forces were kept ſo long on board the tranſports, that an epidemick diſtemper broke out amongſt them, which differed very little from the plague, and carried off the greateſt part (*c*). Upon the death of King James, and a Parliament being ſummoned to meet at Oxford, the Earl of Eſſex came over in the ſummer, and found the plague raging at home, and with no leſs violence at Oxford than at London (*d*). That Parliament breaking up abruptly, his Lordſhip went from Oxford to his brother the Earl of Hertford's houſe in Wiltſhire, where he remained for ſome time. Out of this retirement he was drawn by an order from the King to repair to Court, with intention to employ his Lordſhip in an expedition againſt Spain; to which he was eaſily perſwaded, as having an inclination to carry ſtill higher that reputation which, under his noble father's happy command, the Engliſh had attained at Cadiz (*e*). He was not, however, ſo fortunate, and, indeed, there hardly ever was an attempt made by the Engliſh that did leſs credit either to their courage and conduct, than this naval enterprize, which, as it was badly contrived, was ſtill worſe executed [*E*]. At his return he waited upon the King, and gave him a ſhort account of the diſappointments they had met with, and of the cauſes of thoſe diſappointments; after which he did not remain long at Court, where he was, in ſome meaſure, out of his element, but returned to his old ſeat in Staffordſhire, where, for a few weeks, his friends and his books took up all his time (*f*). In the ſummer of 1626 he returned again to his command in the Low-Countries, and marched with the reſt of the army into the Duchy of Cleves, where, that year, they had no great ſucceſs; and yet the Engliſh forces abroad were ſo miſerably harraſſed with fatiguing marches, and dangerous diſeaſes, flowing from an unwholeſome climate, that it was thought expedient to embody all the four regiments in one corps, under the command of General Morgan, and to march that into the country of Bremen; upon which the Earl of Eſſex, conceiving it not for his honour to remain abroad, thought fit to return home (*g*). He arrived in England at a time when it might have been expected that his martial genius, and

(*w*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(*x*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 736.

(*y*) Annals of the Reign of King James.

(*z*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 747.

(*a*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. vii.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 200.

(*c*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. vii.

(*d*) Annals of the Reign of Charles I.

(*e*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. viii.

(*f*) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 352.

(*g*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. viii.

[*E*] *Which as it was badly contrived, was ſtill worſe executed.*] It was a very unlucky omen, at the very beginning of a new reign, to undertake ſo ſtrange an expedition as this was, of which none who were competent judges had any hopes at all. The reaſon aſſigned for it was, the ill uſage received from Spain, in the negotiation for the Prince's marriage, and in the buſineſs of the Palatinate; but the truth was believed to be, that it was to gratify the Duke of Buckingham's reſentment againſt the Condé Olivarez, and to raiſe his reputation with the people; for at firſt it was intended that he ſhould have commanded the fleet (16), afterwards Sir Edward Cecil was choſen for that command, and for that purpoſe created Viſcount Wimbledon. The Earl of Eſſex and he were great friends, and therefore the King ſent for the Earl, and prevailed upon him to go the voyage in quality of Vice-Admiral (17). The fleet and tranſports conſiſted of about one hundred and twenty ſail, having about ſixteen thouſand ſeamen and ſoldiers on board. They ſailed,

(16) See Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collect. of Voyages.

(17) Arthur Wilſon's Account of his own life, chap. vii.

and military experience, would have recommended him to ſome conſiderable command, great preparations being made, at that juncture, for an expedition in ſupport of the French Proteſtants. There is no doubt of the Earl's affection for that cauſe, or of his willingneſs to hazard his life upon ſuch an occaſion; but, as the Duke of Buckingham had formed a reſolution to command in chief, we need not wonder that the Earl of Eſſex, who valued himſelf not a little on the antiquity of his family, declined ſerving under him, and, to avoid all invitations, retired, as uſual, to his ſeat at Chartley (*h*). He came up, however, the next year, to attend his duty in Parliament, where things ran very high; and ſuch as had no good will to the great favourite, puſhed him, with much violence, to the great diſpleaſure of his Royal Maſter, and by impeding the publick ſervice to the no ſmall detriment of the nation (*i*). We find the Earl of Eſſex again at Chartley in the ſummer following, when, upon the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, he diſpatched Mr Wilſon, now become his Secretary, to Portſmouth, who performed his journey, of near three hundred miles, in three days, which argues that he went upon ſome buſineſs of conſequence, but of what nature is to us entirely unknown (*k*). The winter of that year the Earl ſpent at the houſe of his brother the Earl of Hertford, at Netley in Wiltſhire, which wrought a notable change in his circumſtances. There happened to be with his ſiſter the Counteſs of Hertford, as a viſiter, one Mrs Elizabeth Paulet, a very beautiful young Lady, daughter to Sir William Paulet, of Eddington in the ſame county, who was a natural ſon of the Marquis of Wincheſter's (*l*). With this Lady the Earl was ſo much taken, that ſhe was preſſed to ſtay the Chriſtmas holidays; and, notwithſtanding the misfortunes he had met with from his firſt unlucky marriage, the Earl concluded this with ſome precipitation, marrying his ſecond Lady in the ſpring of the year following (*m*). It was in conſequence of this marriage, and the diſlike which the new Counteſs had to him, that the Earl was forced to part with Mr Arthur Wilſon, in whom he had repoſed the greateſt truſt and confidence (*n*). This ſhews that the Earl was far from being a moroſe huſband; and yet, in a ſhort time, there grew ſome ſuſpicions of this Lady's behaviour; notwithſtanding which the Earl owned a child of which ſhe was brought to bed, and cauſed it to be baptized by his own name Robert, which ſon of his lived to be about five years old (*o*); but the Earl was divorced from his Lady in about two years, on account of her familiarity with one Mr Uvedale; and, from this time, his Lordſhip ſeems to have laid aſide all thoughts of the Ladies, and to have addicted himſelf entirely to cares of another nature (*p*). His temper differed, in many things, from that of his father, who, notwithſtanding he endeavoured to imitate in others, more eſpecially in courting the favour of the people, careſſing the Miniſters that were looked upon as puritannically affected, profeſſing an extraordinary friendſhip for military men, and being likewiſe a kind patron to the Poets; methods that, in thoſe ſtirring and tumultuous times, raiſed him a great character, and enabled him to become an inſtrument either of much good, or of much hurt, to the publick (*q*). There is no notice taken in any of our Hiſtories, publick or private, of this Nobleman's going to Ireland, ſo that we are abſolutely ſtrangers to the motives upon which he undertook that voyage; but that he actually went thither in 1632, and was extreamly well received by the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, afterwards the famous Earl of Strafford, is very certain, as well as that this produced very ſtrong profeſſions of friendſhip on both ſides (*r*). The Noble Hiſtorian tells us, that this was afterwards changed into an oppoſite diſpoſition, from the conduct of the Earl of Strafford, in reſpect to the Clanrickard family, for which he informs us, that the Earl of Eſſex had a great regard (*s*); as indeed he very well might, ſince the Earl of St Alban's and Clanrickard married his mother (*t*). He paſſed his days after his uſual manner, either at his own ſeat, or thoſe of his friends, and, as occaſion required, at his houſe in London, till the publick ſervice called him again into the view of the world, which was in the year 1635, when King Charles reſolved to vindicate his ſovereignty of the ſeas againſt the French and Dutch, who had formed a deſign of invading it (*u*). It was with this view that the King equipped a ſtout fleet, under the command of the Earl of Lindſey, to anſwer the purpoſes before-mentioned; and, at the ſame time, a ſmaller ſquadron, of twenty ſail, put to ſea for the guard of the coaſts, and protection of the trade of England, which, with the title of Vice-Admiral, was commanded by the Earl of Eſſex; and both fleets had all the ſucceſs that could be deſired; for, though the French and Dutch joined their naval forces, they were able to do nothing; and, towards the cloſe of the year, the States ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to compliment the King upon the birth of the Princeſs Elizabeth, which, as a judicious writer obſerves, was a teſtimony of reſpect, flowing purely

(*h*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 9.

(*i*) See Frankland's Annals, Ruſhworth's Collections, and the Compleat Hiſt. of England.

(*k*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. viii.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 92.

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 15.

(*n*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. ix.

(*o*) Winſtanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 352.

(*p*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. ix. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 93.

(*q*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex. Wilſon's Hiſt. of GreatBritain, &c. p. 736.

(*r*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 205, 232.

(*s*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 50.

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 450.

(*u*) Frankland's Annals, Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts.

ſailed, the Admiral from Plymouth, and the Earl of Eſſex with his ſquadron from Falmouth, on the 8th of October 1635, and, after ſome hard weather which they had reaſon to expect at that ſeaſon of the year, arrived upon the coaſt of Spain, where they performed very little. The Earl of Eſſex indeed took a fort, that gave the ſoldiers an opportunity of drinking freely of Spaniſh wines, and this threw them into fevers and fluxes. The Commander in Chief ſhewed himſelf every way unfit for ſuch a charge, he was continually conſulting, giving orders, and iſſuing inſtructions, which the ſeamen never minded; ſo that after much time, and many men loſt, he thought fit to return a few days before the arrival of the Plate Fleet, and came back to England at the very cloſe of the year (18). This untoward buſineſs did not fix the leaſt imputation upon the Earl, who did what little there was done, but was not able to engage the General to act with that ſpirit neceſſary to preſerve diſcipline, and render an army victorious.

(18) See Ruſhworth, Frankland, &c.

purely from this diſplay of his Majeſty's power at ſea (*w*). In 1639 the foreign enemies of the King and kingdom having artfully wrought upon the temper of the Scots, and excited them to rebellion, the King found himſelf under a neceſſity of employing force to reduce them, and, having raiſed a noble army, appointed the Earl of Arundel General, the Earl of Eſſex Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Holland General of the Horſe (*x*). Eſſex, with a part of the army, had orders to advance to Berwick, and, in his march thither, he met with ſeveral Scotch Noblemen, who pretending to be well affected to the King, informed him of the great ſtrength of their countrymen, of their march towards England, and of the great hazard he muſt run by approaching them with ſo inconſiderable a force. The Earl heard them, quickened his march, took poſſeſſion of Berwick, found the Scots had, in reality, hardly any forces, and, if the King had ſent him proper orders, would have marched on to Edinburgh, and reduced that people to their duty (*y*). The Scots, upon the approach of the King's army, addreſſed themſelves to the King's Generals, and eſpecially to the Earl of Eſſex, with great humility; the other two received their applications kindly enough, but Eſſex behaved with becoming dignity, ſent their letters to the King, and, when his Majeſty was prevailed upon to liſten to an accommodation, refuſed to have any concern in it, or ſo much as to receive the viſits of the Scots Commiſſioners till the pacification was ſigned (*z*). When there was no farther occaſion for his ſervice he was diſmiſſed, rather with coldneſs than civility, which could not but diſguſt a man of his high ſpirit (*a*). In 1640 the Earl of Eſſex both received and returned mortifications, for the Scots broke through all they had promiſed, and raiſed a powerful army, which obliged the King to have, once more, recourſe to a regular force, with which he marched northwards; but, in this expedition, the Earl of Eſſex had no command (*b*). Upon the death of the Lord Aſton, who was Warden of Needwood Foreſt, cloſe by the Earl of Eſſex's houſe at Chartley, his Lordſhip aſked it as a favour to ſucceed him; and was refuſed in ſuch a manner, as he could not avoid taking it for an affront (*c*). On the 28th of Auguſt he ſigned a petition to the King, with eleven other Peers, to terminate theſe diſputes without blood, and for the ſpeedy calling of a Parliament (*d*). On Michaelmas-day following the King appointed him one of the Commiſſioners for treating with the Scots at Rippon; and when the Long Parliament was begun, which obliged the King to think of popular meaſures, the Earl of Eſſex, together with ſeveral other Noblemen, was ſworn of the Privy-Council on the third of February (*e*). At this time the Noble Hiſtorian is very clear, that, whatever diſtaſtes his Lordſhip might have conceived againſt certain men, or certain meaſures, he was perfectly well affected to the Conſtitution, as well in Church as in State (*f*) [*F*]. In the month of May 1641, the Earl of Eſſex was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold, upon the removal of the Earl of Pembroke; which was not well received by the angry men in the Houſe of Commons, who fancied that the Earl of Pembroke had loſt the King's favour by his inclination to them (*g*). At this ſeaſon ſome of the wiſeſt perſons about his Majeſty would have perſwaded him to have declared Eſſex General of his army, as the moſt effectual means of preſerving it; with which advice, however, he would not comply. On the other hand, thoſe who were for driving things to extremities, and had framed a bill for taking the militia from the King, propoſed to give the command of all the forces by land to the Earl of Eſſex, and to devolve the power at ſea upon the Earl of Northumberland, with a view,

(*w*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 23, 24.

(*x*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 38.

(*y*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 30. Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 39.

(*z*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 130. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 40, 41.

(*a*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 130. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 35.

(*c*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 48.

(*d*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 36.

(*e*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 52. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 37.

(*f*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 77.

(*g*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 46.

[*F*] *He was perfectly well affected to the Conſtitution as well in Church as in State.*] It is certainly a thing difficult enough, to come at the true character of the principal perſons on both ſides in this unhappy war; yet with reſpect to the Earl of Eſſex it is generally agreed, that he was a Nobleman of very upright intentions. Sir Philip Warwick (19), who ſpeaks the leaſt favourably of him, allows, that he was no ill ſoldier, and valued much among the men of that profeſſion; he ſays he was a man much diſobliged at Court, and of ſuch a natural confuſed ſpirit, that he was not able to diſcern the ill conſequences of his indifference towards the Crown, but at the ſame time he confeſſes, the Court was not artificial enough to make that right uſe of him, which his intereſt amongſt the ſoldiers, and his blunt, plain, Engliſh nature might have been formed into, by a ſeeming confidence. The Noble Hiſtorian tells us plainly, he had no ambition of title, or office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly ſpoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune; and without doubt no man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than he did, nor could he have been drawn into it by any open and tranſparent temptation, but by a thouſand diſguiſes and cozenages. His pride ſupplied his want of ambition, and he was angry to ſee any other man more reſpected than himſelf, becauſe he thought he deſerved it more, and did better requite it. For he was in his friendſhips juſt and conſtant, and would not have practiſed foully even againſt thoſe that he took to be his enemies. No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the King, while he thought himſelf wiſe enough to know what treaſon was. But the new notions were too hard for him, and intoxicated his underſtanding, ſo that he quitted his own to follow theirs, who, as he thought, wiſhed as well, and judged better, than himſelf. He adds, that when he accepted the commiſſion to be General, he did it with a view of being the preſerver, and not the deſtroyer, of the King and kingdom (20). We have this character fully confirmed by Denzil Lord Hollis, who could not but be well acquainted with this Nobleman's real intentions, and was too honeſt to miſrepreſent them (21). The kindneſs he ſhewed to ſuch of the clergy as fell under the diſpleaſure of the Biſhops, was owing to the compaſſion in his nature, and the ſincerity of his zeal for the eſſentials of religion, as the Earl of Clarendon tells us (22), with great candour. 'The 'Earl of Eſſex, ſays he, was rather diſpleaſed with 'the perſon of the Archbiſhop, and ſome other Bi'ſhops, than indevoted to the function, and towards 'ſome of them he had great reverence and kindneſs, 'as Biſhop Moreton, Biſhop Hall, and ſome other of 'the leſs formal and more popular Prelates; and he 'was as much devoted as any man to the Book of 'Common Prayer, and obliged all his ſervants to be 'conſtantly preſent with him at it, his houſhold Chap'lain being always a moſt conformable man, and a 'good ſcholar.'

(19) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. p. 130.

(20) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 305.

(21) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 9, 21, 23, 24, 30.

(22) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 77.

view, in all probability, to gain over thoſe two great Peers entirely to their intereſts (*b*). When his Majeſty had taken a reſolution of making a journey into Scotland, and found it neceſſary to appoint a ſingle perſon to have the chief command in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom during his abſence, he, in the beginning of Auguſt, ſigned a commiſſion, appointing the Earl of Eſſex Lieutenant-General of all his forces on this ſide Trent, with a power of increaſing their number if it ſhould be found neceſſary (*i*). This mark of royal confidence could not be greater than that which was afterwards beſtowed upon him, in a very unuſual manner, by the Houſe of Lords; for, having taken a reſolution to adjourn themſelves for a certain time, they, by an order, dated September 9th, appointed a Standing Committee, of which the Earl of Eſſex was Chairman (*k*). On the King's return from Scotland things began to run more and more into confuſion, the populace aſſuming a moſt unbounded liberty, and coming in ſuch a tumultuous manner to Whitehall and Weſtminſter, as created no ſmall apprehenſion, both to the King and to the Parliament. In order to remove this, the Houſe of Commons, on the third of January, petitioned his Majeſty for a guard out of the city, under the command of his Lord Chamberlain the Earl of Eſſex, of whoſe fidelity to the King and Commonwealth, they ſaid, no queſtion was ever made (*l*). This his Majeſty thought fit to decline, and the very next day, being the 4th of the ſame month, he went in perſon to the Houſe of Commons, and demanded the five members (*m*). Upon the diſturbances which followed, his Majeſty thought proper to retire from his Capital, and requiring, upon that occaſion, his Houſehold ſervants to attend him, the Earls of Eſſex and Holland pleaded their obligation (*n*) to aſſiſt in the deliberations of the Houſe of Peers; upon which they were removed from their reſpective employments. We are told by the Noble Hiſtorian, that this was entirely the work of the Earl of Holland, who, when he found Eſſex reſolved and prepared to go, aſſured him they ſhould be both murdered at Hampton-Court, which engaged him to go with that Earl into the city; and this was ſo reported to the King, as to induce him to treat both with the ſame ſeverity; which was not only a little imprudent, but proved, as the wiſeſt men in thoſe times thought, extreamly fatal (*o*) [G]. By degrees, and with the mixture of a great deal of art, the Earl of Eſſex was wrought upon to accept the honour, or, rather, to ſuſtain the burthen that was intended to be impoſed upon him; and, about the middle of July 1642, he was declared General of the army raiſed for the ſafety of the King's perſon, and defence of both Houſes of Parliament (*p*), and complimented with their votes of living and dying with him. It is believed, that the Earl accepted this office in hopes that it would have produced a ſpeedy end of theſe troubles; but he was quickly undeceived in that point, by finding, that the King had an army about him, and ſo much reſented his Lordſhip's behaviour, that he had cauſed him to be proclaimed a traytor, and refuſed to accept an application for peace, becauſe it came from his hands (*q*). On the 9th of September following the Earl of Eſſex marched out of London in great pomp and ſplendor, attended by both Houſes of Parliament, to the rendevzous of the army, which was appointed to be at Northampton, where about fifteen thouſand men were aſſembled, and there his ſtandard, which was orange colour, was firſt diſplayed againſt the King (*r*). He marched from thence to Worceſter, his Majeſty being then at Shrewſbury, where having recruited his army, and finding himſelf leſs at a loſs for men than for the means of ſubſiſting them, he began his march directly towards London (*s*), Octob. 14th; the Earl of Eſſex followed his Majeſty from Worceſter, but the King, being leſs incumbred with baggage, gained ground, and might, poſſibly, have accompliſhed what he had in view, if his Majeſty, diſdaining to be purſued, had not turned back, and, on Sunday, October 23d, engaged the army of the Parliament, under the Earl of Eſſex, between Keinton and Edgehill in Warwickſhire, where both ſides claimed the victory, though

(*b*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 90, 91.

(*i*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 47.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 96.

(*l*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 20.

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 52.

(*n*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 41.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 156.

(*p*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 97.

(*q*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 61.

(*r*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(*s*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 249.

[G] *Extreamly fatal.*] It is very certain, that, as the Earl of Eſſex was coldly treated at Court, ſo he was never taken into the counſels or confidence of thoſe of the other party, who reſolved to hide from him as much as poſſible their real intentions, and to let him ſee nothing but fair pretences, that might induce him to become their inſtrument (23). The truth of this appears by the meſſages he carried from the King to the Houſe of Peers, and ſtill more from his behaviour upon the King's coming to the Houſe of Commons, and demanding the five members, for he inſtantly moved the Houſe of Lords to intercede on their behalf, ſuppoſing them to be in real danger, and that the King's reſentment would have been fatal to them; at which thoſe in the ſecret ſmiled, knowing well, that thoſe members were to the full as ſecure as the King himſelf (24). It is indeed ſtrange that he altered his reſolution upon any thing told him by the Earl of Holland, becauſe he was a man of whom he had formerly no good opinion. But, as the Earl of Clarendon juſtly obſerves, it was much ſtranger that the Court ſhould make no difference in the puniſhment of their offences, where there was ſo wide a difference between the perſons. The Earl of Holland held all that he had by the favour and from the bounty of the Crown, which had raiſed him to what he was (25); whereas the Earl of Eſſex had received great diſobligations, and even in reſpect to his office of Lord Chamberlain, was allowed to have done full as much favour to the Court in accepting his white ſtaff, as was expreſſed by conferring it on him. Yet there is ſomething very extraordinary, and at the ſame time nothing improbable, in what the Noble Hiſtorian ſuggeſts, that the taking from him that white ſtaff, trivial as the circumſtance ſeems, was the true ſource of the Civil War. He reaſons thus (26): if the King had excuſed the attendance of the Earl of Eſſex, had ſignified to him ſo much, and continued him in his employment, he would never have accepted the commiſſion to be General of the Parliament's army, from the punctuality of his temper, and the conſideration of his being immediately in the King's ſervice. If he would not have accepted that commiſſion, there could have been no army, for it was chiefly his reputation that raiſed it, in which alſo Whitlocke agrees (27), and if no army could have been raiſed, an agreement muſt have been made, which would have prevented all the misfortunes, miſchiefs, and miſeries, that afterwards enſued.

[H] *Though*

(23) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 538.

(24) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 117.

(25) See the character of the Earl of Holland in Clarendon and Sir P. Warwick.

(26) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 156.

(27) This we find alſo handſomely expreſſed in May's Hiſtory of the Parliament.

though neither had any great reaſon [*H*]. He retired after this diſpute with his forces to Warwick, and from thence returned in obedience to the preſſing ſollicitations of the Parliament, with as much diligence as it was poſſible, to London, where he was received with all the reſpect and veneration poſſible; on the 7th of November had the thanks of the Houſes given him in a very ſolemn reſolution, and a preſent beſides of five thouſand pounds (*t*). Theſe ceremonies were diſturbed by the approach of the King's army, which, having taken Reading, continued their march directly to London, Prince Rupert making himſelf maſter of Brentford. The Lord-General Eſſex went immediately to Turnham-Green, where he aſſembled his forces, which were greatly augmented by the timely arrival of the city trained-bands under the Earl of Warwick, who gave up his command as ſoon as he came to the army, which faced the King's troops all day, but ſuffered them, at length, to retire, without fighting (*u*). This was a tranſaction attended with much wonder on both ſides: the Noble Hiſtorian ſays, that the Earl of Eſſex made the right uſe of the ſuperiority of his troops, by keeping them in order of battle, the major part of them being ſuch as he could not have relied on if he had engaged, but ſeems to blame the King for not attacking them (*w*); and Sir Philip Warwick is of the ſame opinion (*x*). On the other hand Whitlocke aſſures us, the King's army was in a very indifferent condition in all reſpects, and had not ammunition enough to have ſerved them for a briſk charge (*y*). The beginning of the year 1643 was ſpent in a treaty, the Parliament having ſent Commiſſioners for that purpoſe to Oxford, and, at the requeſt of the King, enlarged the time originally allowed them to the 15th of April; and the very ſame day, the treaty breaking off abruptly, the Earl of Eſſex began his march with their army towards Oxford (*z*). It was the deſire of ſome of the moſt active men in the party, that the Earl might ſtrike at the root as they called it, that is, beſiege Oxford, and make himſelf maſter of the perſon of the King; but whether he found that impracticable, or was not much inclined to that ſervice, ſo it was, that he turned off to Reading, which he inveſted on the 17th; Sir Arthur Aſton commanded in it for the King, with a garriſon of between three and four thouſand men; but the town, being a long and irregular

(*t*) Whitlocke's Mem. p 64. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(*u*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 63. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 233.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 261.

(*x*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 233.

(*y*) Memorials, p. 65.

(*z*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 265.

[*H*] *Though neither had any great reaſon.*] Whoever looks for truth in Hiſtory will find it difficult enough to be met with in moſt caſes, but in none more viſibly than in the accounts given us of battles, where, generally ſpeaking, they rather diſcover the inclinations of the writer than the real ſtate of facts, which are alſo very difficult to be got at. In point of numbers the armies were not very unequal, that of the Earl of Eſſex would have been ſuperior in this reſpect to the King's if all his forces had been with him, but ſome of his beſt regiments did not come up till the battle was in a manner over. On the other hand, if the King's army that engaged was actually more numerous, it was much worſe armed; a great part of it conſiſted of Welſhmen, who had nothing but pitchforks and cudgels, but they came to their buſineſs with a good will, and as they charged with the firſt, ſo ſuch as returned from that field picked up arms ſufficient to make a better appearance when they were next called to action. It is certain that the King was the aggreſſor in this battle, from a point of honour, that he would not be purſued, or rather, becauſe he accounted it a dangerous thing to continue his march to London with ſuch a force in his rear. In reference to the perſonal behaviour of the Earl of Eſſex, what follows is the moſt juſt and the moſt particular of any that I have met with (28). 'The Earl of Lindſey, with a pike 'in his hand, led on the main body of the army, in 'which was the King's own regiment, encountered by 'the Lord General Eſſex, who expoſed himſelf to all the 'danger that a battle could make, firſt leading on his 'troop, then his own regiment of foot, and breathing 'courage into them, till, being diſſuaded by divers 'from engaging himſelf too far, he returned to the 'reſt of the army to draw them on. The chief regi'ments having begun the battle, Sir Philip Staple'ton, with a brave troop of gentlemen (which were 'the General's life-guard, and commanded by him) 'charged the King's regiment on their right flank 'within their pikes, and came off without any great 'hurt, though thoſe pikemen ſtoutly defended them'ſelves, and the muſqueteers, being good firemen, 'played fiercely upon them. The battle was hot at 'that place, and ſo many of the King's ſide ſlain, 'that the Parliament army began to be victorious 'there; they took the ſtandard-royal, the bearer, 'Sir Edward Varney, being ſlain, and the General, the 'Earl of Lindſey, ſore wounded, was taken priſoner. 'But the ſame fortune was not in every part, for the 'King's right wing, led by Prince Rupert, charged 'fiercely upon the left wing of the other, (conſiſting 'moſtly of horſe) and prevailed altogether, for the 'Parliament troops ran almoſt all away in that wing, 'and many of their foot companies diſmayed with 'their flight, fled all away before they had ſtood one 'charge; Colonel Eſſex being utterly forſaken by that 'whole brigade which he commanded, went himſelf 'into the van, where he performed excellent ſervice 'both by direction and execution, till, at the laſt, 'he was ſhot in the thigh, of which he ſhortly after 'died. Some part of their diſheartening was cauſed 'by the revolt of their own ſide, for Sir Faithful For'teſcue, at the beginning of the fight, inſtead of 'charging the enemy diſcharged his piſtol on the 'ground, and with his troop wheeling about ran to 'the King's army, to whom he had formerly given 'notice thereof by his Cornet. The Parliament army 'had undoubtedly been ruined that day, and an ab'ſolute victory gained on the King's ſide, if Prince 'Rupert and his purſuing troops had been more tem'perate in plundering ſo untimely as they did, and 'had wheeled about to aſſiſt their diſtreſſed friends in 'other parts of the army; for Prince Rupert followed 'the chaſe to Keynton town, where the carriages of 'the army were, which they preſently pillaged, uſing 'great cruelty, as was afterwards related, to the un'armed waggoners and labouring men; a great num'ber of the flying Parliament ſoldiers were ſlain in 'that chaſe, which laſted two miles beyond Keynton, 'and ſo far till the purſuers were forced to retire, 'having met with Colonel Hampden, who marched 'with the other brigade of the army that brought on 'the artillery.' As to the King's ſtandard it was given by the General to his Secretary Mr Chambers, from whom it was taken by one Captain Smith and carried back to the King, to whom the General intended to have reſtored it in caſe it had not been thus recovered (29). The Parliament claimed the victory on account of their keeping the field of battle, for they ſtood all night upon the ſame ground where the King's army was drawn up; and as to the King's title to the victory, it conſiſted in taking of Banbury the next day, from whence it appears that great faults were committed on both ſides. If the Earl of Eſſex had marched to Banbury, the reputation of his arms had been much raiſed, which at that time was a thing of great conſequence, and if after the taking of Banbury the King had marched to London, he would have reaped all the fruits of a victory whether he had it or not (30).

(28) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. III. p. 18, 19.

(29) As appears by the relation ſent to Parliament after the battle.

(30) See Warwick's Memoirs.

[*I*] *To*

irregular built place, would not admit of proper fortifications; and beſides, the garriſon wanted powder to ſuch a degree, that, in ten days time, it was ſurrendered; and for this Colonel Richard Fielding, who made the capitulation, the Governor being wounded, was ſentenced at Oxford to loſe his head; but, however, he did not ſuffer (*a*). The articles granted by the Earl of Eſſex were but ill obſerved by his ſoldiers, of which he ſhewed his reſentment in a very high degree (*b*). After this ſucceſs great things were expected from him by the Parliament; but a ſickneſs which prevailed in his army, and it's not being ſupplied ſo well as hitherto it had been, weakened him very much, and put it out of his power to do any thing of importance; which ſo much irritated ſome of the leading men in Parliament, that they talked of removing him, and of giving the command to Sir William Waller; but he being preſently after defeated at Rowndway-Down, put an end to that ſcheme (*c*). The Lord-General Eſſex was not at all a ſtranger to what was ſaid and thought of him at London; and, as he was a man of great plainneſs and ſincerity, he was reſolved to leave them in no doubt as to what were his real intentions; and, therefore, wrote the Parliament a letter of ſo extraordinary a nature (*d*), that we have judged it neceſſary to inſert it in the notes [*I*]. While the Earl, with his army, quartered about Thame in Oxfordſhire, they ſuffered not a little by the continual enterprizes of Prince Rupert, who had a numerous body of horſe in their neighbourhood; and his endeavours would, probably, have been more ſucceſsful againſt any other General than the Earl of Eſſex, who was not only extreamly vigilant, but alſo very ready to repair in perſon to any poſts that were attacked, by which he prevented the ill conſequences that would otherways have attended ſudden impreſſions (*e*). All his care, and all his courage, expreſſed in their ſervice, did not, however, entirely ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons; as, on the other hand, his Lordſhip was very far from being well pleaſed with that temper which prevailed amongſt them; and moſt of the Nobility who had hitherto concurred with them, inclined now to the Earl's opinion (*f*). At this juncture it appears, from the beſt authority, that the King and the Earl of Eſſex were equally deſirous of putting an end to this unhappy war, and that each had it in his power, as well as will, to have accompliſhed this good deſign, if both had not ſuffered themſelves to be fatally diverted from their intentions, and thereby loſt an opportunity, the like of which never offered itſelf to either of them any more (*g*) [*K*]. The King, over-perſwaded by thoſe who had the

(*a*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p 315, 316.

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 267. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 314.

(*c*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 70.

(*d*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 291.

(*e*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 322, 323.

(*f*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 71.

(*g*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 342.

[*I*] *To inſert it in the notes.*] We have in another place mentioned the diſpoſition of the Parliament at this juncture, when two parties, that agreed in nothing elſe, joined in preſſing the Earl to advance towards Oxford, one deſiring nothing ſo much as to make an end of the war, and the other, with equal paſſion, thirſting for the deſtruction of the King; the Lord General Eſſex knew, that the former was as much out of his power as the latter was diſtant from his will. It was very much againſt his judgment that he advanced to Thame, where the heat of the weather, and the marſhineſs of the ſoil, increaſed the diſtemper in his army, ſo that hundreds were diſabled in a day; yet he ſtill received the ſame preſſing meſſages from London, in anſwer to which he wrote the following letter (31).

(31) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 290, 291.

'Mr Speaker,

'I Would have given you the true relation of the 'ſkirmiſh on Sunday laſt, between ſome of the 'horſe and the enemy near Buckingham, but Sir Philip 'Stapleton and Colonel Goodwin being then upon the 'ſpot, I refer the relation thereof unto them. Since 'when, being informed that the King had ſent more 'forces to Buckingham to maintain that place, and 'bring theſe parts into contribution, where the enemy 'ſtayed until the army came within two miles of them, 'and then made haſte away towards Banbury, not-'withſtanding they had perſuaded the people that 'they would not quit the place till they had beaten 'me out of the country: I then underſtanding that 'they were fled, held it not fit to go to the town with 'my army, but ſent Colonel Middleton with ſome 'horſe to clear that town and coaſt, which they did, 'and then adviſed where to quarter with moſt conve-'niency for our army, and moſt ready for the enemy, 'the Queen's forces being like to join with them very 'ſuddenly; and that our army may the better ſerve 'the Parliament and city, and counties adjacent, and 'be more ſafely ſupplied with money from London, 'and lie moſt conveniently to join the forces with the 'Lord Gray in Northamptonſhire, I was adviſed to 'march to Great Brickhill, as the moſt fit place for 'all purpoſes, the enemies chief ſtrength being in 'horſe, and this army neither recruited with horſe, 'arms, nor ſaddles, it is impoſſible to keep the coun-'ties from being plundered, nor to fight with them 'but when and where they liſt, we being forced when 'we move to march with the whole army, which 'can be but ſlowly, ſo that the counties muſt ſuffer 'much wrong, and the cries of poor people are infi-'nite. *If it were thought fit to ſend to his Majeſty,* 'to have peace, with the ſettling of religion, the 'laws and liberties of the ſubject, and to bring unto 'juſt trial thoſe chief delinquents that have brought 'all this miſchief to both kingdoms; and as my 'Lord of Briſtol ſpake once in Parliament, how we 'may be ſecured to have thoſe things performed here-'after. Or elſe, if his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to abſent 'himſelf, there may be a day ſet down to put a period 'to all theſe unhappy diſtractions by a battle, which, 'when and where they ſhall chooſe, that may be 'thought any way indifferent, I ſhall be ready to per-'form that duty I owe you; and the propoſitions to 'be agreed upon between his Majeſty and the Parlia-'ment, may be ſent to ſuch an indifferent place, that 'both armies may be drawn near the one to the other, 'that if peace be not concluded, it may be ended by 'the ſword: no officers of the army to be of the com-'mittee, nor no intercourſe to be between them.

SIR,

Great Brickhill,
July 9, 1643.

I am your aſſured friend,

ESSEX.

[*K*] *To either of them any more.*] In order to explain this matter thoroughly, which is in itſelf equally curious and important, we muſt obſerve that factions ran very high both at Oxford and at Weſtminſter, yet thoſe who wiſhed well to the King and kingdom had the ſame views in both places, that is, were very deſirous of ſeeing peace reſtored, and the conſtitution preſerved, by an agreement upon moderate terms. In order to this, the King was adviſed to publiſh the utmoſt conceſſions he was inclined to make, and to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances in his power with reſpect to their being conſtantly adhered to, and then to have marched with his army, which was in a very good condition, directly up to London, which if he had done, ſays Whitlocke

the leaſt knowledge even, and perhaps the leaſt affection for, his cauſe, having a better army than he had yet brought into the field, marched towards Glouceſter, which, on the 10th of Auguſt, he inveſted (*b*). It had a numerous garriſon, commanded by Colonel Maſſey, who made a vigorous and obſtinate reſiſtance, and this weakened the King's army exceedingly, which, without doubt, was leaſt fit for that ſervice. The city of London was greatly alarmed at the news of this ſiege, which affected them in their trade for the preſent, and gave them a bad proſpect of their ſecurity for the future; the Parliament made an advantage of this diſpoſition in their own people, and, on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, publiſhed an order, forbidding any ſhops to be opened till Glouceſter was relieved (*i*). In order to effect this, all ways and means were practiſed to ſettle the mind of the General, and next, part of the London trained bands and auxiliaries were ordered to recruit his army, ſo that, on the 29th of the ſame month, the Earl of Eſſex marched from Ayleſbury with an army very little ſhort of twenty thouſand men (*k*). He proceeded with much caution, and though his motions were obſerved by General Wilmot, with a great body of horſe, yet he carried his point, obliged the King to raiſe the ſiege, entered Glouceſter in triumph September 15th, and, ſoon after, ſurprized Cirenceſter, where the King had two regiments of horſe, and very conſiderable magazines (*l*). His Lordſhip continuing his march into Berkſhire, Prince Rupert, with his horſe, incommoded his rear very much; and the King, with his foot, being arrived near Newberry, the Earl found himſelf obliged to fight, which accordingly he did, on the 20th of September, with very great reputation to himſelf, in reſpect both to courage and conduct; though, after all, it was but a drawn battle, or if any, the King had the title to the victory, for by it he opened a paſſage to London, if he had loſt no time in the proſecution of that deſign, for which, it is ſuppoſed, he fought (*m*). But as he let ſlip this opportunity, ſo Eſſex improved that negligence, and, with great diligence and dexterity, marched to Reading, and from thence nearer London. His army being quartered at Windſor, and in the neighbourhood, the Earl, with ſome of the great officers, went to London, where the Speaker came to compliment him at Eſſex-Houſe, as did the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, in their ſcarlet gowns; and his behaviour at Newberry fight was magnified to as high a degree, as their eloquence could reach (*n*). The Earl afterwards returned to the army; but, upon receiving orders to join Sir William Waller, he ſent for anſwer, *That he held it not for their ſervice*; after which jealouſies daily increaſed, and, at laſt, a committee was appointed for recruiting and reforming the army, which gave him a great deal of diſtaſte (*o*) and uneaſineſs, yet his opinion, That he was bound in honour to do nothing to the prejudice of thoſe who intruſted him, hindered him from giving any countenance to the applications he received from the Lords and Commons aſſembled at Oxford, while thoſe in Parliament, who diſliked his conduct, took the neceſſary meaſures for curtailing his army, and making the forces he commanded inferior to thoſe at the head of which they had placed their own creatures (*p*). In the ſpring of the year 1644 the Earl of Eſſex, in obedience to the preſſing ſollicitations of his maſters, marched into Oxfordſhire, and, advancing to Abingdon, General Wilmot quitted the town upon his approach, and retired towards Oxford, which gave him an opportunity of advancing within a mile of that place on one ſide, at the ſame time that Sir William Waller, with his forces, came almoſt as near it on the other (*q*). The King was thought to be effectually blocked up in that city, and this ſituation of his equally alarmed his own friends and the enemies of the Earl of Eſſex. One of the King's Privy-Council apprehended his ſituation to be ſo deſperate, that he adviſed him to render himſelf into the hands of Eſſex; to which the King anſwered, *It was poſſible he might fall into* Eſſex's *hands, but it ſhould be when he was dead* (*r*). On the other hand, the inveterate party in the Parliament apprehended nothing ſo much as that this might really happen; and therefore they wrote a ſhort and peremptory letter, directing him, in caſe of any application of that kind, to do nothing without their orders (*s*). The King, on the 29th of May, quitted Oxford in the duſk of the evening, marched all night between the two armies, and got ſafe

(*b*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 262.

(*i*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 291.

(*k*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(*l*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 292.

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 73. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 263.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 295. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 74.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 653.

(*p*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 21, 24.

(*q*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 396.

(*r*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 270. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 397.

(*s*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 89. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 396.

(32) Memorials, p. 69.

(33) In his remarks on William Lilly's life of King Charles the Firſt.

(34) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 342.

Whitlocke (32), it is believed he might have done his buſineſs; but the King was prevailed upon by the Lord Culpepper to undertake the ſiege of Glouceſter, which, by an obſtinate reſiſtance, ruined his army to ſuch a degree as he could never retrieve. Sir Edward Walker, who had the beſt opportunity of knowing the King's real intentions (33) in ſuch points, affirms, that he was afraid ever to comply with that advice, from an apprehenſion that there would be no reſtraining the licence of the ſoldiers, and that by concluding the war in this manner, he ſhould totally deſtroy his capital. But without determining any thing as to the King's motive, certain it is that he loſt his opportunity. As to the Earl of Eſſex, the zeal he ſhewed for the good of the nation, and the authority he had by being at the head of the army, gave many of the Lords courage to ſpeak their minds freely, and to ſhew their diſtaſte to violent meaſures; but finding they loſt ground in Parliament by the exorbitant ſtretches of power which the Houſe of Commons aſſumed to themſelves, and which the Republicans had with great addreſs tranſferred to a Committee, where they had a conſtant majority, the Lords propoſed to the Earl of Eſſex their retiring, with their friends in the Houſe of Commons, to him and the army for protection, which they judged muſt ſoon have brought thoſe who remained at Weſtminſter to a compliance (34). The Earl thought this might prove a blemiſh to his honour, upon which the Lords, not thinking themſelves ſafe any longer where they were, withdrew into the King's quarters. Thus this opportunity was loſt of doing all that the Earl took up arms to do, while his and the King's antagoniſts, by conſidering nothing as juſt or unjuſt, but as it contributed to or claſhed with their views, brought their projects to bear, and the kingdom into confuſion.

(t) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 407.

(u) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 672. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 397.

(w) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 272, 273.

(x) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 98. Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. 691, 692, 693.

(y) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 102, 103. Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 699—711.

(z) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 409.

(a) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 105.

ſafe out of their reach (*t*). Upon this the Earl of Eſſex ſent Waller orders to follow him, as having a lighter body of troops; about this he made ſome ſcruples, but the Earl inſiſting upon his orders, Waller, at length, obeyed, but complained to the Parliament, who wrote in very quick terms to the Lord-General, who ſubſcribed his anſwer, *Your innocent, though ſuſpected, ſervant* (*u*). He then marched into Dorſetſhire, where he took Weymouth, and relieved Lyme, while the King, in the mean time, with great addreſs, gave Waller the ſlip, and returned to Oxford on the twenty-firſt of June; where, in a ſhort time, he aſſembled an army of ten thouſand men, and, gaining ſome advantage over Waller, followed the Earl of Eſſex into the Weſt, where all the forces he then had were (*w*). By the perſwaſion of Lord Roberts, who believed he had a great intereſt in Cornwall, Eſſex was engaged to march thither, where, by degrees, the King drove him to the ſea, and ſhut him up in ſuch a manner, that he could neither tell how to fight, or find any thing for his ſoldiers to eat. In this ſituation the King wrote him a very kind letter, with propoſals for a treaty, which he rejected, as he had done a propoſal of the ſame ſort from the King's officers, aſſigning, as his reaſon, that he had no authority (*x*). In theſe deſperate circumſtances his horſe, under the command of Sir William Balfour, broke through, or rather ſlipped by, the King's army, and, on the firſt of September, the Earl of Eſſex, with a few of the officers he moſt eſteemed, embarked at Foy, and eſcaped to Plymouth, leaving his foot under Major-General Skippon, who ſubmitted to be diſarmed, gave up their artillery and ammunition, and were conducted through the King's quarters into thoſe of the Parliament (*y*). The Earl himſelf quickly embarked on board a man of war, and returned to London, where he was received with all outward marks of reſpect and eſteem (*z*); which gave him, however, but very little ſatisfaction [*L*]. In the month of October, the armies under the Earl of Mancheſter and Sir William Waller having joined, the Earl of Eſſex went down again, to put himſelf at the head of that army which was intended to attack the King in his return from the Weſt to Oxford (*a*). Great preparations were made for that purpoſe, and great expectations there was at London of the event; but, before this could be accompliſhed, the Earl of Eſſex fell ſick; upon which a committee of Lords and Commons were appointed to viſit him, and to expreſs the affection of both Houſes to him; but, if we may judge from what Whitlocke has

[*L*] *But very little ſatisfaction.*] We have very full accounts of the ſtate and ceremony with which the Lord General was received by the Parliament, who were extreamly well pleaſed with his ſending them the letters written him by the King's officers, and by his Majeſty himſelf, on the ſubject of peace. Perhaps ſome amongſt them were the more ceremonious, as thinking they had him now in their power, and that, underſtanding as they did the art of raiſing money, and obliging the people to pay for a rod to ſcourge themſelves, he might at length be laid aſide like an old ſtaff now they found their ſtrength increaſe, though at their firſt ſetting out they were not able to move without leaning upon him. As for the Earl, he was very ſenſible of their former treatment, concerning which a Noble writer gives us a free and full detail, which cannot but prove ſatisfactory to the reader. Having mentioned the Earl's detaching Sir William Waller after the King, while he marched weſtward himſelf, contrary to the route that had been laid down for him, he proceeds thus (35): 'Accordingly he gave that account to the 'Parliament and Committee of the two kingdoms, 'with his deſire of their directions. They were ſo 'mad to ſee themſelves defeated of their plot, that 'they would not, for many days, return him any an'ſwer at all; his diſobedience was blown up and trum'peted about by them and their agents: ſome of 'whom did not ſtick to ſay, It were better my Lord 'of Eſſex and his whole army were loſt and ruined, 'than the Parliament not obeyed, and that by their 'conſents, he nor his army ſhould be looked after or 'cared for more: a maxim they have forgotten now, 'in the caſe of Sir Thomas Fairfax and his army's not 'diſobedience, but open rebellion, but they were as 'good as their words then, and did moſt maliciouſly, 'wilfully, and treacherouſly, (as to the Parliament's 'cauſe, which they ſeemed to be zealous in) ſuffer 'General and army to be loſt, and the whole weſt left 'farther out of the Parliament's reach, than at any time 'before. Sir Arthur Haſlerigg poſted up to London, 'breathing out nothing but ruin and deſtruction to the 'Earl of Eſſex, ſpoke it out in the hearing of ſeveral 'perſons, that he would ruin him or be ruined him'ſelf. His malice and violence was ſo great at the 'Committee of the two kingdoms, where he and his 'party were prevalent, that a report was thence 'brought down to the Houſe of Commons, by which 'Sir William Waller was taken off from from follow'ing the King, and by that means the King was left 'at liberty to bend his whole force for the Weſt, af'ter my Lord of Eſſex, which he preſently did. At 'laſt they left my Lord of Eſſex at liberty to proceed 'in that weſtern expedition, but with a reſolution to 'let him periſh. He takes in Weymouth, and ſome 'other towns, goes on as far as Cornwall, whither 'the King's forces follow him at the heels, cut off all 'proviſion from him, preſs upon him exceedingly, 'and put him to very great ſtreights. He engaged in 'a country encloſed with deep ditches and ſtrong 'fences, that he could neither break through nor 'march away, but ſends letter upon letter, meſſenger 'upon meſſenger, to the Parliament, repreſenting his 'condition, and how eaſy it was, with a ſmall force 'ſent upon the back of the King's army, if but only a 'good party of horſe, to ſtop their proviſions and turn 'the tables, ſtreighten them, and free him, than 'which certainly nothing had been more eaſy, and 'would have ſaved the kingdom a maſs of treaſure, 'and thouſands of good mens lives, which the con'tinuance of the war, after that time, did coſt. But 'our maſters did not deſire then to ſee the war at an 'end, they had not the ſword in thoſe hands they 'would have it, for to break the King's forces, well 'knowing they muſt then have had a peace, and ſuch 'a peace as had carried with it an eſtabliſhment of the 'King's government, a keeping up the Nobility and 'Gentry; all things muſt have returned into their 'proper channel, and the ſecurity of the Parliament 'and kingdom being provided for, the law of the land 'muſt have taken place, their arbitrary empire been 'at an end, and their deſign wholly defeated. There'fore my Lord of Eſſex muſt not be relieved, but ſa'crificed to their ambition; the King's army muſt be 'yet preſerved, to give them a colour to new model 'theirs, and put the power into the baſe hands of 'their creatures, which ſhould keep the kingdom in a 'perpetual bondage; and though they ended the war 'with the King, yet never made peace, but conti'nued to grind the faces, and break the backs of the 'people, with taxes and free quarter, to maintain an 'army when no enemy was left; in a word, they go'vern by the ſword, the height of all miſery and ſla'very any land can undergo.'

(35) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 23, 24, 25, 26.

has written upon this ſubject, there was ſomething more in the matter, and they were inſtructed to make him a compliment of another kind (*b*) [*M*]. However that might be, certain it is, that, when the Parliament army ſurrounded the King's, who was much inferior in ſtrength, in the town of Newberry, and attacked him on the 27th of the month laſt mentioned, the Earl of Eſſex was not in that action, which the Parliament called a victory, but the King made a good retreat, put his artillery into Dunnington-Caſtle, and, about a week after, having recruited his forces, marched thither, and brought off his train. After this engagement the Earl of Eſſex gave orders for ſlighting Newberry, with which the Parliament was much offended (*c*). On his return to London he found things in great confuſion, and, which was not a little extraordinary, his two rivals, the Earl of Mancheſter and Sir William Waller, as much diſſatisfied as himſelf, and, in point of truſt and confidence, exactly in the ſame ſituation that he was (*d*). The Earl, however, was very ſenſible of the hand that principally hurt him, and had formed a reſolution of being too quick for him; in order to this he held a Council at Eſſex-Houſe, at which were preſent the Chancellor of Scotland, and the reſt of the Scots Commiſſioners, Mr Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, and other friends of the Earl, and to which Serjeant Maynard and Mr Whitlocke were invited (*e*). The point there debated was, the attacking Lieutenant-General Cromwell in Parliament, as an incendiary; which was very fully and clearly opened by the Lord Chancellor Loudon, and the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who were preſent, were very hearty in the deſign, and thought it might be executed with all the ſucceſs that could be deſired (*f*). But the two Lawyers, though they pretended to be no friends to Cromwell, threw cold water upon the project, and repreſented it in ſuch a light, as intimidated the Scots Commiſſioners, and ſo the matter ended at leaſt there; but Whitlocke owns, that the conſultation came to the knowledge of Cromwell, who treated Maynard and himſelf the better for it, and, no doubt, hated the Earl of Eſſex for it ſo much the more (*g*). The Self-denying Ordinance, by which all the Members in both Houſes were to be deprived of their commands, was, by this time, brought into Parliament; and though it made a ſlow paſſage through the Houſe of Lords, yet it was at laſt carried, Sir Thomas Fairfax fixed upon to be the new General, and the clauſe for the ſecurity of the King's perſon left out of his commiſſion; which was a plain indication of what was to follow, and of the true deſign of new modelling the army (*h*). On the 2d of April 1645, the Earl of Eſſex ſurrendered his commiſſion, but not without ſome viſible marks of diſcontent (*i*). It was then thought proper to reduce a part of the troops that had ſerved under him, and that too without paying them; to which ſome of the horſe quartered in Hertfordſhire were not willing to ſubmit, and the friends of the new model propoſed, as the ſhorteſt method, to cut them to pieces. Mr St John alſo wrote a letter to the Committee of Hertfordſhire, to excite the people to fall upon them; but theſe extremities were prevented by the Earl of Eſſex interpoſing, and prevailing upon them to acquieſce (*k*). In the beginning of December, the ſame year, the Parliament voted, that the Earl of Eſſex ſhould be made a Duke (*l*), as they had formerly voted him ten thouſand pounds a year; but he had no benefit by theſe votes, nor was there any great care taken for the payment of his arrears. It is generally allowed, that, after he laid down his command, he began to have different apprehenſions of things, and to have been very deſirous of preventing thoſe miſeries that he plainly ſaw were coming upon theſe nations; his intereſt and credit were to the laſt very great, and ſome have thought, if he had lived longer, he would have endeavoured to have exerted them for the publick ſervice (*m*) But, being ſeized with a ſudden and violent illneſs, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, he died greatly lamented, at Eſſex-Houſe in the Strand, September 14th, 1646 (*n*). The Parliament directed a publick funeral for him, which was performed, with great ſolemnity, on the 22d of October following, in the Abbey-Church of St Peter, Weſtminſter (*o*), when Mr Richard Vines preached his funeral ſermon to a very great audience, compoſed of perſons of very great diſtinction; and the number would certainly have been much larger, if the Parliament had not made an order, that neither his brother the Marquis of Hertford, nor any who had borne arms for the King, ſhould be preſent at that ceremony (*p*). Such was the end of this Great Man, in whom the title of Eſſex became extinct, and whoſe virtues deſerved, that his memory

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 720. Memorials, p. 108.

(*c*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 281. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 132.

(*d*) Holles Memoirs, p. 18, 19, 20.

(*e*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 116.

(*f*) Holles Memoirs, p. 30, 31. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 117.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Holles Memoirs, p. 34. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 139.

(*i*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 15.

(*k*) Holles Memoirs, p. 32.

(*l*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 182.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 133.

(*n*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 498.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 329.

(*p*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 225.

[*M*] *A complement of another kind.*] Whoever conſiders the paſſage cited in the former note, will very eaſily diſcern what temper the dominant party were in with reſpect to the Earl of Eſſex. He had ſtill indeed the title of General, and they were not deſirous he ſhould have any more, this was the return they made him whoſe reputation had firſt raiſed them an army; that was a work which he only could do, but they were now entering upon works which they very well knew he neither could nor would do. This meſſage to him therefore had an outward form of civility (36), but withal an inward mixture of reproach, the former ſerved to amuſe the people who had a high reverence for the General, the latter was to prevent his obſtructing their deſigns. Whitlocke gives this cautious, and yet very intelligible account, of that Janus-faced complement, for it is obſervable that theſe three Earls of Eſſex were made unhappy by their virtues, flattered out of their reaſon, and exalted to the higheſt honours by thoſe who meant to make their fall the greater. But let us hear Whitlocke (37): 'The Houſes being 'informed that the Lord General was not well, and 'ſtayed behind the army, they ſent a Committee of 'the Lords and Commons to viſit him, and to expreſs 'the affections of both Houſes to him. This was not, 'as was given out, a piece of courtſhip, but I think 'real, and there was cauſe enough that it ſhould be 'ſo, the General having ſo highly deſerved from 'them. Yet there were ſome had deſigns againſt him, 'and were deſirous to remove him from his command, 'becauſe

(36) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 720.

(37) Memorials, p. 108.

memory ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity with greater care and attention than had been hitherto paid to it, and which we have endeavoured to accompliſh.

' becauſe they were jealous that he was too much inclined to peace, and favouring of the King and his party. I think I knew as much of his mind as others did, and always obſerved him to wiſh for peace, yet not upon any diſhonourable or unjuſt terms; he was a lover of Monarchy and Nobility, which he ſuſpected ſome deſigned to deſtroy, together with Gentry, Miniſtry, and Magiſtracy, which humour began then to boil up; but he reſolved to ſupport them, and wanted not advice to that end. But the jealouſies upon him who was a moſt faithful and gallant man, and ſervant to the publick, gave him great trouble in his thoughts, and they did work ſo high with his enemies, that ſome gave out he was by private intimation to forbear engaging in this ſervice, and for certain he was not in it.' E

D'EWES (Sir SYMONDS), Knight and Baronet, an accurate Hiſtorian, a judicious Critick, an eminent Antiquary, an inquiſitive ſearcher into many different branches of Science, and a communicative friend, as well as generous Patron of learned men (*a*). He was deſcended from a very antient family in the Low-Countries, his anceſtors retiring hither very early (*b*), and acquiring a very conſiderable ſettlement in the county of Suffolk; by which he was born to a large paternal eſtate, and was well allied in that county, as may be proved from indubitable authorities [*A*]. He was the ſon of Paul D'Ewes, Eſq; by his wife Cecily, daughter and ſole heireſs of Richard Symonds, of Coxden in the county of Dorſet (*c*). He drew his earlieſt breath, as himſelf informs us, at the ſeat of his grandfather before-mentioned, December 18th, 1602 (*d*); and, having acquired the firſt tincture of letters in his father's houſe, the pregnancy of his parts became ſo apparent, that, in the ſixteenth year of his age, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, and entered a Fellow-Commoner there, of St John's College, under the tuition of the famous Dr Richard Holdſworth, July the 9th, 1618 (*e*). It does not appear either how long he remained there, or whether he took any degree; but this is very certain, that, in return for the great acquiſitions he made in that celebrated ſeat of the Muſes, he preſerved a filial reverence for the place, and expreſſed ſo warm a concern for it's reputation, as ſeems to have expoſed him to the reſentment of ſome peeviſh writers, who cannot bear that any notions ſhould be queſtioned, and much leſs contradicted, which they have once embraced, or in favour of which they have thought fit to declare (*f*). His inclinations to collect the beſt materials, for the forming a correct and compleat Hiſtory of Great Britain, ſhewed themſelves very early, ſince he aſſures us himſelf, that he began to put this deſign in execution when he was not above eighteen years of age (*g*). He was no leſs ſtudious in preſerving the hiſtory of his own times, ſetting down carefully the beſt accounts that he was able to obtain of every memorable tranſaction at the time it happened (*b*); an inſtance or two of which, and thoſe very curious in their kind, the reader will find in the notes [*B*]. This laudable diſpoſition, in ſo young a man, recommended him to the

(*a*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698. Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, P. iii. p. 75.

(*b*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p 478.

(*c*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 653.

(*d*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes written by himſelf, MS. in the Harleian Library, fol. 1. *a*.

(*e*) From the information of the late Rev. and learned Mr Baker. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors in Greſham College, p. 57.

(*f*) See Hearne's *Sprotti Chronica*, p. 240. Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 154.

(*g*) See this date fixed in note [*D*].

(*b*) But he ſeems to have corrected and enlarged thoſe accounts afterwards.

[*A*] *As may be proved from indubitable authorities*] In the pariſh church of St Michael Baſſiſhaw, there was, in one of the windows, a beautiful repreſentation of a man in compleat armour, and his wife's pourtraiture on the other ſide, which, by the inſcription, appeared to have been in memory of Adrian D'Ewes, a lineal deſcendant from the very antient and noble family of Des Ewes, Lords of the diſtrict of Keſſell in the duchy of Gueldres, who retired hither upon the breaking out of wars in that country (1). He died of the ſweating ſickneſs in the month of July 1551, having lived under the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. He married Alice Ravenſcroft, by whom he left iſſue, as appears from his will (2), four ſons, Gerard, James, Peter, and Andrew. His eldeſt ſon, Gerard D'Ewes, lies buried in the iſle of Upminſter church in Eſſex, having been Lord of the manour of Gains, *alias* Upminſter; he died April 12, 1591, leaving by his wife, Grace Hinde, a ſon, Paul Dewes, Eſq; and a daughter Alice, who married William Lathom, Eſq; who repurchaſed this manor of Gains, *alias* Upminſter, which he had ſold to his father-in-law (3).

(1) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 478.

(2) In Regiſtro Curiæ Dom. Archidiaconi Lond. Lib. IV. fol. 34. *a*. & *b*.

(3) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 652.

[*B*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] In order to juſtify what has been aſſerted in the text, it will be ſufficient to produce two paſſages from our author's work, one of which ſhall be his deſcription of the great favourite Buckingham, when he was riſing in his fortunes; and the other, his ſuccinct detail of Prince Charles's voyage to Spain. As to the firſt, having deſcribed the tilting in the preſence of the French Embaſſador, brother to the great favourite of Lewis XIII, the Conſtable Luynes, on Monday January 8, 1620-21, in the Tilt-Yard over-againſt Whitehall, he proceeds thus (4): ' After this moſt of the tilters, except the ' Prince, went up to the French Lords in a large ' upper room of the houſe, ſtanding at the lower end ' of the Tilt-Yard, and I crowding in after them, ' and ſeeing the Marquis of Buckingham diſcourſing ' with two or three French Monſieurs, I joined to ' them, and moſt earneſtly viewed him for about half ' an hour's ſpace at the leaſt, which I had opportu' nity the more eaſily to accompliſh, becauſe he ſtood ' all that time bareheaded. I ſaw every ' thing in him full of delicacy and handſome features, ' yea his hand and face ſeemed the more accompliſhed, ' becauſe the French Monſieurs that had inveſted him ' were very ſwarthy hard favoured men. That he was ' afterwards an inſtrument of much miſchief both at ' home and abroad, is ſo evident upon record as no ' man can deny, yet this I do ſuppoſe proceeded ra' ther from ſome jeſuited incendiaries about him, than ' from his own nature, which his very countenance pro' miſed to be affable and gentle.' The ſecond paſſage is this (5):

(4) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fo. 53. *b*.

(5) Ibid. fo. 67. *a*.

' February 1622-23, there happened on Monday ' the 17th day of this month, ſo ſtrange an accident ' as future ages will ſcarce believe it, for Charles ' Prince of Wales began his journey from London into ' Spain on Monday the 17th day of February, with ' the beloved Marquis of Buckingham, Sir Francis ' Cottington, and Mr Endymion Porter, only in his ' company, who, beſides the King himſelf, were the ' only men acquainted with the Prince's reſolution. ' Their going was ſo ſecretly carried, as none I be' lieve knew of it in England till they were landed in ' France. Through which kingdom they paſſed by ' poſt-horſe into Spain. The journey was thought ſo ' dangerous, being above eleven hundred Engliſh ' miles by land, beſides the croſſing the ſeas between ' Dover and Calais, as all men were generally enſadded ' at the adventure, often wiſhing it had been better ' adviſed upon, although all knew the Spaniards durſt ' do the Prince no harm, ſo long as his royal ſiſter ' and her illuſtrious offspring ſurvived. Soon after

' followed

the eſteem and acquaintance of perſons of the firſt rank in the Republick of Letters, and amongſt theſe to the celebrated Sir Robert Cotton, who introduced him likewiſe to the famous Mr Selden (*i*); which circumſtances we learn from himſelf, together with the opinion he entertained of theſe great men, which the reader will not probably think unworthy of his notice [*C*]. In the year 1626 he married Anne, daughter to Sir William Clopton, of Eſſex, who, though very young, was an exquiſite beauty, and, though his paſſion ſeems to have increaſed for her, after ſhe became his wife, to a degree of extravagance (*k*), yet it did not hinder him from proſecuting his ſtudies with equal vigour and diligence; inſomuch that, when he was little more than thirty years of age, he had, with infinite care and labour, finiſhed that large and accurate work (*l*); which contributes not a little to explain the moſt important tranſactions of one of the moſt glorious reigns in our Hiſtory, but will likewiſe ſerve to tranſmit his own name and memory with luſtre to poſterity [*D*]. In 1639 we find him High-Sheriff of the county of Suffolk (*m*), having been

(*i*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fol. 75. *b*. Fuller's Worthies, Suſſex, p. 711.

(*k*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fol. 91 *b*, 94 *b*, 97 *a*, 106 *a b*, 108 *a*.

(*l*) He tells us ſo himſelf in his preface.

(*m*) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 74.

'followed the Lord Hayes, Earl of Carliſle, and 'paſſed into France, to excuſe to that King the 'Prince's ſudden and ſecret paſſing through his king-'dom without giving him a viſit. All men now took 'it for granted, that the Prince's marriage with the 'Infanta Maria, the King of Spain's ſiſter, was con-'cluded on, and that he went over only to conſummate 'it, no man imagining that he would take up ſuch a 'reſolution upon uncertainties, eſpecially occaſioning 'ſo vaſt an unneceſſary expence, at a time when the 'King's wants preſſed him much. But God, whoſe 'decree binds Princes as well as peaſants, had other-'wiſe diſpoſed, ſo as our royal ſuitor arriving at Ma-'drid in Spain on Friday the $\frac{7}{17}$th of March, about 'three weeks after his departure from London, and 'taking ſhip for his return into England on the $\frac{8}{18}$th 'of September then next enſuing, ſtayed in Spain a-'bout ſeven months, in all which time he ſeldom ſaw 'or ſpake with the Spaniſh Princeſs, nor could ever 'receive a fair and ſincere denial from her brother, 'although her marriage had been abſolutely diſpoſed 'of by her father's laſt Will and Teſtament, he be-'queathing her to Ferdinand, ſon and heir of Fer-'dinand II, the Emperor of Germany, who after-'wards did accordingly eſpouſe her.'

[*C*] *Unworthy of his notice*] Before we give the reader this paſſage, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that our author's journal was entirely made for his own private uſe and advantage, and ſeems to have been written purely for the ſecuring ſuch of his own thoughts as he was deſirous to review, and for preſerving ſuch informations as he received upon his enquiries (6); and as he had not any intention, or perhaps the leaſt foreſight, that theſe notices of his might be made publick, ſo nothing contained in them ought to be conſidered as any way derogatory from the reputation of thoſe of whom he ſpeaks. We will now proceed to the remarks made by our author. 'On Tueſday Septem-'ber 28, 1624, going, as I frequently uſed, to viſit 'Sir Robert Cotton, England's prime Antiquary, I 'there met Mr John Selden of the Inner Temple, a 'man of deep knowledge, and almoſt incomparable 'learning, as his many publiſhed works do ſufficiently 'witneſs, with whom Sir Robert, our joint-friend, 'brought me acquainted, and we held ever after a good 'outward correſpondence, but both of them being 'more learned than pious, I never ſought after, or ever 'attained, unto any great entireneſs with them, yet 'I had much more familiarity with Sir Robert Cotton 'than with Mr Selden, being a man exceedingly puft 'up with the apprehenſion of his own abilities.'

(6) This appears plainly from ſeveral of the author's reflections upon the facts ſet down in his life.

We ought likewiſe to conſider, that in thoſe induſtrious times, it was the cuſtom, amongſt ſuch eminent perſons as had an opportunity of attaining extenſive intelligence, to commit almoſt every thing to writing; thus the learned and judicious Earl of Clarendon wrote his own life (7) at large, out of which he drew a great part of his materials for his excellent Hiſtory. Mr Whitlocke, in like manner, digeſted what occurred to him moſt worthy of notice into that large work of his, which has been ſince publiſhed; and as different men have different ſentiments, ſo it may not be amiſs to quote here a paſſage of his relating to Mr Selden (8).

(7) See the advertiſement prefixed to his Hiſt. of the Rebellion, in one Vol. in fol. Oxon. 1732.

(8) Whitlocke's Memorals, p. 71.

'Divers members of both Houſes, whereof I was 'one, were members of the Aſſembly of Divines, and 'had the ſame liberty with the Divines, to ſit and de-'bate, and give their votes in any matter which was 'in conſideration amongſt them. In which debates 'Mr Selden ſpake admirably, and confuted divers of 'them in their own learning. And ſometimes when 'they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their aſſer-'tion, he would tell them, Perhaps in your little pocket 'Bibles with gilt leaves (which they would often pull 'out and read) the tranſlation may be thus, but the 'Greek, or the Hebrew, ſignifies thus and thus; and 'ſo would totally ſilence them.'

[*D*] *With luſtre to poſterity.*] The title of this book runs thus: *The* Journals *of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *both of the* Houſe *of* Lords *and* Houſe *of* Commons, *collected by Sir* Symonds D'Ewes, *of* Stow-Hall *in the County of* Suffolk, Knight *and* Baronet. *Reviſed and publiſhed by* Paul Bowes, *of the Middle-Temple*, London, *Eſq*; Lond. 1682, fol.

It muſt certainly be allowed, that as this was a very great and uſeful, ſo it was alſo a very painful and laborious undertaking, ſuch a one as few men would have ventured upon, and ſtill fewer would have accompliſhed, with that ſkill and accuracy which appears in this performance, the benefits derived from which might well have reſtrained ſome ſplenetick perſons from ſpeaking ſo ſlightly as they do of the author's abilities (9). That account which he has given us of his motives to this undertaking, and the manner in which it is executed is very large and ſatisfactory, and a few paragraphs from thence will ſhew us what ſort of a work this is, and what ſort of a man he was who compiled it. Theſe are his words,

(9) Thom. Hearne in præfat. Lib. Nig. Scaccarii, p. x.

'Becauſe I know the original Journal Books of 'either Houſe to be more judiciouſly obſerved, and 'more to be eſteemed, than the collections of any pri-'vate men, therefore I have diſtinguiſhed, by ſome 'annotation or animadverſion, what is taken out of 'them, or what out of any other material whatſoever. 'Nor are thoſe animadverſions of mine own at any 'time added, without ſome neceſſary motive, or upon 'ſome good ground. Very copious indeed they are 'in the two firſt Journals of the Upper Houſe, and 'Houſe of Commons, in *ann.* 1 *Regin. Eliz.* becauſe 'all matters of form were to be once for all diſcuſſed. 'In all the other Journals they are more ſuccinct and 'infrequent.

'I confeſs it coſt me many days, beſides other ex-'pences, to bring theſe enſuing volumes to that per-'fection in which I now enjoy them. In which, be-'ſides the abundance of the knowledge in this kind 'eſpecially gained by it, which Sir Edward Coke, 'Knt. a learned writer of this age, calls *Lex Parlia-'mentaria*, I have, as I much deſired, done ſome 'honour to the memory of that glorious Queen, Eng-'land's royal Elizabeth, in that I have collected in one 'body the ſum of the agitations of all her Parliaments, 'or at leaſt ſo much of them as could poſſibly be 'gotten, being a work not only ſingular, in reſpect 'that I am the ſole enjoyer of it, but alſo becauſe I 'reſt confident, that never any other man attempted 'it, much leſs brought it to perfection. Which I the 'rather believe, becauſe, when I was one day diſ-'courſing with Sir Robert Cotton, the Prime Anti-'quary of this our age, not long before his deceaſe, 'touching the two aforeſaid volumes he had of the 'Journals of this Queen's reign, that I wondered he 'would treaſure up in his library ſuch fragmentary and 'imperfect ſtuff, he made me no other anſwer but 'that he was compelled to ſtore up them, becauſe he 'knew not how to come by any better; and cer-'tainly, if this work, which I have now by God's 'providence finiſhed, had been performed by any 'other,

been ſome time before knighted. The ſame year, having occaſion to write to Archbiſhop Uſher, he mentioned that Hiſtory of Great Britain, in making collections for which he had already ſpent upwards of twenty, and, in the writing it, thirteen years; and was ſo unfortunate as to let fall a hint, that this Hiſtory might, poſſibly, furniſh emendations in almoſt every page of Camden's *Britannia* (*n*); which letter of his coming to light, among other epiſtles to that learned Prelate, has drawn upon him the heavieſt cenſures, as if he had been prompted to this expreſſion from a mixture of vanity and envy, without any competent capacity (*o*); in which, perhaps, there is as much wrong done to him, as he is ſuppoſed to have done to Camden [*E*]. In the Long Parliament, which was ſummoned to meet November the 3d, 1640, he was elected to ſerve as a Burgeſs for the town of Sudbury in Suffolk (*p*), and, on the 2d of January following, he made occaſionally a ſpeech in Parliament, in ſupport of the antiquity of that Univerſity in which he was bred (*q*), which has expoſed him to very ſevere uſage from Anthony Wood (*r*), Thomas Hearne (*s*), and ſome other writers (*t*); but with how much reaſon or foundation muſt be left to the judgment of the reader [*F*]. July 15th, 1641, he was, by the favour of

(*n*) Uſher's Letters, p. 496.

(*o*) Vita Guliel. Camdeni a Thom. Smitho, 4to. 1691. p. xlv.

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. iii. P. 8.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies in Suffolk, p. 75.

(*r*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. i. p. 30. Though, as it ſtands in the Latin, the language is much more civil and reſpectful than in the other cenſures of this Gentleman's performance.

(*s*) Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 240.

(*t*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 154.

'other, it could not have been hid from him, who 'was a very ſedulous gatherer, as of other rarities, ſo 'eſpecially of parliamentary paſſages, for about the 'ſpace of forty years before his death.

'Touching the rarities and treaſures of knowledge 'contained in theſe enſuing volumes, to omit many 'things, thus much it ſhall not be amiſs to premiſe, 'that there may not only hence be gathered whatſo-'ever almoſt concerns the privileges, cuſtoms, and 'uſages of either Houſe, but hiſtorical matter alſo 'touching the Church and State, and in the whole 'frame may be frequently ſeen the admirable wiſdom 'of her Majeſty, and this her great Council, in the 'happy quenching of ſuch emergent differences as a-'roſe, and in their timely proviſion againſt the am-'bitious Spaniard, the reſtleſs and irreconcileable ene-'my of her Majeſty's religion, perſon, and realms.

'In all Parliaments, and ſeſſions of Parliaments, the 'Journals of the Houſe of Commons, do, for the moſt 'part, much excel thoſe of the Upper Houſe, in va-'riety and abundance of obſervable matter, and in 'their copious and orderly relating each day's 'paſſage.

'I ſhall not need further to enlarge myſelf, but 'here to ſhut up this preſent diſcourſe, this inſtant 'Friday the 3d day of February, *Anno Dom.* 1631, 'that though through God's Providence I have fi-'niſhed theſe volumes, which are intended chiefly for 'my own private uſe and my poſterity's; yet I have 'already entered upon other and greater labours, con-'ceiving myſelf not to be born for myſelf alone, ac-'cording to that old ſaying, *Melius mori, quam ſibi 'vivere* (10).'

(10) This ſentence occurs more than once in his other writings.

The greateſt men may miſtake in their conjectures, and this appears to have been the caſe of our author, in reſpect to his being the only perſon that ever thought of a work of this nature, for we find that it was not only thought of by another perſon, but in part executed, and it was the publication of this that brought the more ample collection of Sir Symonds D'ewes to ſee the light. A certain Prelate, who, upon other occaſions, ſhews himſelf no great admirer of our author, has however done him all the juſtice imaginable with reſpect to this (11). His words are theſe: 'Heyward Townſhend, an eminent Member of the 'Houſe of Commons, preſerved the debates in Parlia-'ment of her laſt fourteen years, which long after 'the author's death were publiſhed under the title of '*Hiſtorical Collections*, &c. But this, as vaſt an 'undertaking as it ſeems to be, is only a part of that 'more comprehenſive one of Sir Symmonds D'Ewes, 'whoſe Journal of both Houſes, during her whole 'reign, was ſoon after given us in print.' This was a noble ſpecimen of his ſteadineſs and diligence in perfecting what he had once undertaken, and may ſerve to convince us, that he proſecuted with ſpirit his reſolution of comparing the Hiſtory of Great Britain with the records, which, as he himſelf aſſures us, he formed in the month of April 1620.

(11) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 86.

[*E*] *As he is ſuppoſed to have done to Camden.*] We find the charge againſt this Gentleman very mildly and modeſtly ſtated by Biſhop Gibſon in his life of Camden, prefixed to the Engliſh tranſlation of his *Britannia*. Theſe are his words (12): 'In the year '1607 he put the laſt hand to his *Britannia*, which 'gained him the titles of the Varro, Strabo, and Pau-'ſanias of Britain, in the writings and letters of other 'learned men. Nor did it ever after meet with any 'enemies that I know of, only Sir Simon D'Ewes en-'couraged us to hope for animadverſions upon the 'work, after he had obſerved to a very great man, 'that there was not a page in it without a fault. But 'it was only threatening, and neither the world was 'the better, nor Mr Camden's reputation e'er the 'worſe for it.' This is a very ſoft tranſlation of a very harſh paragraph in Dr Smith's Life of the ſame author, in which he aſſures us (13), that this work was univerſally approved by all proper judges, one only, Sir Simon D'Ewes, excepted, who moved, ſays he, by I know not what ſpirit of envy, gave out that there was ſcarce a page, *&c.* In this track we find Biſhop Nicholſon in his account of the *Britannia*, where he ſays (14), 'Some early attempts were made 'by an envious perſon, one Brook or Brookmouth, to 'blaſt the deſervedly great reputation of this book, 'but they periſhed and came to nothing, as did like-'wiſe the terrible threats given out by Sir Symmonds 'D'Ewes, that he would diſcover errors in every page.' Let us now conſider the grounds upon which theſe great men have gone in prejudice to the memory of a perſon, who for any thing that appears, had nothing of that bad ſpirit which is here imputed to him. He was ambitious of holding a correſpondence with Archbiſhop Uſher, to whom, in a long Latin letter, he gives an account of himſelf (15), of the pains he had taken in collecting a great library of the choiceſt pieces that regarded the Engliſh Hiſtory, and adds farther, that he had ſpent thirteen years in his labours to compile an accurate Engliſh Hiſtory, to which he ſays he was principally moved, by obſerving the many miſtakes of the common writers, *and indeed*, ſays he, *what can be expected from them, conſidering that even in the ſo much admired* Britannia *of* Camden *himſelf, there is not a page, at leaſt hardly a page, without errors.* The reader will conſider that this was a private letter, written to a Prelate, whoſe ſtation in the learned world was not at all inferior to that which he held in the Church. One would have imagined, from what theſe writers have ſaid, that this Gentleman had publiſhed his ſentiments of the *Britannia* to all the world, with a view to leſſen Camden's work, and exalt the merit of his own; whereas the fact, as the reader ſees, is quite otherwiſe. Beſides, amongſt the letters printed by Dr Smith, there is one from Sir John Savile to Camden (16), in which there is ſuch a number of corrections as may ſerve to render what our author has advanced not altogether incredible. There is without doubt a great reſpect due to the memory of learned men, but then this ought to be joined with a juſt regard for learning and truth, which qualification being admitted, Sir Symonds D'ewes will not appear either ſo vain or ſo envious a perſon as they would make him.

(12) Camden's Britannia, folio, the ſecond edition, London, without any year.

(13) Vita Camdeni, p. xlv.

(14) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 4.

(15) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 496.

(16) Camdeni Epiſtolæ, p. 36.

[*F*] *Muſt be left to the judgment of the reader.*] It is to be obſerved, that this ſpeech of Sir Symonds D'ewes was occaſional, and involuntary; a bill for four ſubſidies, towards the relief of the King's army in the northern counties, had been twice read in the Houſe of Commons, and the Committee who drew the bill, having placed Cambridge before Oxford, an occaſion was ſought to tranſpoſe thoſe names, when the bill came to be debated in a grand Committee of the

'whole

of his Sovereign, created a Baronet (*u*). But, upon the breaking out of the Civil War, he adhered to the Parliament; and we find his name in the liſt of thoſe Members who took the Solemn League and Covenant, purſuant to an order of the Houſe of Commons February 3d, 1643 (*w*). This did not hinder his having a ſincere veneration for the conſtitution of his country, and a loyal affection to the perſon of his Prince; ſo that when things came to extremities, and it was found neceſſary to purge the Parliament, by turning out of it all who were of ſuch old-faſhioned principles, and, for this purpoſe, a guard of ſoldiers was ſent thither, December 6th, 1648 (*x*). Sir Symonds D'Ewes was amongſt the number (*y*). Thoſe that were left in the Houſe indeed, ſent to the commanding officer to reclaim him, and the reſt of the Members in his condition; but to no purpoſe, for he was never allowed to enter thoſe doors again ſo long as he lived. When it was thus put out of his power to render any farther ſervice to the publick, he gave himſelf up entirely to the proſecution of thoſe ſtudies which had been always the principal delight he enjoyed, in the innocent occupations of a private life. He digeſted into order the vaſt collections he had made, in reference to the antiquities of this kingdom in general, and ſeveral adjacent counties in particular; ſome volumes of which are yet preſerved, and remain inconteſtible evidences of his wonderful diligence, and excellent diſpoſition (*z*). He collated

(*u*) See Sir Wm. Dugdale's Catalogue.

(*w*) See that liſt publiſhed by order of the Parliament in that year, 4to.

(*x*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1353.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192, 193.

(*z*) Theſe, or at leaſt a part of them, are in the library belonging to the College of Arms.

whole Houſe, which was on Saturday January 2, 1640, and then our author ſtood up to prevent the putting of a queſtion, and ſpoke as follows (17):

(17) See the title in note [*G*].

'I ſtand up to perſuade, if it may be, the declining 'of the preſent queſtion, and the further diſpute of 'this buſineſs. Yeſterday we had a long debate a'bout the putting out of a word, and now we are 'fallen upon the diſpute of putting one word before 'another. I account it no honour to *Cambridge* that 'it got the precedence by voices at the former Com'mittee, nor will it be any glory to *Oxford* to gain it 'by voices here, where we all know the multitude of 'borough towns of the weſtern parts of England do 'ſend ſo many worthy members hither, that if we 'meaſure things by number and not by weight, Cam'bridge is ſure to loſe it. I would therefore propound 'a more noble way and means for the deciſion of the 'preſent controverſy than by queſtion, in which, if 'the univerſity of Oxford, which for mine own part I 'do highly reſpect and honour, ſhall obtain the prize, 'it will be far more glory to it than to carry it by 'multitude of voices, which indeed can be none at all. 'Let us therefore diſpute it by reaſon, and not make 'an idol of either place, and if I ſhall be ſo convinced, 'I ſhall readily change my vote, wiſhing we may find 'the ſame ingenuity in the Oxford men.

'There are two principal reſpects, beſides others, 'in which theſe famous univerſities may claim pre'cedence each of other.

'Firſt, in reſpect of their being, as they were, places 'of note in the elder ages.

'Secondly, as they were antient nurſeries and ſeed 'plots of learning.

'If I do not therefore prove, that Cambridge was 'a renowned city at leaſt five hundred years before 'there was a houſe of Oxford ſtanding, and whilſt 'brute beaſts fed, or corn was ſown, on that place 'where the ſame city is now ſeated; and that Cam'bridge was a nurſery of learning before Oxford was 'known to have a grammar-ſchool in it, I will yield 'up the bucklers. If I ſhould loſe time to reckon up 'the vain allegations produced for the antiquity of '*Oxford* by *Twine*, and of *Cambridge* by *Caius*, I 'ſhould but repeat *Deliria ſenum*, for I account the 'moſt of that they have publiſhed in print to be no 'better. But I find my authority without exception 'that in the antient catalogue of the cities of *Britain*, '*Cambridge* is the *ninth* in number, where *London* it'ſelf is but the *eleventh*; and who would have thought 'that ever *Oxford* ſhould have contended for prece'dence with *Cambridge*, which *London* gave it above 'twelve hundred years ſince? This I find in *Gildas* '*Albanius* his Britiſh ſtory, who died about the year '520, being the antienteſt domeſtick monument we 'have, page 60. And in a Saxon anonymous ſtory 'written in Latin touching the Britons and Saxons, 'page 39, who ſaith of himſelf, that he lived in the 'days of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, in the tenth 'year of his reign, and that he knew him well, which 'falls out to be near upon the year 620. And, laſtly, 'I find the catalogue of the ſaid *Britiſh* cities, with 'ſome little variation, to be ſet down in *Nennius* his 'Latin ſtory of *Britain*, page 38, and he wrote the 'ſame, as he ſays of himſelf, in the year 880. They 'all call it *Cair grant*, the word *Cair*, in the old '*Celtique* tongue, ſignifying a city.

'Theſe three ſtories are exotick and rare monu'ments remaining, yet only in antient manuſcripts a'mongſt us, not known to many, but the authority of 'them is irrefragable and without exception. The 'beſt and moſt antient copies that I have ſeen of '*Gildas Albanius* and *Nennius*, remain in the univer'ſity library of *Cambridge*, being thoſe I have vouched, 'and the *Saxon* anonymous in a library here near us. 'This *Cair-grant* is not only expounded by *Alfred* of '*Beverly* to ſignify *Cambridge*, but alſo by *William de* '*Ramſay* Abbot of *Croyland*, in his manuſcript ſtory 'of the life of *Guthlacus*, ignorantly in thoſe elder 'days reputed a ſaint. The ſaid William goes further, 'and ſays, it was ſo called *à Granta flumine*. This 'place remained ſtill a city of fame and repute a long 'time under the reign of the Engliſh Saxons, and is 'called in divers of the old manuſcript Saxon An'nals Grantecæſtren. And notwithſtanding the great 'devaſtations it ſuffered, with other places, by reaſon 'of the Daniſh incurſions, yet in the firſt tome or 'volume of the book of *Domeſdei* (for now I come to 'cite record) it appears to have been a place of con'ſiderable moment, having in it *decem Cuſtodias*, and 'a caſtle of great ſtrength and extent, and ſo I have 'done with Cambridge as a renowned place.

'And now I come to ſpeak to it as it hath been 'a nurſery of learning, nor will I begin higher with it 'than the time of the learned Saxon Monarch King '*Alfred*, becauſe I ſuppoſe that no man will queſtion 'or gainſay, but that there are ſufficient teſtimonies of 'certain perſons that did together in Cambridge ſtudy 'the arts and ſciences much about the time. And it 'grew to be a place ſo famous for learning about the 'time of William the Firſt, the Norman, that he ſent 'his younger ſon *Henry* thither to be there inſtructed, 'who himſelf being afterwards King of England by 'the name of Henry the Firſt, was alſo ſirnamed '*Beauclerk*, in reſpect of his great and invulgar know'ledge. If I ſhould undertake to alledge and vouch 'the records and other monuments of good authority, 'which aſſert and prove the increaſe and flouriſhing 'eſtate of this univerſity in the ſucceeding ages, I 'ſhould ſpend more time than our great and weighty 'occaſions at this preſent will permit, it ſhall there'fore ſuffice to have added, that the moſt antient and 'firſt endowed college of England was *Valence* college 'in *Cambridge*, which, after the foundation thereof, 'as appears by one of our Parliament Rolls remaining 'upon record in the Tower of London, received the 'new name or appellation of *Pembroke Hall*. It is in '*Rotu. Parliam. de ann.* 38 *H.* VI. *Numb.* 31. It 'appearing therefore ſo evidently, by all that I have 'ſaid, that *Cambridge* is in all reſpects the elder ſiſter, 'which I ſpeak not to derogate from *Oxford*. My 'humble advice is, that we lay aſide the preſent que'ſtion, as well to avoid diviſion amongſt ourſelves, as 'to entomb all further emulation between the two 'ſiſters, and that we ſuffer the preſent bill to paſs as it 'is now penned, and the rather becauſe I think *Ox'ford* had the precedence in the laſt bill of this nature 'that paſſed this houſe.'

[*G*] *Appeared*

collated and transcribed several ancient records and monuments of past times, such as the BLACK BOOK of the EXCHEQUER (*a*), which he had some thoughts of publishing. He made a noble collection of Roman coins, of which, as he was a very good judge himself, in respect to their value, so he spared no expence that appeared necessary for accomplishing the ends (*b*) he proposed, in making that collection. He was a great patron of learned men, and very free in his communications, as appears from the acknowledgments made by the industrious Mr Weever, who received great helps (*c*) from him in carrying on his large and useful work. That he was not, as some have represented him, a vain man, may appear from hence, that scarce any thing of his writing appeared in his life-time [*G*]. He was rather desirous of being useful to the literary world in another way, that is, in the way of a collector of scarce, curious, and valuable pieces, more especially such as regarded the history, antiquities, and records of this nation; to which studies, when he had once addicted himself, he was, in a great measure, weaned from that general and indeterminate pursuit of knowledge, with the desire of which he had been before possessed (*d*). It was the deep sense he had of the great advantages that might arise to his country, from the application of a man of learning and fortune to things of this nature, his just conception of the deficiencies in most of the histories published in and before his time, and the great examples he had before his eyes of the learned Camden, the beneficent Sir Robert Cotton, and the judicious Mr Selden, that inspired him with a strong inclination of composing, or, at least, amassing the materials for those great works, that, we have his own authority to prove, were the principal objects of his care for many years, and which, it is highly probable, he carried to some degree of perfection (*e*) [*H*]. This disposition of his procured him very great respect and esteem from the ablest and wisest persons of his times, such as the learned Spelman, the famous Selden, and many others (*f*); but later writers, either for want of better knowing this gentleman's real character, or for some other reasons, have not treated his memory with that decency (*g*) that might have been expected; and, therefore, the reader will not be displeased to find, in the notes, a very short and modest vindication of our author and his writings from their censures [*I*]. He

(*a*) A transcript of this, with his learned notes, is in the Harleian collection.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 75.

(*c*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698.

(*d*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fo. 47. *a*.

(*e*) Archbishop Usher's Letters, p. 496. See likewise his preface to his Journals of the Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth.

(*f*) See his letter to Archbishop Usher before-cited, the Archbishop's Answer, and other letters to Sir Symonds in that collection.

(*g*) See this matter explained in note [*I*].

[*G*] *Appeared in his life-time.*] The only piece of his which is known to deserve that title, is that the reader has seen in the foregoing note, which was printed under the following title:

A Speech *delivered in* Parliament *by Sir* Symonds D'Ewes, *touching the Antiquity of* Cambridge. Lond. 1642, 4*to*.

In those days, when there were some people living who were thought to know as much of our antient History and records as most folks, and but for whom certainly we had known but little of them, this speech was held so far from being idle or ridiculous, that it gave this gentleman a great reputation. We may be very well satisfied of this, since the following tract, which is commonly ascribed to John Selden, Esq; was suspected, by such as pretended to have great insight into matters of that kind, to have fallen from the pen of our learned author, and the point is left undecided by a great Critick in such learning (18).

A Brief Discourse concerning the Power of Peers and Commons in Parliament, in point of Judicature. Lond. 1640, 4*to*.

(18) Bishop Nicholson in his Historical Library, P. i. p. 195.

If this was really of his writing, it is a very strong proof that he was not covetous of applause, since he neither owned it publickly, nor gave any private intimation to his friends that might secure his title. On the other hand, if the supposing it to be his arises purely from conjecture, it must give us a very high opinion of his credit in those days, since the very raising a doubt whether this belonged to him or to Selden, does the highest honour to his character as an Antiquary.

[*H*] *To some degree of perfection.*] The reader will perceive, by what has been already quoted from his Preface to the Journals of Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that as he was far from inclining to hide them from the publick, so, on the other hand, he had no intention to acquire fame to himself in his life-time by the publication of them. His disposition was the very same with regard to his other great undertakings; he was conscious to himself of the uncertainty whether he might finish all or any of them, but this did not hinder him from beginning them, as appears from his own words, which will best express his meaning (19).

(19) At the close of his preface to his Journals of the Parliaments in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

'The chief of the works beforementioned, and by 'me intended for the publick good, are these en-'suing:

'A General History of Great Britain, from the first 'Inhabitants to the present Times, to be drawn espe-'cially out of Record, and other abstruse and exotick 'Monuments, for the reformation of all the Chro-'nicles or Histories of this kind yet extant, which will 'require several volumes.

'The Survey of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cam-'bridgeshire, out of Records or Original Deeds.

'The Antiquity of the Municipal or Common Laws 'of the Realm before the Norman Conquest, out of 'Record also for the greatest part, or other invulgar 'materials. For which I have a desire also, if my 'time will suffice for collection, to add a second part 'out of the Itinerant and Plea Books, chiefly remain-'ing in the Treasury at Westminster.

'These I have proposed to myself to labour in, be-'sides divers other smaller works, as well Theological 'as Moral, like him that shoots at the sun, not in 'hopes to reach it, but to shoot as high as possibly his 'strength, art, or skill will permit. So though I 'know it impossible to finish all these during my short 'and incertain life, having already entered into the 'thirtieth year of my age, and having many unavoid-'able employments and cares of an estate and family, 'yet if I can but finish a little in each kind, it may 'hereafter stir up some able judgments to add an end 'to the whole, in the same way and search I shall have 'waded in before them. In the mean time I shall al-'ways pray, as I do sincerely desire, that by all my 'endeavours GOD may be glorified, the *truth* divine 'or human vindicated, and the *publick* benefited.

'*Sic mihi contingat vivere, sicque mori.*

SIMONDS D'EWES.

[*I*] *And his writings from their censures.*] It cannot but be esteemed an action right in itself, grateful with respect to the dead, and useful to the Republick of Letters, when care is taken to revive the memory of worthy men, and to rescue them from misrepresentations, which is worse than oblivion. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, having been bred under Dr Richard Holdsworth of St John's in Cambridge, who was a man of moderate principles, though steadily attached to the Constitution in Church and State; came into the world with sentiments that did not much recommend him to Archbishop Laud, and other warm Divines. But for all this he was sincerely religious, and though his affection to liberty induced him to stay with the Parliament, where we find, by several fine speeches (20), that he was a great master in those parts of learning most useful to a Senator, yet he was far from inclining either to Anarchy or a Commonwealth. He very

(20) See these speeches at large in the first volume of Rushworth's Collections.

He deceaſed April 18th, 1650, in the forty-eighth year of his age (*b*), and was ſucceeded in his eſtate and titles by his ſon Willoughby D'Ewes, to whom Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Journals of the Parliaments of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when publiſhed, were dedicated, by his couſin, and Sir Symonds's nephew, Paul Bowes, Eſq; of the Middle-Temple, who was himſelf a Gentleman of great worth and learning.

(b) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. Lib. xiv. p. 23.

very well knew, that the former muſt make way for tyranny of ſome ſort or other, and the latter altogether incompatible with the laws of England, and with the temper and intereſts of the nation. It is to be hoped therefore, that the Reverend Mr Fuller was not afraid of giving offence, when he drew up his notes concerning this worthy perſon, which are not only deſtitute of any remarkable facts, and without method, but without dates alſo, one only excepted, and that falſe (21). He might, without doubt, have been better informed, if he had taken any degree of pains, and therefore his omiſſions in this reſpect are the leſs excuſable. Doctor Smith, a very learned and good man, to whoſe care we owe the beſt memoirs of ſome of the greateſt men that have flouriſhed in this kingdom, was unluckily prejudiced againſt the memory of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, on account of his preſuming to think Camden not infallible (22), and what he has wrote upon this ſubject being tranſcribed by Mr Bayle, foreigners can have no other idea of this Gentleman than as he has painted him, a man envious of the merit of others, and having very little of his own (23). Yet it is very certain D'Ewes had the greateſt honour for Camden, whom he mentions very reſpectfully, though he tells us in his Preface to his Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, that they will enable his reader to correct many things in the Annals written by this great man of that reign, but he gives due praiſes to his performance, and it was his eſteem for his memory, though he did not carry that ſo far as to be in love with his miſtakes, betrayed him into the expreſſion, for which he has been cenſured. Biſhop Nicholſon, in his dry way, ſnears at Sir Symonds D'Ewes more than once (24), and hints, that though he promiſed much he had performed little, which is the more extraordinary, when in his Preface he very plainly points out where the vaſt collections made by this painful Antiquary are to be found (25). We need however wonder the leſs at this, when at the ſame time he ſpeaks ſo harſhly of John Leland, *the bulkieſt promiſes of ſuch noted writers commonly prove the moſt abortive*, and the reaſon he gives for it is, *deſpair of anſwering the world's raiſed expectations, very much contributing to their miſcarriage* (26). This remark provoked the laborious Mr Hearne to remark upon him in his turn, *yet the moſt abortive pieces of Leland*, ſays he, *are far better, and much more correct, than the moſt compleat performances of ſome writers* (27). Notwithſtanding which obſervation, the very ſame Thomas Hearne has dealt moſt unkindly by our author. After he had undertaken to publiſh the Black Book of the Exchequer, he was generouſly ſupplied by the late Edward Earl of Oxford, with the copy of that valuable piece made by our famous Antiquary, bearing this title, *Liber niger parvus MS. Scaccarii ex parte rememoratoris Regis, integre tranſcriptus & cum Autographo accurate comparatus à meipſo Simonds D'Ewes.* It was by the help of this communication Mr Hearne was enabled to add a great many curious and inſtructive notes from the margin of our author's book. Yet in his Preface he has expreſſed his gratitude in the following character (28): 'The 'reader will not wonder at his leaving this work un-'publiſhed, contrary, as I believe, to his original in-'tention, when he ſhall underſtand that D'Ewes, tho' 'a man diligent and learned, was nevertheleſs vain 'and empty towards his ſacred Majeſty; like Selden, 'an enemy and adverſary, and one, who many things '(amongſt the reſt an Engliſh Hiſtory, for the writing 'of which, in my judgment, he was very little fit) 'having promiſed, compleated only a very few.' This is but one paſſage out of many in which he depreciates this Gentleman's character, which ſurely is a little hard, conſidering he would have had no opportunity of doing ſo, had he not availed himſelf of his labours. It has been already ſhewn, that this reproach, with reſpect to his political principles, was not very well founded, and perhaps Mr Hearne would have dealt with him more ſoftly, if he had known that in the latter part of his life he was wont to obſerve, not by way of compliment to the Long Parliament, *That they alone had paſſed more laws than all the Parliaments put together that had ſat before them* (29). But whatever his principles might be with reſpect to Church or State, and whether theſe were allied to, or remote from, thoſe of the induſtrious Mr Hearne, juſtice was certainly due to his writings, with which he ought to have been better acquainted before he pronounced ſo poſitively, that though he promiſed much he performed but little. Whoever conſiders that his promiſes and performances were equal ſecrets to the publick, till his private letters were printed, and his vaſt collections fallen into other hands, will be very probably of another opinion, and think that the character afforded him by a Reverend Hiſtorian, who was never ſuſpected of being a friend to the memories of men, who in their life-times ſhewed themſelves enemies to our Conſtitution in Church or State, is much more agreeable to truth, and to the real merits of the perſon concerned (30): 'We ſhall 'next, ſays he, mention Sir Simonds D'Ewes, a 'Gentleman educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, 'celebrated for a moſt curious Antiquary, highly e-'ſteemed by the great Selden, and particularly re-'markable for his Journals of all the Parliaments in 'Queen Elizabeth's reign, and for his admirable ma-'nuſcript library, he left behind him, now in the hands 'of one of the greateſt genius's (31) in the age.' E

(21) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 75.

(22) See what is ſaid before in note [*E*].

(23) See the article of CAMDEN (Wm.) in Bayle's Dictionary.

(24) Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 4, 19, 23.

(25) See both that to the Engliſh and alſo that to the Iriſh Hiſtorical Library.

(26) Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 153.

(27) Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 238.

(28) In Præfat. Lib. Nig. Scac. p. x.

(29) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 75.

(30) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 686.

(31) The late Earl of Oxford.

DICKINSON or DICKENSON (Edmund) a celebrated Phyſician and Chemiſt in the reigns of Charles and James II. His family were originally of Ritington in Lancaſhire, but his father, the Reverend Mr William Dickinſon, ſettled in Berkſhire, where he was Rector of Appleton. He married Mary, the daughter of Edmund Colepeper, Eſq; of Halingborne in Kent, by whom he had this ſon, who was born September the 26th, 1624, at Appleton in the county of Berks (*a*). He received the firſt rudiments of learning and languages at the famous College of Eaton, whence, in 1642, he came to Oxford, and was admitted of Merton-College as one of the Eaton Poſt-maſters (*b*). June the 22d, 1647, he became Bachelor of Arts, and was admitted Probationer-Fellow of his College (*c*). On November 27th, 1649, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and was entered on the Phyſick line (*d*). July 3d, 1656 (*e*), he was admitted to his Bachelor's degree in that faculty, wherein he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as well as in other branches of curious and uſeful knowledge, and, on July 17th, 1656, took the degree of doctor (*f*). The firſt thing which made him known in the learned world, was an oration ſpoken by him in the Hall of Merton-College, July 10th, 1653, in defence of *Freedom* in *Philoſophizing*, which was highly and juſtly admired (*g*). In 1655 he publiſhed, at Oxford, his *Delphi Phœnicizantes*, i. e. *Delphos derived from the Phœnicians*; of which moſt learned piece it is hard to ſay, whether it gained the author more

(a) MS. Memoirs communicated to the author of this article.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(c) MS. Memoirs and Wood. Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 59.

(d) MS. Memoirs and Wood, ubi ſup. col. 70.

(e) Ibid. col. 111.

(f) MS. Memoirs

(g) Vide Cten. Faſcicul. Differt. Hiſt. &c. Vol. I. p. 195. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

friends at home, or reputation abroad [*A*]. Dr Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had ſo juſt a ſenſe of the value of that work, and the worth of him who penned it, that he would gladly have perſuaded him to have applied himſelf to Divinity, and to have taken orders; but our author was fixed in his choice (*b*). The Warden and Fellows of Merton-College, in deference to his extraordinary merit, conferred on him the place of Superior Reader of Linacre's Lectures, which he held for ſome years (*i*). He then applied himſelf to Chemiſtry with much aſſiduity; and about this time it was that he received the firſt viſit from an illuſtrious French adept, who commended our author's ſkill and diligence, and encouraged him to proceed in his ſtudies (*k*). At length leaving the College, that he might practiſe his profeſſion more conveniently, he took a houſe in the High-ſtreet of Oxford, where he dwelt many years (*l*). In 1669 he married his firſt wife, Mrs Elizabeth Luddington, of an antient family, ſeated at Carleton-Scroop in Lincolnſhire; by this Lady he had his only daughter (*m*). The mother dying in child-bed, was interred in St Peter's Church at Oxford, where a monument is erected to her memory (*n*). He wedded ſome time after Helena, the daughter of * * * * Mole, Eſq; of Ayleſbury in the county of Bucks, who dying in a ſhort time, he continued ever after a widower (*o*). On the death of the famous Dr Thomas Willis, which happened in 1684 (*p*), our author was prevailed on to remove to London, and there he took Dr Willis's houſe in St Martin's-Lane, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs many years (*q*). Having been ſo happy as to reſtore to health, after all hopes of recovery were loſt, Henry [Bennet] Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain to Charles II. that Nobleman, in gratitude, introduced him to the King, who, in 1684, appointed him one of his Phyſicians in Ordinary, and Phyſician to his Houſhold (*r*). As that Prince was a great lover of Chemiſtry, and a conſiderable proficient therein (*s*), Dr Dickenſon grew into great favour, and was honoured with much of his Majeſty's converſation in the royal elaboratory, which was under the King's bed-chamber, and to which he had a private ſtair-caſe from thence (*t*). His favour laſted as long as the life of his Royal Maſter; and his brother and ſucceſſor King James the Second continued him in both his places (*u*). In 1686 our author publiſhed in Latin his Epiſtle to Theodore Mundanus, the illuſtrious French adept before-mentioned, as alſo his Anſwer, tranſlated from the French into Latin. This is one of the moſt curious, as it is abſolutely the moſt rational, piece that ever appeared on Hermetick Philoſophy, and is ſtill highly eſteemed [*B*]. Some ſmall time after the abdication of his unfortunate Maſter,

(*b*) MS. Memoir.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(*k*) MS. Memoir. Wood, ubi ſupra, vide etiam Epiſt. Theod. Mundan. Edm. Dickinſon, p. 146.

(*l*) MS. Memoir.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) MS. Memoir.

(*p*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 158.

(*q*) MS. Memoir.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(*s*) See the Duke of Buckinghamſhire's character of K. Charles II. Memoirs of eminent perſons deceaſed in 1712, p. 305.

(*t*) MS. Memoir.

(*u*) Ibid. Vide etiam Titul. Epiſtol. ad Mundan. de Quinteſſentia Philoſophorum. Oxon. 1686. 8vo.

[*A*] *Friends at home, or reputation abroad.*] The title of this book at large runs thus: *Delphi Phœnicizantes, ſive Tractatus in quo Græcos, quicquid apud Delphos celebre erat (ſeu Pythonis aut Apollinis Hiſtoriam, ſeu pœanica certamina & premia, ſeu priſcam templi formam atque inſcriptionem, ſeu Tripodem, Oraculum, ſpectes) è Joſuæ, &c. Hiſtoria Scriptiſque ſacris effinxiſſe, rationibus haud inconcinnis oſtenditur. Et quamplurima quæ Philologiæ ſtudioſis apprimè jucunda futura ſunt, aliter ac vulgo ſolent, enarrantur.* The ſcope of this tract was to prove, that the Greeks borrowed the ſtory of the Pythian Apollo, and all that rendered the oracle at Delphos famous, from the Holy Scriptures, and the book of Joſhua in particular. In treating this very obſcure ſubject, he ſhews a wonderful ſkill in the Hebrew, Arabick, and Greek tongues, a perfect knowledge of Antiquity, and a moſt penetrating judgment. The quickneſs of his thoughts, the probability of his conjectures, and his profound erudition, deſerve the higheſt applauſe. The judicious Carpſou mentions him with much reſpect as a very uſeful Commentator on Joſhua: to ſay the truth, there are abundance of ſtrokes in this piece which throw light on the darkeſt paſſages in Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory, which is the reaſon this Diſſertation gave ſuch high ſatisfaction to the learned world (1). To this treatiſe were added, I. *Diatriba de Noæ in Italiam Adventu; ejuſque nominibus Ethnicis.* i. e. *A Diſſertation on the coming of* Noah *into* Italy, *and of the names under which he was known to the Heathens.* In which are alſo a multitude of curious obſervations, as well Philological and Mythological, as Hiſtorical. Struvius (2), the learned German, who has written ſo uſefully on literary Hiſtory, takes notice of it, and ſome modern writers have borrowed from it without naming it at all. II *De Origine Druidum* i. e. *Of the Riſe of the Druids.* This treatiſe, in relation to the eldeſt of our Britiſh Philoſophers, is very conciſe, but diſcovers the author's great knowledge in our Antiquities, and is particularly mentioned by Stollius (3), and the author honoured with the title of a moſt learned Antiquary by Reimannus (4). III. *Oratiuncula pro Philoſophia liberanda.* This is the oration mentioned in the text, as the firſt of our author's performances. Mr Wood (5) tells us, that this was ſpoken, when, according to the ſtatutes of his houſe (Merton-college) he varied from the mind of Ariſtotle, and ſo it is marked in the end of the oration. IV. *Zach. Bogan, Edmundo Dickenſon.* This letter does our author as much honour as any of his own works, it is filled with citations from the moſt antient authors in ſupport of his opinions, and the higheſt commendations of his learning, induſtry, and judgment. The *Delphi Phœnicizantes* came out originally at Oxford in 1655, in 12*mo*, with a Dedication to Dr John Goddard of the College of Phyſicians, London, and Warden of Merton-college at Oxford. It was printed at Franckfort in 1669, 8*vo* (6), of which edition Wood never heard; and at Rotterdam in 1691. By Crenius in the firſt Tome of his *Faſciculus Diſſertationum Hiſtorico-critico-philologicarum*, in 12*mo*, and not in 8*vo*, as Wood ſays, which is an indication he had not ſeen it. He adds, *This book is much valued by foreigners, and they ſpeak very honourably of it and it's author* (7). This muſt be underſtood of the foreigners Wood had converſed with (which were not a few) at Oxford. We have ſhewn the ſame thing from their writings; indeed what wonder, conſidering our author was ſcarce thirty when he wrote this moſt learned tract?

(1) Carpſov. Introd. libr. can. Vol. I. p. 166.—Vol. II. p. 485. Fabricii Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 29, 420. Reimman. Idea Syſtem Antiq. Literar p. 439. Spizel. de re literaria Sinenſium, p. 49.

(2) Biblioth. Hiſt. p. 665.

(3) Introd. in Hiſt. Liter. p. 434.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946. Cren. Faſciculus Diſſ. Vol. I. p. 203.

(6) Corn. a Beughem Biblioth. Chronol. p. 79. Crenius in Præf. Faſciculi Diſſert. Tom. I. Rot. 1691.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

[*B*] *And is ſtill highly eſteemed.*] In order to give the reader a juſt idea of this moſt curious treatiſe, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that Theodore Mundanus viſited our author Dickenſon firſt at Oxford, a little after the Reſtoration, perhaps in 1662 (8). He found him then a deep admirer of ſublime Chemiſtry, and exhorted him to purſue his ſtudies with ſuch aſſurances, as had probably great effect upon his mind, becauſe we find by his letter he had read Lully, Ripley, Philalethes, &c. and had actually employed much time in endeavouring to reach their ſenſe. In 1679 (9), Theodore Mundanus paid him a viſit at London, and renewed his acquaintance. It may from circumſtances in the Doctor's epiſtle be gathered, that he was by this time not a little cooled in his inclinations towards Chemiſtry, at leaſt towards Alchemy. And therefore to give him ſpirits to addreſs himſelf again to ſuch enquiries, Mundanus made two projections in his preſence (10). This is ſo ſtrange a fact, that to leave the Engliſh reader without ſcruple about it, we ſhall tranſcribe the words of Theod. Mundanus, writing to Dr Dickenſon (11), who cauſed

(8) De Quinteſſ. Philoſoph. p. 146.

(9) Ibid.

(10) MS. Memoir.

(11) De Quinteſſ. Philoſoph. p. 149.

Maſter, Dr Dickenſon retired from practice, being in years, and very much afflicted with the ſtone; he continued nevertheleſs to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, and, as he was a Gentleman of great candour, and very communicative, ſo, at his houſe in St Martin's-Lane, there were frequent aſſemblies of the Learned, who were willing to improve theſe valuable qualities in Dr Dickenſon to their own advantage (*w*). He had long meditated a ſyſtem of Philoſophy, not founded on his own conjectures, or the experiments of other men, but chiefly from the lights afforded by the Moſaick Hiſtory, compared with the theories of the Antients. Part of this laborious work, when he had brought it into order, was unfortunately burnt. The Doctor, however, was not diſcouraged; he ſet about the ſame taſk again, and, at length, finiſhed and committed it to the preſs. It appeared in 1702, under the title of *Phyſica Vetus & Vera* (*x*). The ſame genius, the ſame learning, the ſame exquiſite judgment, and, above all, the ſame modeſt zeal for truth, and the ſame pious concern for Revealed Religion, were viſible in this, that had rendered his firſt treatiſe ſo much admired. All who had a taſte for Oriental Learning, and the Corpuſcularian Syſtem, which, in thoſe days, were not a few, highly applauded Dr Dickenſon's book, and with ſuch it ſtill is, and ever will be, in great credit [*C*]. The reſt of his days he ſpent in the improvement of his mind, and in converſing with his friends, who, through the whole courſe of his life, were the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom, either for parts or preferment, for their intrinſick merit, or elevation in dignity; ſuch as Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who loved and underſtood Chemiſtry, Dr Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, Archbiſhop Sheldon, and the worthy Archbiſhop Tenniſon, *&c* (*y*). He yielded to fate, through a ſevere fit of the ſtone, on the third of April 1707, being then in the eighty-third year of his age, and was interred in the Church of St Martin's in the Fields (*z*). He left behind him a character every way worthy of eſteem, as well as that (ſo juſtly acquired by his labours in his profeſſion, and his curious writings) of being one of the moſt knowing and ſucceſsful Phyſicians of his time; which, if we recollect he was contemporary with Willis, Sydenham, Lower, *&c.* we ſhall the better comprehend it's extent (*a*). Beſides the pieces before-mentioned, he is ſuppoſed to have been the author of *Parabola Philoſophica, ſeu Iter Philareti ad Montem Mercurii* (*b*), i. e. *A Philoſophical Parable, or a Journey to the Mount of Mercury, by* PHILARETES; no way inferior to any thing he owned. If this tract be truly his, as there ſeems no cauſe to aſſign it any other author (*c*), then it may ſerve as a full anſwer to one of Anthony Wood's remarks in his uſual petulant ſtile, and indeed worthy of no other author (*d*) [*D*]. The reader

(*w*) MS. Memoir.

(*x*) Lond. 1702. 4to.

(*y*) MS. Memoir. See alſo the dedications prefixed to *Delphi Phœnicizantes*, and *Phyſica vetus & vera*.

(*z*) MS. Memoir.

(*a*) See theſe articles in this Dictionary.

(*b*) DeQuinteſſentia Philoſophorum, p. 212.

(*c*) This is farther explained in note [*D*].

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

cauſed them to be printed. 'That therefore I might, 'by an irrefragable argument, teſtify how high and 'how honourable an opinion I had conceived of you, 'as alſo that I might eſtabliſh your confidence in the 'principles of our Philoſophy, and encourage you in your 'enquiries, I made two projections in your preſence. 'Neither know I any thing which ought to induce you 'to ſcruple the truth of what I affirm to you, that 'though it is now forty years ſince I was *Philoſophus* '*Adeptus*, i. e. an adept, or one perfect in the Alche-'miſtical ſcience, yet, yourſelf excepted, there are not 'three perſons, to whom, in that ſpace, I have made 'known myſelf or my art.' But to ſtrengthen the thing ſtill farther, hear what Dr Dickenſon himſelf (12) ſays to Theodore Mundanus (12). *I heretofore thought of the tranſmutation of metals, juſt as we think of the ſtrange accounts we hear of wonderful facts done, or odd cuſtoms which prevail, in regions at a vaſt diſtance. So ſhould I have ever thought, as till then indeed I did think, when two years ago you had the goodneſs, by an illuſtrious demonſtration, to take from me all power of doubting any longer.* It is now time to come to the book, which bore this title, *Epiſtola* Edmundi Dickinſon, M. D. & M. R. *ad* Theod. Mundanum, *Philoſophum Adeptum, de Quinteſſentia Philoſophorum & de vera Phyſiologia. Una cum Quæſtionibus Aliquot de ſecreta Materia Phyſica. His Accedunt Mundani Reſponſia. OXONIÆ, E Theatro Sheldoni, anno* 1686, 8*vo.* i. e. Ed. Dick. *to* Theod. Mund. *an* Adept *of the Quinteſſence of the Philoſophers, and the true Syſtem of Phyſicks. As alſo certain Queries, as to the Materials in Alchemy. To which are annexed the anſwers of* Mundanus. The letter is dated from London, July (13) 31, 1683, and the anſwer of Mundanus from Paris, September 22, 1684. It was not on this account that we called him a French Philoſopher in the text, but becauſe, when Dr Dickenſon wrote in Latin, he choſe to anſwer in French. From this language his epiſtle was tranſlated by H. B (13), whom I ſuppoſe to have been their common friend Dr Becket. The book was reprinted at Rotterdam 1699, 8*vo* (14). And there is a large account of it (as it well deſerved) in the Literary Journal mentioned in the margin (15). One thing is very remarkable, that this curious piece eſcaped Profeſſor Boerhaave, who would otherwiſe have mentioned it in his ſo much eſteemed *Elementa Chemiæ*.

(12) Ibid. p. 4.

(13) Ibid. p. 145.

(14) Corn. a Beughem. Bibliogr. Eruditorum curioſa. Amſterd. 1701. 12mo. p. 85.

(15) Ephem. Erudit. Belg. An. Dom. 1699. Menſ. Maj. & ſeq.

[*C*] *In great credit.*] The title of this book runs thus: *D. Edmundi Dickinſoni, M. D. Phyſica Vetus & Vera: ſive Tractatus de naturali veritate hexaëmeri Moſaici. Perquem probatur in hiſtoria Creationis univerſæ methodum atque modum, tum veræ Philoſophiæ principia, ſtrictim atque breviter a Moſe traditur.* Lond. 1702, 4*to.* i. e. *The antient and true Syſtem of Phyſicks, or a Treatiſe concerning the natural truth of the Moſaick Creation, in ſix Days. In which it is proved, that the Method and Mode of the Creation of the univerſe, according to the Principles of True Philoſophy, are ſtrictly and conciſely laid down by Moſes.* It was printed again at Rotterdam 1703, 4*to*, and Leoburg. 1705, 12*mo* (16). This ſhews the ſale it had in thoſe parts of Europe, where ſuch ſyſtems are moſt canvaſſed, and of conſequence their value beſt underſtood. As the author was an old-faſhion'd writer, and not at all inclined to adopt opinions merely for their being plauſible, we need not wonder that ſome admirers of the moderns were but indifferently pleaſed with his performance. Amongſt theſe Stollius (17) hath explained himſelf in the cleareſt terms, though he confeſſes him to have been a man of great learning. But this cenſure of his ariſes from his diſlike of the Atomick ſyſtem, for there are parties among Philoſophers as well as Politicians. Fabricius (18) mentions him and it with reſpect, and ſo does the celebrated Buddeus in many places with due commendations (19). But what ſufficiently demonſtrates the wiſdom, judgment, and penetration of Dr Dickenſon, is, that the famous Leibnitz, and the moſt learned Wolfius, have, in many things, followed his track.

(16) Struv. Bibliotheca. Philoſoph. p. 161.

(17) Introd. in Hiſt. Liter. p. 661, 663.

(18) Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 282.

(19) Iſagog. Vol. I. p. 245. Compend. Hiſt. Philoſoph. p. 300, 301, 391, 496, 497.

[*D*] *Worthy of no other author.*] That we may not be ſuſpected of ſlandering the Oxford Antiquary, let his own words be produced. After mentioning our author's being appointed Superior Reader of Linacre's Lecture in his own college, he goes on (20), *and about that time ſpent much labour and money in the art of Chemiſtry, kept an Operator, and gave out to his acquaintance that he would publiſh a book thereof, but as yet there is nothing of that ſort extant by him.* We muſt underſtand this of Mr Wood's knowledge, which, in his

(20) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

reader is to know, that this ſplenetick perſon, having contracted a diſlike to our author during his reſidence in the Univerſity, could never mention him, on any occaſion, without ſuffering ſomewhat of his bitterneſs to appear, by which, without perceiving it, he deſtroys what he propoſes to effect, inaſmuch as ſhewing his partiality equally abates the credit of his teſtimony as a witneſs, and takes away all pretence for paſſing any cenſure upon him as a judge. Of this more at large in a note [*E*]. Our learned Phyſician left alſo behind him, in manuſcript, a treatiſe in Latin, on the *Grecian Games*, which, without queſtion, was extremely worthy of ſeeing the light, and hath been lately publiſhed (*e*). Before we diſmiſs this article it will be proper to obſerve, that, as our author wrote altogether in Latin, ſo he is among the number of thoſe Britiſh writers better known abroad than in his own country (*f*). To this alſo the ſubjects on which he wrote did, without doubt, contribute not a little, being ſince his death, leſs the objects of young peoples ſtudies, or of the notice of the learned. But, as there ſeems to be a ſpirit of inquiry reviving, and as the Oriental Languages begin to be again conſidered, the bringing this life (hitherto ſhamefully neglected) into a work of this ſort, will certainly be approved; as alſo the large accounts given of his writings in the notes. This we the rather hope, becauſe, though no Engliſh writer is better known by his performances, through the northern parts of Europe, than Dr Dickenſon, yet no foreigner has touched one circumſtance of his life, becauſe (his works being all publiſhed in his life-time) they had no opportunity of acquainting themſelves with his character: a thing carefully provided againſt on their ſide, no writer of ſuch eminence dying in any other country of Europe, but immediate care is taken of his memory; of which, were it in this place proper, numerous inſtances might be produced.

(*e*) Annexed to an account of the life and writings of Edmund Dickinſon, M. D. Lond. 1739. 8vo.

(*f*) As appears by the authorities cited in the notes.

his own opinion, was extenſive, though I much doubt it deceived him here. For if the *Parabola Philoſophica* was our author's, as I am thoroughly perſuaded it was, for reaſons that I ſhall preſently mention, then, without queſtion, it was the very treatiſe Dr Dickenſon mentioned to his friends; but becauſe Anthony à Wood was not of the number, he was peeviſh enough to advance a falſe fact of his own ſhewing (though to be ſure he over-looked it) for our author's letter to Mundanus (22) is mentioned in the ſame place, and therein is a conciſe ſyſtem of chemical principles. The arguments which induce me to believe he wrote the *Parabola Philoſophica* are theſe: 1. The judgment of Mundanus, who tells him he is ſure it is his. 2. The conformity of the ſtile and method. 3. Dr Dickenſon publiſhing Mundanus's letter without diſowning the book.

(21) De Quinteſſ. Philoſoph. p. 212.

[*E*] *At large in a note.*] The point diſcuſſed in the foregoing note, ſufficiently demonſtrates what an inclination the Oxford Antiquary had to ſtrike at Dr Dickenſon, and, as far as in him lay, to leſſen that great reputation which he had raiſed by his ſucceſsful labours in his profeſſion, and his learned writings. But the Doctor being living, it might not be expedient to proceed to greater lengths, at leaſt openly. However, he has ſufficiently vented his ſpleen, without naming the perſon againſt whom his envious ſhafts are directed, and yet ſo plainly pointing him out, as to leave no ſcruple or doubt upon the peruſer's mind who it is he means (22). The ſtory is too long to be inſerted here, and will fall in with greater propriety hereafter, in the mean time it may not be amiſs to obſerve, whence the diſtaſte of Wood aroſe, and indeed it is ſo ſtrange a one from his own account of the matter, which had he not committed to writing the world could never have known, that it is not eaſy to conceive any thing more extravagant (23). Dr Dickenſon was much Mr Wood's ſenior in Merton-college, and, as himſelf ſays, very kind to him when he firſt came thither (24). In proceſs of time, however, Dr Dickenſon being Fellow of his college, of which what little eſtate Wood's family had was held, the money taken for fines on renewing of leaſes, which was paid to Dr Dickenſon as Burſar or Treaſurer, were, in Mr Wood's opinion, very high, and though he does not aſcribe this expreſsly to the Doctor, yet it ſeems to be the true ground of all his miſconſtructions of his conduct. There was a long diſpute in the college between the Fellows and their Warden, Sir Thomas Clayton, in which, though Dr Dickenſon was of the ſame ſide with Mr Wood, yet becauſe they did not ſucceed in their oppoſition, and the college was obliged to pay a very large debt contracted by the Warden, Mr Wood will have it, that Dr Dickenſon was gained by Sir Thomas Clayton's artifices and flattery, of which, except his own ſuſpicion, he offers no kind of evidence whatever (25). Hence however we may judge of his temper and diſpoſition, which ought to render us very cautious in giving an implicit credit to whatever he is pleaſed to ſay of his contemporaries. It muſt indeed be owned, that what he ſays of thoſe gentlemen who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their writings, in another work of his, is, for the moſt part, free from any of theſe objections (26), but then it is very well known that work received many caſtigations from Biſhop Fell, by whoſe care it was tranſlated into Latin and publiſhed, and it is as well known, that Mr Wood complained loudly of this, and was highly diſpleaſed that any thing he had written ſhould be omitted or ſoftened on any account whatever (27). Theſe remarks were in juſtice due to the character of this learned and excellent perſon, and are by no means intended to leſſen that obligation which the publick certainly owes to the indefatigable diligence of the Oxford Antiquary, whoſe labours, notwithſtanding his prejudices and peeviſhneſs, are highly uſeful, and ought therefore to be juſtly valued. X

(22) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 160, 161.

(23) The late Earl of Oxford received, from John Anſtis, Eſq; Mr Wood's DIARY, in his own hand, whence the author drew that life of his printed by Tho. Hearne.

(24) Life of Anthony à Wood, written by himſelf, at the cloſe of Thom. Caii *Vindiciar. Antiquitatis Academiæ* Oxonienſis, p. 472.

(25) Wood's Life, p. 552.

(26) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon. Vol. II.

(27) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 799.

DIGBY (Sir EVERARD) was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family, diſtinguiſhed by the confidence, and honoured with many teſtimonies, of royal favour, by ſeveral of our Monarchs, as well for the eminent abilities of their mind, as for the gallant exploits performed by them in the field (*a*) [*A*]. His father Everard Digby, of Dryſtoke

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 436.

[*A*] *As for the gallant exploits performed by them in the field.*] In order to do juſtice to this family it is requiſite to obſerve, that though the Digbys of Warwickſhire were, and are ſtill, noble, yet the Digbys of the county of Rutland were of the elder houſe, which appears thus: Sir Everard Digby of Tilton in the county of Leiceſter, to take the family no higher, though that might be done from record, was ſlain at Towton field, fighting there on the ſide of Henry VI (1). This Sir Everard, by Jaquetta, daughter of Sir John Ellis, left iſſue ſix ſons, of whom the eldeſt, Sir Everard Digby, was the anceſtor of this family, as Simon Digby, the ſecond ſon, was of the Digbys of Coleſhill in Warwickſhire, now repreſented by the Lord Digby, Baron of Geaſhill in the kingdom of Ireland, from whence, as the reader will ſee in the text, deſcended the Earls of Briſtol (2). This Sir Everard Digby juſt mentioned, married Mary, the daughter

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 436.

(2) See a large account of this family in Dugdale's Warwickſhire.

Dryſtoke in Rutlandſhire, Eſq; was a perſon of great worth and learning, had his education at St John's College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; and, though a man of an independent fortune (*b*), gave very ſignal marks of his inclination to, and his great ſucceſs in, his ſtudies [*B*]. This Gentleman, of whom we are ſpeaking, was born ſome time in the year 1581, educated with great care, but under the tuition of ſome Popiſh Prieſts; for, when he was about eleven years of age, he had the misfortune to loſe his father, who, as he was a man of ſound knowledge, and extenſive capacity, would, very probably, have given him better impreſſions, and have taught him to act rather by the light of his own reaſon, than merely according to the dictates of thoſe, who, by having the care of him in his infancy, had aſſumed a deſpotic empire over his ſpirit. In reſpect to his parts, however, he was very far from being at all deficient, abating his blind zeal for Popery, and his ſervile ſubmiſſion to the Prieſts (*c*). In his perſon he was remarkably handſome, very expert in his exerciſes, extreamly modeſt and affable in his behaviour, ſo that he was juſtly reputed one of the fineſt Gentlemen in England (*d*). He was brought very early to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, where he was much taken notice of, and received ſeveral marks of her Majeſty's favour. On the coming in of King James he went likewiſe to pay his duty, as others of his religion did, was very graciouſly received, and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, being looked upon as a man of a fair fortune, pregnant abilities, and a court-like behaviour (*e*). Theſe accompliſhments, aſſiſted by the influence of the Prieſts, who were perfectly ſatisfied, that, in purſuing his intereſt, they conſulted their own, procured his marriage to Mary, daughter and ſole heireſs of William Mulſho, Eſq; of Gothurſt in Buckinghamſhire, with whom he had a great fortune (*f*); which gave occaſion for his ſettlement of that, and of his own eſtate, upon the children of that marriage (*g*). One would have imagined, that, conſidering his mild temper, and happy ſituation in the world, he might have paſſed his days in honour and peace, without running the ſmalleſt hazard of meeting that dreadful and diſgraceful death, which has introduced his name into all our hiſtories. It happened, however, unfortunately for him, that, having a great acquaintance with Sir Thomas Treſham, a very active and zealous Papiſt, he poſſeſſed his mind with ſuch diſaffection to his Prince, ſuch falſe notions of the ill uſage that thoſe who ſtiled themſelves Catholicks had met with, and ſuch apprehenſions of ſtill greater miſchiefs ready to befal them, that he was ripe to receive any counſels that ſhould be given him, for redreſſing theſe pretended grievances, and preventing thoſe threatned evils, of how dangerous and deſperate a nature ſoever they might be (*h*) [*C*]. His intimate friendſhip with Robert Cateſby, Eſq; proved the means of his being drawn in to act againſt that government, towards which he had ſo long borne the utmoſt diſlike. This Mr Cateſby was a man of determined courage, as well as great parts; he had been, for ſeveral years, very deep in all the plots formed

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(*c*) See the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(*e*) The Earl of Northampton's ſpeech to him at his conviction. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 245.

(*f*) Wright's Hiſt. and Antiquities of Rutlandſhire, p. 114.

(*g*) Coke's Rep. Lib. viii. fo. 165. *b*.

(*h*) This Sir Everard Digby himſelf alledged, in anſwer to the Earl of Northampton's ſpeech.

daughter of Sir John Heydon, by whom he had Kenelm Digby, Eſq; of Dry Stoke, or Stoke Dry, for ſo it is now commonly called, in the county of Rutland, who, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cope, Knt. had Everard Digby, Eſq; who married Mary, daughter and coheireſs of Francis Neal and the Widow of Samſon Erderſwick, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and two daughters, the eldeſt of which ſons was Sir Everard Digby, who is the ſubject of this article (3).

(3) Wright's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Rutland, p. 115.

[*B*] *And his great ſucceſs in his ſtudies.*] This gentleman publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes, ſome of them upon learned, and others on curious ſubjects, and of theſe the following titles may poſſibly gratify the reader's curioſity (4).

(4) Hyde Catalog. impreſſor Libror. Biblioth. Bodleianæ, p. 220.

I. *Theoria Analytica viam ad Monarchiam ſcientiarum demonſtrans.* Lond. 1579, 4*to*.

II. *De Duplici Methodo libri duo, Rami Methodum refutantes.* Lond. 1580, 8*vo*.

III. *De Arte Natandi, libri duo.* Lond. 1587.

IV. *A Diſſwaſive from the taking away the Goods and Livings of the Church, &c.* Lond. 4*to* (5).

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

[*C*] *And deſperate a nature ſoever they might be.*] It is very remarkable, that the far greateſt part of the perſons embarked in this treaſon were Gentlemen of family and fortune; Robert Cateſby, Eſq; was a Gentleman of an antient family, whoſe anceſtor was a Privy-Counſellor and favourite to Richard III. Ambroſe Rookwood, and Francis Treſham, Eſquires, were men of large eſtates, and the latter undertook to advance two thouſand pounds upon this occaſion. Mr Thomas Piercy was related to the Earl of Northumberland, and the King's ſervant; in ſhort, except Robert Keys, who had ſpent his fortune, and Thomas Bates, who was Mr Cateſby's man, they were all perſons in ſuch circumſtances, as nothing but their furious zeal could have driven into ſuch a conſpiracy (6). The means by which Sir Everard Digby was wrought upon, himſelf affirmed to be theſe: Firſt, he was told that the King had broke his promiſes to the Catholicks, for which, however there was no foundation, ſince Watſon the Prieſt, who was executed in the firſt year of the King for treaſon, confeſſed, that having had acceſs to his Majeſty at Edinburgh twice, he told him plainly what thoſe of his religion had to expect, and this put him upon plotting againſt him. Mr Piercy, a principal inſtrument in this conſpiracy, went likewiſe into Scotland upon the ſame errand, and had the like anſwer. He was next told, that ſeverer laws againſt Popery would be made in the next Parliament, that huſbands would be made liable for their wives offences, and that it would be made a præmunire only to be a Catholick. But the main point was, that the reſtoring of the Catholick religion was the duty of every member, and that, in conſideration of this, he was not to regard any favours received from the Crown, the tranquillity of his country, or the hazards that might be run in reſpect to his life, his family, or his fortune (7). All this himſelf and very probably many of his companions believed, or otherwiſe it is not eaſy to account for their involving themſelves in ſuch a ſeries of dangers, or for their adhering to each other with ſuch fidelity, that, in the courſe of ſeveral years intrigue, there was nothing divulged (8). But what is yet a ſtronger, and indeed an invincible proof, that it was a miſtaken notion of religion which guided them throughout, was the exceeding care they took to the very laſt, to prevent thoſe Prieſts from coming into any trouble by their means, who had brought all this deſtruction upon themſelves, for attaining which they ſcrupled nothing; Sir Everard Digby valuing himſelf in his private papers, upon affirming falſehoods to the Lords for this purpoſe; and Francis Treſham taking it upon his death, that he had not for ſeveral years ſeen Father Garnet, upon account of a difference between them, the direct contrary of which was afterwards confeſſed by Garnet himſelf (9).

(6) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery of the Gunpowder Plot, p. 62, 63.

(7) The arraignment and execution of the late traytors. Lond. 1666. 8*vo*. In which it is affirmed, that Sir Everard declared, that, to reſtore Popery, he cared not if he rooted out all his poſterity.

(8) See the Attorney-General Coke's ſpeech at Garnet's arraignment.

(9) Proceedings againſt the traytors in the Powder Plot, p. 103.

formed by the Jeſuits; and, notwithſtanding that which had miſcarried in the beginning of this reign, he ventured to frame a new one in his own mind, which he communicated only to a few of his intimate friends, in the cloſe of the year 1604 (*i*); and this was, blowing up the Parliament-Houſe with gunpowder. When they had taken all the methods for putting this abominable ſcheme in execution, they began to reflect, that they could make no uſe even of their ſucceſs, if they did not provide, at the ſame time, for an inſurrection, and the eſtabliſhment of a new government. It was therefore, upon mature deliberation, agreed by the confederates, at a meeting they held in the city of Bath, that Mr Cateſby ſhould take in to their aſſiſtance whom he ſhould think think fit, provided they were bound by the oath of Secrecy which themſelves had taken (*k*). In purſuance of this reſolution, Mr Cateſby applied himſelf to his friend Sir Everard Digby, whom he acquainted with the whole affair, and with their reſolution of ſeizing the Princeſs Elizabeth, and proclaiming her Queen, upon the execution of the Powder-treaſon at London; in which his aſſiſtance was particularly neceſſary, as ſhe was then at the Lord Harrington's, at Comb-Abbey in Warwickſhire (*l*). To this Sir Everard willingly aſſented, and offered fifteen hundred pounds towards defraying the expences of this dark deſign, entertained Mr Fawkes afterwards at his houſe (*m*), and, the weather being rainy, adviſed him, upon his return to London, to be very careful in obſerving that the powder was not damp; ſo induſtrious and indefatigable he was, that, when the reſt of the conſpirators, upon the diſcovery of their deſign, at the very point of execution, fled down into the country, they found him at Dunchurch, as had been concerted, and, in company with him, they retired towards Staffordſhire, where, after a deſperate defence, in which ſome of theſe unhappy men were ſlain (*n*) [*D*], Sir Everard Digby, and others, were taken (*o*). Upon the commitment of Sir Everard to the Tower, he perſiſted ſteadily to maintain his own innocence as to the Powder-treaſon, and abſolutely denied his having knowledge of any other perſons being embarked in this deſign, than ſuch as were either killed or taken; in which, notwithſtanding all the arguments that could be uſed by thoſe noble perſons before whom he was examined, he continued obſtinately firm (*p*). This reſolution of his did not proceed from any hopes of eſcaping, but from an earneſt deſire of avoiding, if poſſible, being the inſtrument of other mens ruin, or diſcloſing more than was already diſcovered, being ſtill ſatisfied, that he was engaged in a good cauſe, and having much leſs concern about his life, than about the bad effects to that cauſe which the detection of this plot might produce (*q*). This, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of the infatuation that may be brought upon minds naturally virtuous, appears fully from a paper of his, written under his confinement, and ſent privately to his family [*E*]. When he

(*i*) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery of the Gunpowder Plot, p. 40, 41—47.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, Lond. 1681. 4to. p. 9.

(*l*) See Sir Everard Digby's own account of this this matter in note [*F*].

(*m*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 247.

(*n*) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery of the Powder Plot, p. 69, 70.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, p. 18.

(*p*) See the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers.

(*q*) This manifeſtly appears from the whole ſubſtance of his private papers, written by him under his condemnation.

[*D*] *In which ſome of theſe unhappy men were ſlain.*] In this note we will give the reader a ſuccinct account of the proceedings of the conſpirators in town and country, which will ſhew how perfectly they had concerted their meaſures, and how punctual they were in executing each the part that had been aſſigned him. The 4th of November fell that year upon a Sunday, and it was paſt twelve at night when ſearch was made under the Parliament-houſe, and Mr Guy Fawkes ſeized there booted and ſpurred (10). Mr Piercy had early notice of this, and ſet out of town about four in the morning. Mr Cateſby was gone the night before. Mr Winter and the two Wrights ſoon followed (11). We come now to another part of the conſpiracy, ſtill ſtranger than any of the reſt, which is this: there was one John Grant, Eſq; a zealous Papiſt, who lived near Warwick, who having collected ſeveral perſons of his own principles, and determined courage, went on Monday night, about the very time that Fawkes was ſeized in London, broke open the ſtables of one Mr Bennock at Warwick, who made it his buſineſs to break horſes for the menage, and took thoſe of ſeveral gentlemen that were in his hands, and coming well armed, and being now well mounted, made the beſt of their way to Dunchurch, where they found Sir Everard Digby and his party ready (12), and, on Wedneſday the 7th of November, being joined by their accomplices from London, and knowing all their hopes had failed them there, they reſolved, as their laſt reſource, openly to take up arms, and Father Teſmond, *alias* Greenwell, a Jeſuit, went into Lancaſhire to excite thoſe of their religion to join them (13). They had flattered themſelves with a great appearance in their favour, but they could never aſſemble above fourſcore, nor could they depend upon many of thoſe, or even upon their own ſervants (14). Sir Fulk Grevil, Deputy-Lieutenant, though an old and infirm man, ſeized the horſes and arms of ſeveral gentlemen in his neighbourhood in Warwickſhire, and made about ſixteen of their followers priſoners (15). Sir Richard Verney, High-Sheriff of the county, likewiſe took ſome of them (16). On Thurſday they were at Robert Winter's houſe, where they had abſolution given them by Father Hammond, though in open rebellion (17). They were purſued through Worceſterſhire by Sir Richard Walſh, which forced them to take ſhelter at Holbitch, the ſeat of Stephen Lyttleton, in Staffordſhire, where Sir Richard, who was Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, with the people who came in to his aſſiſtance, ſurrounded them (18). He ſent a trumpet to ſummon them to ſurrender, promiſing to intercede with the King to ſpare their lives, for as yet they had no notice of the Powder Treaſon; but the conſpirators rejected this offer with contempt, and prepared to defend themſelves as well as they could. This was on the Friday, and finding their powder damp, they placed a ſmall parcel in a pan before the fire, upon a bag which held ſeventeen or eighteen pounds; a ſervant, who knew nothing of this, throwing ſome wood upon the fire, a ſpark flew out into the pan, which blew up all the powder, together with the roof of the houſe, and at the ſame time wounded Cateſby, Rookwood, and Grant (19). About eleven o'clock the Sheriff, and thoſe with him, attacked the houſe, when Thomas Winter was ſhot in the ſhoulder, both the Wrights were killed, Ambroſe Rookwood fell ſoon after; then as Winter, Cateſby, and Piercy, were ſtanding together, the two laſt were ſhot through by the ſame ball, Winter, being hurt in the belly by a pike, was taken (20), and upon this the reſt ſubmitted and were ſent up to London, excepting Robert Winter and Stephen Lyttleton, who for ſome weeks hid themſelves (21). Francis Treſham ſtayed in town, and for ſome time preſerved his liberty, but was at length ſeized, made an ample confeſſion, but finding himſelf in a dying condition with the ſtrangury, denied again what he had ſaid that it might be of no uſe (22).

[*E*] *And ſent privately to his family.*] While Sir Everard Digby was priſoner in the Tower, he wrote in juice of lemon or otherwiſe, upon ſlips of paper, as opportunity offered, and got theſe conveyed to his Lady, by ſuch as had permiſſion to ſee him. Theſe

(10) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery, &c. p. 36.

(11) See Thomas Winter's confeſſion, dated 23d Nov. 1605. annexed to the manner of the diſcovery.

(12) Hiſt. of the Gunpowder Treaſon, p. 16, 17.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery, &c. p. 64.

(15) Ibid. p. 65.

(16) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, p. 17.

(17) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 383.

(18) Proceedings againſt the Traytors, p. 123.

(19) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery, p. 69, 70.

(20) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, p. 18.

(21) But the King's proclamation was firſt ſent down into the country, directing they ſhould be taken alive.

(22) Proceedings againſt the Traytors, p. 147, 148.

he was brought to his trial at Weſtminſter, January 27th, 1605-6; he was indicted for being acquainted with and concealing the Powder-treaſon, taking the double oath of Secrecy and Conſtancy, and acting openly, with other traytors, in rebellion; to which indictment he pleaded guilty (r). After this he endeavoured to extenuate his offence, by ſhewing the motives to it, which have been before explained; then requeſted, that, as he had been alone in the crime, he might alone bear the puniſhment, without extending it to his family, that his debts might be paid, and that he might be beheaded; to which he received no favourable anſwer (s). Yet the Earls of Northampton and Saliſbury, of whom the latter owned him for his relation, ſpoke mildly to him, and ſhewed him how very little ſervice his behaviour had done him, ſince Fawkes confeſſed, that he was acquainted with the Powder-treaſon; and many other things, which he had laboured to conceal, were, by other means, found out (t). But, whatever he might ſay in his examinations, certain it is, that, upon his having ſome notice of it's being thought, by his own party, a very wild and ill-concerted enterprize, in which he engaged, he could write a very clear defence againſt this imputation, though he refuſed to make any when his life was at ſtake; ſo much more did he fear reproach amongſt thoſe of his own communion, than a violent and ignominious death [F]. Yet, after ſentence of death was paſſed,

(r) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 244.

(s) See the Attorney-General Coke's anſwer to his petition.

(t) See their ſpeeches at his trial.

Theſe notes, or advertiſements, were preſerved by the family as precious relicks, till, in the month of September 1675, they were found at the houſe of Charles Cornwallis, Eſq; executor to Sir Kenelm the ſon of Sir Everard Digby, by Sir Rice Rudd, Baronet, and William Wogan, of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; (23). The firſt of theſe papers runs thus:

(23) Annexed to the Proceedings againſt the Traytors, and other pieces relating to the Popiſh Plot, printed by the orders of Mr Secretary Coventry, dated December 12th, 1678. No. 1.

'I have not named any, either living or dead, that 'ſhould have hurt my Lord Saliſbury, and only in- 'tended theſe general informations, to procure me ac- 'ceſs of ſome friend, that I might inform my know- 'ledge, for I never intended to hurt any creature, 'though it would have gained me all the world. 'As yet they have not got of me the affirming that I 'know any Prieſt particularly, nor ſhall ever do to the 'hurt of any but myſelf. At my firſt examination the 'Earl of Saliſbury told me, that ſome things ſhould 'be affirmed againſt me by Gerrat the Prieſt, who, 'ſaith he, I am ſure you know well. My anſwer was, 'if I might ſee him I would tell him whether I knew 'him or no, but by that name I did not know him; 'nor at Mrs Vauxe's, as he ſaid I did, for I never 'ſaw a Prieſt there. Yeſterday I was before Mr At- 'torney and my Lord Chief-Juſtice, who aſked me if 'I had taken the ſacrament to keep ſecret the plot as 'others did? I ſaid that I had not, becauſe I would 'avoid the queſtion of at whoſe hands it were. They 'told me that five had taken it of Gerard, and that 'he knew of the plot, which I ſaid was more than I 'knew.

'Now for my intention, let me tell you, that if I 'had thought there had been the leaſt ſin in the plot, 'I would not have been of it for all the world, and no 'other cauſe drew me to hazard my fortune and life, 'but zeal to God's religion. For my keeping it ſecret 'it was cauſed by certain belief, that thoſe which were 'beſt able to judge of the lawfulneſs of it, had been 'acquainted with it, and given way unto it. More 'reaſons I had to perſuade me to this belief than I 'dare utter, which I will never to the ſuſpicion of 'any, though I ſhould to the rack for it, and as I did 'not know it directly that it was approved by ſuch, 'ſo did I hold it in my conſcience the beſt not to 'know any more if I might.

'I have, before all the Lords, cleared all the Prieſts 'in it for any thing that I know, but now let me tell 'you what a grief it hath been to me, to hear that ſo 'much condemned, which I did believe would have 'been otherwiſe thought on by Catholicks; there is 'no other cauſe but this which hath made me deſire 'life, for when I came into priſon death would have 'been a welcome friend unto me, and was moſt de- 'ſired, but when I heard how Catholicks and Prieſts 'thought of the matter, and that it ſhould be a great 'ſin that ſhould be the cauſe of my end, it called my 'conſcience in doubt of my very beſt actions and in- 'tentions in queſtion, for I knew that myſelf might 'eaſily be deceived in ſuch a buſineſs, therefore I pro- 'teſt unto you, that the doubts I had of my own good 'ſtate, which only proceeded from the cenſure of 'others, cauſed more bitterneſs of grief in me, than all 'the miſeries that ever I ſuffered, and only this cauſed 'me to wiſh life, till I might meet with a ghoſtly 'friend. For ſome good ſpace I could do nothing, but 'with tears aſk pardon at God's hands for all my 'errors, both in actions and intentions, in this buſi- 'neſs, and in my whole life, which the cenſure of this, 'contrary to my expectance, cauſed me to doubt. 'I did humbly beſeech that my death might ſatisfy for 'my offence, which I ſhould and ſhall offer moſt 'gladly to the giver of my life. I aſſure you, as I 'hope in God, that the love of all my eſtate and 'worldly happineſs did never trouble me, nor the 'love of it ſince my impriſonment did ever move 'me to wiſh life. But if that I may live to make 'ſatisfaction to God and the world, where I have 'given any ſcandal, I ſhall not grieve if I ſhould 'never look living creature in the face again. And 'beſides that deprivations endure all worldly miſery, 'I ſhall not need to clear any living body either pri- 'vate or publick, for I never named any body, but 'reported that thoſe that are dead did promiſe that all 'forces in thoſe parts about Mr Talbot would aſſiſt us, 'but this can hurt nothing, for they openly ſpoke it. 'You muſt be careful how you ſend, for Mr Lieute- 'nant hath ſtayed the **** book, but take no no- 'tice of it. Let my brother ſee this, or know the 'contents; tell him I love his ſweet comforts as my 'greateſt jewel in this place. If I can I will convey 'in the tables a copy of a letter which I ſent yeſter- 'day, it is, as near as I can underſtand, the meaning 'of the inſtruction; I perceive it works with the 'Lords, for I ſhall be ſent to them. Oh how full of 'joy ſhould I die, if I could do any thing for the 'cauſe which I love more than my life. Farewel 'my ———.'

[F] *Than a violent and ignominious death.*] This, which is the laſt of Sir Everard's papers, is alſo the moſt material, and muſt appear, to every impartial reader, an inconteſtible proof of what the Attorney-General Coke affirmed at the trial of theſe conſpirators, That their ſcheme was no more than an appendix to the plots framed by their party in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and, in a great meaſure, an improvement upon the ſcheme of Watſon and Clarke on King James's coming to the throne: it runs thus (24).

(24) The ſame papers, No. 9.

'My deareſt, the ******* I take at the uncha- 'ritable taking of theſe matters, will make me ſay 'more than ever I thought to have done. For, if this 'deſign had taken place, there could have been no 'doubt of other ſucceſs: for that night, before any 'any other could have brought the news, we ſhould 'have known it by Mr Cateſby, who ſhould have pro- 'claimed the heir-apparent at Charing-Croſs, as he 'came out of town; to which purpoſe there was a 'proclamation drawn, if the Duke had not been in 'the Houſe, then was there a certain way laid for the 'poſſeſſing him; but, in regard of the aſſurance they 'ſhould have been there, therefore the greateſt of our 'buſineſs ſtood in the poſſeſſing the Lady Elizabeth, 'who, lying within eight miles of Dunehurch, we 'would have eaſily ſurprized before the knowledge of 'any doubt: this was the cauſe of my being there. If 'ſhe had been in Rutland, then Stoaks was near, and, 'in either place, we had taken ſufficient order to have 'been poſſeſſed of her; there was alſo courſes taken 'for the ſatisfying the people if the firſt had taken ef- 'fect, as the ſpeedy notice of liberty and freedom

'from

paſſed, he ſeemed to be very much affected; for, making a low bow to thoſe upon the bench, he ſaid, *If I could hear any of your Lordſhips ſay you forgave me, I ſhould go the more chearfully to the gallows.* To this all the Lords anſwered, *God forgive you, and we do* (*u*). On Thurſday the 30th of January Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed, purſuant to their ſentence, at the weſt-end of St Paul's church, when Sir Everard is ſaid to have expreſſed a very different ſenſe of his crime from that which he had written concerning it after his confinement (*w*). But of this, and of a much more extraordinary circumſtance attending his tragical departure out of this life, ſome notice will be taken in the notes [*G*]. He left at his death two young ſons, who were afterwards Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir John Digby, and expreſſed his affection towards them by a well written and pathetick paper, which he deſired might be communicated to them at a fit time, as the laſt advice of their father. We ſhall take occaſion, in another place, to ſhew how the Powder-treaſon was really diſcovered, and by whom (*x*); at preſent it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that even this ſecond part of the deſign, in which Sir Everard Digby was to have acted, was likewiſe timely diſcovered, and, as the plot proved the ruin of Sir Everard, ſo that diſcovery was the riſe of his relation. For the Lord Harrington, who had the care of the Princeſs Elizabeth, having received ſome intimation of an intention to ſeize her, immediately ſent up John Digby, a younger ſon of the Lord Digby's, to Court, with an account of all he knew; where the young Gentleman told his tale ſo well, as to acquire thereby the King's good graces, who, not long after, knighted him (*y*), employed him in a long negotiation in Spain, and, September 15th, 1622, created him Earl of Briſtol. His ſon was the famous George Lord Digby, who, while he bore that title, made ſo great a figure in the Houſe of Commons, was Secretary of State afterwards to King Charles I, and, ſucceeding to his father's title, attended King Charles the Second in his exile, was inſtalled Knight of the Garter in the month of April 1661, and made a great figure throughout that reign. He was ſucceeded

(*u*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 247.

(*w*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 384.

(*x*) See the article of HABINGTON (THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(*y*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 436.

'from all manner of ſlavery, as the ceaſing of ward-'ſhips and all monopolies, which, with change, would 'have been more plauſible to the people if the firſt 'had been, than it is now. There was alſo a courſe 'taken to have given preſent notice to all Princes, and 'to aſſociate them with an oath anſwerable to the 'League in France. I have not uttered any of theſe 'things, nor ever thought to do. For my going from 'Dunchurch I had this reaſon; firſt, I knew that 'Fawkes could reveal me, for I muſt make choice of 'two beſides Mr Cateſby, which I did of him and Mr 'Winter; I knew he had been employed in great 'matters, and, till torture, ſure he carried it very 'well: ſecondly, we all thought, if we could procure 'Mr Talbot to riſe that * * * * * * * * * * party, at 'leaſt, to a compoſition * * * * * * * * * * that was 'not little, becauſe we had in our company his ſon-in-'law, who gave us ſome hope of, and did not much 'doubt of it. I do anſwer your ſpeech with Mr 'Brown thus: Before that I knew any thing of the 'plot, I did aſk Mr Farmer what the meaning of the 'Pope's brief was; he told me, that they were not '(meaning Prieſts) to undertake or procure ſtirs, but 'yet they would not hinder any, neither was it the 'Pope's mind they ſhould, that ſhould be undertaken 'for Catholick good. I did never utter thus much, 'nor would not but to you; and this anſwer, with 'Mr Cateſby's proceedings with him and me, gave me 'abſolute belief, that the matter in general was ap-'proved, though every particular was not known. I 'dare not take that courſe that I could, to make it 'appear leſs odious, for divers were to have been 'brought out of the danger, which now would rather 'hurt them than otherwiſe. I do not think there 'would have been three worth ſaving that ſhould have 'been loſt; you may gueſs that I had ſome friends 'that were in danger, which I had prevented; but 'they ſhall never know it. I will do as much as my 'partner wiſheth; and it will then appear, that I have 'not hurt or accuſed one man; and howſoever I might, 'in general, poſſeſs them with fear, in hope to do the 'cauſe good, yet my care was ever to loſe my own 'life rather than hurt the unworthieſt member of the 'Catholick Church. Tell her, I have ever loved her 'and her houſe, and, though I could never ſhew it, 'I will not live to manifeſt the contrary. Her Go: 'I hope will remember me, who I am, temporal re-'ſpects, indebted to: your ſiſter ſalute from me, whoſe 'noble mind to me, in this miſery, I will never '* * * * * * * my Lord of Arundel may do much 'with the Lord and the Queen. One that you write 'of, which dearly loveth him, and is dearly loved of 'him again, can tell him that I love him, and did 'manifeſt it in his ſight, and he might have found it; 'laſt time as I ſaw him was in his company as I think. 'I am ſure when this was, he was there. If your 'mother were in town, you ſhould do it, to * * * * * 'her. Farewell, and where you cannot underſtand, 'ſend to me by your next, and I will explain.'

[*G*] *Some notice will be taken in the notes.*] We have a pretty full account of the manner in which Sir Everard and his accomplices finiſhed their days; and that too penned within a very ſhort time after it happened: it runs thus (25). 'Sir Everard Digby, Ro-'bert Winter, Grant, and Bates, according to their 'judgment, were drawn, hanged, and quartered, at 'the weſt-end of St Paul's Church, in London, where 'all but Grant died very penitent; Sir Everard Digby 'proteſted, from the bottom of his heart, he aſked 'forgiveneſs of God, the King, the Queen, the Prince, 'and all the Parliament; and, if that he had known 'it at firſt to have been ſo foul a treaſon, he would 'not have concealed it to have gained a world, re-'quiring the people to witneſs he died penitent and 'ſorrowful for this vile treaſon, and confident to be 'ſaved in the merits of his ſweet Saviour Jeſus, &c. 'He prayed kneeling about half a quarter of an hour, 'often bowing his head to the ground; in the ſame 'manner they all prayed, but no voice heard ſaving 'now and then, O Jeſu, Jeſu, ſave me, and keep me, '&c. Which words they repeated many times upon 'the ladder. Friday, the laſt of January, in the Par-'liament-Yard at Weſtminſter, were executed, as the 'former, Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and 'Fawkes; which Fawkes, at his death, was more pe-'nitent than any of the reſt, and beſought all Catho-'licks never to attempt any ſuch bloody act, being a 'courſe which God did never favour nor proſper. 'Keyes, in obſtinacy, cohered much with Grant; 'they all craved teſtimony that they died Roman Ca-'tholicks; their quarters were placed over London 'gates, and their heads upon the Bridge.' It is very ſtrange, that no notice at all ſhould be taken, in this account, of that extraordinary circumſtance which Mr Wood mentions as a thing generally known (26), That, when the executioner plucked out his heart, and, according to the manner, held it up, ſaying, *Here is the heart of a traytor*, Sir Everard made anſwer, *Thou lieſt.* This, continues Mr Wood, a moſt famous author mentions, but tells us not his name. This famous author is the Lord Bacon (27), and the paſſage referred to is this. 'We ourſelves indeed remember to have 'ſeen the heart of a man who was embowelled, ac-'cording to the cuſtom amongſt us in the execution of 'traytors, which, being thrown into the fire, as is 'uſual, ſprung up at firſt ſix foot high, and continued 'leaping

(25) Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes, p. 882.

(26) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(27) Hiſtoria Vitæ & Mortis.

succeeded by his son John, who died in 1698, without issue, in whom the title became extinct, his younger brother Francis being killed in the Dutch war (z).

(z) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 35.

'leaping gradually lower and lower between seven and 'eight minutes, as far as our memory reaches. There 'is also an old and credible tradition, of an ox that 'lowed after it was embowelled. But it is more cer-'tain that a man, who suffered in the manner we have 'before-mentioned, his entrails being taken out, and 'his heart almost torn away, and in the hands of the 'hangman, was heard to utter three or four words of 'a prayer, which, we say, is more credible than what 'is reported of the sacrifice, because the friends of 'such criminals are wont to give money to the execu-'tioner, that he may be the quicker in performing his 'work, and the sooner put them out of their pain; 'whereas, in sacrifices, we see no cause why the 'Priests should use such extraordinary diligence.' This proves no more than the possibility of such a thing in Lord Bacon's opinion, but cannot be properly applied as a proof to this particular fact, from which, in all it's circumstances, it manifestly differs. E

DIGBY (Sir KENELME) the son of the former, and a very famous Philosopher in the XVIIth century. It is extreamly difficult to fix the time of his birth, there being authorities for three different days, but the 11th of June 1603 seems to have been generally received (a). It is said, that King James restored his estate to him in his infancy (b); which, however, is a mistake, since it was decided at law, that the King had no title to it. Both these points shall be cleared up in the notes [A]. At the time of his father's unfortunate death he was with his mother at Gothurst, being then but in the third year of his age. He seems to have been taken early out of her hands, since it is certain that he renounced the errors of Popery very young, and was carefully bred in the Protestant religion *chiefly, as there is good reason to believe, under the direction of Archbishop Laud (c), then Dean of Gloucester, who had a very great affection for him, and who had reclaimed a near relation of his from Popery (d). In 1618 Mr Kenelme Digby* was sent to the University, and entered of Gloucester-Hall (e), where the direction of his studies was committed to Mr Thomas Allen, one of the most learned and able men of those times (f); though he had another member of that society for his Tutor. His being recommended to Mr Allen was a great advantage to our young student, for he quickly discerned the natural strength of his faculties, and that spirit of penetration which is so seldom met with in persons of his age. He took pains, therefore, to shew him the right method of applying

(a) Johnson's Underwoods, p. 243. See also Ferrar's Epitaph on Sir K. D.

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 29.

(c) In this point that Prelate was remarkably vigilant.

(d) Wharton's History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud.

(e) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 383.

(f) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

[A] *Shall be cleared up in the notes.*] The famous Antiquary of Oxford is clear and positive, that the birth of this gentleman ought to be fixed to the 11th of July 1603 (1), in support of which he quotes two authorities that have very great weight with him, but not altogether so great with me (2). As to Dr Napier of Buckinghamshire, his work is written in a very bad hand, and I could give more instances than one, of nativities in his book, that disagree with the parish registers of persons to whom they belong, and therefore an entry therein ought not to be looked upon as decisive. Again, as to Mr Gadbury, there is great probability that his date was borrowed from Dr Napier's book, and if it was not, the same exceptions lie against it as have been urged against that. In the life-time of Sir Kenelme there is no doubt that the 11th of June was taken to be his birth-day. The famous Ben. Johnson, in a copy of verses to his honour; speaking of a sea-fight in which he commanded, and of his undaunted courage, says (3),

(1) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 383. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(2) Dr Richard Napier's Collection of Nativities, in the Ashmolean Library. John Gadbury's Almanack for the year 1673.

(3) In his Underwoods, p. 243.

Witness thy action *done at* Scanderoon,
Upon thy birth-day *the* eleventh *of* June.

These two verses indeed do more honour to the hero than the Poet, but a man must have a strange opinion of Johnson's judgment, to believe he would falsify a date for the sake of such poetry. Mr Wood indeed says, and very truly, that this action was not upon the 11th but upon the 16th of June (4), which is indeed a proof that the Poet mistook the date of the battle, but not at all that he missed that of the birth-day, for sixteenth would have run as well, at least no worse, than eleventh. After Sir Kenelme's death, we find the very same day, I mean the eleventh of June, fixed upon in his epitaph (5), and therefore it seems to have been the true date. In the fourth edition of Bayle's Dictionary (6), and in all the late editions of Moreri (7), there is an article of our author, in which the day of his birth and of his death is said to be the eleventh of March, but whence this date was borrowed it is impossible to conceive, because I know not of any writer that has fixed either his death or his birth upon that day. But enough of this; let us now speak of the estate of the family. The dispute about it was determined in the Court of Wards, in Michaelmas term the eighth of King James, that is, in 1610, and in what manner, the reader shall learn from the best authority (8). 'Sir Everard Digby, seized in fee of the 'manor of Stoke in the county of Rutland, and of the 'manor of Tilton in the county of Leicester, held '(by way of admittance) of the King, by Knights 'service *in capite*, by act executed in his life-time, 'and before any treason by him committed, conveyed 'the said manors to the use of himself for life, and af-'terwards to the use of his eldest son and heir apparent 'in tail, with divers remainders over to his other is-'sues. And afterwards the said Sir Everard Digby 'was attainted and executed, for the heinous and hor-'rible powder treason, committed after the said con-'veyance, his eldest son being then within age. 'The question was, Whether the wardship of the 'body, or of the third part of the said manors, should 'be to the King by force of the statutes of 32 and 34 'H. VIII? And it was resolved by the two Chief-'Justices, the Chief Baron, and the whole Court of 'Wards, that the King shall never have wardship or 'primer-seisin, but where there is an heir general or 'special. For the said statutes of 32 and 34 H. VIII. 'give wardship or primer-seisin to the King, in divers 'cases where there is no descent, as if the King's te-'nant conveys his land for the advancement of his 'wife, preferment of his children, or payment of his 'debts, but doth not give wardship or primer-seisin 'in any case, where there is not any heir general or 'special, because wardship or primer-seisin ought to 'be of the land of some ancestor who has an heir.' Thus it appears a certain writer was mistaken in affirming, that, at the request of his Queen, King Charles I. restored Sir Kenelme Digby to the large estate of his ancestors (9). His father had taken due care in this respect, and it seems was very well advised (10), yet he died under great concern even as to that point, for discovering, when it was too late, the universal odium attending the Popish-powder-plot, and fearing this might prejudice even Courts of justice, of excite the Parliament in so very extraordinary a case, to make some law *ex post facto*, for increasing the punishment of such as were concerned in it, he not only doubted, but seems to have died under a persuasion that his estate would be confiscated (11).

(8) Coke's Reports, P. viii. fo. 166.

(9) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 580.

(10) Wright's Antiquities of Rutlandshire, p. 114.

(11) See his private papers.

(4) This appears from Sir Kenelme Digby's own letter upon that subject.

(5) See that epitaph at the close of this article.

(6) It is to be observed, that the article of DIGBY (Sir KENELME) is an additional one, not to be ascribed to Bayle himself.

(7) In which the article is barely copied from Bayle.

applying his wonderful capacity, which he frequently compared to that of the ſo much celebrated wit of Italy Picus de Mirandula (*g*), to the ſublimer parts of Philoſophy; ſo that notwithſtanding his ſtay at Oxford was but between two and three years, yet, upon his leaving that Univerſity in 1621, in order to travel, he was conſidered as a very extraordinary perſon, and ſuch high expectations of him raiſed, as he lived afterwards to fulfil (*b*). Having made the tour of France, Spain, and Italy, and having been in all places remarkably well received, he returned to England in 1623; and being preſented to the King, at the Lord Mountague's houſe at Hinchinbroke, on the 23d of October the ſame year, with high commendations of his learning, he there received the honour of knighthood in the preſence of Charles Prince of Wales and the famous Duke of Buckingham, then juſt returned out of Spain, where Mr Digby had attended on his Royal Highneſs, as himſelf informs us (*i*). In a very ſhort time after Sir K. Digby rendered himſelf very remarkable, by the happy application of a ſecret which he met with in his travels, as to which we will, from his own authority, inform the reader fully in the notes [*B*]. After the demiſe of King James,

(*g*) Spoken probably of the univerſality of his genius.

(*b*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 351. Digby of Bodies, p. 308, 309.

[*B*] *In the notes.*] This ſecret of his was that which has ſince made ſo much noiſe in the world, under the title of the ſympathetick powder, the virtues of which were, as he aſſures us, thoroughly enquired into by King James, his ſon the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Buckingham, with other perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, and all was regiſtered among the obſervations of the great Chancellor Bacon, to add, by way of appendix, to his Natural Hiſtory (12). The matter of fact on which this was grounded, take in his own words: 'Mr James Howell, well known for his publick works, and particularly his *Dendrologies*, endeavouring to part two of his friends engaged in a duel, ſeized, with his left hand, the hilt of the ſword of one of the combatants, and with his right hand laid hold of the blade of the other. They, being tranſported with fury one againſt the other, ſtruggled to rid themſelves of the hindrance their friend made, that they ſhould not kill one another, and one of them roughly drawing the blade of his ſword, cut to the very bone, the nerves, and muſcles of Mr Howell's hand, and then the other, diſengaging his hilt, gave a croſs-blow on his adverſary's head, which glanced towards his friend, who, heaving up his ſore hand to ſave the blow, he was wounded on the back of his hand, as he had been before within. The two combatants, ſeeing Mr Howell's face beſmeared with blood by heaving up his wounded hand, left fighting at once, and ran to embrace him, and having ſearched his hurts, they bound up his hand with one of his garters to cloſe the veins, which were cut and bled abundantly. They brought him home, and ſent for a ſurgeon, but this being heard at Court, the King ſent one of his own ſurgeons, for his Majeſty much affected the ſaid Mr Howell.

'It was my chance to be lodged hard by him, and four or five days after, as I was making myſelf ready, he came to my houſe, and prayed me to view his wounds, for I underſtand, ſaid he, that you have extraordinary remedies upon ſuch occaſions, and my ſurgeons are apprehenſive that it might grow to a gangrene, and ſo the hand muſt be cut off. In effect, his countenance diſcovered that he was in much pain, which he ſaid was inſupportable, in regard of the extreme inflammation. I told him I would willingly ſerve him, but if haply he knew the manner how I would cure him, without touching or ſeeing him, it may be he would not expoſe himſelf to my manner of curing, becauſe he would think it, perhaps, either ineffectual or ſuperſtitious. He replied, that the wonderful things which many have related unto me of your way of curing, make me nothing at all doubt of it's efficacy. I aſked him then for any thing that had the blood upon it, ſo he preſently ſent for his garter wherewith his hand was firſt bound, and having called for a baſon of water, as if I would waſh my hands, I took a handful of powder of vitriol which I had in my ſtudy, and preſently diſſolved it. As ſoon as the bloody garter was brought me, I put it within the baſon, obſerving in the mean while what Mr Howell did, who ſtood talking with a gentleman in a corner of my chamber, not regarding at all what I was doing, but he ſtarted ſuddenly, as if he had found ſome ſtrange alteration in himſelf. I aſked him What he ailed? I know not what ails me, replied he, but I find that I feel no more pain; methinks that a pleaſing kind of freſhneſs, as if a wet cold napkin did ſpread over my hand, has taken away the inflammation that tormented me before. I anſwered, ſince you feel already ſo good an effect of my medicament, I adviſe you to caſt away all your plaiſters, only keep the wound clean, and in a moderate temper betwixt heat and cold. This was preſently reported to the Duke of Buckingham, and a little after to the King, who were both very curious to know the circumſtance of the buſineſs, which was, that after dinner I took the garter out of the water, and put it to dry before a great fire. It was ſcarce dry but Mr Howell's ſervant came running, that his maſter felt as much burning as ever he had done, if not more, for the heat was ſuch, as if his hand were betwixt coals of fire; I anſwered that though that had happened at preſent, yet he ſhould find eaſe in a ſhort time, for I knew the reaſon of this accident, and I would provide accordingly, for his maſter ſhould be free from that inflammation, it may be before he could poſſibly return unto him, but in caſe he found no eaſe, I wiſhed him to come preſently back again; if not he might forbear coming. Thereupon he went, and at the inſtant I did put again the garter into the water, he found his maſter without any pain at all.

'King James, who had received a punctual information of what had happened, would fain know how it was done. I readily told him what the author, of whom I had the ſecret, ſaid to the Great Duke of Tuſcany on the like occaſion: it was a religious Carmelite, who came from the Indies and Perſia to Florence, he had alſo been in China, and having done many ſtrange cures with his powder, after his arrival in Tuſcany, the Duke ſaid he would be very glad to learn it of him. The Carmelite anſwered, that it was a ſecret he had learnt in the Oriental parts, and he thought there was not any perſon in Europe who knew it but himſelf, and that it deſerved not to be divulged, which could not be done if his Highneſs meddled with the practice of it, becauſe he was not likely to do it with his own hand, but muſt truſt a ſurgeon, or ſome other ſervant, ſo that in a ſhort time divers others would come to know it as well as himſelf. But a few months after, I had an opportunity to do an important curteſy to the ſaid Fryar, which induced him to diſcover unto me his ſecret, and the ſame year he returned to Perſia, ſo that now there is no other knows this ſecret in Europe but myſelf. The King replied, that I need not be apprehenſive that he would diſcover any thing, for he would not truſt any body in the world to make experience of his ſecret, but that he would do it with his own hands, and therefore deſired ſome of the powder, which I delivered, inſtructing him in all the circumſtances, whereupon his Majeſty made ſundry proofs, whence he received ſingular ſatisfaction.'

(12) Extract from Sir Kenelme Digby's diſcourſe upon the ſympathetick powder.

If any inquiſitive reader ſhould demand, whether the Lord Bacon ever publiſhed this account or not, the anſwer muſt certainly be in the negative, and yet no inference can be fairly drawn from thence to the prejudice of Sir Kenelme Digby's relation, firſt, becauſe that noble Philoſopher never publiſhed his Appendix to his Natural Hiſtory, and next, becauſe in that very work, he has given us of his own knowledge, and indeed as to his own perſon, a relation to the full as ſtrong as this, though of another kind (13). He tells us he had a wart from his childhood upon one of his fingers, and that being at Paris when he was about ſixteen years old,

(13) Bacon's Natural Hiſtory, century 10. No. 997, 998.

James, he made as great a figure in the new Court, though he was not remarkable for paying his homage to the great favourite. He became, notwithſtanding, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, a Commiſſioner of the Navy, and a Governor of Trinity-Houſe (*k*); which employments, if they added but little to the weight of his purſe, ſerved however to heighten his reputation. Some diſputes having happened with the Venetians in the Mediterranean, by which the Engliſh trade ſuffered, as well as by the depredations committed by the Algerines, Sir Kenelme Digby ſailed with a ſmall ſquadron thither in the ſummer of 1628, took ſeveral armed veſſels belonging to the Infidels, ſetting the Engliſh ſlaves that were on board at liberty; and, on the 16th of June, having gained a conſiderable victory with a very inferior force, he likewiſe brought the Venetians to reaſon; ſo that as he left England with a very high character as a Scholar, he returned to it with no leſs credit as a gallant Soldier, and a wiſe Commander (*l*). After his coming back to England, his antient friend, and director of his ſtudies, Mr Thomas Allen, of Glouceſter-Hall, died there, full of years and reputation, having collected an excellent library of manuſcripts as well as printed books, many of which laſt he rendered as valuable as the firſt, by inſerting his learned notes in their margins; all which, as a teſtimony of his affection and eſteem for his eminent abilities, he beſtowed, by his will, upon Sir Kenelme Digby (*m*). This was in the year 1632, and Sir Kenelme, conſidering the great value of the manuſcripts, how much they were eſteemed in the Univerſity, and how ſerviceable they might prove to ſuch as conſecrated the greateſt part of their time to their ſtudies, moſt generouſly beſtowed them, the very next year, upon the Bodleian Library (*n*). Sir Kenelme continued, to this time, a Member of the Church of England, but going ſome time afterwards into France, he began to have ſome religious ſcruples, occaſioned, as it is ſuppoſed, by the vigorous ſollicitations of ſeveral zealous Eccleſiaſticks of the firſt rank; and having applied himſelf, for about two years, to the peruſal of books of controverſy, though, as he himſelf confeſſed, all of the ſame ſide, he, at length, changed his ſentiments, and, in 1636, reconciled himſelf to the Church of Rome (*o*); which, as it gave very great uneaſineſs to his friends in England, ſo to none more than to Archbiſhop Laud, who had borne him for many years a very particular affection (*p*). This occaſioned his writing to that Prelate a very large apology for his conduct, who returned him a very ample anſwer, full of tenderneſs and good advice, which is ſtill extant, and does great honour to the Archbiſhop's memory (*q*) [*C*]. His Grace had very little hopes that theſe admonitions would operate on the mind of Sir Kenelme Digby, which was certainly carried

(*k*) See the article of DIGBY (Sir (KENELME) in Bayle.

(*l*) Sir Kenelme's letter on this ſubject. Johnſon's Underwoods, p. 243. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(*m*) See the article of ALLEN (THOMAS). Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(*n*) See the preface to the catalogue.

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(*p*) Sir Kenelme, apprehenſive of this, wrote to that Prelate very early, to give him an account of it.

(*q*) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. I. p. 610.

old, he had a great number of warts that broke out on both hands in a month's time, upon which the Engliſh Ambaſſador's Lady cauſed them to be rubbed with a piece of bacon with the rine on, which ſhe nailed upon the poſt of her window, which looked to the ſouth, and the conſequence of that was, that in the ſpace of five weeks all the warts died away, and amongſt them that which he had for ſeveral years. His Lordſhip likewiſe gives the receipt for making the weapon ſalve in the ſame place, upon which he makes ſeveral very judicious remarks.

The celebrated Mr Bayle, in a letter of his dated March 27, 1697, has the following paſſage, which may prove acceptable to the curious reader (14). 'It is ſome time ago that I mentioned to you a Phyſician in Friezeland, who has performed ſeveral cures without giving any thing to his patients. He contents himſelf with mingling with their urine ſomewhat, which, as the malady requires, either ſweats, vomits, or purges. He continues this practice, and I am told he was domeſtick to a certain great Lord of Italy, who was ſent for to the Court of Vienna to cure the Emperor, which he actually did. This man diſcovered his maſter's ſecret and has ſet up for himſelf. Yet he is not the only one who poſſeſſes it, for there are three others who purſue this practice as well as he; one is at Leyden, another at Antwerp, and another has been here in this city of Rotterdam for two or three months. He has been but lately in any degree of credit. His houſe is at preſent like the pool of Betheſda, all who are diſeaſed run thither. It is certain that he has cured ſome, and that he has ſweated a great many. The Phyſicians cry out againſt him with the utmoſt fury, and, as there are more in this country than in any other, who are apt to deny as impoſſible whatever they do not comprehend, ſo there are numbers who join in the ſame outcry with the Phyſicians. But not being able to deny the fact that many have been ſweated, they attribute this to a prepoſſeſſed imagination. For my own part I cannot think it impoſſible, phyſically ſpeaking, that a man ſhould be made to ſweat by having ſomething put into his urine.' There was a German Phyſician, who, in the year 1700, undertook to cure diſeaſes in the ſame manner here in England (15).

(14) Oeuvres de Bayle, Tom. IV. p. 735.

(15) Oeuvres de St Evremond, Amſterd. 1726. Tom. V. p. 348.

[*C*] *And does great honour to the Archbiſhop's memory.*] This letter is dated from Lambeth, March 27, 1636. It is very large and full, written, not in decent terms only, but with great delicacy; ſome part of it the reader will expect to ſee, and we will give him what moſt concerns the perſonal hiſtory of this gentleman (16). 'Whereas you ſay that you have returned 'into that communion, who, from your birth, had 'right of poſſeſſion in you, and therefore ought to 'continue it, unleſs clear and evident proof (which you 'ſay ſurely cannot be found) ſhould have evicted 'you from it. Truly, Sir, I think this had been 'ſpoken with more advantage to you and your cauſe 'before your adhering to the Church of England than 'now; for then right of poſſeſſion could not have been 'thought little. But now, ſince you deſerted that 'communion, either you did it upon clear and evident 'proof, or upon apparent only. If you did it then 'upon clear and evident proof, Why ſay you now no 'ſuch can be found? If you did it but upon apparent 'and ſeeming proof, a ſemblance of very good reaſon '(as yourſelf calls it) why did you then come off from 'that communion till your proof were clear and evi'dent? And why may not that which now ſeems 'clear and evident be but apparent, as well as that 'which then ſeemed clear unto you, be but ſemblance 'now? Nor would I have you ſay, that clear and 'evident proof cannot be found; for a man in this 'caſe of religion, to forego the communion which 'had right of poſſeſſion in him from his birth: for the 'propoſition is an univerſal negative, and of hard proof. 'And therefore, though I think I know you and your 'judgment ſo well, that I may not, without manifeſt 'wrong, charge you that you did in this great action, 'and ſo nearly concerning you, *ad pauca reſpicere*, 'which our great maſter tells us breeds facile and eaſy, 'rather than ſafe and warrantable, determinations; 'yet it will lie upon you not only in honour without, 'but alſo in conſcience within, to be able to aſſure 'yourſelf, that you did *ad plurima*, if not *ad omnia* 'reſpicere. The thing being ſo weighty in itſelf, and 'the miſerable diviſion of Chriſtendom (never ſuffi-

(16) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 610.

'ciently

ried away with that veneration which he thought due to the faith of his anceſtors, and for which his father was underſtood to have died a martyr; and, perhaps, he was alſo influenced by that praiſe which he received from all ſides, upon the ſubject of his converſion (*r*). At leaſt this is certain, that, to ſhew at once his parts and his ſincerity, he wrote very eagerly in defence of his new, or rather old religion, that the world might take notice he was a thorough convert, and that it might ſeem he had done nothing precipitately, or without due conſideration (*s*). Theſe works of his were ſeveral times printed [*D*], After a long ſtay in France, where he was highly careſſed, he came over to

(*r*) This appears from ſeveral paſſages in thoſe pieces of his, as well as from the great influence he had afterwards amongſt the Papiſts.

(*s*) Of which he ſpoke much in his letter to Archbiſhop Laud.

'ciently to be lamented) making the doubt ſo great, 'that you who have been on both ſides, muſt needs 'lie under the diſpute of both ſides, whether this laſt 'act of your's be not in you rather a relapſe into a former ſickneſs, than a recovery from a former fall.

'But againſt this, the temper of your mind (you 'ſay) arms you againſt all cenſures, no ſlight air of 'reputation being able to move you. In this I muſt 'needs ſay you are happy: for he that can be moved 'from himſelf by the changeable breath of mens lives, 'more out of than in himſelf, and which is a miſery 'beyond all expreſſion, muſt in doubts go to other 'men for reſolution, not to himſelf; as if he had no 'ſoul within him. But yet *poſt conſcientiam fama*, 'and though I would not deſire to live by reputation, 'yet I would leave no good means untried, rather 'than live without it. And how far you have brought 'yourſelf in queſtion, which of theſe two, conſcience 'or reputation, you have ſhaken by this double change, 'I leave yourſelf to judge, becauſe you ſay your firſt 'was with a ſemblance of very good reaſon. And 'though you ſay again that it now appears you were 'then miſled, yet you will have much ado to make 'the world think ſo.

'The way you took in concealing this your reſolution, of returning into that communion, and the reaſons which you give, why you ſo privately carried it 'here, I cannot but approve. They are full of all 'ingenuity, tender and civil reſpects, fitted to avoid 'diſcontent in your friends, and ſcandal that might 'be taken by others, or contumely that might be returned upon yourſelf. And as are theſe reaſons, ſo 'is the whole frame of your letter (ſetting aſide that I 'cannot concur in judgment) full of diſcretion and 'temper, and ſo like yourſelf, that I cannot but love 'even that which I diſlike in it. And though I ſhall 'never be other than that I have been to the worth of 'Sir Kenelme Digby, yet moſt heartily ſorry I am, 'that a man, whoſe diſcourſe did ſo much content me, 'ſhould thus ſlide away from me before I had ſo much 'as ſuſpicion to awaken me, and ſuggeſt that he was 'going. Had you put me into a diſpenſation, and 'communicated your thoughts to me before they had 'grown up into reſolutions, I am a Prieſt, and would 'have put on what ſecrecy you ſhould have commanded. A little knowledge I have, (God knows a little) 'I would have ventured it with you in that ſerious 'debate you have had with yourſelf. I have ever honoured you ſince I knew your worth, and I would 'have done all offices of a friend to keep you nearer 'than now you are. But, ſince you are gone, and 'ſettled another way, before you would let me know 'it, I know not now what to ſay to a man of judgment, and ſo reſolved, For to what end ſhould I 'treat, when a reſolution is ſet already? ſo ſet, as 'that you ſay no clear and evident proof can be found 'againſt it: nor can I tell how to preſs ſuch a man as 'you to ring the changes in Religion. In your power 'it was not to change; in mine it is not to make you 'change again. Therefore, to the moderation of 'your own heart, under the grace of God, I muſt and 'do now leave you for matter of Religion, but retaining ſtill with me, and entirely, all the love and 'friendlineſs which your worth won from me, well 'knowing that all differences in opinion ſhake not the 'foundations of Religion.

'Now to your poſtſcript, and then I have done. 'That I am the firſt, and the only perſon, to whom 'you have written thus freely: I thank you heartily 'for it. For I cannot conceive any thing thereby, 'but your great reſpect to me, which hath abundantly 'ſpread itſelf all over your letter. And had you written this to me with a reſtraint of making it further 'known, I ſhould have performed that truſt: but 'ſince you have ſubmitted to me, what further knowledge of it I ſhall think fit to give to any other perſon, I have, as I took myſelf bound, acquainted his 'Majeſty with it, who gave a great deal of very good 'expreſſion concerning you, and is not a little ſorry to 'loſe the ſervice of ſo able a ſubject. I have likewiſe 'made it known in private to Mr Secretary Cooke, 'who was as confident of you as myſelf. I could 'hardly believe your own letters, and he as hardly my 'relation. To my Secretary I muſt needs truſt it, 'having not time to write it again out of my ſcribbled 'copy; but I dare truſt the ſecrecy in which I have 'bound him. To others I am ſilent, and ſhall ſo continue, till the thing open itſelf; and I ſhall do it 'out of reaſons very like to thoſe which you give, 'why yourſelf would not divulge it here. In the laſt 'place, you promiſe yourſelf that the condition you 'are in will not hinder me from continuing to be 'the beſt friend you have. To this I can ſay no 'more, than that I could never arrogate to myſelf to 'be your beſt friend, but a poor, yet reſpective, 'friend of your's I have been ever ſince I knew you: 'and it is not your change that can change me, who 'never yet left but where I was firſt forſaken, and not 'always there.'

[*D*]. *Theſe works of his were ſeveral times printed.*] There is nothing more common, than for perſons, who have thought fit to alter their choice as to a religious ſyſtem, to vindicate this conduct of theirs by writing, and the higher their ſtation, the greater their character, the more extenſive their reputation, ſo much the more neceſſary works of this kind are thought, and, without queſtion, ſo much the more difficult they are found. Our author had exhibited the beſt excuſes in his power to make, and, very probably, in the beſt dreſs, to his Grace of Canterbury; and how theſe were received, as well as what the nature of them might be, we may eaſily conjecture from the preceding note. As to thoſe pieces which are to be the ſubject of this, their titles are theſe:

I. *A Conference with a* Lady *about* Choice *of* Religion. *Paris* 1638. *Lond.* 1654. 8*vo*. This was a piece written in an eaſy, polite, and conciſe ſtile, in which it's author was peculiarly happy; his principal aim was to ſecure a general approbation of his conduct, by keeping to ſuch arguments as ſuited beſt with common underſtandings; and, at the ſame time, inſinuated, that, in the choice of a religion, an uninterrupted authority of the ſafety of ſalvation, in any communion, was of high importance, and that, with regard to ſpeculative points, liberty of opinion was not precluded. Dr Twiſſe, one of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, wrote an anſwer to this treatiſe, which was never publiſhed.

II. *Letters between the Lord* George Digby *and Sir* Kenelme Digby, *Knight, concerning* Religion. *Lond.* 1651. 8*vo*. Theſe letters, though printed thirteen years after, were written at the time which we have aſſigned them. The firſt, from Lord Digby to Sir Kenelme Digby, is dated November 2d, 1638, from Sherborne; and therein his Lordſhip attacks the authority of the Fathers with reſpect to Articles of Faith, in which he ſhews, that though Proteſtants, as well as Papiſts, frequently appeal to them in points where they think their judgments agreeable to their own doctrines, yet in others, where they differ from them, they are rejected by both; whence he infers, their authority can be deciſive to neither. Sir Kenelme Digby, in his anſwer, dated at London, December 6th, 1638, takes a great deal of pains to apologize for the Fathers, and diſtinguiſhes between their ſentiments as to Articles of Faith, and ſuch points of doctrine in which, without prejudice to the Church, freedom of opinion may be allowed. As to the firſt he will have their authority deciſive,

to England, and was very well received by the Queen, who, in the year 1638, employed him, and Mr Walter Mountague, in the management of an affair, that afterwards made a very great noiſe (*t*). The King was, at that time, preparing for a war with the Scots, of which we have elſewhere given the reader ſome account (*u*); and his ſituation, at that time, was ſuch, as induced him to aſk, as well as to accept, the aſſiſtance of ſuch of his ſubjects as were able and willing to ſupply him with money. The Nobility led the way, and the Clergy of the Church of England contributed, in a manner, proportionable rather to their zeal than to their intereſt (*w*). The Queen taking notice of this, and being very deſirous that thoſe of her religion ſhould not appear deficient in loyalty at ſuch a juncture, prevailed upon the two Gentlemen before-mentioned to write a kind of circular letter to thoſe of the Romiſh perſwaſion throughout the kingdom, in ſupport of one of her own, to excite their liberality at this ſeaſon (*x*). Theſe endeavours were attended with very conſiderable effects, which, however, ought undoubtedly to be attributed to principles of honour rather than any thing elſe; for we have very good authority to prove, that this proceeding was ill reliſhed at Rome, from whence inſtructions were ſpeedily ſent, to caſt a damp upon the loyalty of the Engliſh Papiſts (*y*) [*E*]. In the month of January 1640, the Houſe of Commons ſent for Sir Kenelme Digby, in order to know how far, and upon what grounds, he had acted in this matter, which he opened to them very clearly (*z*); and the Queen herſelf alſo ſent a meſſage to the Houſe, in which ſhe ſtated her own concern in the matter, and the motives for her conduct; with which the Houſe was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, ſatisfied (*a*). Yet upon an addreſs, that his Majeſty would remove ſuch as were of the Popiſh Religion from Court, and more eſpecially from his royal preſence, Sir Kenelme Digby and Mr Walter Mountague were particularly named, and felt the effects of it (*b*). Upon the breaking out of the Civil War, Sir Kenelme Digby remaining at London, was, by the Parliament, committed priſoner to Wincheſter-Houſe (*c*), where, however, he was treated with great reſpect, was viſited by men of all parties, and ſome amongſt them of the firſt diſtinction (*d*). At length, in the year 1643, her

(*t*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 32. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 141.

(*u*) In the article DEVEREUX (Robert) II. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. ii. p. 821.

(*w*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 818.

(*x*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of the Reign of Charles the Firſt, p. 247. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 141.

(*y*) See what is delivered on this head in Ruſhworth.

(*z*) Publick Intelligence. Lond. 1640. 4to.

(*a*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 823.

(*b*) See the Commons Addreſs.

(*c*) This appears from his letters dated from thence.

(*d*) Which created great jealouſies.

deciſive, though not as to the ſecond Lord Digby, in his anſwer, dated at Sherborne March 29th, 1639, returns to the charge with great ſtrength of reaſoning. He ſhews, that rejecting ſuch a deciſive authority in the Fathers, does by no means infer a diſreſpect of them; and profeſſes, that though he cannot ground his faith preciſely upon what they deliver, he nevertheleſs believes them to have been ſincerely pious and excellent perſons. He obſerves, that, if ſuch an authority was due to them, as is contended for, it muſt be chiefly attributed to thoſe of the earlieſt ages; and that, with reſpect to the Fathers of the firſt three centuries, there are great diſputes about the genuineneſs of the writings aſcribed to them, and a doubtful rule can be no rule at all. He inſiſts farther, that their authority cannot be deciſive, becauſe ſometimes they contradict each other, ſometimes they are inconſiſtent with themſelves, ſometimes they teach what is not either received by Proteſtants or Papiſts, and ſometimes they ſhew a manifeſt want of ability in handling thoſe ſubjects of which they treat. In theſe letters there is great civility expreſſed on both ſides, inſomuch, that few controverſies have been managed with ſo little acrimony; which, after all, is the higheſt commendation that can be beſtowed upon them, ſince the matters to which they relate had been as juſtly and as concluſively debated, by other as able writers, long before.

[*E*] *Upon the loyalty of the Engliſh Papiſts.*] We have, in as conciſe terms as poſſible, repreſented the matter of fact clearly in the text; from whence it appears, that the Queen was the firſt mover in this affair. She ſays in her letter, that ſhe had ventured to anſwer for the zeal of the Catholicks, and that, after ſollicting ſo often in their favour, ſhe was deſirous of preſenting his Majeſty with ſome marks of their gratitude (17). For the management of this affair, an aſſembly was called at London, of the principal perſons of that perſwaſion, in which Signior Con, the Pope's Nuncio to the Queen, preſided, by which aſſembly the Queen's propoſal was embraced and recommended, and, upon the letters of Digby and Mountague, treaſurers were appointed in the ſeveral counties to collect this contribution, which amounted to upward of twenty thouſand pounds (18). As this money was intended for the ſupport of an army raiſed againſt the Scots, who, under pretence of religious diſputes, but in reality excited by emiſſaries from France, were in arms againſt the King, it is a point of ſome importance to know what the ſentiments were of the Court of Rome in a caſe of this nature; and theſe are preſerved to us in the following paper (19).

(17) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 818.

(18) Sir Kenelme Digby affirmed this when examined before the Houſe of Commons in 1640.

(19) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 821.

A Letter from the Pope *to his* Nuncio *in* England *at the beginning of the* War *with* Scotland, *but badly tranſlated.*

'You are to command the Catholicks of England 'in general, that they ſuddenly deſiſt from making 'ſuch offers of men, towards this northern expedition, 'as we hear they have done, little to the advantage of 'their diſcretion. And likewiſe it is requiſite, conſidering the penalty already impoſed, that they be 'not too forward with money, more than what law 'and duty enjoins them to pay, without any innovation at all, or view of making themſelves rather 'weaker pillars of the kingdom than they were before.

'Inform the Provincials of every order, that it is 'expreſsly prohibited no more aſſemblies (of what nature ſoever) ſhall admit of the Laity to have either 'voice or ſeſſion in it, being what will be urged for a 'precedent, *tho' it* is but only an uſurpation.

'Declare unto the beſt of the Peers and Gentlemen, 'by word of mouth or letter, that they ought not to 'expreſs any averſeneſs, in caſe the High Court of 'Parliament be called, nor ſhew any diſcontent at the 'acts which do not point-blank aim at religion, being, 'in general, the moſt fundamental law of that kingdom.

'Adviſe the Clergy to deſiſt from that fooliſh, nay, 'rather, illiterate and childiſh cuſtom of diſtinction in 'the Proteſtant and Puritan Doctrine. And, eſpecially, this error is ſo much the greater, when they undertake to prove, that Proteſtaniſm is a degree nearer 'the Catholick Faith than the other: for, ſince both 'of them be without the verge of the Church, it's 'needleſs hypocriſy to ſpeak of it, yea, it begets more 'malice than 'tis worth.

'That the Provincials are herein required to give a 'general warning, throughout all orders, that no religious perſon ought to be ſeduced (by any Noblemen, 'either Officers of the Crown, or the like, who pretend to be eciſmatick) into a præmunire. For he 'that dares not follow the truth as his conſcience directs him, is not worthy to be ſought or followed by 'any of our faith. But, on the other ſide, we give 'the like command, that whoſoever is thought inclining to God in his heart, let no man be ſo raſh to 'boaſt and ſpeak it abroad.

'All buſy enquiries are forbidden, but eſpecially into arcana's of State.

'That none of the Church, whether Lay-Brother 'or Eccleſiaſtick, contribute ſo largely as they have

'done

her Majeſty the Queen-Dowager of France having vouchſafed to write a letter, with her own hand, in favour of Sir Kenelme, and to procure his liberty, it was granted upon certain terms (*e*), and a very reſpectful letter written in anſwer to that of the Queen upon this ſubject (*f*) [*F*]. Before he quitted the kingdom, however, he was ſummoned before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in order to give an account of any knowledge he might have of tranſactions between Archbiſhop Laud and the Court of Rome, and particularly as to an offer ſuppoſed to be made to that Prelate from thence of a Cardinal's Hat; Sir Kenelme Digby aſſured the Committee, that he knew nothing of any ſuch tranſactions, and that, in his judgment, the Archbiſhop was what he ſeemed to be, a very ſincere and learned Proteſtant (*g*); of all which he took care that his Grace ſhould be informed, as well as that his enemies were very ſollicitous to diſcover any thing that might fix an imputation of that ſort upon his conduct (*h*). We may eaſily conceive, that a perſon of Sir Kenelme Digby's ſtudious and philoſophick genius, could not be altogether idle even while under confinement, but that his thoughts would be ſometimes employed upon thoſe ſublime and important topicks which had formerly furniſhed matter for his meditations; and accordingly we find, that, during his reſidence in Wincheſter-Houſe, he compoſed two pieces at leaſt, that ſoon after ſtole abroad into the world, and kept alive that fame which their author had acquired in better times. Theſe two pieces regard the works of others, and may be juſtly eſteemed judicious criticiſms, as well as very learned philoſophical diſſertations [*G*]. His appearance at the Court of France, to return thanks to the Queen-Mother, for her gracious interpoſition in his favour, was highly acceptable to many of the learned in that kingdom, who had a very high opinion of his abilities, and were charmed with the life and freedom of his converſation, which is, on all hands, allowed to have been very agreeable, notwithſtanding that ſpirit of envy which purſued him living, and which has not ceaſed to perſecute his memory ſince his death (*i*). It is highly probable, that, about this time, having heard ſo much of the fame of Des Cartes, he reſolved to go and pay him a viſit at Egmond, the place he had choſen for his retreat, where he accordingly found him, and had a converſation with him upon a very remarkable ſubject (*k*); and though he did not declare to that Philoſopher who he was, yet Des Cartes

(*e*) Archbiſhop Laud's Hiſt. of his own troubles, Aug. 3. 1643.

(*f*) See that letter in the note.

(*g*) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. I. p. 209.

(*h*) The perſon employed was Mr Edward Lenthorpe.

(*i*) As appears from the writings of Roſs, Stubbes, &c.

(*k*) Des Maizeaux's Life of M. St Evremond, p. 41.

'done to the ſociety, but diſpoſe their charity that 'every order may partake alike.'

[*F*] *Upon this ſubject.*] Mr Wood tells us, that Sir Kenelme Digby was very active for the King in the beginning of the Civil Wars (20); but it is moſt probable, that he was prevented from being active, ſince it is very evident that he was committed to Wincheſter-Houſe about the time it broke out, and continued in that confinement till he was diſcharged in the manner mentioned in the text. Mr Hearne has preſerved the copy of a letter directed to the Queen-Regent of France, in the language of that country, a tranſlation of which follows (21).

(20) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(21) Walteri Hemingford Chronicon, p. 581.

Madam,

'The two Houſes of Parliament having been informed, by the Sieur de Greſſy, of the deſire your 'Majeſty has, that we ſhould ſet at liberty Sir Kenelme Digby; we are commanded to make known 'to your Majeſty, that although the religion, the paſt 'behaviour, and the abilities of this Gentleman, might 'give juſt umbrage of his practiſing to the prejudice of 'the conſtitutions of this realm; nevertheleſs, having 'ſo great regard to the recommendation of your Majeſty, they have ordered him to be diſcharged, and 'have authorized us farther to aſſure your Majeſty, of 'their being always ready to teſtify to you their reſpects upon every occaſion, as well as to advance 'whatever may regard the good correſpondence between the two States. We remain,

Your Majeſty's

Moſt humble ſervants, *&c.*

By whom this letter was to be ſent does not appear, but, moſt probably, by the Committee to whom this matter was referred. In regard to the terms upon which this Gentleman was ſet at liberty, they will ſufficiently appear from the following paper, entirely written with, as well as ſubſcribed by, his own hand.

'Whereas upon the mediation of her Majeſty the 'Queen of France, it hath pleaſed both Houſes of 'Parliament to permit me to go into that kingdom; 'in humble acknowledgment of their favour therein, 'and to preſerve and confirm a good opinion of my 'zeal and honeſt intentions to the honour and ſervice 'of my country, I do here, upon the faith of a 'Chriſtian, and the word of a Gentleman, proteſt and 'promiſe, that I will, neither directly nor indirectly, 'negotiate, promote, conſent unto, or conceal, any 'practice or deſign, prejudicial to the honour or the 'ſafety of the Parliament. And, in witneſs of my 'reality herein, I have hereunto ſubſcribed my name, 'this 3d day of Auguſt, 1643.

'KENELME DIGBY.'

[*G*] *As well as very learned philoſophical diſſertations.*] Both were written in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, and are ſo full of deep learning, that the reader cannot help allowing there muſt have been prodigious ſtore in that magazine, which could furniſh ſuch variety and choice upon ſuch ſudden occaſions.

III. *Obſervations upon* Religio Medici, *occaſionally written by Sir* Kenelme Digby, *Knt.* Lond. 1643, 8*vo.* Theſe obſervations, digeſted into the form of a letter, were written in the night between the 22d and 23d of December, 1642, and addreſſed to Edward Earl of Dorſet, Sir Kenelme's great friend and patron, and who was a very great admirer of that famous piece written by the ingenious Dr Brown. Whoever peruſes theſe obſervations carefully, will diſcern that Sir Kenelme Digby was not either ſo credulous, or ſo ſuperſtitious a man as ſome have repreſented him, and tho' there are many crude and haſty cenſures in that letter, yet there are alſo ſome very ſtrong and ſenſible meditations upon very uncommon ſubjects.

IV. *Obſervations on the 22d ſtanza, in the ninth canto of the 2d book of Spenſer's Fairy Queen.* Lond. 1644, 8*vo.* This likewiſe was a letter to Sir Edward Stradling, written haſtily, and containing a very deep philoſophical commentary upon the moſt myſterious verſes that ever fell from the pen of their learned author, and which are thought to have been admirably explained in this diſcourſe. Beyond all doubt, if Sir Kenelme Digby has reached the ſenſe of his author, it does very high honour to Mr Spenſer, and might kindle a ſpirit of emulation in ſuch as read his excellent writings with delight, to attempt ſomething of the ſame kind with reſpect to other obſcure paſſages, which, cleared up in the ſame manner, would not fail of being very acceptable to the literary world.

[*G*] *Which*

Cartes preſently diſcovered him by his diſcourſe, which is a circumſtance worthy of notice [*H*] Our author is alſo reported to have had many conferences with him after at Paris (*l*), where he ſpent the beſt part of the enſuing year in a cloſe application to his ſtudies, and in frequenting the aſſemblies of the learned in that city, where he was generally well received, and, for the reaſons before aſſigned, greatly admired (*m*). He had now leiſure to digeſt that Philoſophy which he had been ſo long meditating, and of which he framed a ſyſtem, in two parts, which, in his own language, but with a licence or privilege from the French King, he publiſhed in the following year, and which is regarded by the learned as his principal performance (*n*). Some have inſinuated, that, in this work of his, he has taken to himſelf the honour of many weighty and curious obſervations which he met with in the writings of his learned and judicious friend Thomas Allen, of Glouceſter-Hall (*o*); but as never any proof of this was attempted, and as Sir Kenelme Digby, in every thing he penned, had the air of an original writer, this ought, in juſtice, to be conſidered as a very groundleſs ſuggeſtion. We ſhall give the reader a more full account of theſe two parts of his Philoſophy in the notes [*I*]. After the King's affairs

(*l*) To which ſome paſſages in his treatiſe on *Bodies* ſeem to refer.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col 352.

(*n*) See the titles, &c. in the note.

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 575. See alſo the article of ALLEN (THOMAS) in the General Dictionary.

[*H*] *Which is a circumſtance worthy of notice.*] The late very ingenious and knowing M. des Maizeaux, in the life of M. St Evremond, tells us, this gentleman was informed by Sir Kenelme Digby, that, having read the writings of that great Philoſopher Des Cartes, he reſolved to go in perſon to Holland on purpoſe to ſee him (22). He did ſo, and found him in his retirement at Egmond. There that ſtudious and intelligent perſon received and converſed with him as a ſtranger, but after a conſiderable time ſpent in a free and learned diſcourſe upon a great variety of ſubjects, M. Des Cartes, who had ſeen ſome of his works, told him, that he did not doubt but he was the famous Sir Kenelme Digby. And if you Sir, replied the Knight, were not the illuſtrious M. Des Cartes, I ſhould not have come on purpoſe to ſee you. Then Sir Kenelme Digby remarked to the Philoſopher, that our ſpeculative diſcoveries were indeed pretty and agreeable, but that after all they were too uncertain and unprofitable to take up a man's whole thoughts; that life was almoſt too ſhort to attain to the right knowledge of neceſſary things; that it would be much more worthy of him, who ſo well underſtood the frame of the human body, to ſtudy ways and means to prolong it, than to apply himſelf to the barren ſpeculations of Philoſophy. Des Cartes aſſured him that he had already conſidered that matter, and that to render a man immortal was what he would not venture to promiſe, but that he was very ſure it was poſſible to lengthen out his life to the period of the Patriarchs. When Monſ. de St Evremond told M. des Maizeaux this particular, he added, that they were not ignorant in Holland that Des Cartes flattered himſelf he had made this diſcovery, and that he had heard ſeveral perſons talk of it who had known that Philoſopher, that Des Cartes's friends alſo in France knew it, and that Abbot Picot, his diſciple and martyr, being perſuaded that he had found out this great ſecret, would not believe the news of his death, and that when he was aſhamed to doubt of it any longer, he cried, *'tis done and over, the world will ſoon be at an end!*

(22) Des Maizeaux's Life of M. St Evremond, p. 41.

[*I*] *Of theſe two parts of his Philoſophy in the notes.*] In order to treat the ſubject of this note as clearly and as conciſely as poſſible, we will firſt give the titles of our author's works, then ſome obſervations upon them, next ſhew how they were received, and laſtly, ſpeak of the anſwers that were written to them.

V. *A Treatiſe of the Nature of Bodies.* Paris 1644, fol. printed again at London in 1658, 1665, and 1669, all which editions are in 4*to*, and to the laſt ſome other pieces of his are added.

VI. *A Treatiſe declaring the Operations and Nature of Man's Soul, out of which the Immortality of Reaſonable Souls is evinced.* Paris 1644, fol. printed again at London 1645, 1657, 1669, all in 4*to*, and together with the former treatiſe.

VII. *Inſtitutionum Peripateticarum libri quinque, cum Appendice Theologica de Origine Mundi*, that is, *five books of Peripatetick Inſtitutions, together with a Theological Appendix concerning the Origin of the World.* Paris 1651, fol. This piece is added to the two former, tranſlated into Latin by J. L. together with a preface prefixed in the ſame language, by Thomas Anglus, that is, Thomas White, who alſo tranſlated theſe Peripatetick Inſtitutions into Engliſh.

The author addreſſes the two treatiſes firſt mentioned, which are indeed but the firſt and ſecond parts of the ſame work, to his ſon Kenelme Digby, and his epiſtle to him is dated at Paris, Auguſt 31, 1644, and the French King's privilege at Fontainbleau, the 26th of September in the ſame year. It will appear clearly to ſuch as peruſe theſe pieces, that our author was a man of very deep thought, extenſive learning, and very happy in ſupporting his philoſophick arguments by a very dextrous application of facts. He was entirely addicted to the Corpuſcularian Philoſophy, which for thoſe times he very well underſtood, but his notions being for the moſt part very new, and the relations advanced by him very extraordinary, thoſe who envied him took occaſion from thence to treat him not only with ſeverity but indecency, and better writers having ſucceeded him, have not taken the pains to expoſe this ill uſage, perhaps to prevent the world's taking notice how much they were obliged themſelves to our learned Knight. An inſtance will make all this plain. Our author having explained the ſenſe of ſmelling, and ſhewn why brutes have it in ſo much greater perfection than human creatures, he proceeds thus (23):

(23) Digby on Bodies, p. 310.

'Without doubt the like uſe men would make of 'this ſenſe, had they not on the one ſide better means 'than it to know the qualities of meats: and therefore 'this is not much reflected upon. And on the other 'ſide, were they not continually ſtuffed and clogged 'with groſs vapours of ſteamy meat, which are daily 'reeking from the table and their ſtomachs, and permit not purer atoms of bodies to be diſcerned, which 'require clear and uninfected organs to take notice of 'them. As we ſee it fare with dogs, who have not 'ſo true and ſenſible noſes when they are high fed, 'and lie in the kitchen amidſt the ſteams of meat, as 'when they are kept in their kennel with a more ſpare 'diet fit for hunting.

'One full example this age affordeth us in this 'kind, of a man whoſe extremity of fear wrought 'upon him to give us this experiment. He was born 'in ſome village of the country of Liege, and therefore among ſtrangers he is known by the name of 'John of Liege. I have been informed of this ſtory 'by ſeveral (whom I dare confidently believe) that 'have had it from his own mouth, and have queſtioned him with great curioſity particularly about 'it.

'When he was a little boy there being wars in the 'country, as that ſtate is ſeldom without moleſtations 'from abroad, when they have no diſtempers at home, 'which is an unſeparable effect of a country's ſituation 'upon the frontiers of powerful neighbouring Princes 'that are at variance, the village of which he was, 'had notice of ſome unruly ſcattered troops that were 'coming to pillage them, which made all the people 'of the village flie haſtily, with what they could carry 'with them, to hide themſelves in the woods, which 'were ſpacious enough to afford them ſhelter, for they 'joined upon the foreſt of Ardenne. There they lay 'till ſome of their ſcouts brought them word that the 'ſoldiers, of whom they were in ſuch apprehenſion, 'had fired their town and quitted it. Then all of 'them returned home excepting this boy, who it 'ſeemeth being of a very timorous nature, had images 'of fear ſo ſtrong in his fancy, that firſt he ran farther 'into the wood than any of the reſt, and afterwards

'apprehended

affairs were totally ruined, this Gentleman found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning into England (*p*), in order to compound for his eſtate, as is generally ſaid, tho' another account is given of this journey (*q*); but at what time he came, how long he remained here, or where he reſided, is very uncertain. He met however, during his ſtay, with ſeveral misfortunes, ſtill more ſenſible than that which brought him over. Amongſt theſe we ought to reckon the loſs of his eldeſt ſon Kenelme Digby, Eſq; a young Gentleman of great hopes, with reſpect both to his abilities and his virtues (*r*). He engaged himſelf with the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Peterborough, the Lord Petre, and many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, who, on July 7th, 1648, appeared for the King, under the Earl of Holland, near Kingſton in Surry, but, being attacked before they could well form, were obliged to retire into Huntingdonſhire, where, at St Neot's, they were ſurprized by Colonel Adrian Scroop's regiment of horſe, and, though they made a gallant defence, were totally routed; Colonel Dalbier, who till then had ſerved the Parliament, and is ſaid to have taught Cromwell the art of war, with Mr Digby, being ſlain upon the ſpot (*s*). The Parliament, notwithſtanding Sir Kenelme's compoſition, did not, for reaſons which will be hereafter mentioned, judge it proper that he ſhould remain in England, and therefore not only ordered him to withdraw, but voted if he ſhould afterwards, at any time, return without leave of the Houſe firſt obtained, he ſhould loſe both life and eſtate (*t*). Upon this he went again into France, where he was very kindly received by Queen Henrietta-Maria, Dowager of England, to whom he had been, for ſome time, Chancellor, and was, not long after, ſent into Italy, where he was, at firſt, well received by Pope Innocent X (*u*); but Mr Wood ſays he behaved to him ſo haughtily, that he very quickly

(*p*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(*q*) See this fully cleared in note [*L*].

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 542.

(*s*) See the preface to his father's treatiſe of *Bodies*, addreſſed to him.

(*t*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 329.

(*u*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 585.

'apprehended that every body he ſaw through the 'thickets, and every voice he heard, was the ſoldiers, 'and ſo hid himſelf from his parents that were in much 'diſtreſs, ſeeking him all about, and calling his name 'as loud as they could. When they had ſpent a day 'or two in vain they returned home without him, and 'he lived many years in the woods, feeding upon 'fruits, and wild roots, and maſt.

'He ſaid that after he had been ſome time in this 'wild habitation, he could by the ſmell judge of the 'taſte of any thing that was to be eaten, and that he 'could at a great diſtance wind by his noſe where 'wholeſome fruits or roots did grow. In this ſtate he 'continued (ſtill ſhunning men with as great fear as 'when he firſt ran away; ſo ſtrong the impreſſion 'was, and ſo little could his little reaſon maſter it) 'until, in a very ſharp winter, that many beaſts of the 'foreſt periſhed for want of food, neceſſity brought 'him to ſo much confidence, that, leaving the wild 'places of the foreſt, remote from all people's dwellings, he would, in the evenings, ſteal among cattle 'that were fothered, eſpecially the ſwine, and among 'them glean that which ſerved to ſuſtain wretchedly 'his miſerable life. He could not do this ſo cunningly, 'but that often returning to it, he was upon a time 'eſpied, and they who ſaw a beaſt of ſo ſtrange a 'ſhape, for ſuch they took him to be, he being naked 'and all overgrown with hair, believing him to be a 'ſatyr, or ſome ſuch prodigious creature as the rencounters of rare accidents tell us of, laid wait to apprehend him. But he that winded them as far off as 'any beaſt could do, ſtill avoided them, till at length 'they laid ſnares for him, and took the wind ſo advantageouſly of him, that they caught him, and then 'ſoon perceived he was a man, though he had quite 'forgotten the uſe of all language, but by his geſtures 'and cries he expreſſed the greateſt affright that 'might be, which afterwards he ſaid (when he learnt 'to ſpeak anew) was becauſe he thought thoſe were 'the ſoldiers he had hidden himſelf to avoid, when he 'firſt betook himſelf to the wood, and were always 'living in his fancy, through his fears continually reducing them thither.

'This man, within a little while after he came to 'good keeping and full feeding, quite loſt that acuteneſs 'of ſmelling which formerly governed him in his taſte, 'and grew to be in that particular as other ordinary 'men were. But at his firſt living with other people, 'a woman that had compaſſion of him, to ſee a man 'ſo near like a beaſt, and that had no language to call 'for what he wiſhed or needed to have, took particular care of him, and was always very ſollicitous to 'ſee him furniſhed with what he wanted; which made 'him ſo apply himſelf unto her in all his occurrents, 'that whenſoever he ſtood in need of ought, if ſhe were 'out of the way and were gone abroad into the fields, 'or to any other village near by, he would hunt her out 'preſently by his ſcent, in ſuch ſort as with us thoſe dogs 'uſe to do which are taught to draw dry foot. I imagine 'he is yet alive, to tell a better ſtory of himſelf than 'I have done, and to confirm what I have here ſaid of 'him; for I have it from them who ſaw him but a few 'years agone, that he was an able ſtrong man, and 'likely to laſt yet a good while longer.

'And of another man I can ſpeak aſſuredly myſelf, 'who being of a very temperate or rather ſpare diet, 'could likewiſe perfectly diſcern by his ſmell the qua'lities of whatſoever was afterwards to paſs the exa'mination of his taſte, even to his bread and beer. 'Wherefore to conclude, it is evident both by reaſon 'and by experience, that the objects of our touch, our 'taſte, and our ſmell, are material and corporeal 'things, derived from the diviſion of quantity into 'more rare and more denſe parts, and may with eaſe 'be reſolved into their heads and ſprings, ſufficiently 'to content any judicious and rational man.'

The reception given to this work when it firſt appeared, may be collected from this character given of the author by one who wrote in his own time (24), *Sir Kenelme Digby is an ingenious learned gentleman, and an ornament of this nation, as his book of Bodies ſhews.* We might cite many writers of our own, and of the French nation, of the ſame ſtanding, to vouch with equal ſtrength in favour of his reputation; but perhaps it will be ſufficient to take notice of the learned Morhoff, who had conſulted moſt of his writings, cites them often, and ſpeaks of their author with great applauſe (25). The Abbe Vallemont is a great admirer of Sir Kenelme Digby's writing (26), and applauds the ſagacity with which he handles the moſt difficult ſubjects, his penetration in diſcovering the true cauſes why they were difficult, and his perſpicuity in delivering his own notions.

(24) Leigh's Religion and Learning, p. 180.

(25) Polyhiſtor. II. 2, 15, 5. II. 2, 3, 6. II. 2, 8, 4. II. 2, 14, 2. II. 2, 32, 3. II. 2, 40, 2. II. 2, 47, 6. II. 2, 48, 1. III. 5, 1, 10.

We muſt not however imagine, that Sir Kenelme could make himſelf ſo famous by his writings without meeting ſome degree of cenſure, and in an age ſo full of cavils as that was, of oppoſition; accordingly, we find that he was attacked at home by Alexander Roſs, a voluminous writer, who likewiſe undertook to diſparage the abilities of Dr Hervey and Sir Thomas Brown. The title of his work was,

(26) La phyſique occulte, p. 195.

The Philoſophical Touchſtone, or Obſervations upon Sir Kenelme Digby's *Diſcourſes of the Nature of Bodies, and of the Reaſonable Soul*, &c. *in which his erroneous Paradoxes are refuted.* Lond. 1645, 4*to.*

He was alſo attacked abroad in a ſmall treatiſe, intituled,

Triumphans Anima, ſive Philoſophica Demonſtratio immortalitatis Animæ. Frank. 1661, 12*mo.* This was publiſhed under the fictitious name of Amandus Verus, which concealed John Chriſoſtom Enggenfield, a very learned Bavarian, J. U. D. concerning whoſe hiſtory the curious reader may meet with ſome circumſtances in the author cited in the margin [27).

(27) Vincentii Placcii Theatrum Anonymorum & Pſeudonymorum, P. ii. p. 38.

[*K*] *We*

quickly loſt his good opinion; and adds farther, that there was ſuſpicion of his being no faithful Steward of the contributions raiſed in that part of the world, for the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed Catholicks in England (*w*). However that matter might be, it is very certain, that he viſited ſeveral other Courts in Italy, where he was treated with great reſpect, as well on account of his perſonal qualifications, as from the eſteem thoſe Princes had of the Queen his miſtreſs (*x*). But, whether his conduct deſerved thoſe imputations mentioned by Mr Wood, or whether his figure and addreſs were capable of making ſuch impreſſions as another writer mentions, we have not lights ſufficient to determine (*y*) [*K*]. After Cromwell had aſſumed the ſupreme power in this kingdom, Sir Kenelme Digby, who had now nothing to fear from the Long Parliament, ventured to return home (*z*), and continued here a great part of the year 1655, when it is very certain that he was embarked in ſome very great deſign, and, as ſome writers have ſuggeſted, this was, reconciling the Papiſts to the Protector (*a*). This created great jealouſies againſt him on all ſides, and the countenance he received from Cromwell, who is ſaid to have been very much taken with him, produced no ſmall clamour againſt his government (*b*). Whether either of them were ſincere, or whether, like thorough Politicians, each acted a part which ſuited with their intereſts at that juncture, remains doubtful; but that the facts already mentioned are certainly true, and that Mr Wood has not injured Sir Kenelme in his cenſure (*c*), may be proved to the reader's ſatisfaction [*L*]. Beſides all this, after Sir

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(*x*) So it appears from various Letters of a perſon then at Rome.

(*y*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(*z*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 263, *a*.

(*a*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 195.

(*b*) See this largely diſcuſſed in note [*L*].

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

[*K*] *We have not lights ſufficient to determine.*] It appears from the original picture of Sir Kenelme Digby ſtill remaining, that though he was a perſon of the largeſt ſize, as indeed his family generally were, yet he was a very well made graceful man; his gallant action at ſea, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, affords us a pregnant proof of his courage, which ſhewed itſelf alſo upon other occaſions; and his writings, which are peculiarly calculated to enliven the drieſt, as well as to enlighten the darkeſt ſubjects, cannot leave us in any doubt as to the faculties of his mind. But that with all theſe high qualities he had his imperfections, who can doubt? Of what nature theſe failings were the reader muſt collect, as well as he can, from Mr Wood's account, which is this (28): 'He was not only maſter 'of a good graceful and judicious ſtile, but alſo wrote 'an admirable hand both faſt and Roman. His per'ſon was handſome and gigantick, and nothing was 'wanting to make him a compleat Cavalier. He had 'ſo graceful elocution and noble addreſs, that had he 'been dropped out of the clouds into any part 'of the world, he would have made himſelf re'ſpected; but the Jeſuits who cared not for him, 'ſpoke ſpitefully, and ſaid it was true, but then he 'muſt not ſtay there above ſix weeks. He had a great 'faculty, which proceeded from abundance of wit 'and invention, of propoſing and reporting matters 'to the Virtuoſi, eſpecially to the Philoſophical Aſ'ſembly at Montpellier, and Royal Society at home. 'Which is the reaſon why many ſay, that as he was 'moſt exactly accompliſhed with all ſorts of learning, 'ſo he was guilty withal of extravagant vanities.' Mr Lloyd (29), who likewiſe wrote when things were freſh in memory, beſtows a better character on our illuſtrious Knight, who he reports of a fluent invention and diſcourſe, as appears from his long diſcourſe at Montpellier in France, and his entertainments of the Ladies of the ſeveral nations he travelled in; of a great faculty in negotiations both at France, Rome, and Florence, and moſt of the ſtates of Italy, of one of the Princes whereof it is reported, that, having no children, he was very willing his wife ſhould bring him a Prince by Sir Kenelme, whom he imagined the juſt meaſure of perfection.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(29) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 582.

[*L*] *May be proved to the reader's ſatisfaction.*] In the articles relating to our author inſerted in foreign collections, his loyalty to King Charles I, his ſteady attachment to King Charles II, and his averring himſelf to be of the Romiſh religion at the peril of his life, are extolled as ſo many acts of heroiſm (30). As it is our buſineſs to diſcover truth, we are under a neceſſity of obſerving, that this gentleman has no title to theſe praiſes, and that whatever tincture of envy there might be in the cenſures paſſed upon his Philoſophical character, what is ſaid to the prejudice of his political behaviour will admit of no ſuch extenuation. His practices in favour of the Catholicks, with thoſe who murdered King Charles I. began early, as appears from the following paſſages in a letter from the Lord Byron to the Marquis of Ormond (31), dated from Caen in Normandy, March 1, 1649, N. S. 'In 'ſome letters from good hands I meet with a parti'cular of great concernment, which I thought fit to 'advertiſe your Excellency of by this bearer, Major 'Jamot, who, though a Roman Catholick, yet herein 'ſo much deteſts their ways, that truly I believe it will 'alter his opinion. The buſineſs is briefly this: Sir 'Kenelme Digby, with ſome other Romaniſts, accom'panied with one Watſon an Independent, who hath 'brought them paſſes from Fairfax, is gone for Eng'land to join the intereſts of all the Engliſh Papiſts with 'that bloody party that murdered the King, in the 'oppoſition and extirpation of monarchical government, 'or if that government be thought fit, yet that it 'ſhall be by election, and not by ſucceſſion as for'merly provided; that a free exerciſe of the Romiſh 'religion be granted, and of all other religions what'ſoever, excepting that which was eſtabliſhed by law 'in the Church of England. This deviliſh deſign, 'which moſt certainly is now ſetting on foot, I doubt 'may have an ill influence upon Ireland, eſpecially 'upon O-Neil's party, if not prevented by your vigi'lance and prudence. Poyntz (my Lord of Wor'ceſter's devil) I hear is a prime actor in it, and it is 'much ſuſpected that Walſingham, whom your Ex'cellency knows for a pragmatical knave, and I be'lieve comes over in Darcy's frigate, is employed by 'Sir K. Digby, though pretending ſome other buſi'neſs. Sir Edward Nicholas either hath, or will write 'to your Excellency, concerning this particular, and 'Major Jamot is able to ſay ſomething in it. I am 'the apter to believe it, becauſe, when I was in 'England, ſomething to this purpoſe was propounded 'by the Independent party to the Recuſants.' This was followed by a letter from Secretary Nicholas, incloſing a letter from Dr Winſtad, a Phyſician of the Romiſh religion at Rouen, dated February 7, 1649, in which he gives the following account of the ſame journey, from his own knowledge (32): 'Tueſday 'laſt arrived here Sir Kenelme Digby from Paris, with 'divers young gentlemen in his company, only there 'was a wry-necked fellow amongſt them, which Sir 'Kenelme commended to my acquaintance and care, 'as being he ſaid in a conſumption, and for that cure 'had changed the air and came into France, but was 'now going into England, with an intention to return 'within ſixteen or twenty days, and then would ſtay 'here, or go into Languedoc for his health. Feeling 'his hand and pulſe, I aſſured him that he was in no 'conſumption nor never had been. Afterwards I per'ceived that this was but a pretence, and that he was 'an agent for that accurſed crew, his name Watſon, 'Scoutmaſter to the rebels. I ſpake freely my mind 'of the murther, and the judgment that was made 'here by the French; his anſwer was, that the 'French abhorred the fact in general. I ſpared no 'curſes, for I aſſure myſelf it is no ſin to curſe the ene'mies of God and my King. I aſked Sir Kenelme 'Digby why he would go now into England, con'ſidering the abomination of that country; his anſwer 'was, that he had not any means to ſubſiſt longer, 'and if he went not now he muſt ſtarve. I anſwered 'it

(30) See the article of DIGBY (Sir KENELME) in Bayle and Moreri.

(31) Collection of original letters and papers found amongſt thoſe of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 216.

(32) Ibid. p. 220.

Sir Kenelme had left England, and was again in France, we find him not only applying to the government of England, and particularly to Secretary Thurloe, for private favours, but in reſpect to matters of publick concern (*d*), and on the behalf of the Engliſh Merchants at Calais, who, without doubt, would not have applied to him, if they had not believed his credit with the Protector better than their own. But what ſerves to put this matter entirely out of doubt, is a letter of his, which contains ſuch extraordinary acknowledgments and aſſurances, as renders it every way worthy of the reader's notice (*e*) [*M*]. After

(*d*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 244.

(*e*) See the ground of this letter in that laſt referred to. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 591.

'it was the better choice to die, if he remembered 'the obligations he had to the Queen-Regent of 'France, who took him from thoſe that would have 'deſtroyed him. He anſwered, that the Queen-Regent knew of his going, and that he had the King of 'France's paſs, and would return again ſuddenly. I 'next preſt him to ſtay two or three months; he replied, that by that time all his buſineſs would be ſettled. 'I deſired him not to think to have from thoſe at 'London any toleration, for that for my part I had 'rather live in exile all the days of my life, and ſuffer 'at Tyburn when I came home, than that my publick 'liberty to ſerve God ſhould ſpring from the bloody 'murtherers of my Sovereign.' What his thoughts were of the deſign appears likewiſe from his own words: 'The plot as I am told about, which Sir Kenelme Digby (who came a few days ſince to this town) is em'ployed as agent to treat with thoſe horrid rebels, 'the Independents of England, is for the ſubverſion of 'ſucceſſive hereditary monarchy there, and to make it 'elective, and to eſtabliſh Popery there, and to give 'toleration to all manner of religions, except that of 'the Church of England according to the practice 'thereof.' The reader will obſerve that this treaty was with the Independents, and that as ſoon as the Preſbyterian faction recovered power, Sir Kenelme Digby was baniſhed by the Parliament, as an artful, buſy, and dangerous perſon. When Oliver came into power, the ſame deſign of the Papiſts was revived again, for the proſecution of which Sir Kenelme Digby came over in 1655, when he lived here in all the eaſe, freedom, and credit imaginable (33), converſing entirely with thoſe who were favourers of that government, which induced Mr Holles, afterwards Lord Holles, to publiſh a pamphlet, in which he addreſſes himſelf to Cromwell in the following terms (34): 'What liberty the 'Prieſts and Jeſuits take, how far they prevail on the 'people, what countenance they receive from this 'government, is apparent enough by not proceeding 'againſt them in juſtice, as if no laws were in force 'for their puniſhment. Your private negotiations 'with the Pope, and your promiſes, that, as ſoon as 'you can eſtabliſh your own greatneſs, you will protect 'the Catholicks, and the inſinuations that you will 'countenance them much farther, are ſufficiently 'known and underſtood, and of their dependance 'upon, and devotion to, you, there needs no evidence 'beyond the book lately written by Mr White, a Ro'miſh Prieſt, and dedicated to your favourite Sir Ke'nelme Digby, entitled, The Grounds of Obedience 'and Government, in which he juſtifies all the grounds 'and maxims in your declaration, and determines po'ſitively, that you ought to be ſo far from performing 'any promiſe, or obſerving any oath that you have 'taken, if you know that it is for the good of the 'people, that you break it. Albeit they foreſeeing 'all that you now ſee, did therefore bind you by oath 'not to do it, and that you offend both againſt your 'oath and fidelity to the people, if you maintain thoſe 'limitations you are ſworn to, and ſure what you do 'muſt be ſupported by ſuch Caſuiſts.' This point is ſtill more explicitly handled by Mr Prynne, who tells us of Cromwell (35) 'that Sir Kenelme Digby was his 'particular favourite, and lodged by him at White'hall; that Maurice Conry, Provincial of the Fran'ciſcans in England, and other Prieſts, had his pro'tections under hand and ſeal, and that he ſuſpended 'laws and executions againſt Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, 'though ſometimes taken in their pontificalibus at 'maſs, and were ſoon after releaſed; and that he en'deavoured to ſtop the bill againſt Papiſts the very 'morning he was to paſs it, by his Whitehall inſtru'ments, who moved it's ſuſpenſion for a time, as not 'ſuiting with the then preſent foreign correſponden'cies, againſt whom it was carried by eighty-eight 'votes, that it ſhould be ſent up with the reſt then 'paſſed, and that he writ to Mazarine to excuſe his 'paſſing that bill, as being carried on by a violent 'Preſbyterian party, much againſt his will, and that 'yet it ſhould not hurt them though paſſed, &c.' All theſe teſtimonies taken conjunctly with the letter produced in the next note, are certainly very deciſive, and prove plainly, that Sir Kenelme had preciſely his father's principles, and purſued nothing with ſo much vehemence as the eſtabliſhment of Popery in England, under any government, and upon any terms. It is very ſtrange that this did not ruin him with the Queen-Dowager, but that it did not is very certain, as it likewiſe is, that theſe intrigues were continued to the very laſt hour of our diſturbances, Lambert, who made the final ſtruggle, being a concealed Papiſt, and King Charles II, or at leaſt his Miniſters, ſo thoroughly apprized of theſe points, as to ſend inſtructions to thoſe who managed his affairs in England, to concert nothing with the Papiſts (36), though, as we have ſeen, there might be honeſt men amongſt them, who deteſted thoſe treacherous arts, by which, after the miſcarriage of the powder-treaſon, diſaffection was cunningly ſpread all over England, commotions excited in Scotland, and, by degrees, the body of the Papiſts in Ireland precipitated into a bloody maſſacre, and a moſt unnatural rebellion. As this detail has a near relation to Sir Kenelme Digby's perſonal hiſtory, ſo it opens to our view one of the darkeſt parts of that diſagreeable period of our Hiſtory, in which many people are apt to think that the Papiſts are accuſed rather from prejudice than proof; whereas, in reality, though they muſt be allowed an admirable faculty in mining, yet it would not be at all impoſſible to prove, that, during this ſpace, the Popes and their agents were as active abroad, as Cromwell and his party were indefatigable at home, and both with the like views, though not from the ſame principles; and hence we may eaſily account for Sir Kenelme Digby's great favour and credit with the Protector.

(33) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 263, 264.

(34) A letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1656. 4to. p. 58.

(35) True and perfect narrative of what was done, or ſpoken by, and between Mr Prynne, the old and newly forcibly late ſecluded Members, the army Officers, and thoſe now ſitting, both in the common Lobby, Houſe, and elſewhere, on the 7th and 9th of May, &c. Lond. 1659. 4to. p. 57.

(36) Collection of original letters and papers found amongſt thoſe of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 216, 225, 243.

[*M*] *Every way worthy of the reader's notice.*] This letter ſtands in need of no introduction, ſince it comes directly up to the point mentioned in the text, and is an excellent inſtance of the advantages that may be drawn from ſuch kind of collections, in works of this nature (37).

(37) State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 591.

Sir Kenelme Digby to Secretary Thurloe.

'Right Honourable, Paris, Mar. 18, 1656.

'THE French Ambaſſador taking leave of me 'yeſterday, told me, that his Secretary at Lon'don had, among other things, written to him, that 'Sir Robert Welſh had ſpoken ſomething to your Ho'nour much to my prejudice, and that ſince ſome letter 'of a Lady to me had been intercepted, the contents 'whereof did in ſome ſort make good what he had 'ſpoken. I believe your Honour hath ſo good infor'mation what this woful Knight is, that if there were 'nothing but the venom that his malicious tongue can 'ſpit, I ſhould not think it needful to trouble myſelf, 'much leſs your Honour's more ſerious occaſions, with 'taking any notice of it. But ſince he hath contrived 'as I verily believe, ſome better name than 'his own, to ſeem to juſtify what would have no 'credence from him, I may not ſit down without 'beſeeching your Honour, to ſearch the matter to 'the bottom, and to drive it to the utmoſt. I look 'upon this as a contriving of his, becauſe forging of 'letters, and doing treacheries of this kind, hath been 'his ordinary courſe, and becauſe I am confident that 'nobody in the world, who hath ſo much familiarity 'with me as to write to me, but knoweth me ſo well, 'as to be ſure that whatſoever may be diſliked by my 'Lord Protector and the Council of State, muſt be 'deteſted by me. My obligations to his Highneſs are

'ſo

After ſome ſtay at Paris, he went to ſpend the ſummer of the year 1656 at Toulouſe; and, as he had there the pleaſure of converſing with a great many learned and ingenious men, ſo he frequently entertained them, in his turn, not only with his Mathematical, Phyſical, and Philoſophical Diſcoveries, but with ſuch communications alſo received from his friends in the different parts of Europe, as he thought moſt capable either of extending knowledge, or of creating pleaſure or delight (*f*). Amongſt theſe was a relation he obtained concerning a petrified city in Africa, which he likewiſe tranſmitted to a friend in England in the month of September, the ſame year, and which very undeſervedly drew upon him a very heavy load of calumny and reproach (*g*) [*N*]. We find him the next year at Montpellier, in the ſouth of France, whither he went, partly for the ſake of his health, which began to be impaired by ſevere fits of the ſtone, and partly for the ſake of enjoying the learned ſociety of ſeveral worthy and ingenious perſons, who had formed themſelves into a kind of academy (*h*) there, and to whom he read his large diſcourſe of the ſympathetick powder, afterwards printed and publiſhed in ſeveral languages, and, at that time, generally well received (*i*) [*O*]. We are indebted to the letters lately publiſhed

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(*g*) Stubbes's Animadverſions on the *Plus Ultra* of Glanville, p. 161.

(*h*) See the advertiſement to the reader before the French tranſlation.

(*i*) La Phyſique occulte, par M. de Vallemont, p. 195.

'ſo great, that it would be a crime in me to behave 'myſelf ſo negligently as to give cauſe for any ſhadow 'of the leaſt ſuſpicion, or to do any thing that might 'require an excuſe or apology. I make it my buſineſs 'every where, to have all the world take notice how 'highly I eſteem myſelf obliged to his Highneſs, and 'how paſſionate I am for his ſervice, and for his ho'nour and intereſts, even to the expoſing of my life 'for them. If your Honour cannot readily find out 'the bottom of this villainy plotted againſt me upon 'notice of ſo much, I will take poſt the next day to 'return into England (though it may be much to the 'prejudice of my domeſtick affairs, in my broken e'ſtate, becauſe my debts are not yet quieted) and I 'doubt not but I ſhall ſoon make diſcovery of ſome 'wicked treachery intended againſt me; for this 'wretched creature hath as much malice to me as he is 'capable of, firſt, as being an Iriſh Papiſt (whoſe 'whole tribe have an implacable animoſity againſt me), 'and next, becauſe I have heretofore ſhamed him, and 'have broken ſome cheating deſigns of his, by making 'publick ſome of his infamous villanies, for which he 'never durſt make any expoſtulation with me. I 'humbly crave pardon of your Honour, for ſuffering 'myſelf to be thus far tranſported. My excuſe is, 'that I ſhould think my heart were not an honeſt one, 'if the blood about it were not warmed with any the 'leaſt imputation upon my reſpects and my duty to 'his Highneſs, to whom I owe ſo much. I humbly 'crave a line or two from your Honour, that I may 'either reſolve to return preſently home, or remain 'ſatisfied by your having diſcovered the villany at'tempted againſt me, which, with all humility, ex'pecting, I reſt,

'Your Honour's Moſt Humble,

'and Moſt Obedient ſervant, &c.'

[*N*] *A very heavy load of calumny and reproach.*] The matter of fact hinted at in the text was plainly this: Mr Fitton, an Engliſh Gentleman, who was at that time Library-Keeper to the Great Duke of Tuſcany, wrote a letter, dated July 2, 1656, to Sir Kenelme Digby, at Toulouſe, with an Account of a city within the territories of Tripoli in Africa, ſuppoſed to be entirely petrified by the riſing of a vapour out of the earth; which piece of intelligence Sir Kenelme having written to a friend in England, he was ſo free in communicating it, that it was at length printed in the *Mercurius Politicus* (38). The famous Dr Stubbes took occaſion from this to ſhew at once his diſlike to Sir Kenelme Digby, and to gratify his profeſſed averſion for the Royal Society, by treating the thing as an abſurd and ridiculous falſhood, and by ſaying of Sir Kenelme, whom he would have repreſented as the author of it, *That he was the Pliny of our age for lying* (39). To ſhew that ſuch a city as this there is from the accounts given by modern writers, would indeed vindicate the ſagacity of our author, and ſhew that he made a better judgment of things than his antagoniſt Stubbes; but we can do more than this, for we can ſhew that Sir Kenelme did not either credit a haſty, or an idle report, but that it had been current ſome time, and the truth of it believed upon good authority; which is ſufficient to juſtify Sir Kenelme in his Philoſophick character, and to demonſtrate that though he was extreamly curious, he was not at all credulous (40).

(38) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 353.

(39) Animadverſions upon Glanville's *Plus Ultra*, p. 161.

The following paper was delivered to Richard Waller, Eſq; Fellow of the Royal Society, by Mr Baker, who was the Engliſh Conſul at Tripoli, Nov. 12, 1713.

(40) Philoſophical Experiments and Obſervations of the late eminent Dr Robert Hooke, publiſhed by W. Derham. Lond. 1726. 8vo. p. 386, 387.

'ABOUT forty days journey S. E. from Tri'poli, and about ſeven days from the neareſt 'ſea-coaſt, there is a place called Ougila, in which 'there are found the bodies of men, women, and 'children, beaſts and plants, all petrified of a hard 'ſtone like marble. That about 1654 or 5, the 'Corſairs having taken ſeveral of the Engliſh ſhips, 'Admiral Blake was ſent with a ſquadron of men of 'war to Tripoli, from which place and Tunis he had 'all the captives delivered without ranſom, at which 'time the report of this diſcovery of the abovemen'tioned city was new, ſo that he obliged the Alkade to 'procure a whole figure for him, which he promiſed. 'But Blake not ſtaying long enough there, but ſailing 'to Leghorn, he ſent a ſmall frigate to Tripoli to 'fetch it aboard, in which frigate one Mr Hebden '(then a young gentleman) went, who told Mr Baker 'that he himſelf ſaw a figure of a man petrified, which 'was conveyed to Leghorn, and thence to England, 'and that it was carried to Secretary Thurloe.

'The ſame Mr Baker told me, that, when he was 'at Tripoli, he ſpoke with ſeveral Turks, who af'firmed themſelves to have been eye-witneſſes of the 'ſaid petrifactions. That particularly an officer that 'commanded a garriſon of two hundred men, on a 'frontier place called Derney, not many days journey 'from the place, had promiſed him to procure a figure 'thence; the ſame affirmed the relation, that accor'dingly he ſent ſome ſpies to find the place, which at 'that time they could not, as he ſent him word, it 'being wholly buried in the ſands, which in that 'country are carried in great clouds; that a ſtrong 'north wind blows the ſand off, and by that means 'diſcovers the place, which, at other times, is co'vered by theſe ſands.

'He farther told me, that this Mr Hebden died a'bout two years ſince a priſoner in the Fleet, though 'he had been formerly ſent to Moſcow by King 'Charles II. He ſaid he had procured the arm of a 'fig-tree, as big as his arm, petrified, whereon the 'bark and wood were plainly viſible, the bark grey, 'the wood yelloviſh, of the true colour of the plant; 'that in the bark was a groove, in which were ſeveral 'ſmall inſects, like the lady cow, petrified; that he 'had preſented this piece of petrified wood to my 'Lord Torrington, in whoſe poſſeſſion he believes it 'now is.'

[*O*] *At that time generally well received.*] Our author deſigned to have collected Roger Bacon's Works, and actually tranſlated from the Latin of Albertus Magnus, Biſhop of Ratiſbon, a ſmall piece, intituled,

VIII. *A Treatiſe of adhering to God.* Lond. 1654, 8*vo*.

IX. *Of the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy.* Lond. 1658, 8*vo*, ſpoken in French in a ſolemn aſſembly at Montpellier in France in 1657, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Richard White, Lond. 1660, reprinted at London with the treatiſe of Bodies, *anno* 1669,

published of the famous Mr Algernoon Sydney (*k*), for the knowledge of this Gentleman's paſſing the year 1658, and part of the year 1659, in the Lower Germany, and more eſpecially in the Palatinate; but, as to what he ſays of his going there by the name of Earl or Count Digby, and other circumſtances of a very diſparaging nature, they ſeem to flow from a mixture of inconnected reports, joined to a very high diſlike of the perſon to whom they related. It is probable, that he returned from thence towards the cloſe of the laſt mentioned year to Paris, where we find him in 1660, and employed there, after his accuſtomed manner, in converſing with the learned, moderating in their aſſemblies, and giving them occaſional lights from his own obſervations and informations. This circumſtance we derive from the pen of a very ingenious and knowing perſon, who wrote it as acceptable news to his great patron in England (*l*) [*P*]. He returned the following year to England, and was very well received at Court, notwithſtanding the Miniſters were far from being ignorant of the irregularity in his conduct, and the court that he had paid to Oliver while the King was in exile (*m*). It does not, however, appear, that any other favour was ſhewn him, than ſeemed to be due to a man of letters (*n*). In the firſt ſettlement of the Royal Society, we find him appointed one of the Council, by the title of Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, Chancellor to our dear mother Queen Mary (*o*). He was not likely to be conſidered or truſted in the beginning of King Charles's adminiſtration, becauſe he not only ſhewed himſelf an open but a buſy Papiſt, interfered in their quarrels, and declared himſelf, upon all occaſions, an eager enemy to the Jeſuits (*p*), who were not at all behind with him in reſentment, but took all the care they could to leſſen his character, and to defame him. As long as his health would permit, he attended the meetings of the Royal Society, and gave his aſſiſtance towards the improvements that were then made in uſeful knowledge; one of his diſcourſes (*q*) was printed and publiſhed by itſelf, of which we ſhall take notice [*Q*]. He ſpent the remainder of his days at his houſe in Covent-Garden, where he enjoyed the company of his friends, and was much viſited by the lovers of Mathematical and Philoſophical Learning; ſo that, according to a cuſtom which then prevailed much in France, he had a kind of Academy, or Literary

(*k*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 698.

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 302.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(*n*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 286.

(*o*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 137.

(*p*) In the edition of 1669, added to his treatiſe of Bodies.

(*q*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 286.

1669, and tranſlated into Latin by Laur. Stranſius of Darmſted in Heſſe. It is alſo printed in the book intituled *Theatrum Sympatheticum*, publiſhed by John Andreas Endter at Norimberg, 1662, in 4*to*, of which there is an account in our Philoſophical Tranſactions. As to the philoſophical arguments in this treatiſe, and the manner in which the author accounts for the ſtrange operations of this remedy, they were highly admired in thoſe days, have been often copied ſince, and even in this inquiſitive and judicious age, are allowed to be very ingenious, though not very convincing.

[*P*] *Who wrote it as acceptable news to his great patron in England.*] The perſon mentioned in the text is Mr Oldenburgh, afterwards Secretary to the Royal Society, who, in his letter to Mr Boyle, dated Paris Mar. 20, 1660, writes thus (41): 'Sir Kenelme Digby will himſelf aſſure you, by the annexed, of his reſpects to you. We met lately at the houſe of a Chemiſt, where the queſtion was agitated about the diſſolvent of gold, Whether the univerſal ſpirit of the world, in it's undetermined nature, or, as it is ſpecified and contracted to a mineral, be the menſtruum of that noble metal? The diſcuſſion hereof being rather made by authority than reaſon, gave ſmall ſatisfaction to the auditors, whereof the learned Knight himſelf being the chief, did moderate the action, but not determine the queſtion, interlacing the diſcourſes of others with ſeveral conſiderable relations, whereof two did raviſh the hearers to admiration. The one was of a King's houſe in England, which having ſtood covered with lead for five or ſix ages, and being ſold after that, was found to contain three fourths of ſilver in the lead thereof. The other was of a fixed ſalt, drawn out of a certain potters earth here in France, at a place called Arcueil, which ſalt being for ſome time expoſed to the ſun-beams, became ſalt-petre, then vitriol, then lead, tin, copper, ſilver, and, at the end of fourteen months, gold; which he aſſured to have experienced himſelf, and another able Naturaliſt beſides him. I muſt confeſs I would rather ſee this than believe it, though the author be a very authentick gentleman.' Theſe facts, as they are very cloſely ſet down, and without any illuſtration of circumſtances, have an air of incredibility; but without doubt if we knew exactly how they were related by Sir Kenelme, they would not appear either ſo ſtrange or ſo improbable. As to the alterations of lead indeed, and it's growing heavier in time, ſo as to endanger the buildings covered with it, we meet with ſome very extraordinary inſtances in Mr Boyle's own writings (42); and as to the other matter, ſtrange as it is, it appears not to have reſted entirely upon Sir Kenelme Digby's authority, and ſeems beſides to have ſome concurrence with the accurate experiments long afterwards made in France by that ingenious and candid Chemiſt Mr Homberg. It may not however be amiſs to remark, by the way, that Sir Kenelme Digby had a true philoſophick ſpirit, and was much more covetous of knowledge than of wealth, and as deſirous of communicating ſcience as of obtaining it; which ſometimes expoſed him, as it hath done other great men, to the ſupercilious contempt of perſons far inferior both in learning and in underſtanding.

(41) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 302.

(42) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 460.

[*Q*] *Of which we ſhall take notice.*] In this note we are to ſpeak of the laſt genuine work of our author's, which was

X. *Diſcourſe concerning the Vegetation of Plants.* Lond. 1661, 8*vo*, and again in 1669, 4*to*, printed in Latin at Amſterdam 1663, and again in 1669, 12*mo*, under this title: *Diſſertatio de Plantarum Vegetatione.*

This work is highly applauded by the learned Morhoff, whoſe judicious character of it will give the reader a true idea of the worth of our author (43). 'Magnam huic vegetationi lucem affert liber Kenelmi Digbæi, de vegetatione plantarum, è lingua Angl. in Lat. converſus, quo eleganter proceſſum nutritionis & accretionis è ſemine demonſtrat, cujus Diſſertationis argumentum libro ſuo de immortalitate animæ inſeruit. Tota illa Diſſertatio ſubtiliſſima eſt, & cum accuratione legi meretur. Mathematica demonſtratione enim ob oculos ponit, quomodo à primo ſeminali puncto partes extra partes procedunt, partim ſalibus aëris aut terreſtribus evocatæ, partim preſſione aëris & humoris externi, partim calore ſubterraneo, quæ omnia hic ſingulatim explicare, nimis eſſet operoſum. Videatur Auctor ille, & cum ipſo conferatur Honor: Fabri, qui partes plantarum, quæ ſucceſſione excreſcunt, optime delineavit, &, ut exiſtimo, maxime ad mentem Digbæi.'

(43) Polyhiſtor. II. 2. 40. 2.

The reader may find in Wood, and in ſome other authors, ſeveral pieces attributed to Sir Kenelme Digby (44), but as theſe were publiſhed after his deceaſe by one Hartman, who was his Operator, and who put Sir Kenelme Digby's name in the title-page, with a view to recommend compoſitions very unworthy of him to the publick; they ſeem by no means to deſerve a place here, which, with our deſire to bring this article within bounds as much as poſſible, are our reaſons for rejecting them.

(44) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 353.

rary Aſſembly, in his own dwelling (*r*). Some years before his death, he cauſed a vault to be built under the eaſt end of the ſouth iſle of Chriſt-Church within Newgate, in which was depoſited the body of his wife, and over it was erected a very ſtately altar monument of black marble, whereon her buſt, made of copper gilt, was placed, with four inſcriptions in honour of her memory (*s*). This lady's name was Venetia, daughter to Sir Edward Stanley, of Tongue-Caſtle in Shropſhire, Knight of the Bath, by his wife the Lady Lucy, daughter and coheireſs of Thomas Piercy, Earl of Northumberland (*t*), which Sir Edward Stanley was the ſon of Sir Thomas Stanley, Knight, and grandſon of Edward Earl of Derby (*u*), by the Lady Dorothy Howard, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk. We ſhould have been able to have rendered this article much more perfect, if we could have had the aſſiſtance of that noble manuſcript which Sir Kenelme cauſed to be collected at the expence of a thouſand pounds, as well out of private memorials, as from publick hiſtories and records in the Tower, and elſewhere, relating to the Digby family in all its branches (*w*); but not knowing where this was to be found, we have drawn together, with no ſmall pains, what lay ſcattered about him in a variety of authors, and have digeſted the ſeveral facts they mentioned in the beſt order we could. In the ſummer of the year 1665, his old diſtemper the ſtone increaſed upon him very much, and brought him very low, which rendered him deſirous, as it is ſaid, of going to France (*x*); which, however, he lived not to accompliſh, but deceaſing on his birth-day, June 11th, 1665 (*y*), when he was ſixty-two years of age, his corps was interred near that of his lady in the Church before-mentioned (*z*). Sir Kenelme's valuable library, which was juſtly eſteemed a moſt excellent collection, had been tranſported into France at the firſt breaking out of the troubles, and improved there at a very conſiderable expence; but, as he was no ſubject of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's, it became, according to that branch of the prerogative which the French ſtile *Droit d'Aubain*, the property of the Crown upon Sir Kenelme's deceaſe. This was a very great injury to his family, as may appear from hence, that, being afterwards begged from that King, the new poſſeſſor, for I think one can hardly call him proprietor, ſold it (and, it is very probable, below it's real value) for ten thouſand crowns. Sir Kenelme left an only ſon, John Digby, Eſq; who ſucceeded to the family eſtate (*a*), and, therefore, there is plainly ſome miſtake in the account given us by a certain great Hiſtorian (*b*), who ſays, that the death of this ſon of Sir Kenelme produced the ruin of his family, as that did the finding his grandfather's papers; of which, in the former article, we gave ſome account, and of which it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat farther here [*R*]. This John Digby, Eſq; of Gothurſt in Buckinghamſhire, dying many years after his father, left behind him, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Longueville, of Wolverton, in the ſame county, Baronet, by the Lady Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stow, two daughters and coheirs, Margaretta-Maria, married to Sir John Conway, of Bodey in Flintſhire, Baronet, to whom ſhe was firſt wife, and by whom ſhe had Margaretta, married to Sir Thomas Longueville, of Eſtcluſham in Denbighſhire, Baronet, and Henry Conway, Eſq; who died before his father married to Honora, daughter and heir of ——— Ravenſcroft, of Bretton in Flintſhire, Eſq; and left only one daughter Honora, married to Sir John Glynne, of Hawarden-Caſtle in Flintſhire, Baronet; and Charlotta-Theophila, married to Richard Moſtyn, of Penbeddw in Flintſhire, Eſq; by whom ſhe had two daughters, Bridget, married to Lytton Lytton, of Knebworth in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; and Charlotta, married to Richard Williams, Eſq; third ſon of Sir William Williams, of Llanvorda in Shropſhire, Eſq; and brother to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Baronet, and one ſon Richard, and Penelope, who died a Nun abroad (*c*). We cannot conclude this

(*r*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 827.

(*s*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352, 353.

(*t*) Stowe's Survey of London by Strype, Vol. I. B. iii. p. 137.

(*u*) E Sem. antiq. fam. Stanleiorum.

(*w*) So his ſon John Digby informed Anthony Wood.

(*x*) See the article DIGBY (Sir KENELME) in Bayle.

(*y*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 827.

(*z*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(*a*) Wright's Antiquities of Rutland, p. 115.

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 11.

(*c*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. V. p. 353.

[*R*] *To ſay ſomewhat farther here.*] The great Hiſtorian mentioned in the text is the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who ſeems to have had ſome particular concern in this extraordinary tranſaction, or at leaſt to have been for ſome time poſſeſſed of Sir Everard Digby's original papers, his own words are theſe (45): 'I will mention what I myſelf ſaw, and had for ſome time in my poſſeſſion; Sir Everard Digby died for being of the conſpiracy. He was the father of the famous Sir Kenelme Digby. The family being ruined upon the death of Sir Kenelme's ſon, when the executors were looking out for writings to make out the titles of the eſtates they were to ſell, they were directed by an old ſervant to a cupboard that was very artificially hid, in which ſome papers lay that ſhe had obſerved Sir Kenelme was oft reading. They looking into it found a velvet bag, within which there were two other ſilk bags (ſo carefully were thoſe relicks kept) and there was within theſe a collection of all the letters that Sir Everard writ during his impriſonment. In theſe he expreſſes great trouble, becauſe he heard ſome of their friends blamed their undertaking: he highly magnifies it, and ſays, if he had many lives he would willingly have ſacrificed them all in carrying it on. In one paper he ſays, they had taken that care that there was not above two or three worth ſaving, to whom they had not given notice to keep out of the way: and in none of thoſe papers does he expreſs any ſort of remorſe for that which he had been engaged in, and for which he ſuffered.' We will now compare this with the atteſtation prefixed to the papers (46): 'The ſeveral papers and letters of Sir Everard Digby, which are, as we have been credibly informed, the original papers and letters written by him concerning the gunpowder treaſon, were found by us Sir Rice Rudd, Bart. and William Wogan of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; in the preſence of Mrs Urſula Giles, and Mr Thomas Hughes, about the month of September 1675, at the houſe of Charles Cornwallis, Eſq; who was Executor of Sir Kenelme Digby, (ſon and heir to the ſaid Sir Everard) tied up in two ſilk bags, amongſt the deeds, evidences, and writings of the ſaid Sir Kenelme Digby.

'RICE RUDD.
'WILLIAM WOGAN.'

It is not clear from the Prelate's account whoſe executors he means, but it looks as if it were the executors of Sir Kenelme's ſon (47), whereas the certificate ſhews,

(45) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 11.

(46) At the cloſe of the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers, publiſhed in 1675. 8vo.

(47) John Digby, Eſq; ſon to Sir Kenelme, appears from Wright's Hiſt. of Rutlandſhire, to have been living in 1684.

this article better than by the following verſes, compoſed by way of epitaph on Sir Kenelme Digby.

Under this tomb the matchleſs DIGBY *lies,*
Digby the great, the valiant, and the wiſe;
This age's wonder, for his noble parts,
Skilled in ſix tongues, and learn'd in all the arts:
Born on the day he died, the eleventh of June,
And that day bravely fought at Scanderoon;
It's rare that one and the ſame day ſhould be
His day of birth, of death, of victory!

R. FERRAR.

ſhews, that the papers were not found by any executors at all, but by two gentlemen of credit, in the houſe of the executor of Sir Kenelme Digby. In the certificate two ſilk bags are mentioned, though not the velvet bag; and, which is very ſingular, there is no notice at all taken of their being led to this diſcovery by hearing of the cupboard, or of the old ſervant, but there are the names of two perſons in whoſe preſence they were found, and it is not impoſſible they might take to themſelves ſome merit in the diſcovery. But from the certificate, one can ſee no reaſon to judge they were hidden at all, but rather that they were accidentally found, ſearching among Sir Kenelme's papers, who might die in circumſtances indifferent as to himſelf, but whoſe eſtate, as we have ſeen, was too well ſecured to prejudice his ſon or his family. E

DIGGES (LEONARD) Eſq; a conſiderable Mathematician in the XVIth century, was the ſecond ſon of James Digges, of Digges-Court in the pariſh of Berham in Kent, Eſq; [*A*] by Philippa his ſecond wife, daughter of John Engham, of Chartham in the ſame county. He was born at Digges-Court, and educated for ſome time in Univerſity-College in Oxford, where he laid a very good foundation of learning. Retiring from thence without a degree, he proſecuted his ſtudies, and became an excellent Mathematician, a ſkilful Architect (*a*), and a moſt expert Surveyor of land. He compoſed ſeveral books [*B*], and died about the year 1574 (*b*). By his wife Bridget, daughter of Thomas Wilford, Eſq; (*c*) and ſiſter to James and Thomas Wilford, two brave Knights, of Hartridge, in the pariſh of Cranbrook in Kent, he had a ſon, of whom we ſhall give ſome account in the next article.

(*a*) For all manner of buildings, for conveniency, pleaſure, ſtate, ſtrength; and excellent at fortifications. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Kent, p. 82.

(*b*) Wood's Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 180, 181.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. calls her by miſtake *Sarah*. See below, note [*B*] of the article DIGGES (THOMAS).

[*A*] *Was the ſecond ſon of James Digges of Digges-Court in the pariſh of Berham in Kent, Eſq;*] That family was antient and conſiderable, in the county of Kent. One of them in the reign of King Richard I. had the aldermanry of Newingate in Canterbury, which was then a hereditary office. *John* Digges, Alderman of the ſame city, in 1258, was a great benefactor to the Franciſcans, then newly ſettled at Canterbury; and bought for them an iſland in that city called Binnewight. *Adomarus* Digges, of Digges-Court, was a Judge in King Edward IId's reign, and had much land about Rainham and Newington, where a marſh ſtill bears his name, being called Digges's Marſh. *Roger* Digges was one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the city of Canterbury, in the 29th, 31ſt, and 34th years of the reign of King Edward III. *John* Digges, of Digges-Court, was Sheriff of Kent in the 2d year of King Henry IV; and his grandſon *John*, in the 4th year of King Edward IV; and his *ſon* of the ſame name in the 11th year of King Henry VII; and his ſon *James* bore the ſame office in the 2d year of King Henry VIII. His eldeſt ſon, *Thomas*, ſold Digges-Court to Capt. Thomas Halſey of London (1). It was the chief ſeat of the Digges family for above two hundred years (2).

[*B*] *He compoſed ſeveral books.*] Namely, I. *Tectonicum*: Briefly ſhewing the exact meaſuring, and 'ſpeedy reckoning of all manner of lands, ſquares, 'timber, ſtones, ſteeples,' &c. Lond. 1556, 4*to*. Augmented, and publiſhed again, by his ſon Tho. Digges, Lond. 1592, 4*to*, and reprinted there in 1647, 4*to*. II. 'A Geometrical practical treatiſe, 'named *Pantometria*, in three books.' This he left in manuſcript: but, after his death, his ſon ſupplied ſuch parts of it as were obſcure and imperfect, and publiſhed it at London in 1591, fol. joining thereto, 'A Diſcourſe Geometrical of the five regular and Platonical Bodies, containing ſundry theoretical and 'practical Propoſitions ariſing by mutual conference 'of theſe Solids inſcription, circumſcription, and 'transformation.' III. 'Prognoſtication everlaſting 'of right good effect: or, choice Rules to judge the 'Weather by the Sun, Moon, and Stars, &c.' Lond. 1555, 1556, and 1564, 4*to*, corrected, and augmented by his ſon, with divers general tables, and many compendious rules. Lond. 1592, 4*to* (3). C

(1) *Villare Cantianum*, &c. by T. Philipot, Eſq; edit. 1664. fol. p. 60. and the Hiſtory of Kent, by J. Harris, D.D. fol. 1719. p. 35, 118, 427, 430, 431, 447.

(2) Ibid. p. 370.

(3) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 180, 181.

DIGGES (THOMAS) after a liberal education even from his tendereſt years, went and ſtudied for ſome time at Oxford; and by the improvements he made there, and the ſubſequent inſtructions of his learned father (*a*), became one of the moſt excellent Mathematicians of his time; upon which account he was greatly eſteemed by Dr John Dee, and other his learned contemporaries. When Queen Elizabeth ſent ſome of her forces to the aſſiſtance of the oppreſſed inhabitants of the Netherlands, Mr Digges was appointed Muſter-Maſter-General of them (*b*); whereby he had an opportunity of becoming perfectly ſkilled in military affairs. He writ and publiſhed ſeveral books [*A*]. But

(*a*) See the preface to his *Stratioticos*.

(*b*) See Stratioticos, edit. 1590, p. 237.

[*A*] *He writ and publiſhed ſeveral books.*] Namely, theſe; I. *Alæ ſive Scalæ Mathematicæ*, i. e. Mathematical wings or ladders. Lond. 1573, 4*to*. This book contains ſeveral demonſtrations, for finding the parallaxis of any comet, or other cœleſtial body, with the correction of the errors in the uſe of the *Radius Aſtronomicus*. II. 'An Arithmetical Military Treatiſe, 'containing ſo much of Arithmetick, as is neceſſary 'towards Military Diſcipline.' Lond. 1579, 4*to*. III. 'Geometrical treatiſe named *Stratioticos*, requiſite for 'the perfection of Soldiers.' Lond. 1579, 4*to*. This was begun by his father, but finiſhed by our author: They were both reprinted together in 1590, with ſeveral amendments and additions, under this title; 'An Arithmetical Warlike treatiſe named *Stratioticos*, 'compendiouſly teaching the Science of Nombers, as 'well

But his moſt valuable character, is, that his piety was as great as his learning. He died Auguſt 24, 1595. and was buried in the Church of St Mary Aldermanbury, London (*c*); where a monument was erected to him [*B*]. If he was great in himſelf, he was greater in his ſon, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the enſuing article.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. col. 278, 279.

' well in Fractions as Integers, and ſo much of the ' Rules and Æquations Algebraicall, and Art of Num- ' bers Cofficall, as are requiſite for the Profeſſion of a ' Souldier. Together with the Moderne Militare Diſ- ' cipline, Offices, Lawes, and orders in every well ' governed Campe and Armie inviolably to be obſerved.' Firſt publiſhed by Thomas Digges, Eſq; 1579, reviewed and corrected by the author himſelf, and augmented with ſundry additions. Lond. 1590, 4*to*, in three books. At the end of it there is ' A briefe and ' true report of the Proceedings of the Earle of Ley- ' ceſter for the reliefe of the towne of Sluce, from his ' arrival at Vliſhing, about the end of June 1587, un- ' till the ſurrendrie thereof 26 Julii next enſuing. ' Whereby it ſhall plainelie appeare his Excellencie ' was not in anie fault for the loſſe of that Towne.' IV. ' Perfect Deſcription of the Celeſtial Orbs, ac- ' cording to the moſt antient Doctrine of the Pythago- ' reans, &c. Lond. 1592, 4*to*, ſet at the end of his ' father's *Prognoſtication*. V. ' Humble Motives for ' Aſſociation to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed. ' Printed in 1601, 8*vo*. To which is added, his Let- ' ter to the ſame purpoſe, to the Archbiſhops and Bi- ' ſhops of England.' VI. ' England's Defence: A ' Treatiſe concerning Invaſion: Or, a brief Diſcourſe ' of what Orders were beſt for repulſing of Foreign E- ' nemies, if at any time they ſhould invade us by ſea ' in Kent, or elſewhere.' Written in 1599, but not publiſhed till 1686, Lond. fol. in five ſheets. There was a tract of the ſame nature publiſhed at the end of his *Stratioticos*, edit. 1590, entitled, ' A briefe Diſ- ' courſe what orders were beſt for repulſing of for- ' raine forces, if at any time they ſhould invade us by ' ſea in Kent, or elſewhere.' It contains only five leaves in 4*to*. VII. A Letter printed before Dr John Dee's *Parallaticæ commentationis, praxeoſque Nucleus quidam*. Lond. 1573, 4*to*. Beſides theſe, and his *Nova Corpora*, he had by him ſeveral Mathematical Treatiſes ready for the preſs; which, by reaſon of law-ſuits, and other avocations, he was hindered from publiſhing (1).

(1) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 278, 279. See Stratioticos, p. 359, 360.

[*B*] *Where a monument was erected to him.*] It was deſtroyed in the general conflagration of London, in 1666: but, the inſcriptions on it are preſerved in J. Stow's Survey of London, with Mr Strype's Additions (2), being as follows:

(2) Edit. 1720. Book iii. Vol. I. p. 71, 72.

' *Thomas Digges*, Eſquire, ſonne and heyre of Leonard ' Digges, of *Wotton* in the county of *Kent*, Eſquire, ' and of *Bridget* his wife, daughter to *Thomas Wilford*, ' Eſquire; which *Thomas* deceaſed the 24. day of ' Auguſt, *Ann. Dom.* 1595.

' *Agnes*, wife to *Thomas Digges*, Eſq; Daughter of ' Sir *William Sentleiger*, Knight, and of *Urſula* his ' wife, daughter of *George Nevil*, Lord of *Aberga-* ' *venny*, By whom the ſaid *Thomas* had iſſue *Dudley* ' his ſonne and heyre, Leonard his ſecond ſon; *Mar-* ' *garet* and *Urſula* now living; beſide *William* and ' *Mary*, who died young.

Deo Opt. Max. & Memoriæ.

Hic reſurrectionem mortuorum expectat Thomas Digſæus Armiger, ex antiquâ Digſæorum, in Cantiâ, familiâ oriundus. Vir fide & pietate in Deum ſingulari, rei militaris admodum peritus, optimarum literarum ſtudioſus, & Scientiis Mathematicis ad miraculum (ut ex libris editis conſtat) eruditiſſimus: Quem Deus in Cœleſtem Patriam, Anno Salutis 1595, *evocavit. Chariſſimo Marito Uxor moeſtiſſima poſuit.*

' Here lieth in aſſured hope to riſe in Chriſt, Tho- ' mas Digges Eſquire, ſome time Muſter-Maſter of the ' Engliſh Army in the Low Countries: A man zea- ' louſly affected to true Religion, wiſe, diſcreete, ' courteous, faithful to his Friends, and of rare know- ' ledge in Geometry, Aſtrologie, and other Mathe- ' maticall Sciences: who finiſhed this tranſitory Life ' with an happy end, *in Anno* 1595.

That the Dead might live, Chriſt died.

The Digges's coat was, Gules, on a Croſs argent, five Eagles diſplayed, ſable. C

DIGGES (DUDLEY) eldeſt ſon of Thomas mentioned in the laſt article, was born in the year 1583 (*a*), and entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Univerſity-College, Oxon. in 1598; where he very much improved himſelf in learning, under the tuition of Dr George Abbot, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the firſt of July 1601 (*c*), he went and ſtudied for ſome time at the Inns of Court; and then travelled beyond ſea, having before received the honour of knighthood. After much experience, and proper remarks on the laws, cuſtoms, and manners, of foreign nations, he returned home, excellently well qualified to ſerve his King and Country (*d*). But obſerving too many to juſtle for place, and croſs the publick intereſt, if not joined with their own private gain; he was ſatisfied with the conſciouſneſs of his own merit, knowing good men only can deſerve honours, though the worſe might attain them. His moderate deſires, therefore, confined a long while his thoughts to the innocence of a retired life (*e*), till the year 1618, when he was ſent by King James I. Embaſſador to the Czar, or Emperor of Ruſſia. In 1620. he was commiſſioned with Sir Maurice Abbot, to go to Holland, in order to obtain the reſtitution of goods taken by the Dutch, from ſome Engliſhmen in the Eaſt-Indies [*A*]. He departed in November (*f*), but how long he ſtayed there, doth not appear. He was a Member of the third Parliament of King James I. which met at Weſtminſter January 30, 1620-1; and was ſo little compliant with the Court meaſures, as to be among thoſe whom the King called *Ill-tempered Spirits*. And, therefore, ſoon after the diſſolution of that Parliament, he was, for a puniſhment, ſent into Ireland, upon a forced commiſſion with others under the Great Seal, for the enquiry of ſundry matters concerning his Majeſty's pretended ſervice (*g*). He was likewiſe a Member of the firſt Parliament of King Charles I. in 1626; and joined thoſe eminent patriots, who were for bringing George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, the King's great favourite and Prime Miniſter, to an account: and ſo earneſt did he prove in that affair, that he was one of the eight chief managers, who carried up, on the 8th

(*a*) For Mr Wood informs us, that he was fifteen years of age in 1598. Vol. I. col. 618.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 160.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) From his monumental inſcription, at Chilham in Kent.

(*f*) Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1620, printed at the end of *Camdeni Epiſtolæ*. Lond. 1691. 4to.

(*g*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections, P. i. edit. 1659. p. 55.

[*A*] *In the Eaſt-Indies.*] For the Dutch were then beginning to uſe, in the Eaſt-Indies, thoſe wicked and ſupplanting arts againſt the Engliſh (the deliverers of their country, and the founders of their liberties) which ended in the tragical affair at Amboyna; of which an account was publiſhed in 1624, 4*to*.

[*B*] *Whe*

8th of May, a charge againſt him [*B*] to the Houſe of Lords (*b*); for which he was committed to the Tower (*i*). But ſo highly offended were the Commons at his impriſonment, that they reſolved to proceed to no other buſineſs till they were righted in their liberties (*k*). Whereupon one of the Courtiers, to excuſe that irregular ſtep, ſaid, That his Majeſty conceived, Sir Dudley went too far beyond his commiſſion, in that, ſpeaking of King James the Firſt's death, and the plaiſter applied to him by the Duke of Buckingham, he had ſaid, *That he did forbear to ſpeak further in regard of the King's honour*, or words to that effect; which his Majeſty conceived to be to his diſhonour, as if there had been any underhand dealing by Him in applying of the plaiſter; and that might make his ſubjects jealous of him. Theſe words, laid to Sir Dudley's charge, occaſioned an uncommon proteſtation from the Commons [*C*], which was alſo taken by thirty-ſix of the Lords. And Sir Dudley being releaſed ſoon after, proteſted, That the matter charged upon him was far from his words, and never came into his thoughts (*l*). He was again Member of the third Parliament of King Charles I. which met at Weſtminſter the 17th of March 1627-8, being one of the Knights of the Shire for Kent (*m*), but ſeemed to be more moderate than he had been in the two laſt. For, when Secretary Coke moved for the diſpatch of the ſubſidies (*n*), he was ſeconded by Sir Dudley [*D*]. However, his ſpirits were rouzed, when any attempts were made upon the liberties of his country, or the Conſtitution of Parliament [*E*]. For, on the 14th of April, he opened the grand conference between the Lords and Commons 'concerning the liberty of the perſon of 'every Freeman,' with a ſpeech, wherein he made many excellent obſervations [*F*], tending

(*b*) Ibid. p. 302.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 356. His lodgings were alſo ſearched, and the papers found there taken away. See Ruſhworth, ibid. p. 400, &c.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 358.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 360, 361.

(*m*) Liſt of Members in Harris's Hiſt. of Kent.

(*n*) Ruſhworth, ibid. p. 537, 538.

[*B*] *Who carried up a charge againſt him*] It was opened by Sir Dudley himſelf, who in his Prologue uſed theſe words (1): —— 'The Houſe of Commons, 'by a fatal and univerſal concurrence of complaints 'from all the ſea-bordering parts of this kingdom, did 'find a great and grievous interruption and ſtop of 'trade and traffick: The baſe pirates of *Salle* ignominiouſly infeſting our coaſts, taking our ſhips and 'goods, and leading away the ſubjects of this kingdom 'into barbarous captivity; while, to our ſhame and 'hindrance of commerce, our enemies did (as it were) 'beſiege our ports, and block up our beſt rivers 'mouths. Our friends, on ſlight pretences, made 'imbargoes of our Merchants goods, and every nation, 'upon the leaſt occaſion, was ready to contemn and 'ſlight us: ſo great was the apparent diminution of 'the antient honour of this crown, and once ſtrong 'reputation of our nation. Wherewith the Commons 'were more troubled, calling to remembrance, how 'formerly in France, in Spain, in Holland, and every 'where, by ſea and land, the valors of this kingdom 'had been better valued. — The Commons therefore 'wondering at the evils which they ſuffered, and debating of the cauſes of them, found they were many, 'drawn, like one line, to one circumference, of *decay of trade*, and *ſtrength of honour*, and *reputation* 'in this kingdom; which, as in one center, met in 'one great man, the cauſe of all who I am here to 'name, the Duke of Buckingham.' —— Then, after after having read the preamble to the charge, he continued his ſpeech, in which he hath this paſſage. —— 'The laſt of the charges which are prepared, will be 'an injury offered to the perſon of the late King of 'bleſſed memory, who is with God; of which, as 'your Lordſhips may have heard heretofore, you ſhall 'anon have further information. Now upon this occaſion, I am commanded by the Commons to take 'care of the honour of the King our Sovereign that 'lives, —— and alſo his bleſſed father, who is 'dead; on whom, to the grief of the Commons, and 'their great diſtaſte, the Lord Duke did (they conceive) unworthily *caſt ſome ill odor of his own foul wayes*; whereas ſervants were antiently wont to bear, 'as in truth they ought, their Maſters faults, and not 'caſt their own on them undeſervedly.' —— Theſe words I have taken notice of, becauſe they were miſunderſtood and miſapplied, as will be ſeen under note [*C*] and above in the text of this article.

(1) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 302, &c.

[*C*] *Occaſioned an uncommon Proteſtation from the Commons.*] Being as follows: 'I proteſt before Almighty God, and this Houſe of Parliament, That I 'never gave conſent that Sir Dudley Digges ſhould 'ſpeak theſe words that he is now charged withal, or 'any words to that effect; and I have not affirmed to 'any, that he did ſpeak ſuch words, or any to that 'effect.' This was taken by every member in particular for himſelf; and it was ordered, That they that were ſick in town, ſhould have three of the Houſe ſent to them, to take the ſame proteſtation. The King, to pacify the Commons, ſignified to them by the Vice-Chamberlain, That he underſtood, *out of ſome notes taken at the Conference* (2), that Sir Dudley Digges had ſpoken the words wherewith he was charged; but, *now*, was ſatisfied that he did not ſpeak them, nor any words to ſuch effect. Nevertheleſs, the Duke of Buckingham affirmed to the Houſe of Peers, that ſome words were ſpoken at the late Conference by Sir Dudley Digges, which ſo far did trench upon the King's honour, that they were interpreted treaſonable: he therefore earneſtly deſired, ſince divers conſtructions had been made of thoſe words, that every one of thoſe who had reported them, would be pleaſed to produce their notes taken at the Conference. But after a long debate upon that matter in the Houſe of Peers, thirty-ſix of them made this voluntary proteſtation; That the ſaid Sir Dudley Digges did not ſpeak any thing at the ſaid Conference, which did or might trench on the King's honour (3). It followed therefore, as Mr Rapin obſerves (4), from the teſtimony of the Lords, and the proteſtation of the Commons, either, That the King was wrong and maliciouſly informed; or, that he wanted and ſought an opportunity of puniſhing Sir Dudley Digges, for having ſpoken ſo irreverently of the Duke as he did. For which purpoſe the words abovementioned were invented.

(2) Between the Lords and Commons, where theſe words were ſaid to have been ſpoken.

(3) Ruſhworth, as above, p. 360, 361. See alſo Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, &c. by Mr Whitelock, edit. 1732, p. 5, 6.

[*D*] *He was ſeconded by Sir Dudley.*] Who ſaid, among other things —— 'We have freely concluded 'our liberties, we have offered *five* ſubſidies: *his Ma-* 'jeſty hath given us gracious anſwers: we have had 'good by our beginnings: what have we done for the 'King? nothing is done that the King can take notice 'of. — He will ſettle our properties and goods; have 'we not had a gracious anſwer? — I dare ſay confidently we ſhall have as much as any ſubjects had 'from their King (5).'

(4) Hiſt. of England, edit. fol. 1733. Vol. II. p. 251.

(5) Ruſhworth, as above, p. 538.

[*E*] *However his ſpirits were rouzed, when any attempts were made upon the liberties of his country, &c.*] For when Sir John Finch, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, interrupted Sir John Elliot in the Houſe, telling him, 'There is a command laid upon me, that 'I muſt command you not to proceed;' Sir Dudley Digges vented his great uneaſineſs in theſe words: 'I 'am as much grieved as ever. Muſt we not proceed? 'let us ſit in ſilence, we are miſerable, we know not 'what to do (6). This was on the 5th of June 1628.

(6) Ibid. p. 606.

[*F*] *With a ſpeech wherein he made many excellent obſervations.*] Among other things, he ſays —— 'I am firſt commanded to ſhow unto your Lordſhips in 'general, that the laws of England are grounded on 'reaſon, ancienter than books, conſiſting much in unwritten cuſtoms: yet ſo full of juſtice aud true equity, 'that your moſt honourable predeceſſors and anceſtors, 'many times propugned them with a *Nolumus mutare* (i. e. we will not change them;) and ſo ancient, 'that from the Saxons days, notwithſtanding the injuries

tending to eſtabliſh the liberties of the ſubject (o). In all theſe affairs, he ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his parts and abilities, that he was much taken notice of by the Court; being, in conſequence of that, one of thoſe eminent Patriots whom they thought worth while to gain to their ſide (p). Accordingly they tempted him with the honourable and advantageous office of Maſter of the Rolls, of which he had a reverſionary grant the 29th of November 1630 (q), and became poſſeſſed of it the 20th of April, 1636 [G], upon the death of Sir Julius Cæſar (*). But he did not enjoy it quite three years; for he died the 18th of March 1638-9, which the wiſeſt men reckoned among the publick calamities of thoſe times (r). After having lain ſome time in ſtate, he was buried in Chilham-Church in Kent; in which pariſh he had a good eſtate (s), and built a noble ſeat (t). A monument was afterwards erected in that Church, in memory of him, and his lady, and others of that eminent family; with an inſcription, of which the ſubſtance is included in this article (u). His Lady was Mary, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Thomas Kemp, of Chilham aforeſaid; with whom he had part of the eſtate there, and purchaſed the reſt, of the three other daughters and coheirs (w). As to his character; his actions, related above, ſhow, that he was, (as one (x) expreſſes it,) 'a great aſſertor of his country's liberty in the worſt of times, when the ſluices of prerogative were opened, and the banks of the law were almoſt overwhelmed with the inundations of it.' Beſides which, we are informed, that, his underſtanding few could equal, and his virtues fewer would. He was a pious Man, a careful Father, a loving Huſband, a fatherly Brother, a courteous Neighbour, a merciful Landlord, a liberal Maſter, and a noble Friend (y). He was author of a few things [H]. As hereditary learning ſeemed to run in the veins of that family (z); Sir Dudley had a brother, *Thomas*, and a ſon named *Dudley* [I], who were both learned men, and writers.

(o) Ephemeris Parliamentaria: or, a faithful Regiſter of the Parliament 3 & 4 Car. I. edit. 1654. fol. p. 54.

(p) Whitelocke, ubi ſupra, p. 14.

(q) P. 6 Car. I. p. 6.

* See above the article CÆSAR (JULIUS). Mr Newcourt ſays, he ſucceeded after Cæſar's death, Aug. 1. 1636. which ſeems to be a miſtake. *Repertorium Eccleſ.* Vol. I. p. 341.

(r) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 619.

(s) Namely, the caſtle and manor, and the impropriate tythes, of that pariſh. Hiſt. of Kent, by J. Harris, D. D. Lond. 1719. fol. p. 75, 369.

(t) Partly upon the ruins of the old caſtle. Harris, ibid. p. 369.

(u) Ibid.

(w) Ibid.

(x) *Villare Cantianum*: or, Kent ſurveyed and illuſtrated, &c. by T. Philipot, Eſq; Lond. 1664. fol. p. 116.

(y) From his monumental inſcription, as above.

(z) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Kent, p. 82.

' ries and ruins of time, they have continued in moſt ' parts the ſame; as may appear in old remaining mo- ' numents of the laws of Ethelbert the firſt Chriſtian ' King of Kent, Ina King of the Weſt-Saxons, Offa ' of the Mercians, &c. whoſe laws are yet to be ſeen, ' publiſhed (as ſome think) by Parliament. ——— ' And though, during the troubleſome times of the ' Danes, the laws in a manner were laid aſleep in the ' kingdom; yet, by the bleſſing of God, good King ' Edward, commonly called St Edward, did awaken ' theſe laws, ——— and confirmed them (7), *con-* ' *firmavit*: which *confirmavit* ſheweth, that good King ' Edward did not give thoſe laws, which William the ' Conqueror, and all his ſucceſſors ſithence that, have ' ſworn unto ——— And, as we have now, even in ' thoſe Saxon times they had their Courts Barons, and ' Courts Leets, and Sheriffs Courts, by which (as Ta- ' citus ſaith of the Germans) their anceſtors *Jura red-* ' *debant per pagos & vicos*: i. e. adminiſtred juſtice in ' the burghs and villages. And, I believe, as we have ' now, they had their Parliaments, where new laws ' were made, *cum conſenſu Prælatorum, Magnatum,* ' *& totius communitatis*; i. e. with the conſent of the ' Prelates, great men, and the whole community; or, ' as another writes, *cum conſilio Prelatorum, Nobilium,* ' *& ſapientum Laicorum*, with the advice of the Pre- ' lates, Nobility, and wiſe men of the laity. ——— Be ' pleaſed then to know, that it is an undoubted and fun- ' damental point of this ſo ancient Common-Law of ' England, that the ſubject hath a true property in his ' goods and poſſeſſions; which doth preſerve as ſacred ' that *Meum* and *Tuum*, the nurſe of induſtry, the mo- ' ther of courage, and without which there can be no ' juſtice, of which *Meum* and *Tuum* is the proper ob- ' ject. But this undoubted birthright of free ſubjects ' hath lately not a little been invaded and preju- ' diced, &c (8).

(7) *Excitatas reparavit, reparatas decoravit, decoratas confirmavit.* Lib. de Chertſey.

(8) Ephemeris Parliamentaria, ut ſupra, p. 54, 55.

[G] *And became poſſeſſed of it the 20th of April, 1636.*] The author of his epitaph obſerves upon that occaſion, that 'This did crown his former actions, ' and though it would not increaſe his integrity, yet it ' made him more conſpicuous; and whom his acquain- ' tance before, now the kingdom, honoured. If the ' example of his juſtice had powerful influence on all ' Magiſtrates, the people who are governed would be ' happy on earth, and the rulers in Heaven, with him, ' who counted it an unworthy thing to be tempted to ' vice by the reward of virtue.' What is ſaid in the ſame place is not literally true; namely, that he was ' unbiaſſed by popular applauſe, or *Court-hopes*.' For, if he was unbiaſſed by Court-hopes, why did he accept of the place of Maſter of the Rolls?

[H] *He was author of a few things.*] The only thing he publiſhed was this; I. 'A Defence of Trade: ' in a Letter to Sir Tho. Smith, Knight, Governor of ' the Eaſt India Company.' London, 1615, 4*to*. After his death there was printed under his name; II. 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Rights and Privi- ' leges of the Subject, in a conference deſired by the ' Lords, and had by a Committee of both Houſes, ' 3 Apr. 1628.' Lond. 1642, 4*to*. At this Confe- rence it was, that Sir Dudley made the Speech mentioned above, note [F]. And, very likely, this *Diſcourſe* is the ſame with that ſpeech. III. He made ſeveral *Speeches* upon other occaſions; inſerted in Ruſhworth's Collections (9), and *Ephemeris Parlia-* *mentaria* (10). IV. He collected the Letters that paſſed between the Lord Burleigh, Sir Fr. Walſingham, and others, about the intended marriages of Queen Elizabeth, with the Duke of Anjou, in 1570, &c. and with the Duke of Alençon in 1581. They were publiſhed in 1655, under this title; 'The com- ' pleat Ambaſſador: or two Treaties of the intended ' marriage of Queen Elizabeth of glorious memory; ' comprized in Letters of Negotiation of Sir Francis ' Walſingham, her Reſident in France. Together ' with the anſwers of the Lord Burleigh, the Earl of ' Leiceſter, Sir Tho. Smith, and others. Wherein, ' as in a clear mirror, may be ſeen the Faces of the ' two Courts of England and France, as they then ' ſtood; with many remarkable paſſages of State, not ' at all mentioned in any Hiſtory. Faithfully col- ' lected by the truly Honourable Sir Dudley Digges, ' Knight, late Maſter of the Rolls.' Lond. 1655, fol. The publiſher, who ſigns himſelf A. H. ſays in the Preface, that this 'piece was never intended for the ' preſs, but had ſlept long amongſt the papers of ' Sir Dudley Digges, a perſonage of known wiſdom ' and integrity, and who underſtood well the value of ' this manuſcript, which had nothing forged or ſup- ' poſititious in it.'

(9) Part i. edit. 1659. p. 302, 360, 538, 606.

(10) Edit. 1654 fol. p. 54, 139, 154.

[I] *Sir Dudley had a brother Thomas, and a ſon named Dudley.*] His brother Thomas was educated in Univerſity-college, Oxon (11), took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Octob. 31, 1606 (12), retired to London; and then travelling beyond ſea, ſtudied in foreign univerſities; from whence returning a good ſcholar, and an accompliſhed perſon, he was created Maſter of Arts, Nov. 20, 1626 (13). He tranſlated from Spaniſh into Engliſh, 'Gerardo the unfortunate ' Spaniard.' Lond. 1622, 4*to*, written by Gonçalo de Ceſpedes. And from Latin into Engliſh verſe, 'The ' Rape of Proſerpine.' Lond. 1617, &c. 4*to*, written by Claudian. He died April 7, 1635, being accounted a good Poet, and Orator; and a great maſter of the Engliſh, French, and Spaniſh languages (14). ——— As for *Dudley*, the third ſon of Sir Dudley Digges, he was admitted into Univerſity-college, Oxon. in 1629, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Jan. 17, 1631-2. Being the next year elected Fellow of All-ſouls-college, he took the degree of Maſter Octob. 15, 1635 (15), and having a great memory, and excellent natural

(11) Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 599.

(12) Idem, Faſti, col. 174.

(13) Ibid. col. 235

(14) Wood, col. 600.

(15) Ibid. Faſti, col. 252, 262.

natural parts, which he improved by close studying, he became a general scholar, and a good Poet and Linguist. He wrote 'An Answer to a printed book entitled, *Observations upon some of his Majesty's late Answers and Expresses*,' Oxon. 1642, 4*to*, and 'The Unlawfulness of Subjects taking up Arms against their Sovereign in what case soever, with Answers to all Objections.' Lond. 1643, 4*to*, reprinted several times since. He died Octob. 1, 1643 (16). ——— The eldest son and heir of Sir Dudley Digges, was named *Thomas*, and his second son *John* (17). C

(16) Idem, Athenæ, Vol. II. col. 21, 32.

(17) Harris, as above, p. 370.

DODWELL (HENRY) a very learned writer, in part of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was born in the parish of St Warburgh in Dublin [*A*], towards the latter end of October, 1641 (*a*); and baptized November 4th (*b*). His father had an estate in Conaught, but it being seized by the Irish rebels, he came, with his wife and child, to England in 1648, to obtain some assistance among their relations. After some stay in London, they went to York, and placed their son in the free-school of that city (*c*), where he continued five years, and laid the foundation of his future great accomplishments. His father, after having settled him with his mother at York, went to Ireland, to look after his estate, but died of the plague at Waterford: and his mother going thither for the same purpose, fell into a consumption, of which she died, in her brother Sir Henry Slingsby's house (*d*). Being thus deprived of his parents, Mr Dodwell was reduced to such streights that he had not money enough to buy pen, ink, and paper [*B*]; and suffered very much for want of his board being regularly paid (*e*). Thus he continued till 1654, when his uncle, Mr Henry Dodwell, Rector of Newbourn and Hemley in Suffolk, sent for him, discharged his debts [*C*], and not only assisted, but also perfected him, in his studies (*f*). With him he remained about a year, and then went to Dublin, where he was at school for a year longer (*g*). In 1656 he was admitted into Trinity-College in that city, of which he was successively chosen Scholar and Fellow (*h*). But in 1666 he quitted his Fellowship, in order to avoid going into holy orders (*i*), as the statutes of the College require [*D*]. He came the same year to England, and resided at Oxford (*k*) for the sake of the publick library. Thence he returned to his native country for a time (*l*), and in 1672 published, at Dublin, in 8*vo*. a posthumous treatise of his late learned Tutor John Stearn, M. D. to which he put a preface of his own [*E*]. His

(*a*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. edit. 1721. col. 232. and life of Mr Henry Dodwell, &c. by Fr. Brokesby, B. D. Lond. 1715. 8vo. p. 11.

(*b*) Brokesby, p. 12.

(*c*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*d*) Brokesby, ibid. p. 13, 14, 15.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 15.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

(*g*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. and Brokesby, p. 23.

(*k*) Wood, ibid. and Brokesby, p. 38.

(*l*) Wood, ubi supra.

[*A*] *Was born in the parish of St Warburgh in Dublin.*] Though Ireland was the place of his birth, yet by both parents he was of English extraction. His father, William Dodwell, was in a military office, being Corporal of the Field, a post now disused, but equal to a Captain of horse (1). His grandfather (who first of that family settled in Ireland) was Henry Dodwell, a Clergyman (2); a native of Oxford, and son of William, supposed to be brother of Alderman Henry Dodwell, Mayor of that city in the year 1592 (3). — As for Mr Dodwell's mother; she was daughter of Sir Francis Slingsby, uncle to that Sir Henry Slingsby, who was beheaded in 1658, for being concerned in a plot against Oliver Cromwell then Protector. Sir Francis Slingsby was a very brave officer under Sir George Carew Lord President of Munster (4).

(1) Brokesby, as above, p. 7, 8.

(2) Ibid. p. 8.

(3) Wood, ubi supra.

(4) Brokesby, p. 8, &c.

[*B*] *That he had not money to buy pen, ink, and paper.*] So that he was forced to use such paper as young gentlewomen had covered their work with, and thrown away as no longer fit for their use, he having no other to write his exercises on; and to make use of charcoal, instead of pen and ink, which he had not money to purchase; and then, when he came to school, to borrow pen and ink of his school-fellows to fit his exercises for his master's sight (5).

(5) Brokesby, ubi supra, p. 15.

[*C*] *Discharged his debts.*] The non-payment of which, and especially of his board, had procured him a great deal of neglect and ill treatment; which was to him frequently matter of melancholy reflexions, and had made a very great impression upon his tender mind, as appears from the following instance. One night, when at his uncle's, he was heard to cry out bitterly, and make a sad noise, in his sleep. Upon which, his uncle going to him, and awaking him, the young man told him, that he dreamed his landlord Hind was come to fetch him back to York: the thoughts of which gave him inexpressible uneasiness (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 17.

[*D*] *As the statutes of the college require.*] By the statutes of that college, the Fellows are obliged to take Orders when they are Masters of Arts of three years standing. The learned Bishop Jer. Taylor, offered to use his interest for procuring a dispensation of the statute. But Mr Dodwell refused to accept of that kind offer; lest it should be an ill precedent, and of bad consequence afterwards to the college. The reasons given for his declining the ministerial function, were, 1. The great weight of that office, and the severe account which the Ministers of Christ have to give to their Lord and Master. 2. His natural bashfulness, and humble opinion, and diffidence of himself; tho' he was, unquestionably, very well qualified in point of learning, of every kind. 3. That he thought he could do more service to religion, and the Church, by his writings, whilst he continued a layman, than if he took Orders: for then, the usual objections made against clergymens writings on those subjects, *viz.* 'That 'they plead their own cause, and are biassed by self-'interest,' would be entirely taken off (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 23, 24, &c.

[*E*] *A posthumous treatise of his late learned tutor John Stearne, M. D. to which he put a preface of his own.*] He entituled that book, *De Obstinatione: Opus posthumum Pietatem Christiano-Stoicam Scholastica more Suadens:* and his own preface, *Prolegomena Apologetica, de usu Dogmatum Philosophicorum*, &c. Wherein he apologizes for his tutor; who, by quoting so often in that book, and setting a high value upon the writings and maxims of the Heathen Philosophers, particularly of the Stoicks, might seem to depreciate the Holy Scriptures. Mr Dodwell therefore premises first, that the author's design in that work, is only to recommend *Moral Duties*, and enforce the practice of them by the authority of the antient Philosophers; and that he doth not meddle with the great mysteries of Christianity, which are discoverable only by divine revelation. After that, he shews, that in things which concern our practice, reason is to be regarded, and even in things wherein God hath superadded a farther revelation of his will in the Holy Scriptures: That in the examination of natural reasoning, the authority of the great assertors and vindicators of Reason challenges our regard; and consequently the Philosophers. ——— Moreover, he argues, that the great end of Revelation, was to instruct us in things, which we could not by our reason attain to the knowledge of; but that in ordinary cases our reason is given us by God to be our guide and director, it being the candle of the Lord. That Revelation was superadded by God to make a farther discovery of his will, and to assist our natural reason, and hence not to be expected in cases where reason is sufficient to attain the end. That faith, or belief of divine revelation, is founded on reason, and that some acts of reason precede faith, and are supposed in our belief of divine revelation, &c. Lastly, he shows, that by *Obstinatio*, Dr Stearn meant what the Greeks call ἀπάθεια, εὐπάθεια, ἀναμαρτησία, i. e. Firmness,

His second work was, 'Two Letters of Advice. I. For the Susception of Holy Orders. II. For Studies Theological, especially such as are Rational.' To the second edition of which, in 1681, was added, 'A Discourse concerning the Phœnician History of Sanchoniathon [F].' In 1673, he wrote a Preface, without his name, to 'An Introduction to a devout Life,' by Francis de Sales, the last Bishop and Prince of Geneva; which was published at Dublin, in English, this same year, in 12mo (m). He came over again to England in 1674, and settled in London; where he became acquainted with several learned men; particularly in 1675, with Dr William Lloyd, afterwards successively Bishop of St Asaph, Litchfield and Coventry, and Worcester. With that eminent Divine he contracted so great a friendship and intimacy, that he attended him to Holland, when he was appointed Chaplain to the Princess of Orange: He was also with him at Salisbury, when he kept his residence there as Canon of that Church; and spent afterwards a good deal of time with him at St Asaph (n). In 1675 he published 'Some Considerations of present Concernment; How far the Romanists may be trusted 'by Princes of another persuasion,' in 8vo [G]. The year following he put out 'Two 'short Discourses against the Romanists. 1. An Account of the fundamental Principle 'of Popery, and of the Insufficiency of the Proofs which they have for it. 2. An 'Answer to six Queries proposed to a Gentlewoman of the Church of England, by an 'Emissary of the Church of Rome [H].' In the year 1679, he published, in 4to, 'Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government, as practised by the present Non-'conformists, proved Schismatical, from such Principles as are least controverted, and do 'withal most popularly explain the Sinfulness and Mischief of Schism [I]. This being animadverted upon by R. Baxter (o), was vindicated, in 1681, by Mr Dodwell, in 'A 'Reply to Mr Baxter's pretended Confutation of a Book, intituled, *Separation of* 'Churches, &c.' To which were added, 'Three Letters to Mr Baxter, written in the 'year 1673, concerning the Possibility of Discipline under a Diocesan Government, &c.' 8vo. In 1682 came out his 'Dissertations on St Cyprian [K].' The year following, he

(m) Brokesby, as above, p. 33, 36. Mr Dodwell revised it, and left out whatever was Popish; publishing it under this title. *An Introduction to a Devout Life: containing especially a prudent Method for Spiritual Closet Exercises, and Remedies against the Difficulties ordinarily occurring in the conduct of a pious Life. Fitted for the use of Protestants.*

(n) Ibid. p. 38, 39.

(o) In his True and only Way of Concord of all the Christian Churches. Lond. 1680, 8vo.

Firmness, the not sinking under adversities and misfortunes (8).

(8) See Brokesby, p. 26, &c.

[F] *Two letters of advice* ——— *and* — *concerning the Phœnician History of Sanchoniathon.*] One of the two letters was written for the use of a son of Bishop Lesley, a brother to Mr Charles Lesley, well known for his useful writings against the Quakers, Deists, Papists, and Socinians; one for whom Mr Dodwell had a great esteem (9). ——— As for his *Discourse on Sanchoniathon*; it was occasioned by some letters that passed between him and the learned Dr Tho. Smith. This learned person having desired Mr Dodwell's thoughts concerning that author; Mr Dodwell wrote this discourse, wherein he delivers it as his opinion, that Philo-Byblius was the forger, or contriver, of that History under the name of Sanchoniathon.

(9) Ibid. p. 33.

[G] *Some Considerations of present Concernment, &c.*] This book was chiefly levelled against Father P. Walsh, and others concerned in *the Irish Remonstrance*, and *the Controversial Letters*; which occasioned a kind of schism amongst the Irish Papists (10). See the *Irish Remonstrance* in Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, *&c.* edit. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 515, 516, 620, *&c.*

(10) Brokesby, ubi supra, p. 40, &c.

[H] *An account of the fundamental principle of Popery,* ——— *and An Answer to Six Queries, &c.*] That fundamental principle, is, the pretended *Infallible Authority* of that Church. He begins this treatise, by showing, that the Romanists are guilty of formal schism with respect to us in England; since they separated from us upon the prohibition of Pius V, by his Bull dated Febr. 25, 1569. There is a very long preface to this short tract, 'concerning the use-'fulness of the following hypothesis.'——His *Answer to the Six Queries*, was occasioned, by their being presented to a gentlewoman of the Church of England, by a Romanist, in order to seduce her. Whereupon Mr Dodwell was desired, to give a short and distinct answer to them: which he accordingly did. The queries were, 1. 'Whether any one going from the 'Church of England, and dying a Roman Catholick 'can be saved? 2. Whether they be idolaters, or 'no? 3. Where was the Church of England before 'Luther's time? 4. Why all the Churches are not 'united in one? 5. Why the Church of England 'doth not hold up to confession, fasting-days, holy 'oil, which we ourselves commend? 6. Why was 'Reformation done by Act of Parliament?' These *two Discourses* make but a very small volume in 12mo. They were reprinted in 1688, 4to, with 'A new 'Preface relating to the Bishop of Meaux, and other 'modern Complainers of Misrepresentation.'

[I] *Separation of churches, &c.*] This book was occasioned by an *Answer to a Sermon* of the learned John Sharp, (afterwards Archbishop of York) on Romans xiv. 19, by a Nonconformist. Mr Dodwell undertook to vindicate the doctrine contained in this sermon: and that produced the book now before us. In which Mr Dodwell shews, that separation from episcopal communion renders persons unsecure of their eternal salvation: that salvation is ordinarily to be expected from the participation of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which God has appointed as the ordinary means of obtaining the Gospel-benefits, not to be obtained merely by hearing the word, and prayer: that the validity of the Sacraments depends on the authority of the persons administring them, there being such whom God has commissioned to act as his Ministers, whose acts he will ratify in heaven: that God is not obliged to bestow spiritual benefits on any, who receive the Sacraments from persons not thus authorized, besides their administring them being an usurpation on God's authority, *&c.* In this book, he hath learned discourses, on the *Sin unto Death*; and the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*. He intended to write, moreover, 'A History of the first 'Schisms in the Christian Church,' as a second part of this work; which he stiled the *Historical* part, as the former the *Rational*. Accordingly he began it, and in Latin, that it might be beneficial to foreigners, as well as our nation; but he never finished it (11).

(11) Brokesby, p. 58, &c.

[K] *Dissertations on St Cyprian.*] They were composed at the request of the excellent Dr J. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who desired our author to write Observations on St Cyprian, when he was about publishing his beautiful edition of that Father. This produced these Dissertations; which were dedicated by the author to that Prelate, on the 7th of April 1682, and printed, that year, in the same size as Bishop Fell's St Cyprian, and designed to be bound with it. A second edition of them, under the title of *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ*, &c. was reprinted at Oxford in 1684, 8vo. They are chiefly explanations of some passages in St Cyprian. In the XIth Dissertation he shews, 'How small the *number of martyrs* was in the first per-'secutions; and how later Martyrologies, especially 'of the Romanists, have multiplied them without the 'authority of antient monuments.' This subject he handled, particularly, at the request of Dr W. Lloyd Bishop of St Asaph (12); with a prospect of the succession of King James II (13). And he [Mr Dodwell] thought, that the lessening the number of martyrs, lessened not the glory of Christianity, when the heroic constancy

(12) Brokesby, as above, p. 102.

(13) Four Letters which passed between the Bishop of Sarum, and Mr Hen. Dodwell. Published by Mr Nelson, London, 1713, 12mo.

he publiſhed ‘ A Diſcourſe concerning the One Altar, and the One Prieſthood, inſiſted ‘ on by the Ancients (*p*) in their Diſputes againſt Schiſm.’ *Lond.* 8*vo*. In 1684, a diſſertation of his on a paſſage of Lactantius [*L*], was inſerted in the new edition of that author at Oxford, by Thomas Spark, in 8*vo*. His treatiſe ‘ Of the Prieſthood of ‘ Laicks [*M*],’ appeared in 1686, in 8*vo*. About the ſame time (*q*) he was preparing for the preſs the Poſthumous Works of the learned Dr John Pearſon, Biſhop of Cheſter [*N*]. He publiſh'd alſo, ‘ Diſſertations on Irenæus [*O*].’ On the 2d of April 1688, he was elected by the Univerſity of Oxford, Camden's Profeſſor of Hiſtory, without any application of his own, and when he was at a great diſtance from Oxford (*r*): And the 21ſt of May was incorporated Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity (*s*). But this beneficial and creditable employment of Profeſſor he did not enjoy long; being deprived of it in November 1691, for refuſing to take the Oaths of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary (*t*). When their Majeſties had ſuſpended thoſe Biſhops, who would not acknowledge their authority; Mr Dodwell publiſhed ‘ A cautionary Diſcourſe of Schiſm, ‘ with a particular Regard to the Caſe of the Biſhops, who are ſuſpended for refuſing to ‘ take the new Oath.’ London, 8*vo* (*u*). And when thoſe Biſhops were actually deprived, and others put in their Sees [*P*], he joined the former, looking upon the new Biſhops, and their adherents, as Schiſmatics. He wrote likewiſe ‘ A Vindication of the deprived ‘ Biſhops:’ and ‘ A Defence of the ſame [*Q*].’ After having loſt his Profeſſorſhip, he continued

(*p*) Particularly by Ignatius. This book was occaſioned by an objection of Mr R. Baxter. In oppoſition to whom, Mr Dodwell affirms, That the *One Prieſthood*, was that of the Biſhop: and the *One Altar*, Epiſcopal Communion.

(*q*) For the *Imprimatur* bears date Sept. 9. 1686.

(*r*) He was then in Shropſhire. Brokeſby, p. 181.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 231, 232. and Brokeſby, as above, p. 180, 181.

(*t*) About which time he writ *Concerning the Caſe of taking the new Oath of Allegiance, with a Declaration*, &c. containing only nine pages.

(*u*) Upon occaſion of this diſcourſe it was ſaid, That allowing his plea to ſtand, he had made Religion for the Church, not the Church for Religion. See the life of Mr John Kettlewell, &c. Lond. 1718. p. 317.

conſtancy and patience of them that ſuffered, which tended ſo much to its honour, was the great reaſon the perſecutors put a ſtop to theſe ſlaughters. However, Mr Dodwell was ſeverely, nay rudely, reflected upon for this Diſſertation, by Biſhop Burnet; who thus ſpeaks to him: ‘ In one of theſe [Diſſertations] ‘ you laboured to leſſen one of the glorious characters ‘ of the Chriſtian religion from the number of the ‘ martyrs; and in the next, (concerning the ſignal ‘ courage and fortitude of the martyrs) you began the ‘ account of the patience and fortitude of the martyrs ‘ with the wilfulneſs of the firſt Chriſtians, and their ‘ deſire of fame and vain-glory. It is true, you after ‘ that gave better reaſons for it: but would a Vaninus, ‘ a Hobbes, and a Spinoza, ſay any thing more dero‘ gatory to that glory of our moſt holy faith, than you ‘ wrote in thoſe two Diſſertations?’ In anſwer to that, Mr Dodwell replies, That he wrote thoſe Diſcourſes ‘ with a deſign of advancing, not of undervaluing martyrdom.’——And that he could have eaſily confuted his adverſaries, had it not been for the ‘ great veneration he had for the goodneſs and piety ‘ of ſeveral of the Fathers, who were of too eaſy belief ‘ of matter of fact not ſufficiently atteſted (14).’ This Diſſertation was profeſſedly attacked by Father Thierry Ruinart, a Benedictin; in the General Preface to his *Acta Primorum Martyrum ſincera & ſelecta, ex Libris cum editis tum manuſcriptis collecta, &c. Notiſque & obſervationibus illuſtrata. His præmittitur Præfatio generalis, in qua refellitur Diſſertatio* 11ma. *Cypriana de Paucitate Martyrum.* Paris 1689, 4*to*, and Amſtel. 1712, fol. Mr Dodwell never anſwered this Preface; not that it was unanſwerable, but really out of tenderneſs for religion: becauſe he muſt have been forced to expoſe the *weakneſs* or *credulity* of antient writers, which ſome irreligious wretches would lay hold on to vile purpoſes (15). At the end of theſe Diſſertations are ſome chronological tables, chiefly the Canons of Ptolemy collated with manuſcripts; ſome *Faſti* out of manuſcripts; a fragment of Theon; and another of the Emperor Heraclius, both founded on Ptolemy's Canons.

(14) Four Letters, ibid.

(15) Ibid. p. 103.

[*L*] *A Diſſertation on a paſſage of Lactantius.*] In his treatiſe *de Mortibus Perſecutorum*, ſect. 17. The words are ——*per circuitum ripæ Strigæ* Nicomediam *venit*. In explaining which, Mr Dodwell obſerves, That *Striga* is firſt uſed for the limit of a Roman camp, and thence for the borders of fields, and limits of countries: that rivers were convenient for all theſe ends: that as Euphrates was the boundary of the Roman empire towards the Parthians, and the Rhine towards the Germans, ſo was the Danube of the Illyrian Province. And, becauſe paſſage by water was the eaſieſt for infirm perſons, Diocleſian made choice of it in his chronical weakneſs to go to Nicomedia, partly by the Danube, and partly by the Euxine ſea, though it was *per circuitum*, by taking a compaſs about.

[*M*] *Of the Prieſthood of Laicks.*] *De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali, ex Sententia Tertulliani aliorumque Veterum*; as the title of it is. 'Twas written by way of anſwer to H. Grotius's Diſſertation *De Cœnæ Adminiſtratione ubi paſtores non ſunt, &c.* which was tranſlated about this time into Engliſh by Mr William Baxter, the Antiquarian, and publiſhed under this title, ‘ Anti-Dodwelliſm (16): being two curious tracts for‘ merly written by Hugo Grotius, concerning a ſolu‘ tion of theſe two curious queſtions: 1. Whether the ‘ Euchariſt may be adminiſtered in the abſence of, or ‘ want of Paſtors, *&c.*’

(16) Probably becauſe it was contrary to what Mr Dodwell had aſſerted in his book of *Schiſm*, and its defence.

[*N*] *The Poſthumous Works of the learned Dr John Pearſon.*] They were printed at London in 1688, 4*to*, under this title, *V. Cl. Johannis Pearſonii, S. T. P. Ceſtrienſis nuper Epiſcopi, Opera Poſthuma Chronologica, &c. viz. De Serie & Succeſſione primorum Romæ Epiſcoporum Diſſertationes duæ: quibus præfiguntur Annales Paulini, & Lectiones in Acta Apoſtolorum. Singula prælo tradidit, edenda curavit, & Diſſertationis novis additionibus auxit H. Dodwellus, &c. Cujus etiam acceſſit de eadem Succeſſione uſque ad Annales Cl. Ceſtrienſis Cyprianicos, Diſſertatio Singularis.* The additions made by Mr Dodwell, are, a Diſcourſe to ſhew that Theophilus Antiochenus, the author of the Diſcourſe *ad Autolycum*, was not Theophilus Biſhop of Antioch: another, to ſhew, what St Jerom meant by this paſſage, ‘ That the Churches were governed ‘ by a Council of Preſbyters at firſt, till diviſions aroſe, *&c.*’ Another, to prove, how little Euſebius was acquainted with Latin authors, or affairs in the Weſt; and how long after his Chronicon he wrote his Hiſtory. A Diſſertation concerning the younger Agrippa's death. A Diſcourſe, ſhewing, that Celibacy and Virginity were not ſo much eſteemed in the firſt ages of the Church, as in the following times. A Diſcourſe about Tertullian's Epocha, in his firſt book againſt Marcion, c. 19. A Diſſertation concerning the ſucceſſion of the firſt Biſhops of Rome, brought down to the time where the Biſhop begins his Cyprianic Annals: which Annals are inſerted in Biſhop Fell's edition of St Cyprian (17).

(17) This diſſertation contains 226 pages.

[*O*] *Diſſertations on Irenæus.*] They were printed at Oxford in 1689, in 8*vo*, under the title of *Diſſertationes in Irenæum.* Though they are ſix in number, they are only prolegomena to what the author further deſigned. He hath joined to this work, *Philippus Sidetes de Catechiſtarum Alexandrinorum Succeſſione*, i. e. Of the Readers in the School of Alexandria; with notes. At the end there is, A Chronological Table.

[*P*] *When thoſe Biſhops were actually deprived, and others put in their Sees.*] The deprived Biſhops were, Dr Will. Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Dr Will. Lloyd, Biſhop of Norwich; Dr Fr. Turner, of Ely; Dr Tho. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr Rob. Frampton, of Glouceſter; and Dr Tho. White, of Peterborough. And thoſe put in their Sees were, Dr John Tillotſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Dr John Moore, at Norwich; Dr Sim. Patrick, at Ely; Dr Rich Kidder, at Bath and Wells; Dr Edw. Fowler, at Glouceſter; and Dr Rich. Cumberland, at Peterborough.

[*Q*] *A Vindication of the deprived Biſhops.*] This was printed at London in 1692, 4*to*, being an anſwer to

continued for ſome time in Oxford, and then retired to Cookham a village near Maidenhead, about an equal diſtance between Oxford and London; and therefore convenient to maintain a correſpondence in each place, and to conſult friends and books, as he ſhould have occaſion (*w*). While he liv'd there, he became acquainted with Mr Francis Cherry of Shotteſbrooke, a perſon of great learning and virtue, for the ſake of whoſe Converſation he remov'd to Shotteſbrooke, where he chiefly ſpent the remainder of his days (*x*). In 1692, he publiſhed his Camdenian Lectures read at Oxford [*R*]: And in 1694, 'An 'Invitation to Gentlemen to acquaint themſelves with ancient Hiſtory;' being a preface to *Degory Whear*'s 'Method of reading Hiſtory,' tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr Bohun. About this time having loſt one or more of the Dodwells, his kinſmen, whom he deſigned for his heirs; he married on the 24th of June 1694, in the 52d year of his age, a perſon, in whoſe father's houſe at Cookham he had boarded ſeveral times: and by her had ten children (*y*). In 1696 he drew up the Annals of Thucydides, and Xenophon, to accompany the editions of thoſe two authors by Dr John Hudſon, and Mr Edward Wells. Having likewiſe compiled the Annals of Velleius Paterculus, and of Quintilian, and Statius, he publiſhed them all together in 1698, in one volume, 8*vo* [*S*]. About the ſame time he wrote an account of the leſſer Geographers, publiſhed by Dr Hudſon [*T*]: And, 'A Treatiſe concerning the Lawfulneſs of inſtrumental Muſick in Holy 'Offices (*z*):' Occaſioned by an organ being ſet up at Tiverton in 1696. With ſome other things [*U*]. In 1701, he publiſhed his account of the Greek and Roman Cycles [*W*], which was the moſt elaborate of all his pieces, and ſeems to have been the work of the greateſt part of his life (*a*). The ſame year was publiſhed a letter of his [*X*], concerning Mr Toland's diſingenuous treatment of him (*b*). The year following appeared 'A Diſcourſe [of his] concerning the Obligation to marry within the true Commu-'nion, following from their ſtyle of being called a Holy Seed' (*c*). And 'An Apology 'for the Philoſophical Writings of Cicero,' againſt the objections of Mr Petit: prefixed to Tully's five books *De Finibus*, or, Of Moral Ends, tranſlated into Engliſh by Samuel Parker, Gent. As alſo the Annals of Thucydides and Xenophon [*Y*]. In 1703 he publiſhed 'A Letter concerning the Immortality of the Soul, againſt Mr Henry Lay-'ton's Hypotheſis, 4*to*.' And, 'A Letter to Dr Tillotſon about Schiſm,' 8*vo*. written in

(*w*) Brokeſby, as above, p. 223.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 305.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 305, 306. Only ſix ſurvived him; namely, two ſons, and four daughters. One of his ſons, is the learned Mr Wm. Dodwell, Rector of Shotteſbrooke.

(*z*) Publiſhed in 1700. 8vo.

(*a*) Dr Halley, in his account of that book, at the end of Brokeſby's life of Mr Dodwell, p. 638.

(*b*) Brokeſby, p. 321, &c.

(*c*) This was annexed to Mr C. Leſley's Diſcourſe on the ſame ſubject.

to a book publiſhed by *Humphrey Hody, B. D.* London 1691, 4*to*, entituled, 'The Unreaſonableneſs of 'a Separation from the New Biſhops: or a treatiſe out 'of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſhewing, that although a 'Biſhop was unjuſtly deprived, neither he nor the 'Church ever made a Separation, if the Succeſſor was 'not a Heretick. Tranſlated out of an ancient Greek 'Manuſcript in the Publick Library at Oxford,' *viz.* among the Baroccian MSS. Mr Hody writing an anſwer to *The Vindication*, &c. Mr Dodwell publiſhed 'A Defence of the Vindication of the Depriv'd Bi-'ſhops.' Lond. 1695, 4*to*. To which he put a preface that was then ſuppreſſed, but printed afterwards, with this title, 'The Doctrine of the Church 'of England, concerning the Independency of the 'Clergy on the Lay-Power, as to thoſe Rights of 'theirs which are purely Spiritual, reconciled with our 'Oath of Supremacy, and the Lay-Deprivations of the 'Popiſh Biſhops in the beginning of the Reforma-'tion (18).'

(18) See the life of Mr John Kettlewell, &c. Lond. 1718. 8vo, p. 316.

[*R*] *His Camdenian Lectures read at Oxford.*] The firſt was read May 25, 1688, and the ſixteenth, or laſt, Nov. 6, 1691. Beſides which, there are three more, that were prepared, but not read. Theſe Lectures are upon *Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores*, i. e. thoſe authors, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Roman Emperors, from the time of Trajan to that of Dioclesian. They were printed at Oxford 1692, 8*vo*, under this title, *Prælectiones Academicæ in Scholâ Rhetorices Camdenianâ: cum Fragmentis è Libris Linteis.* Theſe *Libri Lintei*, were the Annals, or Commentaries of the antient Romans, which uſed to be written on linnen.

[*S*] *Having likewiſe compiled the Annals of Velleius*, &c.] The title of them was, *Annales Velleiani, Quinctilianei, Statiani; ſeu Vitæ P. Velleii, M. Fabii Quinctiliani, Papinii Statii (obiterque Juvenalis) pro temporum ordine diſpoſitæ.* Thoſe of *Velleius Paterculus*, were written at the requeſt of Dr Charlett, late Maſter of Univerſity-college, Oxon. when he procured an edition of that author in 1692. At the end of theſe Annals is an Appendix, concerning *Julius Celſus*, who digeſted Cæſar's Commentaries; and concerning *Commodianus*; in two Diſſertations addreſſed to the moſt learned Grævius.

[*T*] *He wrote an account of the Leſſer Geographers.*] The *firſt* volume of theſe Geographers was publiſhed in 1698, 8*vo*. The *ſecond* in 1703. The *third* and *fourth* in 1712, *&c.* Mr Dodwell's account of the ſeveral authors, is printed in thoſe volumes.

[*U*] *With ſome other things.*] Particularly *De Tabulis Coelorum Diſſert. Et Tabulæ Chronolog. pro mente* XII *Patriarch.* Theſe are printed in Dr Grabe's *Spicilegium*, Vol. I, among the notes. The firſt is a Diſſertation on theſe words, ταις πλαξι των ϰρανων. *Tabulis Coelorum*, uſed in the Teſtament of the XII Patriarchs. Whereby Mr Dodwell underſtands the archetypal and original *Law*, as it is in the ſupreme lawgiver, *in heaven*; in oppoſition to the written Law of Moſes: and ſuppoſes it to be alſo part of Enoch's prophecy. The other piece is, *Chronological Tables*, according to the author of the Teſtament of the Twelve Patriarchs, inſerted in that collection of Dr Grabe.

[*W*] *His account of the Greek and Roman Cycles.*] It was printed at Oxford in 1701, 4*to*, under this title, *De Veteribus Græcorum Romanorumque Cyclis, obiterque de Cyclo Judæorum ætate Chriſti, Diſſertationes Decem, cum Tabulis neceſſariis. Inſeruntur Tabulis Fragmenta Veterum inedita, ad rem ſpectantia Chronologicam. Opus Hiſtoriæ veteri, tam Græcæ quam Romanæ, quam & Sacræ quoque neceſſarium.* At the end, are, *Tabulæ Chronologicæ ad hoc opus illuſtrandum neceſſariæ.* The contents of theſe Diſſertations are, 1. Of Meton's Cycle. 2. Of that of Calippus. 3. Of the Athenian Cycles before Meton. 4. The Cycles of the Olympiads. 5. The Delphic and Boeotian Cycles. 6. Of the Iſthmian Games, and Corinthian and Sicilian Cycles. 7. Of the Nemean Games, and Argolic Cycles. 8. Of the Laconic Cycles. 9. Of the Macedonian and Jewiſh Cycles. 10. Of the antient Roman Cycles.

[*X*] *A Letter of his.*] It was inſerted in the ſecond edition of 'The Canon of the New Teſtament vindi-'cated, by J. Richardſon, B. D.' in anſwer to J. Toland's Amyntor: who had (19) quoted a long paſſage out of Mr Dodwell's Diſſertations on Irenæus (20), tending (as that impious author imagined) to invalidate the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and to repreſent the Canon of the New Teſtament as precarious and ill-grounded (21).

(19) Page 69, &c.

(20) Diſſertat. I. §. 38, 39.

(21) See Brokeſby, p. 321.

[*Y*] *As alſo the Annals of Thucydides and Xenophon.*] They were printed at Oxford in 4*to*, under this title; *Annales Thucydidei et Xenophontei. Præmittitur Apparatus, cum vitæ Thucydidis Synopſi Chronologicâ.*

in the year 1691, The year following came out, his 'Chronology of Dionyſius Hali-'carnaſſeus,' in the Oxford edition of that Hiſtorian by Dr Hudſon, folio; his 'Two 'Diſſertations on the age of Phalaris and Pythagoras [Z];' and his 'Admonition to 'Foreigners, concerning the late Schiſm in England [AA].' When the bill for preventing Occaſional Conformity was depending in Parliament, he writ a treatiſe, intituled, 'Occaſional Communion fundamentally deſtructive of the Diſcipline of the Primi-'tive Catholick Church, and contrary to the Doctrine of the lateſt Scriptures concerning 'Church Communion;' which was publiſhed in 1705, at London, 8vo. About the ſame time, obſerving that the deprived Biſhops were reduced to a ſmall number (d), he wrote, 'A Caſe in View conſidered: in a Diſcourſe, proving that [in Caſe our preſent 'invalidly deprived Fathers ſhall leave all their Sees vacant, either by Death or Reſigna-'tion] we ſhall not then be obliged to keep up our Separation from thoſe Biſhops, who 'are as yet involved in the Guilt of the preſent unhappy Schiſm.' *Lond.* 1705. 8vo. Some time after, he publiſhed 'A farther Proſpect of the Caſe in View, in anſwer to 'ſome new Objections not then conſidered.' *Lond.* 1707. 8vo. Hitherto Mr Dodwell had acted in ſuch a manner, as had procured him the applauſe of all, except ſuch as hated or deſpiſed the Nonjurors; but, about this time, he publiſhed ſome opinions that drew upon him almoſt univerſal cenſure. For, in order to exalt the powers and dignity of the Prieſthood, in that *One Communion*, which he imagined to be the *Peculium* of God, and to which he had joined himſelf, he endeavoured to prove, with his uſual perplexity of learning, That the doctrine of the Soul's *Natural Mortality* was the true and original Doctrine; and that Immortality was only at Baptiſm conferred upon the Soul, by the Gift of God, through the Hands of One Sett of regularly-ordained Clergy (e). In ſupport of this opinion, he writ, 'An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving, from the Scriptures 'and the firſt Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal; but immortalized 'actually by the pleaſure of God, to Puniſhment, or to Reward, by its Union with the 'Divine Baptiſmal Spirit. Wherein is proved, That none have the Power of giving this 'Divine Immortalizing Spirit, ſince the Apoſtles, but only the Biſhops.' *Lond.* 1706. 8vo. At the end of the Preface to the Reader, is a Diſſertation to prove, 'That Sacer-'dotal Abſolution is neceſſary for the Remiſſion of Sins, even of thoſe who are truly pe-'nitent.' This Diſcourſe being attacked by ſeveral perſons [BB], our author endeavoured to vindicate himſelf in the three following pieces: namely, 1. 'A Preliminary Defence 'of the Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, concerning the Diſtinction between Soul and Spirit: in 'two Parts. I. Againſt the Charge of favouring Impiety. II. Againſt the Charge of 'favouring Hereſy. In the former is inſerted a Digreſſion, proving, that the Collection 'of the Code of the Four Goſpels in Trajan's Time, is no way derogatory to the ſuf-'ficient Atteſtation of them.' *Lond.* 1707. 8vo. 2. 'The Scripture Account of the 'Eternal Rewards or Puniſhments of all that hear of the Goſpel, without an Immorta-'lity neceſſarily reſulting from the Nature of the Souls themſelves that are concerned in 'thoſe Rewards or Puniſhments. Shewing particularly, I. How much of this Account 'was diſcovered by the beſt Philoſophers. II. How far the Accounts of thoſe Philoſo-'phers

(d) Brokeſby, ut ſupra, p. 453.

(e) Preface to Dr Sam. Clarke's Sermons; by Benjamin Biſhop of Winchester. Edit. 1730. 8vo. p. xvi.

[Z] *Two Diſſertations on the age of Phalaris and Pythagoras.*] They were occaſioned by the diſpute between Dr Bentley and the Honourable Mr Boyle, concerning the Epiſtles of Phalaris. In the preface, Mr Dodwell ſhews, That Atoſſa the daughter of Cyrus was not the firſt inventer of Epiſtles, as the Doctor had aſſerted: But the thing ſhe invented, was, the manner of joining the tables on which they were written, with ſuch exactneſs, that they might be more conveniently carried. Theſe two Diſſertations were printed at Oxford in 8vo under this title: *Exercitationes duæ: prima de ætate Phalaridis: ſecunda de ætate Pythagoræ Philoſophi.*

[AA] *His Admonition to Foreigners, concerning the late Schiſm in England.*] The title of it was, *De nupero Schiſmate Anglicano Paræneſis ad Exteros, tam Reformatos quam etiam Pontificios, qua Jura Epiſcoporum vetera, eorundemque à Magiſtratu Seculari Independentia, omnibus aſſerenda commendantur.* Lond. 8vo. i. e. 'An Admonition to Foreigners, as well of 'the Reformed Religion as Papiſts; wherein the an-'cient Right of Biſhops, and their Independency on 'the Secular Magiſtrate, are aſſerted and recom-'mended.' The ſchiſm here mentioned, is that which was occaſioned by the deprivation of ſome of the Biſhops, and the putting others into their Sees. See above note [P].

[BB] *This Diſcourſe being attacked by ſeveral perſons.*] The chief books written againſt it were theſe: I. 'A Charge of Hereſy maintained againſt Mr Dod-'well's late *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe*, concerning the Mor-'tality of the Soul: by way of addreſs to the Clergy 'of the Church of England. Laying open his oppo-'ſition to the received Creeds, and his falſification of 'all ſacred and profane Antiquity.' By Edmund Chiſhull late Chaplain at Smyrna, and Fellow of C.C.C. Oxon. Lond. 1706, 8vo. In this book the author gives the following character of Mr Dodwell. ——— 'His modeſty will, I hope, excuſe me, if I have ex-'preſſed myſelf ſomewhat freely concerning the ſize of 'his judgment and underſtanding, and if I rank him 'only in that lower claſs of learned men, who are in-'deed fitted for the collecting of materials, but are un-'qualified to judge rightly of, and to reaſon upon 'what they ſhall collect.' The other pieces publiſhed againſt the Epiſtolary Diſcourſe were, II. 'A Let-'ter to Mr Dodwell; wherein all the Arguments in his 'Epiſtolary Diſcourſe againſt the Immortality of the 'Soul are particularly anſwered, and the Judgment of 'the Fathers concerning that matter truly repreſented.' By Samuel Clarke, M. A. Lond. 1706, 8vo. III. 'A Philoſophical Diſcourſe concerning the natural Im-'mortality of the Soul; wherein the great queſtion of 'the Soul's Immortality is endeavoured to be rightly 'ſtated and fully cleared. Occaſioned by Mr Dod-'well's late Epiſtolary Diſcourſe. In two parts.' By John Norris, M. A. Rector of Bemerton. Lond. 1708, 8vo. IV. Thomas Milles, M. A. afterwards Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore, publiſhed alſo an Anſwer to Mr Dodwell, Oxford 1707, 8vo, intituled, 'The Natural Immortality of the Soul aſſerted and 'proved from the Scriptures and Firſt Fathers: in an-'ſwer to Mr Dodwell's Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, in which 'he endeavours to prove the Soul to be a Principle 'naturally mortal.'

[CC] *Our*

'phers were corrected, and improved, by the Helleniſtical Jews, aſſiſted by the Reve-'lations of the Old Teſtament. III. How far the Diſcoveries fore-mentioned were im-'proved by the Revelations of the Goſpel. Wherein the Teſtimonies alſo of S. Irenæus 'and Tertullian are occaſionally conſidered.' *Lond.* 1708. 8*vo*. And, 3. 'An Expli-'cation of a famous Paſſage in the Dialogue of S. Juſtin Martyr with Tryphon, concern-'ing the Immortality of Human Souls. Being a Letter to the learned Author of a Book, 'intituled, Ἡ Χάρις δοθεῖσα, &c. With an Appendix, conſiſting of a Letter to the Rev. 'Mr John Norris, of Bemerton; and an Expoſtulation relating to the late Inſults of Mr 'Clarke and Mr Chiſhull.' *Lond.* 1708. 8*vo*. Upon the death of Dr William Lloyd, the deprived Biſhop of Norwich, on the firſt of January 1710-11; Mr Dodwell, with ſome other friends, wrote to Dr Thomas Kenn, of Bath and Wells, the only ſurviving deprived Biſhop, to know, Whether he challenged their ſubjection? He returned for anſwer, That he did not: and ſignified his deſire that the breach might be cloſed by their joining with the Biſhops poſſeſſed of their ſees; giving his reaſons for it. Accordingly Mr Dodwell, and ſeveral of his friends, joined in communion with them (*f*). But others refuſing ſo to do, Mr Dodwell was exceedingly concerned at it, and wrote, 'The Caſe 'in View now in Fact. Proving, That the Continuance of a ſeparate Communion, 'without Subſtitutes in any of the late Invalidly-deprived Sees, ſince the death of Wil-'liam late Lord Biſhop of Norwich, is ſchiſmatical. With an Appendix, proving, 'That our late Invalidly-deprived Fathers had no Right to ſubſtitute Succeſſors, who 'might legitimate the Separation, after that the Schiſm had been concluded by the De-'ceaſe of the laſt Survivor of thoſe ſame Fathers.' *Lond.* 1711. 8*vo*. Our author wrote ſome few other things [*CC*], beſides all that has been already mentioned. At length, after a very ſtudious, and aſcetick courſe of life, he died at Shotteſbrooke the 7th of June 1711, in the ſeventieth year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of the Church there (*g*), where a monument is erected to him [*DD*]. Mr Dodwell, as to his perſon, was of a ſmall, but well-proportioned ſtature, of a ſanguine and fair complexion, of a grave

(*f*) Brokeſby, ubi ſupra, p. 460.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 550.

[*CC*] *Our author wrote ſome few other things.*] Namely, I. *Diſſertatio ad Fragmentum quoddam T. Livii*, i. e. 'A Diſſertation on a fragment ſuppoſed to 'be Livy's;' extant among Archbiſhop Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. This Diſſertation is mentioned by Mr Hearne, in his notes on Book vi. of Livy, of his edition. Mr Dodwell likewiſe ſettled the times of the actions related by that author, by the years *ab Urbe Cond.* according to the Varronian account, ſet at the top of each page (22). II. At the requeſt of a Gentleman in the Iſle of Man, who had deſired his thoughts on this point, 'Whether the Church of Eng-'land had juſt reaſons, when ſhe reformed, to *lay* a-'ſide the uſe of Incenſe, which was practiſed in all 'Churches before our quarrel with the Church of 'Rome?' he wrote, in 1709, 'A Diſcourſe con-'cerning the Uſe of Incenſe in Divine Offices. Where-'in it is proved, that that practice, taken up in the 'Middle Ages, both by the Eaſtern and Weſtern 'Churches, is, notwithſtanding, an Innovation from 'the doctrine of the firſt and pureſt Churches, and the 'Traditions derived from the Apoſtles. Serving alſo 'to evince, That even the Conſent of thoſe Churches 'of the Middle Ages, is no certain Argument, that the 'particulars wherein they are ſuppoſed to conſent, 'were faithfully derived from the Apoſtles, againſt the 'modern Aſſerters of the Infallibility of Oral Tradi-'tion.' Printed at London in 1711, 8*vo*. III. *Julii Vitalis Epitaphium, cum Notis Henrici Dodwelli, & Commentario G. Muſgrave. Accedit Dodwelli Epiſtola ad Cl. Goezium de Puteolanâ & Bajanâ Inſcriptionibus. Iſcæ Dunmoniorum & Londini*, 1711, 8*vo*. This epitaph of *Julius Vitalis*, on which Mr Dodwell wrote notes, was found at Bath, and publiſhed by Mr Hearne at the end of his edition of King Alfred's Life by Sir John Spelman, 8*vo*. The Letter to Mr Goetz Profeſſor at Leipſick, was written by Mr Dodwell in 1700, being an explanation of an inſcription on Memnius Caliſtus, found at Puteoli; and on another found at Baiæ. IV. *De ætate & patriâ Dionyſii Periegetæ*. On the age and country of Dionyſius the Geographer. Printed in the Oxford edition of that author in 1710, 8*vo*. V. *De Parmâ Equeſtri Woodwardianâ Diſſertatio, &c.* On the ancient Roman ſhield, formerly in Dr Woodward's poſſeſſion, whereon was repreſented the ſacking of Rome by the Gauls. This Diſſertation Mr Dodwell was prevented by death from finiſhing: it was publiſhed by Mr Hearne in 8*vo*. Oxon: 1713. The learned author ſuppoſes, this ſhield to have been made about the time of Nero. VI. Four Letters, which paſſed between the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Sarum, and Mr Henry Dodwell, were printed from the originals. Lond. 1713, 12*mo*.

(22) Brokeſby, p. 514.

Mr Dodwell wrote likewiſe, VII. *A Tract concerning the Death of Judas*. Wherein he ſhowed, that ἀπήγξατο does not ſignify his being *ſtrangled with grief*, as Grotius and Dr Hammond underſtood it, but that he *hanged* himſelf. It was never printed: nor the following, being VIII. *A Diſſertation concerning the Time of the Greek Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament by the* LXX. In which he proved, from the teſtimony of Eupolemus in Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, that it was not in the time of Demetrius Phaleræus a Prince, and of Ptolemy Philadelphus the ſon of Ptolemy Lagida; but of Demetrius Phaler, a Grammarian, and of Ptolemy Philopator, who might be ſurnamed Philadelphus as well as the former; as there were ſeveral Phyſcones, Soteres, Philometores, and Euergetæ. This Diſſertation was left unfiniſhed: as alſo IX. *A Diſſertation concerning the Laws of Nature and Nations*; in which the author propoſed to ſhew, that theſe laws were not (as is generally ſuppoſed) the reſult of reaſon, though highly congruous thereto; but laws delivered by Almighty God, to Adam, or Noah, the firſt common parents of all mankind, or at leaſt to ſome in thoſe firſt ages, wherein God moſt frequently *revealed* his Will: that theſe were tranſmitted by tradition: that they muſt proceed from the *arbitrary* pleaſure of the great Governor of the univerſe, &c. X. He deſigned to publiſh *The Epiſtle of St Barnabas*, with a literal tranſlation, and notes; having, ever ſince the year 1691, wrote *prolegomena* to it. But though he reſumed this deſign not long before his deceaſe, yet it was left imperfect. XI. Laſtly, He began to ſettle *the Time and Order in which Tertullian wrote each of his Books*. But on this ſubject he made but a very little progreſs (23).

(23) See Brokeſby, paſſim.

[*DD*] *Where a monument is erected to him.*] On the ſtone over his grave was put this inſcription:

Here lieth
The Learned and Pious
HENRY DODWELL, M. A.
Sometimes Fellow
Of Trinity College near Dublin,
Camden Profeſſor of Hiſtory in Oxon.
Born at Dublin Oct. MDCXLI.
Died at Shotteſbrooke
The VII. of June, MDCCXI.
Anno Æt. LXX.

But

grave, and ſerious, but a comely, pleaſant countenance; of a piercing eye, of a ſolid judgment, and ready apprehenſion (*b*). *He naturally enjoyed ſo ſtrong and vigorous a conſtitution of body, that he knew not, by his own experience, what the head-ach was (i).* His induſtry was prodigious, as appears by the many books he publiſhed. *Extremely* frugal he was of his time [*EE*], and indefatigable in his ſtudies, by which means he became acquainted with almoſt all authors, both ſacred and profane, ancient and modern (*k*). He ſtudied, not for his own benefit only, but alſo for that of others: for he was generouſly communicative, and always ready to aſſiſt others in worthy undertakings; very zealous to promote learning, and though learned almoſt beyond any one of his age, yet (what is very uncommon) of ſingular humility and modeſty. Accordingly he was courted and admired by the moſt eminent men abroad (*l*), who beſtow the higheſt encomiums upon him, on all occaſions (*m*). It muſt however be owned, that as he converſed more with books than men, his *Style* is, for that reaſon, obſcure and intricate, and full of digreſſions: for he often complained to his friends, that he was not able to comprize his thoughts in few words (*n*). With regard to his moral character; He was a perſon of great Sobriety and Temperance; of exemplary Charity, notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of his fortune; of ſtrict Piety; a great lover of the Clergy, and a zealous Member of the Church of England (*o*). As for his being a Nonjuror, That indeed gives no very advantageous idea of his diſcretion or judgment: but it muſt be conſidered, on the other hand, that Conſcience is a ſtubborn thing, that will not always ſtoop to Intereſt or Ambition.

(*b*) Mr Hearne, in his edit. of Leland, Vol. V. p. 112.

(*i*) Brokeſby, ut ſupra, p. 547.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 521.

(*l*) Particularly, Card. Noris, Mr Grævius, Perizonius, Pagi, Magliabecchi, &c. Ibid. p. 543.

(*m*) See at the beginning of the Diſſertation *De Parmâ Woodwardianâ*.

(*n*) Brokeſby, p. 535. and life of J. Kettlewell, as above, p. 318.

(*o*) Brokeſby, p. 525, 531, &c.

But this inſcription not being thought proportionable to the merit of ſo great a man, a monument was erected to him by his widow; on which was placed the following elegant epitaph, compoſed by Dr Robert Freind, late Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool.

Accede Hoſpes quicunque Literarum Studia
Vel Humanarum vel Divinarum Sapis.
Diſce marmor hoc quem ſignet virum.
Hic Ille ſua condi oſſa voluit,
Cui inter vivos fruſtra quæſiveris parem,
HENRICUS DODWELLUS
In quo conjuncta erant
Cum memoriâ rerum prope infinitâ
Et Inventionis Foecunditas
Et Judicii Acumen.
Cum mirifico quodam Pudore,
Animi Firmitas inconcuſſa.
Cum aliquâ in diſputando vehementiâ,
Candor eximius.
Quod difficilimis in re Chronologicâ nodis
Feliciter expeditis,
Novam Antiquæ Hiſtoriæ Lucem affuderit,
Eam Illi Laudem ultrò omnes
Quaſi Suam & Propriam tribuunt.
Sed & Hanc etiam cum paucis communem habuit,
Quod toties in Arenâ Criticâ
Sine Faſtu & Maledicentiâ certaverit:
Omnemque, quaqua patet, Eruditionis ambitum
Capaci Mente comprehenderit,
Iſtius, interim,
Quam aucupari ſolent Eruditorum coryphæi,
Gloriolæ Contemptor.
Ad majora ſcilicet intentus,
Primævæ in Eccleſiâ Diſciplinæ Vindex
Audire maluit
Quam Reipublicæ Literariæ Lumen.
Vetera itaque Patrum Chriſtianorum Monumenta
Indefeſſus perluſtravit;
Et quorum Scripta animo accuratè infixerat,
Eorum Severitatem & Sanctimoniam
In Vitâ accuratius expreſſit.
E Collegio SS. Trinitatis, prope Dubliniam,
Doctorum Suffragiis accerſitus,
Oxonium migravit;
Ubi Camdeniani Prælectoris munus
Multâ cum Laude, quoad potuit, ſuſtinuit:
Inde cum receſſiſſet,
In Ædibus Shotteſbrochianis,
Amiciſſimi Viri Hoſpitio uſus,
Inter Libros delituit, conſenuit, obiit,
Juris Regii & Epiſcopalis
Ad extremum uſque Spiritum Propugnator.
Animam Eruditam, Simplicem, Piam
Deo reddidit, Jun. 7. A. D. 1711. Æta. 70.
Conjugi Optimo ANNA DODWELLA.
M. P. (24).

(24) Brokeſby, p. 550, 552, &c.

[*EE*] *Extremely frugal he was of his time.*] How deſirous he was to ſave and improve it, is evident from the care he took not to loſe that part of it wherein he travelled, which was chiefly *on foot*, through his own choice, rather than by ſtage-coaches, that he might thereby be maſter of his own hours, often reading as he walked. For this end, he carried with him in his journies, books fitted for his pockets, the Hebrew Bible in four ſmall volumes, the Greek New Teſtament, and the Common Prayer, accordingly. For the ſame purpoſe he had Thomas à Kempis, S. Auguſtine's Meditations, and other books of the like nature and ſize (25). After he was ſettled in Berkſhire, he generally walked from Shotteſbrooke to London, in a day, which is ſix and twenty miles (26).

(25) Ibid. p. 523, 524.

(26) Ibid. p. 548.

C

DONNE (JOHN) an eminent Poet and Divine of the laſt century, was born in London [*A*], in the year 1573, and educated in his father's houſe, under a private Tutor, till the eleventh year of age, when he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford: at which time it was obſerved of him, as formerly of the famous Picus Mirandula, that *he was rather born than made wiſe by ſtudy* (*a*). He was admitted a Commoner of Hart-Hall, together with his younger brother, in Michaelmas Term 1584 (*b*). He declined taking his firſt degree at Oxford, by advice of his relations, who, being of the Romiſh religion, diſliked the oath tendered upon that occaſion. After he had ſtudied three years in that Univerſity,

(*a*) Iſaac Walton's Lives of Dr John Donne, &c. Lond. 1675. p. 11, 12.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 554.

[*A*] ——— *born in London.*] His father, who was a Merchant, was deſcended from a very antient family in Wales; and his mother from the famous Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, and Judge Raſtal, author of an *Abridgment* of the *Statutes*. His father, who died before our author's admiſſion at Lincoln's-Inn, left him a portion of 3000 *l.* (1)

(1) Walton's Lives of Dr Donne, &c. p. 11, 12.

[*B*] *He*

University, he removed to Cambridge *, and from thence, about three years after, to Lincoln's-Inn in London [*B*], where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great improvement in the ſtudy of the Law (*c*). He was now in his eighteenth year, and as yet had profeſſed himſelf of no particular denomination of Chriſtians: but, about his nineteenth year, he laid aſide the ſtudy of the Law, and of all other ſciences, and ſet himſelf wholly to conſider the points of religion controverted between the Romiſh and Reformed Churches [*C*]; which ended in a ſincere attachment to the Proteſtant Religion (*d*). In the years 1596 and 1597, Mr Donne accompanied the Earl of Eſſex in his expeditions againſt Cadiz and the Azores Iſlands, and ſtaid ſome years in Italy and Spain [*D*], where he made many uſeful obſervations, and perfected himſelf in the languages of thoſe countries. Soon after his return to England, he was made Secretary to the Lord Chancellor Egerton [*E*], and continued in that employment five years; during which time, he married privately, and without her father's conſent, the daughter of Sir George More, Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower; who was ſo incenſed at the match, that he procured our author to be diſmiſſed from the Lord Chancellor's ſervice, and committed to priſon (*e*) [*F*]. He ſoon obtained his liberty, but was put to the trouble of a long and expenſive law-ſuit, to recover poſſeſſion of his wife, who was forcibly detained from him. At length, time, together with our author's extraordinary merit, and winning behaviour, ſo far wrought upon Sir George, that he was prevailed on to uſe his intereſt with the Lord Chancellor, that his ſon-in-law might be reſtored to his poſt: but this requeſt was refuſed [*G*]. As for Sir George, he was ſo far reconciled to Mr Donne and his wife, as not to deny them his paternal bleſſing; but would contribute nothing towards their ſupport, though they ſtood in great need of it, our author's fortune being much diminiſhed by the expence of his travels, books, law-ſuit, and the generoſity of his temper. However, his wants were, in a great meaſure, prevented by the ſeaſonable bounty of their kinſman Sir Francis Wooley, who entertained them ſeveral years at his houſe at Pirford in Surrey, where our author had ſeveral children born to him (*f*). During his reſidence at Pirford, he applied himſelf, with great diligence and ſucceſs, to the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws; and, about this time, was ſollicited by Dr Morton (afterwards Biſhop of

(*) Probably to Trinity-College.

(*c*) Walton, ibid. p. 12.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 13, 14.

(*e*) Id. ib. p. 15—18.

(*f*) Ib. p. 18—20.

[*B*] *He removed—to Lincoln's-Inn in London.*] His mother and his guardians, who were of the Romiſh perſuaſion, made choice of Tutors (who were ſecretly of the ſame perſuaſion) to inſtruct young Mr Donne in the Mathematicks and other liberal ſciences; with orders, at the ſame time, to inſtil into him the principles of the Romiſh Church. And he himſelf confeſſes (2), they had almoſt perverted him to their faith.

(2) Preface to his *Pſeudo-Martyr*. Lond. 1610. 4to. See the next remark.

[*C*] *He ſet himſelf to conſider the points controverted between the Romiſh and Reformed Churches.*] Let us hear our author himſelf upon this head. 'I had a longer 'work, *ſays he* (3), to do than many other men: for 'I was firſt to blot out certaine impreſſions of the Ro'mane Religion, and to wreſtle both againſt the exam'ples and againſt the reaſons, by which ſome hold was 'taken, and ſome anticipations early layde upon my 'conſcience, both by perſons, who by nature had a 'power and ſuperiority over my will, and others, who 'by their learning and good life ſeemed to me juſtly to 'claime an intereſt for the guiding and rectifying of 'mine underſtanding in theſe matters.' Afterwards he ſays: 'Although I apprehended well enough, that 'this irreſolution not only retarded my fortune, but 'alſo bred ſome ſcandal, and endangered my ſpiritual 'reputation, by laying me open to miſinterpretations; 'yet all theſe reſpects did not tranſport me to any vio'lent and ſudden determination, till I had, to the 'meaſure of my poore wit and judgment, ſurveyed 'and digeſted the whole body of Divinity controverted 'between ours and the Romane Church. In which 'ſearch and diſquiſition, that God, which awakened 'me then, and hath never forſaken me in that indu'ſtry, as he is the author of that purpoſe, ſo he is a 'witneſs of this proteſtation, that I behaved my ſelfe, 'and proceeded therein with humility and diffidence 'in my ſelfe, and by that, which, by his grace, I 'tooke to be the ordinary meanes, which is frequent 'praier and equall and indifferent actions.' When he ſet about this enquiry, as he believed Cardinal Bellarmine to be the beſt defender of the Popiſh cauſe, he applied himſelf to the examination of that writer's works; and, about the twentieth year of his age, had marked all the Cardinal's works with obſervations under his own hand; which he ſhewed to the then Dean of Glouceſter, and, at his death, bequeathed as a legacy to one of his friends (4).

(3) Ibid.

(4) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 14.

[*D*] *He ſtayed ſome years in Italy and Spain.*] The time he ſpent in Spain was, at his firſt going into Italy, deſigned for travelling to the Holy Land, and viewing Jeruſalem and our Saviour's ſepulchre. But the diſappointment of company, or a ſafe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into thoſe remote parts, prevented his deſign (5).

(5) Ib. p. 15.

[*E*] *He was made Secretary to the Lord Chancellor Egerton.*] This, probably, was intended by that Lord only as an introduction of our author to ſome more conſiderable employment in the State. For his Lordſhip often expreſſed his high opinion of his Secretary's abilities; whom he treated rather as a friend than a ſervant, conſtantly admitting him to a place at his own table (6).

(6) Ibid.

[*F*] *He married—the daughter of Sir George More—who was ſo incenſed at the match, that he procured our author to be diſmiſſed from the Chancellor's ſervice, and committed to priſon.*] Sir George's daughter lived in the Lord Chancellor's family, and was niece to his Lady. Sir George, having ſome intimations of the intended marriage, removed his daughter, in all haſte, from the Chancellor's to his own houſe at Lotheſley in Surrey; and the friends on both ſides endeavoured to draw them from their mutual affection to each other: but to no purpoſe; for, having exchanged the moſt faithful promiſes, they found means to have their marriage privately conſummated. The affair was broke in the ſofteſt manner to Sir George by his friend and neighbour the Earl of Northumberland. But Sir George was ſo tranſported with anger, that he preſently engaged his ſiſter, the Lord Chancellor's Lady, to join with him in requiring Mr Donne's diſmiſſion, and would not be ſatisfied till his ſuit was granted. The Chancellor, at diſmiſſing our author, declared, *He parted with a friend, and ſuch a Secretary as was fitter to ſerve a King than a ſubject.* But Sir George's anger was not ſatisfied, till our author, together with Mr Samuel Brook (*), who married him, and his brother Mr Chriſtopher Brook (†), who gave the Lady in marriage, were all committed to three ſeveral priſons. Mr Donne, who was the firſt enlarged, never reſted, till, by his ſollicitation and intereſt, he procured the liberty of his two impriſoned friends (7).

(*) He had been our author's fellow Pupil at Cambridge, and was afterward Maſter of Trinity-College.

(†) He had been our author's Chamber-fellow at Lincoln's-Inn.

(7) Ib. p. 15—18.

[*G*] *This requeſt was refuſed.*] The Lord Chancellor returned for anſwer, that, 'though he was un 'feignedly ſorry for what he had done, yet it was in'conſiſtent with his place and credit, to diſcharge and 're-admit ſervants, at the requeſt of paſſionate peti'tioners (8)'.

(8) Ib. p. 19.

of Durham) to go into Holy Orders, and accept of a benefice, which the Doctor would have reſigned to him: but Mr Donne thought fit to decline this obliging offer [*H*]. He lived with Sir Francis till that Gentleman's death; a little before which, by the mediation of Sir Francis, a perfect reconciliation was effected between our author and his father-in-law; Sir George obliging himſelf to pay Mr Donne 800 *l.* at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20 *l.* quarterly for their maintenance, till the ſaid portion was paid. After the death of Sir Francis Wooley, Mr Donne took a houſe for his wife and children at Mitcham in Surrey [*I*], and lodgings for himſelf near Whitehall in London; where he was much viſited and careſſed by the Nobility, foreign Miniſters, and other perſons of diſtinction (*g*). Some time after, at the earneſt entreaty of his friends, he removed his family to London, where Sir Robert Drury, a Gentleman of a conſiderable eſtate, gave him a commodious apartment in his own large houſe in Drury-Lane (*b*). He was incorporated Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford (having before taken the ſame degree at Cambridge) the 18th of April 1610 (*i*). About two years after, he was prevailed on, not without ſome difficulty, to accompany Sir Robert Drury to Paris (*k*) [*K*]. Before

(*g*) Ib. p. 20—25.

(*b*) Ib. p. 28.

(*i*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 187.

(*k*) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 29.

[*H*] *He thought fit to decline Dr Morton's obliging offer.*] Dr Morton, having deſired a conference with our author, told him, 'he had a matter to propoſe to 'him; which nevertheleſs he would not declare to 'him, but upon condition, that he ſhould not return a 'preſent anſwer, but paſs three days in faſting and 'prayer, and, after a ſerious conſideration of the pro-'poſal, then return with his anſwer.' Mr Donne promiſing to obſerve this condition, Dr Morton told him, 'he was no ſtranger to his neceſſities, and would now 'renew the attempt he had formerly made, to per-'ſuade him to wave his expectations of Court-prefer-'ment, and enter into Holy Orders, with this addi-'tional reaſon, that, the King having juſt made him '(Dr Morton) Dean of Gloceſter, he was ready to re-'ſign to him (Mr Donne) a very good benefice he was 'poſſeſſed of, if God ſhould incline his heart to em-'brace this motion;' adding, that 'no man's parts or 'education ſet him above that employment, which is '*to be an Ambaſſador for the God of glory, that God 'who by a vile death opened the gates of life to man-'kind.*' Mr Donne performed his promiſe, and the third day after returned with his anſwer, which was to this effect: 'That he acknowledged his (Dr Mor-'ton's) great kindneſs, with an heart full of humility 'and thanks, but could not accept his offer; not that 'he thought himſelf too good for that calling, or that 'his education and learning, though not eminent, 'might not, by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, render 'him in ſome meaſure fit for it; but becauſe ſome 'former irregularities of his life had been too noto-'rious, not to expoſe him to the cenſure of the world, 'and perhaps bring diſhonour to the ſacred function: 'beſides, being determined by the beſt Caſuiſts, that '*God's glory ſhould be the firſt end, and a maintenance 'the ſecond motive, to embrace that calling*, his pre-'ſent condition was ſuch, he feared he could not re-'concile his conſcience to that rule (*9*).' This was our author's preſent reſolution.

(9) Ib. p. 21—24.

[*I*] *He ſettled his wife and children at Mitcham in Surrey.*] His fortune, at this time, was very narrow, as appears from ſeveral of his letters. Writing to the Honourable Sir R. D. he ſays: 'There is not one 'perſon, beſides myſelf, in my houſe, well. I have 'already loſt half a child, and with that miſchance of 'her's my wife fallen into an indiſpoſition, which 'would afflict her much, but that the ſickneſs of her 'children ſtupifies her; of one of which, in good 'faith, I have not much hope. This meets a fortune 'ſo ill provided for phyſique and ſuch relief, that if 'God ſhould eaſe us with burials, I know not how to 'perform even that. I flatter myſelf in this, that I 'am dying too; nor can I truly die faſter by any 'waſte, than by loſs of children. *From my hoſpital at 'Mitcham* (10).' In another letter, addreſſed to Sir Henry Goodere, having expreſſed his wiſhes for death, he adds—*which though I know it is not meerly out of a wearineſſe of this* (life), *becauſe I had the ſame deſires, when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than now; yet I doubt worldly encumbrances have encreaſed it* (11). We ſhall add but one paſſage more from another of our author's letters: 'I write from 'the fire-ſide in my parler, and in the noiſe of three 'gameſome children, and by the ſide of her, whom 'becauſe I have tranſplanted into a wretched fortune, 'I muſt labour to diſguiſe that from her by all ſuch ho-'neſt devices, as giving her my company and diſ-'courſe (12).' Here you have part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind: and thus it continued with him for about two years; all which time his family remained conſtantly at Mitcham; to which place he often retired himſelf, and deſtined ſome days to a conſtant ſtudy of ſome points of controverſy betwixt the Engliſh and Romiſh Church, and eſpecially thoſe of Supremacy and Allegiance (13).

(10) Dr Donne's Letters to ſeveral Perſons of Honour, &c. Lond. 1654, 4to. p. 152.

(11) Ib. p. 49.

(12) Ib. p. 137.

(13) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 28.

[*K*] *He was prevailed on, not without ſome difficulty, to accompany Sir Robert Drury to Paris.*] Mrs Donne, who was with child, and in an ill ſtate of health, expreſſed ſome reluctance at her huſband's intended journey, ſaying, *her divining ſoul boded her ſome ill in his abſence*, and therefore deſired him not to leave her. This made Mr Donne lay aſide all thoughts of the journey, and really reſolve againſt it. But Sir Robert becoming very importunate in his requeſt, Mrs Donne, at laſt, gave a faint conſent to the journey, which was propoſed to be but for two months (14). Mr Walton is miſtaken in telling us, Sir Robert Drury accompanied the Lord Hay in his embaſſy from King James to the French King: for that Lord was not ſent Embaſſador to France till July 1616 (15), whereas it is evident from the dates of ſome of our author's letters (16), that he was at Paris with Sir Robert Drury in 1612. Mr Donne, before his departure, preſented his wife with a copy of verſes (17), in which we may particularly admire the following beautiful ſimilitudes.

(14) Ib. p. 29.

(15) Camden's Annals of King James, an. 1616.

(16) Letters to ſeveral Perſons of Honour, &c. p. 127, &c.

(17) Intituled, A Valediction forbidding Mourning. See his Poems, &c. Lond. 1719. 12mo. p. 35.

Our two ſouls the efore, which are one,
Though I muſt go, indure not yet
A breach, but an expanſion,
Like gold to airy thinneſs beat.

If they be two, they are two ſo
As ſtiff twinn compaſſes are two;
Thy ſoul, the fixt foot, makes no ſhow
To move, but doth, if t'other do:

And though it in the center ſit,
Yet when the other far doth rome,
It leans and hearkens after it,
And grows erect, as that comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who muſt,
Like t'other foot, obliquely run:
Thy firmneſs makes my circle juſt,
And makes me end where I begun.

We ſhall here give the reader Iſaac Walton's account of Mr Donne's *viſion*, ſoon after his arrival at Paris. It was not indeed told him by our author himſelf, but by a perſon of honour, who had a great intimacy with Mr Donne (18). However take it in Walton's own words (19): 'Two days after their arrival there, 'Mr Donne was left alone, in that room in which 'Sir Robert, and he, and ſome other friends had 'dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned 'within half an hour; and, as he left, ſo he found 'Mr Donne alone; but in ſuch an extaſy, and ſo al-

(18) Life, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 32.

(19) Ib. p. 29, 30.

'tered

fore this journey, and after our author's return from France, many of the Nobility and others preſſed the King to confer ſome ſecular employment on him (*l*) [*L*]: but his Majeſty, conſidering him as better qualified for the ſervice of the Church, rejected their application (*m*). About this time, the diſputes concerning the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy being on foot, our author, by King James's eſpecial command, wrote a treatiſe on that ſubject, intituled, *Pſeudo-Martyr* [*M*], printed at London in 1610, in 4*to*; with which his Majeſty was ſo highly pleaſed, that, reſolving to prefer him in the Church, he was now very preſſing with him to enter into Holy Orders: but Mr Donne, being deſirous to qualify himſelf for the ſacred function by a cloſer application to the ſtudies of Divinity and the learned languages, deferred his compliance with the King's inſtances, till about three years after, when he was ordained both Deacon and Prieſt by his good friend Dr John King (*), then Biſhop of London (*n*). Preſently after, he was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majeſty; and about the ſame time, attending King James in a progreſs, he was created Doctor in Divinity, at the recommendation of that Prince, by the Univerſity of Cambridge (*o*). His abilities, and induſtry in his profeſſion, were ſo eminent, and himſelf ſo well beloved and eſteemed by perſons of quality, that, within the firſt year of his entering into ſacred Orders, he had the offer of fourteen ſeveral benefices: but, as they lay in the country, his natural inclination to living in London, the place of his birth, and of his friends and acquaintance, made him refuſe them all. Immediately after his return from Cambridge, his wife died [*N*]; and his grief for her loſs was ſo great, that, for ſome time, he betook himſelf to a retired and ſolitary life (*p*). Soon after, he was choſen Preacher of Lincoln's-Inn, and was in high eſteem with the Members of that Honourable Society. In 1619, he was appointed, by King James, to attend the Lord Hay Earl of Doncaſter, in his embaſſy to the Princes of Germany; and, about fourteen months after his return to England, he was advanced to the Deanry of St Paul's [*O*], vacant by the removal of Dr Cary to the Biſhoprick of Exeter (*q*). Soon after,

(*l*) Ib. p. 34.

(*m*) Ib. p. 35.

(*) He had been Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Egerton, at the ſame time that Mr Donne was his Secretary.

(*n*) Ib. p. 36—38.

(*o*) Ib. p. 39—41.

(*p*) Ib. and p. 42.

(*q*) Ib. p. 42—46.

'tered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold 'him: inſomuch that he earneſtly deſired Mr Donne 'to declare what had befallen him in the ſhort time of 'his abſence. To which Mr Donne was not able to 'make a preſent anſwer; but, after a long and perplext pauſe, did at laſt ſay, *I have ſeen a dreadful 'viſion ſince I ſaw you: I have ſeen my dear wife paſs 'twice by me thorough this room, with her hair hanging 'about her ſhoulders, and a dead child in her arms: 'this I have ſeen ſince I ſaw you.* To which Sir 'Robert replied, *Sure, Sir, you have ſlept ſince I 'ſaw you, and this is the reſult of ſome melancholy 'dream, which I deſire you to forget, for you are 'now awake.* To which Mr Donne's reply was, *I 'cannot be ſurer that I now live, than that I have 'not ſlept ſince I ſaw you; and am as ſure, that, at 'her ſecond appearing, ſhe ſtopt, and lookt me in the 'face, and vaniſht* Reſt and ſleep had not altered 'Mr Donne's opinion the next day: for he then affirmed this viſion with a more deliberate, and ſo 'confirmed a confidence, that he enclined Sir Robert 'to a faint belief, that the viſion was true. It is truly 'ſaid, *that deſire and doubt have no reſt:* and it proved ſo with Sir Robert; for he immediately ſent a 'ſervant to Drury-houſe, with a charge to haſten 'back and bring him word, whether Mrs Donne were 'alive, and, if alive, in what condition ſhe was as to 'her health. The twelfth day, the meſſenger returned with this account; that he found and left 'Mrs Donne very ſad, and ſick in her bed; and that, 'after a long and dangerous labour, ſhe had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, 'the abortion proved to be the ſame day, and about 'the very hour that Mr Donne affirmed he ſaw 'her paſs by him in his chamber.'

[*L*] *Many of the Nobility, and others, preſſed the King to confer ſome ſecular employment on him: but his Majeſty—rejected their application.*] King James, it ſeems, had given our author ſome hopes of a State-employment, being always much pleaſed with his company and converſation, eſpecially at his meals, where there were uſually diſcourſes and debates, concerning religion or literature, between his Majeſty, and thoſe Divines, whoſe places required their attendance on him at thoſe times; particularly Dr Montague, Dean of the Chapel (*), and Dr Andrews (†), his Majeſty's Almoner (20). Among others, who ſollicited our author's advancement in the State, was the Earl of Somerſet, when in the greateſt height of favour: who being at Theobalds with the King, and one of the Clerks of the Council dying there, diſpatched a meſſenger for Mr Donne to come thither immediately, and, at our author's coming, ſaid to him; *To teſtify the reality of my affection, and my purpoſe to prefer you, ſtay in this garden till I go up to the King, and bring you word that you are Clerk of the Council: doubt not my doing this; for I know the King loves you, and know the King will not deny me.* But it happened otherwiſe; for the King denied the Earl's requeſt, and replied; *I know Mr Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned Divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my deſire is, to prefer him that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing for him* (21). It appears from one of our author's letters (22), that he ſollicited in vain for the place of one of his Majeſty's Secretaries in Ireland, upon the death of Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

(*) Then Biſhop of Wincheſter.

(†) Afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter.

(20) Ib. p. 34, 35.

(21) Ib. p. 35, 36.

(22) Dr Donne's Letters, &c. p. 145.

[*M*] *His Pſeudo-Martyr.*] King James himſelf had engaged in the controverſy concerning the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, as appears by his *Works* ſtill extant. As he had ſome diſcourſes with Mr Donne upon that ſubject, he was ſo pleaſed with his clearneſs in ſtating the objections made to the taking thoſe oaths, and his anſwers to them, that he commanded our author to draw up the objections and anſwers in form, and bring them to him: which our author performed within ſix weeks, and brought them to the King in his own hand-writing, as they now ſtand in the book abovementioned (22). The title, at length, is: *Pſeudo-Martyr: Wherein out of certaine Propoſitions and Gradations this Concluſion is evicted; that thoſe, which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegiance.* It is dedicated to King James I, with a *Preface* addreſſed *to the Prieſtes and Jeſuites, and to their diſciples in this kingdome.* This book was animadverted upon by one Thomas Fitzherbert, in a *Cenſure of it*, ſubjoined to his *Supplement to the Diſcuſſion of Dr Barlow's Anſwer to the Judgment of a Catholick Engliſhman*, &c. printed at St Omers in 1613, in 4*to*.

(22) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 35.

[*N*] *His wife's death.*] Mrs Donne died the 15th of Auguſt 1617, on the ſeventh day after the birth of her twelfth child, and was buried in the pariſh-church of St Clement's near Temple-Bar, in London (23). She left our author in a narrow unſettled eſtate, with ſeven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary aſſurance, that he would never bring them under the ſubjection of a ſtep-mother; which promiſe he faithfully kept (24). The firſt ſermon he preached after the death of his wife, was in the church where ſhe lay buried, on this text out of Jeremiah's *Lamentation: Lo, I am the man that have ſeen affliction* (25).

(23) See her epitaph in Stowe's Survey of London, ed. 1720. fol. Vol. II. B. iv. p. 113.

(24) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 41, 42.

(25) Ib. p. 43.

[*O*] *He was advanced to the deanry of St Paul's.*] Upon the vacancy of the deanry, the King ſent an order

after, the vicarage of St Dunſtan in the Weſt, and another benefice, fell to Dr Donne; the advowſon of the former having been given him by the Earl of Dorſet, and that of the latter by the Earl of Kent. In 1623-4, he was choſen Prolocutor of the Convocation (*r*); on which occaſion he ſpoke a Latin oration, as his inauguration ſpeech (*s*). About the ſame time, he was appointed by the King to preach ſeveral occaſional ſermons, at Paul's Croſs, and other places: theſe diſcourſes were miſrepreſented to his Majeſty, who gave the Doctor an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf in his royal preſence (*t*) [*P*]. The year following, he was ſeized with a dangerous fit of ſickneſs [*Q*]; of which, however, he recovered, and publiſhed, on that occaſion, his moſt excellent book of *Devotions*, which he had written on his ſick bed (*u*). He continued in perfect health till the fifty-ninth year of his age, when, being with his eldeſt daughter Mrs Harvey, at Abery-hatch in Eſſex, in Auguſt 1630, he was taken with a fever, which brought on a conſumption (*w*): notwithſtanding which, he returned to London, and preached in his turn, at Court, as uſual, on the firſt Friday in Lent (*x*) [*R*]. He died [*S*] the thirty-firſt of March 1631 (*y*), and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St Paul's, where a monument was erected over him [*T*]. His character is excellently drawn by the writer of his life [*U*]; and

(*r*) Ib. p. 47.

(*s*) It is extant in his Poems, &c. Lond. 1719. 12mo. p. 358.

(*t*) Ib. p. 47—49.

(*u*) Ib. p. 49—51.

(*w*) Ib. and p. 52.

(*x*) Ib. p. 67, 68.

(*y*) See his epitaph below.

order to Dr Donne to attend him the next day at dinner. When his Majeſty was ſat down, he ſaid: 'Dr 'Donne, I have invited you to dinner; and, though 'you ſit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of 'of a diſh that I know you love well; for knowing 'you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of 'Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you 'take your beloved diſh home to your ſtudy; ſay 'grace there to yourſelf, and much good may it do 'you (26).'

(26) Ib. p. 46.

[*P*] *His Sermons were miſrepreſented to the King, who gave the Doctor an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, in his royal preſence.*] His Majeſty was told, that Dr Donne had fallen in with the general humour of the pulpits, and was buſy in inſinuating a fear of the King's inclination to Popery, and a diſlike of his government. Whereupon his Majeſty ſent for our author, and required his anſwer to the accuſation; which was ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that the King ſaid, *he was right glad he reſted no longer under the ſuſpicion.* When the King had ſaid this, Dr Donne kneeled down, and thanked his Majeſty, and proteſted, his anſwer was faithful and free from all colluſion; and therefore deſired *that he might not riſe, till, as in like caſes he always had from God, ſo he might have from his Majeſty ſome aſſurance that he ſtood clear and fair in his opinion.* At which the King raiſed him from his knees, and proteſted *he believed him, and that he knew he was an honeſt man*, and doubted not, but that *he loved him truly.* And having thus diſmiſſed him, he called ſome Lords of his Council into his chamber, and ſaid with much earneſtneſs, *My Doctor is an honeſt man, and, my Lords, I was never better ſatisfied with an anſwer than with that he hath now made me: and I always rejoice, when I think, that by my means he became a Divine* (27).

(27) Ib. p. 48, 49.

[*Q*] *He was ſeized with a dangerous fit of ſickneſs.*] In this diſtemper, he was viſited daily by his good friend Dr Henry King, one of the Reſidentiaries of St Paul's, and afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter: who, obſerving that our author's ſickneſs rendered his recovery doubtful, took a proper opportunity to acquaint him, that, 'as there had been an offer lately 'made to the chapter, for renewing the leaſe of the 'beſt prebendal corps belonging to that church, which 'had been refuſed, becauſe the tenant had offered too 'low a fine; his intention was, if he could not raiſe 'him to an higher ſum, to prevail with the other Re'ſidentiaries to join in accepting what was offered;' deſiring the Dean would agree to this propoſal, 'as it 'would be a conſiderable addition to his preſent eſtate, 'which (he knew) ſtood in need of it.' The Dean thanked the Doctor for his kind offer, but declared he could not accept it, ſaying, 'he dared not, upon his 'ſick bed, when God had made him uſeleſs to the 'ſervice of the Church, make any advantage from it; 'but that, if he ſhould reſtore him to ſuch a degree 'of health, as again to ſerve at his altar, he ſhould 'then gladly take the reward, which the bountiful 'benefactors of that church had deſigned him;' proteſting, 'he would not augment, on his ſick bed, that 'little worldly eſtate he ſhould leave behind him (28).'

(28) Ib. p. 49, 50.

[*R*] *He preached, in his turn, at Court, as uſual, on the firſt Friday in Lent.*] His text, upon this occaſion, was: *To God the Lord belong the iſſues from death*, Pſal. lxviii. 20. It was printed at London in 1633, in 4*to*, under the title of *Death's Duel, or a Conſolation to the Soule againſt the Dying Life and Living Death of the Body*, &c. *Being his laſt Sermon, and called by his Majeſty's Houſhold*, THE DOCTOR'S OWNE FUNERAL SERMON.

[*S*] *His death.*] Finding himſelf haſtening to his end, he ſent for many of his intimate friends, and took his laſt leave of them. Having done this, and ſettled his private affairs, he waited his diſſolution with much chearfulneſs and reſignation, and cloſed his laſt breath with theſe words, *Thy kingdom come, thy will be done* (29). It muſt not be omitted, that, among other preparations for death, he made uſe of this very remarkable one. He ordered an urn to be cut in wood, on which was to be placed a board of the exact height of his body. This being done, he cauſed himſelf to be tied up in a winding-ſheet, in the ſame manner as dead bodies are. Being thus ſhrouded, and ſtanding with his eyes ſhut, and with juſt ſo much of the ſheet put aſide, as might diſcover his thin, pale, and death-like face, he cauſed a ſkilful painter to take his picture. This piece, being finiſhed, was placed near his bed-ſide, and there remained as his conſtant remembrancer to the hour of his death (30).

(29) Ib. p. 75.

(30) Ib. p. 71, 72.

[*T*] *A Monument was erected over him.*] It was compoſed of white marble, and carv'd from the picture mentioned in the laſt remark, by order of his executor Dr King Biſhop of Chicheſter, who wrote the inſcription, as follows:

JOHANNES DONNE S.T.P.
Poſt varia Studia, quibus ab annis tenerrimis fideliter,
Nec infeliciter, incubuit,
Inſtinctu et impulſu Spiritus Sancti, monitu et hortatu
Regis JACOBI, Ordines Sacros amplexus,
Anno ſui Jeſu 1614, et ſuæ ætatis 42,
Decanatu hujus Eccleſiæ indutus 27 Novembris 1621,
Exutus Morte ultimo die Martii 1631.
Hic, licet in occiduo cinere, aſpicit Eum,
Cujus Nomen eſt Oriens.

[*U*] *His character —— drawn by the Writer of his life.*] 'He was of ſtature moderately tall, of a ſtrait 'and equally proportion'd body, to which all his words 'and actions gave unexpreſſible addition of comelineſs. 'The melancholy and pleaſant humour were in him ſo 'contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, 'and made his company one of the delights of mankind. 'His fancy was unimitably high, equalled only by his 'great wit, both being made uſeful by a commanding 'judgment. His aſpect was chearful, and ſuch as gave 'a ſilent teſtimony of a clear knowing ſoul, and of a 'conſcience at peace with itſelf. His melting eye 'ſhew'd that he had a ſoft heart, full of noble compaſſion; of too brave a ſoul to offer injuries, and too 'much a Chriſtian not to pardon them in others. He 'did much contemplate (eſpecially after he enter'd into 'his ſacred calling) the Mercies of Almighty God, the 'immortality of the Soul, and the Joys of Heaven, 'and wou'd often ſay, in a kind of ſacred extaſy, *Bleſ-*

'*ſed*

and his abilities, both as a Preacher [*W*], and a Poet [*X*], are ſufficiently ſeen in his incomparable writings [*Y*]. He left behind him a ſon of both his names [*Z*].

'ſed be God, that he is God, only, and divinely like 'himſelf!' He was by nature highly paſſionate, but 'more apt to reluct at the exceſſes of it. A great lover 'of the offices of Humanity, and of ſo merciful a ſpirit, 'that he never beheld the miſeries of mankind without 'pity and relief. He was earneſt and unwearied in 'the ſearch of knowledge; with which his vigorous 'ſoul is now ſatisfied, and employ'd in a continual 'praiſe of that God that firſt breathed it into his active 'body; that body which once was a Temple of the 'Holy Ghoſt, and is now become a ſmall quantity of 'Chriſtian Duſt. But I ſhall ſee it reanimated. *Feb.* '1639. I. W. (31).'

(31) Ib. p. 77, 78.

[*W*] *His abilities as a preacher.*] Mr Walton tells (32) us, that, upon his firſt entring into Holy Orders, his Modeſty was ſuch, he could not be perſuaded to preach to any eminent auditory, but went uſually, accompanied by ſome one friend, to preach privately in ſome village near London; his firſt ſermon being preached at Paddington. This he did till the King ſent and appointed him a day to preach before him at Whitehall; and, though much was expected from him, both by his Majeſty and others, yet he was ſo happy as to exceed their expectations; 'Preaching the 'word ſo, as ſhewed his own heart was poſſeſſed with 'thoſe very thoughts and joys he laboured to inſtil 'into others: A preacher in earneſt, weeping ſometimes for his auditory, ſometimes with them; always 'preaching to himſelf, like an Angel from a cloud, 'but in none; carrying ſome, as St Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a ſacred 'art and courtſhip to amend their lives; here picturing a vice ſo as to make it ugly to thoſe that practiſed it, and a virtue ſo as to make it be beloved even 'by thoſe that loved it not; and all this with a moſt 'particular grace and an unexpreſſible addition of 'comelineſs,'

(32) Ib. p. 39, 40.

[*X*] ——— *a poet.*] Our author's poems conſiſt of I. *Songs and Sonnets.* II. *Epigrams.* III. *Elegies.* IV. *Epithalamions or Marriage Songs.* V. *Satyres.* VI. *Letters to ſeveral Perſonages.* VII. *Funeral Elegies.* VIII. *Holy Sonnets.* They are printed together in one Volume, 12*mo.* London 1719; with the addition of *Elegies upon the author by ſeveral perſons.* Mr Dryden has very juſtly given Dr Donne the character of *the greateſt wit, tho' not the greateſt Poet of our nation* (33); and in his *Dedication* of *Juvenal* to the Earl of Dorſet, he ſays (34): 'Donne alone, of 'all our countrymen, had your talent; but was not 'happy enough to arrive at your verſification. And 'were he tranſlated into numbers and Engliſh, he 'wou'd yet be wanting in the dignity of expreſſion. — 'You equal Donne in the variety, multiplicity, and 'choice of thoughts; you excel him in the manner 'and the words. I read you both with the ſame admiration, but not with the ſame delight. He affects 'the metaphyſicks, not only in his ſatyrs, but in his 'amorous verſes, where nature only ſhou'd reign; and 'perplexes the minds of the fair-ſex with nice ſpeculations of philoſophy, when he ſhou'd engage their 'hearts, and entertain them with the ſoftneſs of love.' A little farther (35), Mr Dryden aſks: 'Wou'd not 'Donne's *Satyrs*, which abound with ſo much wit, 'appear more charming, if he had taken care of his 'words and of his numbers?' Whether our late excellent poet (*) took the hint from this queſtion, or not, is uncertain; but he has ſhew'd the world, that Dr Donne's *Satires*, when *tranſlated into numbers and engliſh* (as Mr Dryden above expreſſes it) are not inferior to any thing in that kind of poetry, even his own admirable writings.

(33) Dedication of his Eleonora. See his Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 293.

(34) The Satyrs of Decimus Junius Juvenalis, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. Ded. p. 9.

(35) Ib. p. 97.

(*) Mr Pope. See his Satires of Dr J. Donne.

[*Y*] *His writings.*] Beſides the *Pſeudo Martyr*, and volume of poems already mention'd, there are extant the following Works of Dr Donne, *viz.* I. *Devotions upon emergent Occaſions, and ſeveral ſteps in his Sickneſs.* 12mo. Lond. 2d edit. (36). II. *Paradoxes, Problems, Eſſays, Characters,* &c. *To which is added a Book of* Epigrams, *written in Latin by the ſame author; tranſlated into Engliſh by* J. Maine, D. D. *As alſo* Ignatius his Conclave, *a Satyr tranſlated out of the original copy written in Latin by the ſame author; found lately amongſt his own papers,* Lond. 1653, 12*mo.* Theſe pieces are dedicated, by the author's ſon Dr John Donne (37), to Francis Lord Newport. Part of this collection was publiſh'd, in 1633, under the title of *Juvenilia, or Certain Paradoxes and Problems,* 4*to.* The *Epigrams* were firſt printed in 1632, under the title of *Faſciculus Poematum et Epigrammatum miſcellaneorum,* &c. 8*vo.* The Satire, intitled *Ignatius his Conclave,* was firſt printed in 1626, in 8*vo.* under the title of *Ignatius his Conclave, viz. of eſtabliſhing a Church in the Moon*; and again in 1635, under the title of *Ignatius his Conclave, or his Inthronization in a late Election in Hell,* 12*mo.* With this piece was printed another intitled *An Apology for the Jeſuits.* III. Three volumes of *Sermons,* in folio; the firſt printed in 1640; the ſecond in 1649; and the third in 1660. IV. *Eſſays in Divinity,* &c. *Being ſeveral Diſquiſitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers, before he went into Holy Orders,* Lond. 1651, 12*mo.* They were publiſhed after the author's death, by his ſon. V. *Letters to ſeveral Perſons of Honour*; publiſhed by the author's ſon, in 4*to.* Lond. 1654. There are ſeveral of Dr Donne's *Letters,* and others to him from the Queen of Bohemia, the Earl of Carliſle, Archbiſhop Abbot, and Ben Johnſon, printed in a book intitled *A Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthews, Knt.* Lond. 1660, 8*vo.* VI. *The ancient Hiſtory of the Septuagint*; tranſlated from the Greek of Ariſteas, Lond. 1633, 12*mo.* This tranſlation was reviſed and corrected by another hand, and printed in 1685, in 8*vo.* VII. ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ: *or a Declaration of That Paradox or Theſis, that Self-Homicide is not ſo naturally a Sin, that it may not be otherwiſe,* London, 1644, 1648, &c. 4*to.* The original, under the author's own hand, is preſerved in the Bodleian Library. Mr Walton gives this piece the character of 'An exact 'and laborious treatiſe, wherein all the laws violated 'by that Act (*Self-murder*) are diligently ſurvey'd, and 'judiciouſly cenſured: a treatiſe written in his younger 'years, which alone might declare him then not only 'perfect in the Civil and Canon Law, but in many 'other ſuch ſtudies and arguments, as enter not into 'the conſideration of many, that labour to be thought 'great clerks, and pretend to know all things (38).' In one of our author's *Letters,* addreſs'd to Sir Robert Carre, and ſent with this book in manuſcript, he ſpeaks of it himſelf in the following terms: 'Becauſe it is 'upon a miſinterpretable ſubject, I have always gone 'ſo near ſuppreſſing it, that it is only not burnt. No 'hand hath paſſed upon it to copy it, nor many eyes 'to read it; only to ſome particular friends in both 'Univerſities, then when I writ it, I did communicate 'it; and I remember I had this anſwer, that *certainly 'there was a falſe thread in it, though not eaſily found.* 'Keep it, I pray, with the ſame jealouſy: let any, 'that your diſcretion admits to the ſight of it, know 'the date of it, and that it is a book written by *Jack 'Donne,* and not by Dr *Donne.* Reſerve it for me if 'I live (*), and if I die, I only forbid it the preſſe 'and the fire. Publiſh it not, but yet burn it not, and 'between thoſe do what you will with it (39).'

(36) See the text, reference (*).

(37) See the laſt remark.

(38) Life, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 60.

(*) Our author was then ſetting out for Germany.

[*Z*] *He left behind him a ſon of both his names.*] He was educated at Weſtminſter School, and elected from thence a Student of Chriſt Church in Oxford, in 1622. Afterwards he travell'd abroad, and took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Padua in Italy. The 30th of June, 1638, he was incorporated in the ſame degree in the Univerſity of Oxford. He died in 1662, and was interr'd in the Church-yard of St Paul's Covent-Garden. Mr Wood gives him the character of an Atheiſtical Buffoon, and tells us, he was much valued by King Charles II (40): no great compliment to that monarch's judgment. This Dr Donne, beſides ſeveral pieces of his father, publiſh'd (as Wood expreſſes it) *ſeveral frivolous trifles,* under his own name; among which is, *The Humble Petition of Covent-Garden againſt Dr John Baber a Phyſician,* Lond. 1661 (41). T

(39) Dr Donne's Letters, &c. p. 21, 22.

(40) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol I. col. 276, 277.

(41) Ibid.

DRAKE.

DRAKE (Sir FRANCIS) one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the naval heroes in the glorious reign of Elizabeth. A man, of whom it may be truly ſaid, That he had a head to contrive, a heart to undertake, and a hand ready to execute, whatever promiſed glory to himſelf, and good to his country. As he was, properly ſpeaking, the ſon of merit, we have but a very indifferent account of his family, or even of his father: that which Camden (*a*) gives us, and which he ſays he had from Drake's own mouth, is ſo embarraſſed with inconſiſtent circumſtances, that there is no relying upon it, and truſting to our reaſon at the ſame time, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*A*]. We will, therefore, give the reader, in this place, a plainer account, as early in it's riſe, ſupported by good authority, and, in all it's circumſtances, very agreeable to the ſequel of his ſtory, leaving it to his judgment to piece therewith the chief points in Camden's relation (*b*); which may be alſo reputed truths, if we knew with certainty how to reconcile, and bring them in (*c*). According then to this other account, I find he was the ſon of one Edmund Drake, an honeſt Sailor, and born near Taviſtock in the year 1545, being the eldeſt of twelve brethren, and brought up at the expence, and under the care, of his kinſman Sir John Hawkins. It is likewiſe ſaid, that, at the age of eighteen, he was Purſer of a ſhip trading to Biſcay, at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and, at the age of twenty-two, had the honour to be appointed Captain of the Judith, and, in that capacity, was in the harbour of St John de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico, where he behaved moſt gallantly in the glorious actions, under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him into England with a very great reputation, but not worth a groat (*d*). Upon this he conceived a deſign of making repriſals on the King of Spain, which, ſome ſay, was put into his head by the Miniſter of his ſhip; and, to be ſure in Sea-divinity, the caſe was clear the King of Spain's ſubjects had undone Mr Drake, and therefore Mr Drake was at liberty to take the beſt ſatisfaction he could on the ſubjects of the King of Spain (*e*). This doctrine, how rudely ſoever preached, was very taking in England, and therefore he no ſooner publiſhed his deſign, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no ſuch pretence to colour their proceedings as he had (*f*). In 1570 he made his firſt expedition with two ſhips, the Dragon and the Swan, and the next year in the Swan alone, wherein he returned ſafe, if not rich [*B*]. And, having now means ſufficient to perform

(*a*) Annal. rerum Anglican. & Hibernicar. regnante Elizebetha. Edit. Hearne, p. 351.

(*b*) His accounts are followed alſo in Fuller's Holy State, p. 123. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 236. Engliſh Hero, p. 1.

(*c*) See this further explained in note [*A*].

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*e*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 236.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden's Annals, p. 351.

[*A*] *As will be ſeen in the notes.*] As in venturing to depart from what Camden has ſaid, we, at the ſame time, leave the great road in which all other writers have travelled, it is but juſt that we ſhould give the world a full account of the motives which induced us to take this ſtep, that it may clearly appear, it did not proceed from ſingularity, but neceſſity. Our learned Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the events (1) which happened in the year 1580, has theſe words: 'About this time 'returned into England Francis Drake, having ac- 'quired great wealth and greater reputation, by 'proſperouſly ſailing round about the world, being, 'if not the firſt of all which could challenge this glo- 'ry, yet, queſtionleſs, the firſt but Magellan whom 'death cut off in the midſt of his voyage. This 'Drake, to relate no more than what I have heard 'from himſelf, was born of mean parentage in De- 'vonſhire, and had Francis Ruſſel, afterwards Earl of 'Bedford, for his godfather, who, according to the 'cuſtom, gave him his Chriſtian name. Whilſt he 'was yet a child, his father embracing the Proteſtant 'doctrine, was called in queſtion by the Law of the 'Six Articles made by Henry VIII againſt the Pro- 'teſtants, fled his country, and withdrew himſelf into 'Kent. After the death of King Henry, he got a 'place among the ſeamen in the King's navy to read 'prayers to them, and, ſoon after, he was ordained 'Deacon, and made Vicar of the church of Upnore 'upon the river Medway, where the Royal fleet uſu- 'ally rides. But, by reaſon of his poverty, he put 'his ſon apprentice to the maſter of a bark, his neigh- 'bour, who held him cloſely to his buſineſs, by which 'he made him an able ſeaman; his bark being em- 'ployed in coaſting along the ſhore, and ſometimes in 'carrying merchandize into Zealand and France. 'The youth being painful and diligent, ſo pleaſed the 'old man by his induſtry, that, being a bachelor, at 'his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by his laſt 'will.' It falls out unhappily for this ſtory, that the parts of it are not conſiſtent. If Drake was in his tender years or childhood, when his father was perſecuted on the ſcore of the Six Articles, he muſt have been born a good while before the year 1539 (2), and if ſo, how could Sir Francis Ruſſel be his godfather, who was himſelf born in 1527 (3)? ſo that without much ſtraining this account, they might be both of an age. It is very certain, that Mr Drake was but a young man when Sir John Hawkins made himſelf Captain of the Judith, but according to this computation he was thirty-five or thirty-ſix at leaſt. It is allowed by all the writers of his time, that he died in the flower of his age, which could not well be ſaid, if he had been between ſixty and ſeventy. As to the account that I have followed, we have it from John Stowe, who was a very induſtrious careful man, and particularly inquiſitive into things of this nature (4). Beſides, as the reader ſees in the text, he ſettles every ſtep of his advancement, and affirming that he was in the twenty-ſecond year of his age when he became Captain of the Judith, this fixes his birth to 1545, ſince he was veſted with that command in October 1566; by fixing this date, the facts mentioned by Camden from the mouth of Sir Francis Drake become very probable; for Sir Francis Ruſſel might well be his godfather, and all the events follow that he ſets down, only the perſecution his father ſuffered muſt have been in the reign of Queen Mary, which is the more probable, if we conſider that Camden himſelf aſſures us, Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, made that eſtabliſhment of the fleet in the river Medway, where Drake's father read prayers to the ſeamen (5). Neither is this the only miſtake in Sir Francis Drake's ſtory by that author.

[*B*] *Wherein he returned ſafe if not rich.*] We have no particular account of theſe two voyages, or what he performed in them. They were made in the years 1570 and 1571, and there is nothing clearer than that Captain Drake had two great points in view, the one was, to inform himſelf perfectly of the ſituation and ſtrength of certain places in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, the other to convince his countrymen, that notwithſtanding what had happened to Captain Hawkins in his laſt voyage, it was a thing very practicable to ſail into theſe parts and return in ſafety; for it is to be obſerved, that Hawkins and Drake ſeparated in the Weſt-Indies, and that the former, finding it impoſſible to bring all his crew home to England, had ſet a part of them, but with their own conſents, aſhore in the bay of Mexico, and theſe being looked upon as ſo many men loſt, and indeed very few of them found their way home, the terror of ſuch a captivity as theſe poor men were known to endure, had a great effect (6). But Captain Drake in theſe two voyages, having very wiſely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home ſufficient returns to ſatisfy his owners,

(1) Camden's Annals, p. 351.

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 256.

(3) As appears from the inſcription on his monument.

(4) See the life of Mr Stowe, written by the Rev. Mr Strype, prefixed to his edition of Mr Stowe's Survey of London.

(5) Annal. Eliz. p. 86.

(6) See the accounts of John Oxenham's Voyage in Hakluyt, p. 594.

perform greater matters, as well as ſkill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important deſign with reſpect to himſelf, and to his enemies (*g*). This he put in execution on the twenty-fourth of March 1572, on which day he ſailed from Plymouth, himſelf in a ſhip called the Paſcha, of the burthen of ſeventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the Swan, of twenty-five tons burthen, their whole ſtrength conſiſting of no more than ſeventy-three men and boys; and, with this inconſiderable force, on the twenty-ſecond of July he attacked the town of Nombre de Dios, which then ſerved the Spaniards for the ſame purpoſes (though not ſo conveniently) as thoſe for which they now uſe Porto Bello. He took it in a few hours by ſtorm, notwithſtanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet after all they were no great gainers, but, after a very briſk action, were obliged to betake themſelves to their ſhips with very little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with ſilver, which paſſed from Venta Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this ſcheme too he was diſappointed. However, he attacked the town of Venta Cruz, carried it, and got ſome little plunder. In their return they unexpectedly met with a ſtring of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the reſt. In theſe expeditions he was very much aſſiſted by a nation of Indians, who then were, and yet are, engaged in a perpetual war with the Spaniards. The Prince, or Captain of theſe people at this time, was named Pedro, to whom Captain Drake preſented a fine cutlaſs which he wore, and to which he ſaw the Indian had a mind. Pedro, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, all theſe Captain Drake threw into the common-ſtock, with this remarkable expreſſion, 'That he thought 'it but juſt, that ſuch as bore the charge of ſo uncertain a voyage, on his credit, ſhould 'ſhare the utmoſt advantages that voyage produced.' Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very conſiderable, he bore away for England, and was ſo fortunate as to ſail in twenty-three days from Florida to the Iſles of Scilly, and thence, without any accident, to Plymouth, where he arrived the ninth of Auguſt 1573 (*h*). His ſucceſs in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the uſe he made of his riches ſtill a greater; for, fitting out three ſtout frigates, at his own expence, he ſailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter Earl of Eſſex (the unfortunate father of that ſtill more unfortunate Earl, who was beheaded) he ſerved as a volunteer, and did many glorious actions (*i*). After the death of his noble patron he returned into England, where Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, who was then Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, Privy-Counſellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her Majeſty, and procured him her countenance (*k*). By this means he acquired a capacity of undertaking that grand expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he firſt propoſed was, a voyage into the South-Seas through the Streights of Magellan, which was what hitherto no Engliſhman ever attempted. This project was well received at Court, and, in a ſhort time, Captain Drake ſaw himſelf at the height of his wiſhes; for, in his former voyage, having had a diſtant proſpect of the South-Seas, he framed an ardent prayer to God, that he might ſail an Engliſh ſhip in them, which he now found an opportunity of attempting, the Queen's permiſſion furniſhing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force ſufficient (*l*) [C]. The fleet with which he ſailed on this extraordinary undertaking,

(*g*) Sir Francis Drake revived, by Philip Nichols, Preacher, a 4to of 94 pages in black letter, publiſhed by Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, his nephew.

(*h*) See that relation; as alſo Camden's Annals, p. 351. Stowe, Hollinſhed, and Speed.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*k*) Idem, ibid.

(*l*) Camden's Annals, p. 352. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 237.

owners, diſſipated theſe apprehenſions, as well as raiſed his own character; ſo that at his return from his ſecond voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raiſe ſuch a ſtrength, as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, but which he never would have been able to effect, but by purſuing this cautious method.

[C] *Quickly drawing to him a force ſufficient.*] We have obſerved in the text, that Captain Drake was the firſt Engliſhman at leaſt, ſo far as we know, that had ſo much as a ſight of the South-Seas; and, as Mr Camden remarks, he was ſo inflamed with that ſight, as to have no reſt in his own mind till he had accompliſhed his purpoſe of ſailing an Engliſh ſhip in thoſe ſeas (7). He was not, however, ſo forward as to tell this to all the world, becauſe he foreſaw that ſuch an undertaking would be attended with many difficulties; that the navigation was new, and required much conſideration before it was attempted; that the Spaniards were ſufficiently alarmed by his laſt attempt, and that it would be highly raſh for him to adventure upon ſuch an enterprize without having the ſanction of publick authority. While he meditated this great deſign in his own mind, without communicating it to any, he took care to procure the beſt lights he could to engage ſeveral bold and active men to ſerve under him wherever he went, and by a well timed diſplay of publick ſpirit, made himſelf known to, and gained ſome powerful friends at, Court (8). But while he was thus wiſely and warily contriving what he afterwards ſo happily executed, one John Oxenham, who had ſerved as a ſoldier, a ſeaman, and a cook, and had gained great reputation by his gallant behaviour in the laſt voyage under him, believed he had penetrated Captain Drake's ſcheme, and thought to be beforehand with him in the execution of it; accordingly, in 1575, this man ſailed in a bark of one hundred and forty tons burthen, with ſeventy brave fellows to Nombre de Dios, where laying his bark up in a creek, he marched croſs the Iſthmus, with his companions, got into the South-Seas with ſome canoes, and took two Spaniſh ſhips with an immenſe treaſure in gold and ſilver; but wanting Drake's abilities and generoſity, though he was little, if at all, inferior to him in courage, fell out with his men, which occaſioned ſuch a delay in his return, that the Spaniards found and recovered the treaſure, afterwards deſtroyed many, and at length took him and ſome of his companions, whom for want of a commiſſion to juſtify their proceedings, they hanged as pyrates (9). Captain Drake, before he had any knowledge of the iſſue of this buſineſs, and being acquainted with no more than was publick throughout all the Weſt of England, that Oxenham was ſailed upon ſome ſuch deſign, brought his own project to bear by the means mentioned in the text (10), and eaſily obtained a force ſufficient to accompliſh it, which, all things conſidered, muſt at this day appear a very extraordinary event, more eſpecially if we conſider that he never diſcloſed his real intention after he had his commiſſion, nor indeed could diſcloſe it with ſafety, and yet made all his preparations ſo judiciouſly, that it does not appear any other circumnavigator met with fewer diſcouragements than he, who performed all by the

(7) Annals, p. 352.

(8) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(9) Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 594. Camden. Annal. p. 353.

(10) Stowe's Annals, p. 689.

undertaking, conſiſted of the following ſhips; the Pelican, commanded by himſelf, of the burthen of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, Vice-Admiral, eighty tons, under Captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by Captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of fifty tons, under Captain John Cheſter; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under Captain Thomas Moon (*m*). In this fleet were embarked no more than one hundred ſixty-four able men, and all the neceſſary proviſions for ſo long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though all men ſuſpected, and many knew, he intended for America. Thus equipped, on the fifteenth of November 1577, about three in the afternoon, he ſailed from Plymouth, but a heavy ſtorm taking him as ſoon as he was out of port, forced him, in a very bad condition, into Falmouth, to refit; which having expeditiouſly performed, he again put to ſea the thirteenth of December following (*n*). On the twenty-fifth of the ſame month he fell in with the coaſt of Barbary, and, on the twenty-ninth, with Cape Verd; the thirteenth of March he paſſed the equinoctial, the fifth of April he made the coaſt of Brazil in 30° N. L. and entered the river De la Plata, where he loſt the company of two of his ſhips; but meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the proviſions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the twenty-ninth of May he entered the port of St Julian's, where he did the leaſt commendable action of his life, in executing Mr John Doughty, a man next in authority to himſelf; in which, however, he preſerved a great appearance of juſtice (*o*) [*D*]. On the twentieth of Auguſt he entered the Streights of Magellan, on the twenty-fifth

(*m*) Camden's Annals, p. 354. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 730, 748. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 46.

(*n*) Camden's Annals, p. 354.

(*o*) See the relation in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 733. All which is omitted in the reviſed account in Purchas, to which we before referred.

the light of his own judgment, and at the expence of private perſons who had an entire confidence in him.

[*D*] *A great appearance of juſtice.*] This is by much the moſt remarkable paſſage in the life of our hero in reference to his moral character, and for which, as we ſhall ſee, he has been very ſeverely cenſured. We will firſt ſtate the matter of fact briefly and plainly, then mention the ſurmiſes which have been raiſed thereupon; and laſtly, ſhew the reader what has been, or may be, alledged in his juſtification, which we take to be the true courſe of rendering works of this kind uſeful; ſince in other books, the actions of great men are ſeen only in particular lights, according as the author's ſubject, or ſometimes his humour, inclines him to place them; but the buſineſs of a Biographer, is from the relation of facts, to ſhew what the man of whom he is ſpeaking really was. Let us proceed then in the preſent caſe to the buſineſs.

On the 18th of June, Captain Drake arrived with his ſmall fleet at Port St Julian, which lies within one degree of the Streights of Magellan, where he continued about two months, during which time he made the neceſſary proviſion for paſſing the Streights with ſafety (11). Here it was, that, on a ſudden, having carried the principal perſons engaged in the ſervice to a deſart iſland lying in the bay, he called a kind of Council of War, or rather Court Martial, where he expoſed his commiſſion, by which the Queen granted him the power of life and death, which was delivered him with this remarkable expreſſion from her own mouth: *We do account that he*, Drake, *who ſtrikes at thee, does ſtrike at us.* He then laid open with great eloquence, for tho' his education was but indifferent he had a wonderful power of ſpeech, the cauſe of this aſſembly, he proceeded next to charge Mr John Doughty, who had been ſecond in command during the whole voyage, when Drake was preſent, and firſt in his abſence, with plotting the deſtruction of the undertaking, and the murder of his perſon. He ſaid, he had the firſt notice of this gentleman's bad intentions before he left England, but that he was in hopes his behaviour towards him would have extinguiſhed ſuch diſpoſitions, if there had been any truth in the information: he then appealed for his behaviour to the whole aſſembly, and to the gentleman accuſed; he next expoſed his practices from the time they left England, while he lived towards him with all the kindneſs and cordiality of a brother, which charge he ſupported by producing papers under his own hand, to which Mr Doughty added a full and free confeſſion; after this the captain, or as in the language of thoſe times, he is called, the General, quitted the place, telling the aſſembly he expected that they ſhould paſs a verdict upon him, for he would be no judge in his own cauſe. Camden, as the reader will ſee, ſays, that he tried him by a jury, but other accounts affirm, that the whole forty perſons of which the court was compoſed, adjudged him to death, and gave this in writing under their hands and ſeals, leaving the time and manner of it to the General. Mr Doughty himſelf ſaid, that he deſired rather to die by the hands of juſtice than to be his own executioner. Upon this, Captain Drake having maturely weighed the whole matter, preſented three points to Mr Doughty's choice. Firſt, to be executed upon the iſland where they were, next to be ſet a ſhore on the main land, or, laſtly, to be ſent home to abide the juſtice of his country. He deſired he might have till the next day to conſider of theſe, which was allowed him, and then giving his reaſons for rejecting the two laſt, he declared that he made the firſt his choice, and having received the ſacrament with the General, from the hands of Mr Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Fleet, and made a full confeſſion; his head was cut off with an ax, by the Provoſt Marſhal, July 2d 1578. It is very remarkable, that this iſland had been the ſcene of another affair preciſely of the ſame nature, fifty-eight years before, when Magellan cauſed John de Carthagena, who was joined in commiſſion with him by the King of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence, and from hence it was called the Iſland of true Juſtice (12).

As to the imputations which this matter brought upon Drake, we will firſt cite what Camden ſays of this tranſaction (13). 'On the 26th of April entering into 'the mouth of the River of Plate, he ſaw an infinite 'number of ſea calves. From thence ſailing into the 'haven of St Julian, he found a gibbet ſet up as is 'thought by Magellan for the puniſhment of certain 'mutineers. In this very place, John Doughty, an 'induſtrious and ſtout man, and the next unto Drake, 'was called to his trial for raiſing a mutiny in the 'fleet, found guilty by twelve men after the Engliſh 'manner, and condemned to death, which he ſuf'fered undauntedly, being beheaded, having firſt re'ceived the Holy Communion with Drake. And in'deed, the moſt impartial perſons in the fleet were of 'opinion that he had acted ſeditiouſly, and that 'Drake cut him off as an emulator of his glory, 'and one that regarded not ſo much, who he himſelf 'excelled in commendations for ſea matters, as who 'he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not 'ſome who pretending to underſtand things better than 'others, gave out that Drake had, in charge from 'Leiceſter to take off Doughty upon any pretence 'whatever, becauſe he had reported that the Earl of 'Eſſex was made away by the cunning practices of 'that Earl.' We find this matter touched in ſeveral other books, and particularly in two, which were written on purpoſe to expoſe the Earl of Leiceſter, and perhaps deſerving the leſs credit for that reaſon (14).

It may be offered in defence of Sir Francis Drake, that this man was openly put to death, after as fair a trial as the circumſtances of time and place would permit; that he ſubmitted patiently to his ſentence, and received the ſacrament with Drake, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Beſides theſe, there are two points which deſerve particular conſideration.

Firſt,

(11) See the relation of this Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 733. Engliſh Hero, or Sir Francis Drake revived, p. 71.

(12) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 396.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 354.

(14) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 11. Leiceſter's Ghoſt, Stanza [illegible], 113.

fifth of September he paſſed them, having then only his own ſhip, which, in the South-Seas, he new named the Hind; on the twenty-fifth of November he came to Machao, in the latitude of thirty degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous in caſe his ſhips ſeparated: but Captain Winter having repaſſed the Streights, was returned to England. Thence he continued his voyage along the coaſts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of ſeizing Spaniſh ſhips, or of landing, and attacking them on ſhore, till his crew were ſated with plunder, and then coaſting North America, to the height of forty-eight degrees, he endeavoured to find a paſſage back into our ſeas on that ſide, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of his conſummate ſkill, and invincible courage; for, if ever ſuch a paſſage be found to the northward, this, in all probability, will be the method; and we can ſcarce conceive a clearer teſtimony of an undaunted ſpirit, than attempting diſcoveries after ſo long, ſo hazardous, and ſo fatiguing a voyage (*p*). Here, being diſappointed of what he ſought, he landed, and called the country New Albion, taking poſſeſſion of it in the name, and for the uſe, of Queen Elizabeth; and, having careened his ſhip, ſet ſail from thence on the twenty-ninth of September 1579, for the Moluccas. The reaſon of Captain Drake's chuſing this paſſage round, rather than returning by, the Streights of Magellan, was, partly, the danger of being attacked at a great diſadvantage by the Spaniards, partly the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, whence dangerous ſtorms and hurricanes were to be apprehended (*q*). Perhaps too he gave out amongſt his ſeamen, that he was deterred by the confident, though falſe, report of the Spaniards, that the Streights could not be repaſſed [*E*]. On the thirteenth of October he fell in with certain iſlands, inhabited by the moſt barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the fourth of November he had ſight of the Moluccas, and coming to Ternate, was extreamly well received by the King thereof, who appears, from the moſt authentick relations of this voyage, to have been a wiſe and polite Prince. On the tenth of December he made Celebes, where his ſhip unfortunately ran on a rock the ninth of January following, whence beyond all expectation, and in a manner miraculouſly, they got off, and continued their courſe.

(*p*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. See alſo ſome remarks on this paſſage in Dampier's Voyages.

(*q*) See all the accounts of this voyage in the authors before-mentioned.

Firſt, that in ſuch expeditions, ſtrict diſcipline and legal ſeverity are often abſolutely neceſſary. *Secondly*, that as to the Earl of Eſſex, for whoſe death Doughty had expreſſed concern, he was Drake's firſt patron, and it is therefore very improbable he ſhould deſtroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murther. We may add to all this, if liberty may be indulged to conjectures, that this man preſuming upon the Earl of Leiceſter's favour, (who very probably impoſed him upon Drake to be rid of him) was from thence encouraged to form deſigns againſt Drake, and this might alſo be the reaſon which hindered him from inclining to an abſolute pardon, as doubting whether it was poſſible to truſt one who had ſo far abuſed his confidence already, and whoſe known intereſt with ſo great a man, might always enable him to find inſtruments, in caſe he was wicked enough to enter upon freſh intrigues. All this however, is ſubmitted entirely to the reader's judgment; ſince it is our deſign only to furniſh proper lights from the intelligence which has come to our hands, but by no means to aim at impoſing our ſenſe of things upon the publick.

[*E*] *That the Streights could not be repaſſed*] In ſpreading this report, the Spaniards certainly acted very wiſely, for it intimidated even the boldeſt navigators of other nations from attempting this paſſage, from an apprehenſion, that when they were once in thoſe ſeas, they ſhould never get out again, but either fall into the hands of the Spaniards from whom they could hope no mercy, or periſh by famine before they could poſſibly reach the Eaſt-Indies (15). It is very evident from Captain Drake's conduct, for we have no other way left of coming at his ſentiments, that he had maturely weighed all theſe things before he left England. He carried five ſhips with him to Port St Julian, that the people might be more at their eaſe, and have greater plenty of proviſions; but when he came thither he broke up two of them, that there might be leſs danger of ſeparating in ſtrange ſeas, which though it failed him, was nevertheleſs a juſt precaution. In the next place it appears, that he had formed a deſign of returning by a new paſſage, which tho' often attempted on the other ſide, no Engliſhman could ever have thought to have tried in this manner, becauſe till he opened the way, none had the leaſt notion of entering theſe ſeas. Laſtly, he had taken great care to victual himſelf properly, that if this deſign failed, as it did, he might be in a condition to follow the example of Magellan. In order to encourage his people to this, he ſeemed to give credit to the opinion propagated by the Spaniards, of the great danger in repaſſing the Streights of Magellan, which however, were actually repaſſed by Captain John Winter, though Drake and his company could know nothing of this at that time. But that Captain Drake could not apprehend any impoſſibility in the thing itſelf, we may be aſſured from hence, that in this very voyage he had not only paſſed the ſtreights, but had alſo been driven back again, not through the ſtreights indeed, but in the open ſea, of which we have a very diſtinct account given us from his own mouth, by his relation Sir Richard Hawkins, which is very curious, and well deſerves the reader's notice (16): 'In all the Streights it ebbeth and floweth more or leſs, and in many places it riſeth very little, but in ſome Bays where are great in-draughts, it riſes eight or ten feet, and doubtleſs farther in more. If a man be furniſhed with wood and water and the wind good, he may keep the main ſea, and go round about the Streights to the ſouthwards, and it is the ſhorter way; for beſides the experience which we made, that all the ſouth part of the Streights is but iſlands, many times having the ſea open. I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that having ſhot the Streights, a ſtorm took him firſt at North-Weſt, and afterwards vered about to the South-Weſt, which continued with him many days with that extremity, that he could not open any ſail, and that at the end of the ſtorm he found himſelf in fifty degrees, which was ſufficient teſtimony and proof that he was beaten round about the Streights, for the leaſt height of the Streights is in fifty two degrees and fifty minutes, in which ſtand the two entrances or mouths. And moreover, he ſaid, that ſtanding about when the wind changed, he was not well able to double the ſouthermoſt iſland, and ſo anchored under the lee of it; and going aſhore, carried a compaſs with him, and ſeeking out the ſouthermoſt part of the iſland, caſt himſelf down upon the uttermoſt point groveling, and ſo reached out his body over it. Soon after he embarked, where he acquainted his people that he had been upon the ſouthermoſt known land in the world, and further to the ſouthward upon it than any of them, or any man as yet known. Theſe teſtimonies may ſuffice for this truth unto all, but ſuch as are incredulous, and will believe nothing but what they ſee; for my part, I am of opinion, that the Streight is navigable all the year long, although the beſt time be in November, December, and January, and then the winds are more favourable, which at other times are variable as in all narrow ſeas.'

(15) See obſervations on the paſſage into the South-Seas by the Streights of F. Magellan, together with an account of the Voyages made through them down to Sir John Narborough's.

(16) Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 95, 96.

courſe. On the ſixteenth of March he arrived at Java Major, thence he intended to have proceeded for Malacca, but found himſelf obliged to alter his purpoſe, and think of returning directly home (*r*). On the twenty-fifth of March 1580, he put this deſign in execution; and, on the fifteenth of June, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having then on board his ſhip fifty-ſeven men, and but three caſks of water. On the twelfth of July he paſſed the Line, reached the coaſt of Guinea on the ſixteenth, and there watered. On the 11th of September he made the iſland of Tercera, and, on the 3d day of November, the ſame year, entered the harbour of Plymouth. In this voyage he compleatly ſurrounded the globe, which no Commander in Chief had done before (*s*) [*F*]. His ſucceſs in the voyage, and the immenſe maſs of wealth he brought home, raiſed much diſcourſe throughout the kingdom, ſome highly commending, and ſome as loudly decrying him. The former alledged, that his exploit was not only honourable to himſelf, but to his country; that it would eſtabliſh our reputation for maritime ſkill in foreign nations, and raiſe a uſeful ſpirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our Merchants having ſuffered deeply from the faithleſs practices of the Spaniards, there was nothing more juſt than that the nation ſhould receive the benefit of Drake's repriſals. The other party alledged, that, in fact, he was no better than a pyrate; that, of all others, it leaſt became a trading nation to encourage ſuch practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with Spain, but likewiſe of our old leagues with the houſe of Burgundy; and that the conſequences would be much more fatal than the benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued in this uncertainty during the remainder of the year 1580, and the ſpring of the ſucceeding year. At length they took a better turn; for, on the fourth of April 1581, her Majeſty going to Deptford in Kent, went on board Capt. Drake's ſhip, where after dinner ſhe conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her abſolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confuſion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends (*t*). She likewiſe gave directions for the preſervation of his ſhip, that it might remain a monument of his own and his country's glory. In proceſs of time the veſſel decaying, it was broken up, but a chair, made of the planks, was preſented to the Univerſity of Oxford, and is ſtill preſerved (*u*) [*G*]. In 1585 he ſailed

(*r*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 748.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 46—57. Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 742.

(*t*) Camden's Annals, p. 351. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Hollingſhed, Speed.

(*u*) See Mr Cowley's Poems, edit. 1680. p. 8, 42.

[*F*] *Which no Commander in Chief had done before.*] The firſt into whoſe thoughts the poſſibility of this entered, was the celebrated Chriſtopher Columbus, whoſe knowledge in the art of navigation, when one conſiders the defects in Philoſophy and Aſtronomy in his time, appears perfectly amazing (17). Sir John Cabot, father to Sebaſtian Cabot, who was contemporary with Columbus, comprehended his principles perfectly, which induced him to propoſe to our King Henry the Seventh, the finding a North-Weſt Paſſage. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portugueſe by birth, offered his ſervice to the Crown of Spain, and propoſed ſearching for a paſſage to the South, which was accepted. He ſailed from St Lucar, September the twentieth, 1519, he found and paſſed the Streights, which bear his name the next year, but in his return was killed in the Eaſt-Indies. His ſhip came back ſafe to Spain, and as this was the firſt, ſo it was the only example that Captain Drake had to encourage him in his deſign; and to ballance this, there were a multitude of unfortunate attempts afterwards. In 1527, the Spaniards ſent Garcia de Loaiſa, a Knight of Malta, with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips to follow the route of Magellan. He paſſed the Streights indeed, loſt ſome of his ſhips in the South-Seas, others put into the Ports of New Spain, and only his veſſel and another reached the Eaſt-Indies, where himſelf and all his people periſhed. Another ſquadron of ſeven ſhips fitted out by the Biſhop of Placentia, had no better fortune; for having reached the South-Seas, they were ſo diſcouraged, that they proceeded no further. In 1526, the Genoeſe ſent two ſhips to paſs theſe Streights, of which, one was caſt away, and the other returned home without effecting any thing. Sebaſtian Cabot, in the ſervice of the crown of Portugal, made the like trial, but not being able to find the Streights, returned into the River of Plate. Americus Veſpuſius, from whom the new world received it's name, undertook to perform in the ſervice of the Crown of Portugal, what Cabot had promiſed, but this vain man was ſtill more unlucky, for he could not find either the Streights, or the River of Plate. Some years after, the Spaniards equipped a ſtout ſquadron under the command of Simon de Alcaſara, but before they reached the height of the Streights, the ſailors mutinied, and obliged their commander to return (18). Such repeated misfortunes diſcouraged even the ableſt and boldeſt ſeaman, ſo that from this time, both Spaniards and ſtrangers dropped all thoughts of emulating Magellan, and highly probable it is, that if Captain Drake had fully diſcloſed his deſign, he had not been more fortunate than the reſt. His courage therefore may well be admired, who durſt endeavour an enterprize, the declaring of which had infallibly deſtroyed it; his ſagacity in navigating ſeas, wholly unknown, as well in his return, as in his going out, for not a man on board his ſhip had ever ſeen the Cape of Good Hope, can hardly be enough admired. His intrepidity in ſailing ſo far to the North, in hopes of coming that way home was very ſurprizing, and the methods he took through all the voyage, to keep his people ſteady, in full ſpirits, and for the moſt part in good health, muſt give us a very high idea of his capacity; and therefore, we need not at all wonder that upon his coming to England, his fame roſe to ſuch a height, as to provoke envy as well as praiſe.

(17) See his life written by his ſon, in the 2d Volume of Churchill's Collect. of Voyages.

(18) See large accounts of theſe Voyages in Eden, Hakluyt, and Purchas.

[*G*] *And is ſtill preſerved.*] It is obſerved by Mr Camden, that when the Queen went to dine on board the Golden Hind, there was ſuch a concourſe of people, that the wooden bridge over which they paſſed broke, and upwards of an hundred perſons fell into the river, by which accident, however, there was nobody hurt, as if, ſays he, that ſhip had been built under ſome lucky conſtellation. Upon this occaſion, the following verſes made by the ſcholars of Wincheſter College, were nailed to the mainmaſt (19).

(19) Camden's Annals, p. 359.

Plus Ultra, *Herculeis inſcribas*, Drace, *Columnis*,
Et magno, dicas, Hercule major ero.

In Engliſh thus,

His pillars paſs'd thou DRAKE may'ſt boldly claim,
Than HERCULES the great, a greater name.

Drace, *pererrati quem novit terminus orbis,*
Quemque ſimul mundi vidit uterque Polus;
Si taceant homines, facient te ſidera notum.
Sol neſcit comitis non memor eſſe ſui.

Which may be rendered,

Expos'd to thee have earth's laſt limits been,
Thou at like diſtance both the Poles haſt ſeen;
Were mankind mute, the ſtars thy fame would blaze,
And Phœbus ſing his old companion's praiſe.

Digna

failed again to the Weſt-Indies, having under his command Captain Chriſtopher Carliſle, Captain Martin Frobiſher, Captain Francis Knollys, and many other Officers of great reputation. In that expedition he took the cities of St Jago, St Domingo, Carthagena, and St Auguſtin, exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were ſanguine to the laſt degree (*w*). Yet the profits of this expedition were but moderate, the deſign of Sir Francis being rather to weaken the enemy than to enrich himſelf (*x*). In 1587 he proceeded to Liſbon with a fleet of thirty ſail, and having intelligence of a great fleet aſſembled in the Bay of Cadiz, which was to have made part of the Armada, he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thouſand ton of ſhipping; and, after having performed all the ſervice that the State could expect, he reſolved to do his utmoſt to content the Merchants of London, who had contributed, by a voluntary ſubſcription, to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large carrack expected at Tercera from the Eaſt-Indies, thither he ſailed; and though his men were ſeverely pinched for want of victuals, yet, by fair words, and large promiſes, he prevailed upon them to endure theſe hardſhips for a few days; within this ſpace the Eaſt-India ſhip arrived, which he took, and carried home in triumph; ſo that throughout the whole war there was no expedition ſo happily conducted as this, with reſpect to reputation or profit (*y*); and therefore we need not wonder, that, upon his return, the mighty applauſe he received might render him ſomewhat elate, as his enemies report it did; but certain it is, that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, ſince it always vented itſelf in ſervice to the publick [*H*]. Thus, at this time, he undertook to bring water into the town of Plymouth, through the want of which, till then, it had been grievouſly diſtreſſed; and he performed it by conducting thither a ſtream from ſprings at eight miles diſtance, that is to ſay, in a ſtrait line; for in the manner by which he brought it, the courſe it runs is upwards of twenty miles (*z*). In 1588 Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-Admiral under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, High Admiral of England: here his fortune favoured him as remarkably as ever, for he made prize of a very large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this veſſel fifty thouſand ducats were diſtributed among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, which preſerved that love they had always borne to their valiant Commander. It muſt not, however, be diſſembled, that, through

(*w*) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 534. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 169. Camden's Annals, p. 353. Stowe's Annals, p. 709. Hollingſhed. Speed.

(*x*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 169.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 170.

(*z*) Weſtcot's Survey of Devonſhire, M.S. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

Digna Ratis quæ ſtet radiantibus inclyta ſtellis;
Supremo cæli vertice digna Ratis.

Thus tranſlated,

Amidſt the *ſtars*, thy SHIP were fitly plac'd,
And *ſtars* in gracing it, be doubly grac'd.

The ſame learned author in another famous work of his (*), takes notice of a circumſtance very extraordinary in relation to this celebrated ſhip, which is ſo ſtrange in itſelf, that we ſhould have paſſed it by in a writer of leſs credit; but what Camden thought fit to record of things happening in his own time, it might be juſtly thought a fault in us to omit. Speaking of the Shire of Buchan in Scotland, he ſays: 'It is hardly worth 'while to mention the Clayks, a ſort of Geeſe, which 'are believed by ſome with great admiration, to grow 'upon trees on this coaſt, and in other places, and 'when they are ripe to fall down into the ſea, becauſe 'neither their neſts nor eggs can any where be found. 'But they who ſaw the ſhip in which Sir Francis 'Drake ſailed round the world, when it was laid up in 'the river Thames, could teſtify that little birds bred 'in the old rotten keels of ſhips, ſince a great number 'of ſuch, without life and feathers, ſtuck cloſe to the 'out-ſide of the keel of that ſhip. Yet I ſhould think 'that the generation of theſe birds, was not from the 'logs of wood, but from the ſea, termed by the poets, 'the Parent of all things.' But to proceed in our narration. Time that deſtroys all things, having made great breaches in this ſhip, which for many years had been contemplated with juſt admiration at Deptford, it was at length broke up, and a chair made out of the planks was, by John Davies, Eſq; preſented to the Univerſity of Oxford, upon which the famous Abraham Cowley made the following epigram, that neither the hero nor his veſſel might want the aſſiſtance of the Muſes to render them immortal (20):

(*) Britannia, ſecond edition, p. 1263, 1264.

(20) Cowley's Works, Vol. II. p. 563.

To this great ſhip, which round the world has run,
And matcht in race, the chariot of the ſun;
This Pythagorean ſhip (for it may claim)
Without preſumption, ſo deſerv'd a name.
By knowledge once, and transformation now
In her new ſhape, this ſacred port allow,
Drake and his ſhip, could not have wiſh'd from fate,
An happier ſtation, or more bleſt eſtate:
For lo! a ſeat of endleſs reſt is given
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven.

To this, let us add another hitherto unpubliſhed.

Thy glory DRAKE, extenſive as thy mind,
No time ſhall tarniſh, and no limits bind:
What greater praiſe! than thus to match the SUN
Running that RACE, which cannot be outrun.
Wide as the WORLD thou compaſs'd, ſpreads thy Fame,
And with that WORLD, an equal date ſhall claim.

[*H*] *Since it always vented itſelf in ſervice to the publick.*] It muſt be obſerved, that though in his voyage round the world, our gallant ſeaman had the Queen's commiſſion, yet he had not the honour to command any of the Queen's ſhips. But in the expedition of 1585, Sir Francis Drake went on board one Man of War, and his Vice-Admiral, Frobiſher, was in another (21). In this laſt enterprize, in 1587, he had four of the Queen's ſhips, and twenty ſix ſail of ſeveral ſizes fitted out by the Merchants of London; ſo that if we conſider the expectations which his former ſucceſſes had raiſed, his having now ſeveral intereſts to ſerve, and thoſe in a manner oppoſite to each other, one cannot but admit, that this fortune was very ſingular, as well as his conduct great, that could give full ſatisfaction to all. Yet this he did in ſo high a degree, that Sir William Monſon confeſſes in his naval tracts, envy herſelf knew not what to object, either to the management, or the iſſue of this voyage (22). If therefore Sir Francis Drake bore his head a little higher upon his return, it was highly pardonable, and all that we find objected to him, is no more than this, that in the ſoldier like language of that time, he very merrily called this, *burning the King of Spain's beard* (23). This expreſſion was indeed blunt and coarſe enough, and yet there is ſomething in it expreſſive; it is on all hands allowed that he did infinite miſchief, and retarded thereby the coming of the Armada for a whole year.

(21) See the ſeveral authors referred to in the text.

(22) Naval Tracts, p. 170.

(23) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 523.

[*I*] *Being*

through an overſight of his, the Admiral ran the utmoſt hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake being appointed, the firſt night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the Engliſh fleet, he, being in full purſuit of ſome hulks belonging to the Hanſe towns, neglected it, which occaſioned the Admiral's following the Spaniſh lights, and remaining almoſt in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, his ſucceeding ſervices ſufficiently effaced the memory of this miſtake, the greateſt execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by the ſquadron under his command (*a*) [*I*]. The next year he commanded as Admiral at ſea the fleet ſent to reſtore Don Antonio King of Portugal, the command of the land-forces being given to Sir John Norris. They were hardly got out to ſea before the Commanders differed, though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an Admiral better diſpoſed with reſpect to ſoldiers, than Sir Francis Drake.

(*a*) Camden's Annals, p. 565, 573. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 602. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe, Hollinſhead, Speed. See alſo the article of DEVEREUX (ROBERT I.) Earl of Eſſex.

[*I*] *Being performed by the ſquadron under his command.*] We will begin this note with obſerving, that a little before this formidable Spaniſh armament put to ſea, the Ambaſſador of his Catholick Majeſty had the confidence to propound to Queen Elizabeth, in Latin verſe, the terms upon which ſhe might hope for peace; which, with an Engliſh tranſlation by the facetious Dr Fuller (24), we will preſent to the view of the reader, the rather, becauſe it appears that Drake's expeditions to the Weſt-Indies makes a part of this meſſage. The verſes are theſe:

(24) Holy State, p. 303.

Te veto ne pergas bello defendere Belgas:
Quæ Dracus eripuit nunc reſtituentur opportet:
Quas pater evertit jubeo te condere cellas:
Relligio Papæ fac reſtituetur ad unguem.

In Engliſh.

Theſe to you are our commands,
Send no help to the Netherlands;
Of the treaſure took by Drake,
Reſtitution you muſt make;
And thoſe abbies build anew
Which your father overthrew.
If for any peace you hope,
In all points reſtore the Pope.

The Queen's extempore return:

Ad Græcas, bone Rex, fient mandata calendas.

Worthy King, know this your will,
At Latter Lammas we'll fulfil.

There is a letter ſtill preſerved by Strype, written by Sir Francis Drake to the Lord High-Treaſurer Burleigh, dated June 6, 1588, wherein he acquaints him, that the Spaniards were approaching, and that though their ſtrength outwent report, yet the chearfulneſs and courage which the Lord Admiral expreſſed, gave all who had the honour to ſerve under him aſſurance of victory. This compliment, which ſure was very well turned, proved alſo a prophecy, which Sir Francis had his ſhare in fulfilling (25). On the twenty-ſecond of July, Sir Francis obſerving a great Spaniſh ſhip, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who was reputed the projector of this invaſion, floating at a diſtance from both fleets, ſent his pinnace to ſummon thoſe who were on board to yield; Valdez, to maintain his credit and pretence to valour, returned, that they were four hundred and fifty ſtrong, that he himſelf was Don Pedro, and ſtood much upon his honour, and thereupon propounded ſeveral conditions upon which he was willing to yield: but the Vice-Admiral replied that he had no leiſure to parley, but if he thought fit inſtantly to yield he might, if not he ſhould ſoon find that Drake was no coward. Pedro hearing it was Drake, whoſe name was ſo terrible to the Spaniards, preſently yielded, and, with forty-ſix of his attendants, came aboard Sir Francis's ſhip, where, giving him the ſolemn Spaniſh congee, he proteſted, 'that they were all reſolved to 'have died fighting, had they not fallen into his hands, 'whoſe felicity and valour was ſo great, that Mars the 'god of war, and Neptune the god of the ſea, ſeemed 'to wait upon all his attempts, and whoſe noble and 'generous carriage toward the vanquiſhed, had been 'oft experienced by his foes.' Sir Francis, to requite theſe Spaniſh complements with real Engliſh kindneſs, ſet him at his own table, and lodged him in his own cabbin, ſending the reſt of his company to Plymouth. Drake's ſoldiers were well recompenſed with the plunder of this ſhip, wherein they found fifty-five thouſand ducats of gold, which they joyfully ſhared amongſt them (26). This Don Pedro Valdez remained above two years Sir Francis Drake's priſoner in England, and, when he was releaſed, paid him for his own and his two Captains liberties, a ranſom of three thouſand five hundred pounds (27). The Spaniards, notwithſtanding their loſs was ſo great, and their defeat ſo notorious, took great pains to propagate falſe ſtories, which in ſome places gained ſo much credit as to hide their ſhame. This provoked all good Engliſhmen, and, amongſt them, none more than Sir Francis Drake, who, to ſhew that he could upon occaſion draw his pen as well as his ſword, vouchſafed this refutation of their romances (28): 'They were not aſhamed to pub-'liſh in ſundry languages in print, great victories in 'words: which they pretended to have obtained a-'gainſt this realm, and ſpread the fame in a moſt falſe 'ſort over all parts of France, Italy, and elſewhere; 'when, ſhortly after, it was happily manifeſted in very 'deed to all nations, how their navy, which they 'termed invincible, conſiſting of one hundred and 'forty ſail of ſhips, not only of their own kingdom, 'but ſtrengthened with the greateſt argoſies, Portugal 'carracks, florentines, and large hulks of other coun-'tries, were by thirty of her Majeſty's own ſhips of 'war, and a few of our own merchants, by the wiſe, 'valiant, and advantageous conduct of the Lord Charles 'Howard, High-Admiral of England, beaten and 'ſhuffled together even from the Lizard in Cornwall, 'firſt to Portland, where they ſhamefully left Don Pe-'dro de Valdes with his mighty ſhip; from Portland to 'Calais, where they loſt Hugh de Moncado, with the 'gallies of which he was Captain; and from Calais 'driven with ſquibs from their anchors, were chaſed 'out of the ſight of England, round about Scotland 'and Ireland. Where, for the ſympathy of their re-'ligion, hoping to find ſuccour and aſſiſtance, a great 'part of them were cruſhed againſt the rocks, and 'thoſe other that landed, being very many in number, 'were, notwithſtanding, broken, ſlain, and taken. 'And ſo ſent from village to village, coupled in *hal*-'ters, to be ſhipped into England, where *her Majeſty*, 'of her princely and invincible diſpoſition, diſdaining 'to put them to death, and ſcorning either to retain 'or entertain them, they were *all ſent back again to* 'their countries, to witneſs and recount the worthy 'atchievement of their *invincible* and dreadful na-'vy. Of which the number of ſoldiers, the fear-'ful burthen of their ſhips, the commanders names 'of every ſquadron, with all other their magazines of 'proviſions, were put *in print*, as an army and navy 'irreſiſtible and *diſdaining* prevention; with all which 'their great terrible oſtentation, they did not in all 'their ſailing round about England ſo much as ſink or 'take one ſhip, bark, pinnace, or cock boat, of ours, 'or ever burnt ſo much as one ſheepcote on this land.' If the knowledge of a writer, with reſpect to the ſubject which employs his pen, ought to render his relation more credible; or if the quality of an author can add any weight to his productions, this will not fail of being eſteemed as well as believed. To ſpeak the truth plainly, there is not perhaps in our own or in any other language, within ſo narrow a compaſs, ſo full, ſo perſpicuous, and ſo ſpirited a relation of a tranſaction, glorious as this was, extant in any Hiſtory. Indeed, what wonder, if the defeat of the Spaniards be as finely painted by the pen, as it was gallantly atchieved by the ſword, of Sir Francis Drake!

(25) This letter was formerly among the Lord Burleigh's Manuſcripts. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523.

(26) Engliſh Hero.

(27) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523. Life of Sir Francis Drake, p. 195.

(28) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 531, 532.

[*K*] *There*

Drake. The ground of their difference was this; the General was bent on landing at the Groyne, whereas Sir Francis, and the ſea-officers, were for ſailing to Liſbon directly, in which, if their advice had been taken, without queſtion, their enterprize had ſucceeded, and Don Antonio been reſtored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading Portugal, that the enemy had made uſe of the time they gave them to ſo good purpoſe, that it was not poſſible to make any impreſſion. Sir John Norris, indeed, marched by land to Liſbon, and Sir Francis Drake very imprudently promiſed to ſail up the river with his whole fleet; but when he ſaw the conſequences which would have attended the keeping his word, he choſe rather to break his promiſe, than to hazard the Queen's navy; for which he was grievouſly reproached by Norris, and the miſcarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken; yet Sir Francis fully juſtified himſelf on his return, for he made it manifeſt to the Queen and Council, that all the ſervice that was done was performed by him, and his ſailing up the river of Liſbon would have ſignified nothing to the taking the caſtle, which was two miles off, and that without reducing it there was no taking the town (*b*) [*K*]. The war with Spain ſtill continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy ſo much as the loſſes they met with in the Indies, a propoſition was made to the Queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, the moſt experienced ſeamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into thoſe parts, than had hitherto been made through the whole courſe of that war; and, at the ſame time, they offered to be at a great part of the expence themſelves, and to engage their friends to bear a conſiderable proportion of the reſt (*c*). The Queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furniſhed, on her part, a ſtout ſquadron of men of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their whole force conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips and barks, and on board them were about two thouſand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, there was none of which ſo great hope was conceived as of this, and yet none ſucceeded worſe. The fleet was detained, for ſome time after it was ready, on the Engliſh coaſt, by the arts of the Spaniards, who, having intelligence of it's ſtrength, and of the ends for which it was intended, they conceived, that the only means whereby it might be diſappointed was by procuring ſome delay; in order to which they gave out, that they were ready themſelves to invade England; and, to render this the more probable, they actually ſent four gallies to make a deſcent on Cornwall (*d*). By theſe ſteps they carried their point; for the Queen and the nation being alarmed, it was by no means held proper to ſend ſo great a number of ſtout ſhips on ſo long a voyage, at ſo critical a juncture. At laſt this ſtorm blowing over, the fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, in order to execute their grand deſign of burning Nombre de Dios, marching thence by land to Panama, and there ſeizing the treaſure which they knew was arrived from Peru. A few days before their departure, the Queen ſent them advice, that the plate fleet was ſafely arrived in Spain, excepting only one galleon, which, having loſt a maſt, had been obliged to return to Porto Rico. The taking of this veſſel ſhe recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at ſea the Generals differed, as is uſual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing immediately what the Queen had commanded, whereas Sir Francis Drake inclined to go firſt to the Canaries, being preſſed thereto by Sir Thomas Baſkerville, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unſucceſsful, and then they ſailed for Dominica, where they ſpent too much time in refreſhing themſelves, and ſetting up their pinnaces. In the mean time the Spaniards had ſent five ſtout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto Rico, having exact intelligence of the intention of the Engliſh Admirals to attempt that place. On the thirtieth of October Sir John Hawkins weighed

(*b*) Camden's Annals, p. 601—606. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174. Stowe's Annals, p. 755. Hollingſhed. Speed.

(*c*) Camden's Annals, p. 698, 699, 700. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182, 183. Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*d*) Camden's Annals, p. 697.

[*K*] *There was no taking the town.*] Before this expedition, all difficulties, however great, were ſeen to bend before the fortune of Sir Francis Drake; but whether it was the ſtrange diviſion of command, for there were two Generals in Chief declared, and a third who expected to command them, though without a commiſſion. Whether they were deceived in the furniſhing the fleet, which would not have been the caſe if the ſole management had been committed to Sir Francis Drake, or whether their hopes failed them in Portugal, ſo it was, that, with reſpect to the great end of their expedition, they miſcarried; and as they carried Don Antonio out with ſtrong hopes of leaving him a King, ſo, when they brought him home, he left all his hopes behind (29). In moſt of our Hiſtories many aſperſions are thrown upon Sir Francis Drake, and Sir William Monſon very impartially profeſſes, that he cannot excuſe his breaking his promiſe to Sir John Norris, though he allows the thing was impracticable. Now, though the breaking a promiſe be a bad thing, one might be tempted to think, that not being able to keep it is a pretty tolerable excuſe; the Queen and her Council underſtood it ſo, for Sir Francis alledged, and it could not be denied, that the very time they ſpent at the Groyne, the Spaniards employed in fortifying Liſbon, which was the reaſon he oppoſed that meaſure (30). He ſhewed, that whatever was done there or elſewhere for the credit of the nation, was performed ſolely by the fleet and by his orders, in conſequence of which a large fleet, laden with naval ſtores from the Hanſe Towns, was taken, and a great quantity of ammunition and artillery. He farther ſhewed, that, had it not been for the fleet, the army muſt have been ſtarved; and that, if they had ſtayed any longer, neither fleet nor army could have returned home; all which diſtreſſes aroſe from their not going about their principal buſineſs at firſt, which was what he adviſed; but when he found he could not prevail upon ſome men to manage their own affairs right, he contented himſelf with managing as well as he could, thoſe that were immediately within his own province, and with reſpect to theſe, even the cenſurers of this expedition admit, that nobody could have managed them better. Happy for Sir Francis Drake, if, upon his receiving this firſt check at play, he had withdrawn his ſtake.

(29) Camden, Annal. Eliz. p. 606. Stowe's Annals, p. 755.

(30) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174.

weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the ſame day, the Francis, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the ſternmoſt of Sir John's ſhips, fell in with the five ſail of Spaniſh frigates before-mentioned, and was taken; the conſequences of which being foreſeen by Sir John, it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the twelfth of November 1595 (e). At this time they were before Porto Rico, and the very ſame evening Sir John Hawkins died, while the great officers were at ſupper together, a cannon ſhot from the fort pierced the cabin, killed Sir Nicholas Clifford, wounded Captain Stratford, and mortally wounded Mr Brute Browne, ſtriking the ſtool from under Sir Francis Drake, who was drinking, without doing him any hurt at all. The next day, November 13th, 1595, the General, purſuant to the reſolution of a Council of War, made a deſperate attack on the ſhipping in the harbour of Porto Rico, which was attended with great loſs to the Spaniards, yet with very little advantage to the Engliſh, who meeting with a more reſolute reſiſtance, and much better fortifications, than they expected, were obliged to ſheer off. The Admiral then ſteered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hacha, which he burnt to the ground, a church, and a ſingle houſe belonging to a Lady, only excepted. After this he deſtroyed ſome other villages, and then proceeded to Santa Martha, which he likewiſe burned. The like fate had the famous town of Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refuſing to ranſom any of theſe places, and the booty taken in them being very inconſiderable. On the twenty-ninth of December Sir Thomas Baſkerville marched, with ſeven hundred and fifty men, towards Panama, but returned on the ſecond of January, finding the deſign of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This diſappointment made ſuch an impreſſion on the Admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which he died on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, about four in the morning; though Sir William Monſon hints, that there were great doubts whether it was barely his ſickneſs killed him [L]. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived

(e) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 183. MS. Remarks on Hakluyt.

[L] *Whether it was barely his ſickneſs that killed him.*] In the text we have ſtated the facts according to the lights given us, and, from the authorities of the beſt writers in thoſe times, we will in this note endeavour to clear up ſome paſſages that might otherwiſe ſeem obſcure, and by doing this we ſhall, in ſome meaſure, enable the reader to form a juſt notion as to his death. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were, without doubt, two of the moſt experienced officers, that thoſe ſtirring times, and that glorious reign, had bred. Each of them had his reaſons for undertaking that expedition, and both of them acted from motives of honour; they knew well the ſituation of the countries which were to be the ſcene of their actions, and the plan they laid was equally worthy of the great experience they had, and the high reputation raiſed thereby. In few words, their aim was to plunder and deſtroy Nombre de Dios, to force a paſſage through the Iſthmus, and then to make themſelves maſters of Panama, which done, they were to act as circumſtances ſhould direct (31). The preparations made for their voyage, chiefly at the expence of the Generals, were ſuch as could not be concealed: the Spaniards, being apprized of theſe, alarmed England, and thereby gained time to ſend advice into America. When, after many months delay, the Queen allowed them to proceed, ſhe charged him with another project, which was attacking Porto Rico, where, according to her information (and it was true) the whole cargo of a rich galleon was depoſited (32). When they were at ſea, Sir Thomas Baſkerville ſtarted a third project, which was reducing one of the Canary Iſlands, to which Sir Francis Drake aſſented, as believing, that, whatever became of their expedition, the conqueſt of that iſland would be of very great importance to the nation (33). Their miſcarriage in that was many ways detrimental, but chiefly through this which they did not foreſee, that it gave time for the Court of Spain to ſend five frigates, with nine hundred regular troops on board, to St John de Porto Rico. Of this they had no ſuſpicion, and therefore they ſpent more time than they needed to have done before they went thither, and the bark Francis being taken in their paſſage, Sir John Hawkins truly foreſaw what afterwards happened, that the Spaniards, by the help of the reinforcement that ſquadron carried, would be too ſtrong for them. The ſad accident of his death, and of two principal Commanders deſperately wounded the ſame evening, damped the ſpirits of the ſoldiers and ſeamen exceedingly. General Drake himſelf, when he took his leave of Mr Brown in order to go to the attack, could not help ſaying, *Brute, Brute,* (that was his Chriſtian name) *how heartily could I lament thy fate, but that I dare not let my ſpirits ſink now* (34). The ſeveral enterprizes that followed, were to gratify other mens projects, but at laſt Sir Francis Drake returned to his firſt deſign, and made an attempt upon the Iſthmus, but the Spaniards were too well provided, ſo that he plainly ſaw things went not with him as in former days. The whole of this expedition was a ſeries of misfortunes, in which Providence made uſe of their own counſels to deſtroy them. If they had gone at firſt to Porto Rico, they had done the Queen's buſineſs and their own. If, when they had intelligence of the Spaniſh ſuccours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the Iſthmus, in order to have executed their deſigns againſt Panama, before their forces had been weakened by that deſperate attack, they might poſſibly have accompliſhed their firſt intention, but graſping too many things ſpoiled all. A very ſtrong ſenſe of this threw Sir Francis Drake into a melancholy, which occaſioned a bloody-flux, the natural diſeaſe of the country that brought him to his end (35). His body, according to the cuſtom of the ſea, was ſunk very near the place where he firſt laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. This appears to be a plain and probable relation of the end of this great man; if the reader has a mind to ſee it ſet in a ſtronger light, Mr Fuller ſhall afford him that ſatisfaction, which will be heightened by knowing that he wrote from the mouth of Henry Drake, Eſq; who accompanied his couſin in that unfortunate expedition (36). 'Now began the diſcontent of Sir Francis to 'feed upon him. He conceived that expectation, a 'mercileſs uſurer, computing each day ſince his depar- 'ture, exacted an intereſt and return of honour and 'profit proportionable to his great preparations, and 'tranſcending his former atchievements. He ſaw that 'all the good which he had done in this voyage, con- 'ſiſted in the evil he had done to the Spaniards afar 'off, whereof he could preſent but ſmall viſible fruits 'in England. Theſe apprehenſions accompanying, if 'not cauſing, the diſeaſe of the flux, wrought his ſud- 'den death; and ſickneſs did not ſo much untie his 'clothes, as ſorrow did rend at once the robe of his 'mortality aſunder. He lived by the ſea, died on it, and 'was buried in it. Thus, an extempore performance, 'ſcarce heard to be begun before we hear it is ended, 'comes off with better applauſe, or miſcarries with 'leſs diſgrace, than a long ſtudied and openly premeditated action. Beſides, we ſee how great ſpirits 'having mounted up to the higheſt pitch of perfor- 'mance, afterwards ſtrain and break their credits in 'ſtriving to go beyond it. Laſtly, God oftentimes 'leaves

(31) It was upon this plan they formed the offer they made to the Queen, and, no doubt, had good intelligence.

(32) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

(33) Engliſh Hero, p. 206.

(34) Fuller's Holy State, p. 129.

(35) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700. Sir Wm. Monſon's Tracts, p. 182.

(36) Fuller's Holy State, p. 130, 131.

lived fifty-five years (*f*), according to ſome, but according to our computation fifty-one (*g*), but his memory will ſurvive as long as that world laſts which he firſt ſurrounded. His death was generally lamented by the whole nation, but more eſpecially by his countrymen, who had great reaſons to love him from the circumſtances of his private life, as well as to eſteem him in his publick character. He was elected Burgeſs for the town of Boſſiney, alias Tintagal, in the county of Cornwall, in the Parliament held the twenty-ſeventh of Queen Elizabeth, and for the town of Plymouth in Devonſhire, in the thirty-fifth of the ſame reign (*h*). It is indeed true, that he died without iſſue, but not that he lived and died a Bachelor, as ſeveral authors have written (*i*); for he left behind him a widow, Elizabeth (*k*), daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir George Sydenham, of Combe-Sydenham in the county of Devon, Knight, who afterwards married William Courteney, Eſq; of Powderham-Caſtle in the ſame county. It was not the cuſtom of thoſe times to ſet up cenotaphs, at leaſt for private perſons, otherwiſe one might have expected ſome monument ſhould have been erected to the memory of Sir Francis Drake. Indeed it was needleſs; for his picture was common not only here, but in all parts of Europe, inſomuch, that a diſturbance was occaſioned at Rome by the imprudence of a famous Painter, who cauſed the head (*l*) of Sir Francis Drake to be hung up in a publick place, next to that of his Catholick Majeſty. Hitherto we have ſpoken of his publick actions, let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, diſcourſe ſomewhat of his perſon and character. He was low of ſtature but well ſet, had a broad open cheſt, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a freſh, chearful, and very engaging countenance (*m*). As Navigation had been his whole ſtudy, ſo he underſtood it thoroughly, and was a perfect maſter in every branch, eſpecially in Aſtronomy, and in the application thereof to the Nautick Art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them, we need not wonder that Sir Francis Drake, who performed ſo many great things, ſhould have as much ill ſpoken of him as of any man of the age in which he lived. Thoſe who diſliked him alledged, that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, oſtentatious, ſelf-ſufficient, an immoderate ſpeaker, and, though indiſputably a good Seaman, no great General; in proof of which they took notice of his neglecting to furniſh his fleet thoroughly in 1585, his not keeping either St Domingo or Carthagena, after he had taken them, the ſlender proviſion he made in his expedition to Portugal, his breaking his word to Sir John Norris, and the errors he committed in his laſt undertaking (*n*). In excuſe of theſe it is ſaid, that the glory of what he did might very well remove the imputation of his mean deſcent; what was thought haughtineſs in him, might be no more than a juſt concern for the ſupport of his authority, his diſplay of his great ſervices, a thing incident to his profeſſion, and his love of ſpeaking qualified by his wiſdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an ungraceful expreſſion. In equipping his fleet, he was not ſo much in fault as thoſe whom he truſted; ſickneſs hindered his keeping the places he took in the Weſt-Indies; his counſels were continually croſſed by the land-officers in his voyage to Portugal; and, as to his laſt attempt, the Spaniards were certainly well acquainted with his deſign, at leaſt as ſoon as he left England, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an inconteſtible proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-ſightedneſs, and publick ſpirit, ſince therein he did every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own reputation, or private gain (*o*) [*M*]. It was the felicity of our Admiral to live under the reign of a Princeſs,

(*f*) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182. Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Camden's Annals, p. 700. Engliſh Hero, p. 206. Fuller's Worthies, p. 261.

(*g*) In the margin of Stowe's Annals he is ſaid to have died at fifty-five; but, from all the paſſages in that account of him, he appears to have been no older than we have reported him.

(*b*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 122, 295.

(*i*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 261.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 244. Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 531.

(*l*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 540.

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Fuller's Holy State, p. 131.

(*n*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. VI. p. 1185. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

(*o*) Camden's Annals, p. 351. The World encompaſſed, p. 18. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Engliſh Hero, p. 206.

'leaves the brighteſt men in an eclipſe, to ſhew, that 'they do but borrow their luſtre from his reflection. 'We will not juſtify all the actions of any man, tho' 'of a tamer profeſſion than a ſea Captain, in whom 'civility is often counted preciſeneſs. For the main, 'we ſay, that this our Captain was a religious man 'towards God, and his houſes, generally ſpeaking, 'churches, where he came chaſt in his life, juſt in his 'dealings, true of his word, and merciful to thoſe that 'were under him, hating nothing ſo much as idleneſs.'

[*M*] *To his own reputation or private gain.*] The materials that I have collected from ſeveral writers in that age, and which are to be digeſted into this note, will, I hope, ſufficiently juſtify what is advanced in the text, and ſhew, that if Sir Francis Drake amaſſed a large fortune to himſelf, by continually expoſing himſelf to labours and perils which hardly any other man would have undergone, for the ſake even of the greateſt expectations, he was far from being governed by a narrow and private ſpirit; on the contrary, his notions were free and noble, and the nation ſtands indebted to his memory, for advantages, infinitely greater than are commonly imagined.

I. He was the great author of our navigation to the Weſt-Indies; for though he was not the firſt that went thither, yet, after the ſevere check that Sir John Hawkins met with when Drake commanded the Judith, our ſeamen were much diſcouraged, and in all probability, would ſcarce have adventured upon any expeditions of that ſort in haſte, if he had not encouraged them by his two proſperous voyages. In theſe he acted with extraordinary caution, and was remarkably careful of the health and ſafety of his ſeamen, that he might beget in them not only a confidence in himſelf, but a thorough contempt of thoſe vulgar fears, which repreſented voyages into that part of the world as ſo difficult and dangerous in many reſpects, beſides that of falling into the hands of the Spaniards (37). In this he ſucceeded ſo well, that, in the ſpace of a very few years, many ſmall veſſels, moſt of them commanded by perſons bred under him, followed that courſe, and partly by trading, partly by privateering, brought great wealth into the nation, and accuſtomed the Engliſh mariners to traverſe ſeas, and viſit ports, to which, but for his vigilance and good fortune, they had remained much longer ſtrangers (38). On this account, therefore, he may be conſidered, very juſtly, as the author of all our ſucceſs in thoſe parts; for tho' ſeveral famous ſeamen engaged afterwards in expeditions of the like nature, and began to think of making ſettlements alſo in thoſe remote parts, yet it was but in conſequence of the lights he gave them, and from that ſpirit of emulation which was raiſed by the extenſive reputation he had acquired.

(37) See Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations of his Voyage to the South-Seas.

(38) Drake's Antiquities of York, p. 230.

II. He

Princeſs, who never failed to diſtinguiſh merit, or to beſtow her favours where ſhe ſaw deſert. Sir Francis Drake was always her favourite, and ſhe gave a very lucky proof of it in reſpect to a quarrel he had with his countryman Sir Bernard Drake, whoſe arms Sir Francis had aſſumed, which ſo provoked the other, who was a ſeaman likewiſe, that he gave him a box on the ear. The Queen took up the quarrel, and gave Sir Francis a new coat, which is thus blazoned: *Sable a feſs wavy between two pole ſtars argent*, and for his creſt, *a ſhip on a globe under ruff*, held by a cable, with a hand out of the clouds, over it this motto, *Auxilio divino*, underneath, *Sic parvis magna*, in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels *a wivern*, *gules*, which was the arms of Sir Bernard Drake (*p*). Her Majeſty's kindneſs, however, did not extend beyond the grave; for ſhe ſuffered his brother Thomas Drake, whom he made his heir, to be proſecuted for a pretended debt to the Crown, which much diminiſhed the advantages he would otherwiſe have reaped from his brother's ſucceſſion (*q*). This brother of his accompanied him in his laſt expedition, as his brother John, and his brother Joſeph, had done in his firſt voyages to the Weſt-Indies, where they both died; and both Thomas and John left children behind them, whereas Sir Francis, and nine of his other brethren, died without (*r*). As for the land eſtate which he had purchaſed, and which was very conſiderable, (for though, on proper occaſions, he was extreamly generous, yet he was alſo a great œconomiſt,) it came to his nephew and godſon Francis Drake, ſon to his brother Thomas (*s*), who, by letters patents, dated Auguſt 2d, 1622, in the twentieth year of the reign of King James the Firſt, was created a Baronet (*t*), and, in the beginning of the next reign, was returned one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Devon (*u*). He was twice married, firſt to Jane, daughter of Sir Amias Bampfylde, of Poltimore in the ſame county, Knight, by whom he had a daughter that died an infant; and, ſecondly, to Joan, daughter of Sir William Strode, of Newman, Knight, by whom he had four ſons (*w*). The eldeſt, Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, married Dorothy, the daughter of Mr Pyn, but dying without iſſue, the title devolved upon his nephew by his ſecond brother Thomas, who became thereby Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, who frequently repreſented the town of Taviſtock in Parliament (*x*). He was thrice married, but had no iſſue; but by his laſt wife, who was the daughter of Sir Henry Pollexfen, Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, his ſon and ſucceſſor by her was Sir Francis-Henry Drake, Baronet, who died January 26th, 1740, leaving iſſue by his wife, the ſiſter of Sir William Heathcote, Baronet, three ſons and two daughters (*y*). The eldeſt of theſe, Sir Francis Henry Drake, Baronet, is the preſent repreſentative of this family, and member in the preſent Parliament for Beeralſton, in the county of Devon, who has ſtill, in his poſſeſſion, a Bible, with an inſcription indented on the edges, ſignifying, that it made the tour of the world with Sir Francis Drake (*z*). There are many other relicks preſerved in the cabinets of the curious, in memory of this famous perſon; ſuch as the ſtaff made out of his ſhip before it was broke up, in that of Mr Thoreſby at Leeds (*a*); and there is hardly any collection of Engliſh money, in which there are not pieces of Queen's Elizabeth's coin, ſuppoſed to be marked with a Drake, in honour of Sir Francis's voyage round the world, in the twenty-ſecond year of her reign. I ſay, ſuppoſed, becauſe ſome curious perſons ſuggeſt, that this bird upon her coin is not a Drake but a Dove, and conſider this tradition as a vulgar error (*b*). It may be ſo indeed, for any thing we know with certainty; as, on the other hand, it may not be ſo, for any thing that has been ſaid to the contrary. Two things, however, are certain; one, that there are a variety of marks upon the

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 245.

(*q*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400.

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Fuller's Holy State, p. 129.

(*s*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. P. 531.

(*t*) Sir Wm. Dugdale's Catalogue, P. 93.

(*u*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 254.

(*w*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. P. 532.

(*x*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 354.

(*y*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. P. 532.

(*z*) From his own information.

(*a*) Ducatus Leodienſis, or, Topography of Leeds, p. 484.

(*b*) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Library, p. 266.

II. He was alſo the firſt that ſhewed his own nation, what, till then, no other nation had ever attempted, that it was practicable with a very ſmall force to act againſt the Spaniards, both by ſea and land, as this nation have acknowledged, and attribute to him all the troubles they afterwards met with from the French and Dutch, as well as from the Engliſh (39). In his expedition of 1572, he had but two ſhips, if they might be ſo called, one of ſeventy tons, commanded by himſelf, the other of twenty five tons, commanded by his brother John, and his whole force conſiſted but of ſeventy three men and boys. Yet after he was diſcovered, and known to be upon the coaſt, and to have committed hoſtilities, he had the courage to reſolve upon remaining there, and to do his buſineſs with pinnaces, finding his ſhips too large, and therefore intending to deſtroy one, and convert the other into a ſtore-ſhip; but knowing that his ſeamen would never conſent to this, tho' the ſhips were his own, and the beſt part of his eſtate; he prevailed upon the carpenter of the leſſer, to bore holes in the bottom of her in the night, without ſo much as communicating the deſign to his own brother who commanded her. This happy temerity was followed by as much ſucceſs as he could wiſh, ſince he kept the Bay of Mexico for many months in a manner blocked up, and his fertility in inventing expedients to anſwer all purpoſes, and to provide againſt all dangers, excited that amazing ſpirit amongſt the ſeamen of his time, that is ſcarce credible in ours (40). A ſpirit that rendered them ſo famous, as to occaſion their being ſought after, and employed by all nations, but more eſpecially the French and Dutch, as might be ſhewn from numerous inſtances.

(39) See the account of Captain Drake's expedition by Lopez the Spaniard, in Hakluyt.

(40) Camden. Britannia, 2d edition, p. 34. Engliſh Hero.

III. His genius was far from being confined to ſmall undertakings, though neceſſity compelled it's firſt appearance in ſuch; for when he undertook his voyage round the world, he not only framed the ſcheme in his own head, but kept it entirely within his own breaſt, bringing it out only by parts, as the execution required, and propoſing nothing to be effected till he had made the neceſſary proviſions for effecting it, tho' without any communication, by which he drew his people firſt into the South-Seas, thence to the Eaſt-Indies, and home by a route new to him and them, which he had never accompliſhed, if his intentions had been foreſeen from the beginning (41). In 158[illegible] he executed a great undertaking with a conſiderable force having under him, Captain Frobiſher, and other able ſeamen, with like conduct and courage, and with dreadful deſtruction to the enemy; ſo that there is very little reaſon to regret Sir Philip Sydney's not going that voyage with him, nor will any wiſe man believe implicity on the credit of Sir Fulk Grevil, that Sir Francis Drake was leſs capable of performing any ſervice in America,

(41) This Sir Wm. Monſon fairly acknowledges, though no great admirer of Sir Francis Drake.

the coin of that Queen, and the other, that they were ſometimes placed in commemoration of remarkable events; as for inſtance, the Belgick Lion very fairly impreſſed upon the Queen's breaſt, at the time when ſhe took the United Provinces under her royal protection (*c*). It is, therefore, far from being impoſſible, and perhaps it is not carrying the thing too far, to ſay, that it is not altogether improbable, there may be ſome truth in this vulgar notion; for, that nothing of this is recorded in the hiſtories of this reign, is no conſiderable objection, ſince we are ſatisfied, that many things of a like nature, the truth of which cannot be diſputed, were nevertheleſs omitted, partly from the abundance of more weighty materials, and partly from the want of attention in our Hiſtorians to things of this nature, which would have left us in the dark as to many curious particulars, if their negligence had not excited a ſtrong ſpirit of enquiry in the learned lovers of Engliſh Hiſtory, who have lived in ſucceeding times, and whoſe induſtry has been repaid by a variety of uſeful, as well as entertaining diſcoveries.

(c) Thoreſby's Ducatus Leodienſis, p. 366.

America, than that excellent perſon (42), or that he left him behind, from a jealouſy of his ſuperior abilities.

(42) In his large life of Sir Philip Sidney.

IV. We are aſſured by Camden (43) and other writers, that Sir Francis Drake firſt brought tobacco into England, from whence a certain writer moſt unaccountably took it in his head, to conclude his life of Sir Francis Drake, with a violent invective againſt that plant, and an outragious abuſe upon all who take it (44). But men of milder tempers and clearer judgments will acknowledge, that Sir Francis was in this a very great benefactor to his country, ſince it will not be eaſy to name any one commodity, through which ſuch vaſt advantages have accrued to this nation. It is true, that Sir Walter Ralegh is commonly entitled to this honour, but then it is grounded upon his bringing it into uſe, by his own practice and example. Yet in both of theſe truly great men, the good done to their country, was but accidental; for we cannot ſuppoſe that either of them could foreſee what prodigious wealth the cultivation of tobacco would bring into Great-Britain, and yet this ought not to leſſen, in the leaſt, our gratitude or veneration towards their memories.

(43) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 449.

(44) Winſtanley's Britiſh Worthies, p. 211.

V. The laſt thing I have to ſay, and I ſay it upon the credit of Mr Camden, is, that he was the author of our trade to the Eaſt-Indies; for as that learned writer informs us, the books, papers, and charts, that were found in the Eaſt-India ſhip, which he took in his return from his expedition to the coaſts of Spain in 1587, gave thoſe lights which encouraged the undertaking a trade to thoſe parts, and produced an application to the Queen, for eſtabliſhing our firſt Eaſt-India Company (45). Theſe are facts that are certainly worth the knowing, remembring, and conſidering, that we may do proper juſtice to the character of this illuſtrious perſon, who, as from low and mean beginnings, he raiſed himſelf to move in a ſuperior orb; ſo by his example, he encouraged and raiſed thoſe Engliſh fleets that have ſince given law in the ſeas, which he viſited with barks ſo ſmall, that they would now be ſcarce thought capable of ſuch a voyage. Let us conclude with a circumſtance, which though not of ſo publick, is yet, not altogether of a private nature, and deſerves to be remembred to the honour of this worthy perſon, and of Sir John Hawkins, who, in 1588, adviſed the eſtabliſhment of the cheſt at Chatham, for the relief of ſeamen wounded in their country's ſervice (46). They were indeed, both remarkable for bearing in mind that they had been (47) once ſeamen themſelves, as long as they lived; and though they were very ſtrict in maintaining diſcipline, yet they were ſo well obeyed from a principle of affection, that inſtances of ſeverity were things to which they were very ſeldom conſtrained.

(45) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 551.

(46) Camden's Britannia, p. 233.

(47) Sir Richard Hawkins's obſervations on his voyage to the South-Seas, p. 288.

E

DRAKE (JAMES), a noted political writer and Phyſician in the end of the XVIIth and beginning of the XVIIIth, century, was born at Cambridge in the year 1667, and, by the care of an indulgent father, had a very liberal education. In 1684, he was admitted into the univerſity wherein he was born; and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf not only in his college, but alſo in publick, by his quickneſs and ingenuity. Some time before the Revolution, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, after having performed his exerciſes with very great applauſe; and in proceſs of time he commenced Maſter, with unuſual honours paid him by men of the brighteſt parts in the univerſity. He took a turn to London in the year 1693, where being ſoon made known, he was very much admired at all places frequented by ingenious men: and having a particular genius to the ſtudy of Phyſick, was encouraged in the purſuit of it by Sir Thomas Millington, and the moſt eminent members of the College of Phyſicians. In 1696 he took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty (*a*), and was ſoon after Fellow of the Royal Society, as likewiſe of the College of Phyſicians. But, whether through his own inclination, or that the narrowneſs of his fortune ſtreightened him ſo as not to let him appear in a proper equipage; (without which a Phyſician is not duly regarded) he had been in London but a ſhort time, before the Bookſellers laid hold of him: in whoſe ſervice being liſted as an author, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee whatever he did paſs off very currently, and to meet with a favourable acceptance from the publick. In 1697, he contributed very much to the publication of a pamphlet, entituled, 'Commendatory Verſes upon the Author of Prince Arthur, and 'King Arthur:' which was very well received. But the next book he publiſhed did not meet with the ſame favourable reception: I mean, 'The Hiſtory of the laſt Parliament 'begun at Weſtminſter the 10th day of February, in the 12th year of King William, 'A.D. 1700.' Lond. 1702, 8*vo*. For the Houſe of Lords thinking, it reflected too ſeverely on the memory of the late King William, they convened the author before them in May 1702 [*A*], and ordered him to be proſecuted by the Attorney-General; who brought

(*a*) The Memorial of the Church of England, &c. To which is added an Introductory Preface, wherein is contained the life and death of the Author. Edit. 1711. 8*vo*. The learned Dr W. Richardſon could not find, in the Univerſity Regiſters, ſuch a perſon as W. Drake, M. D. of Cambridge.

[*A*] *They convened the author before them in May* 1702.] The paſſage that gave offence, was in the preface, and ran thus.——'And, perhaps, there was 'a third thing in proſpect, of deeper reach than all 'theſe, which was, That ſhould it have pleaſed God, 'for our ſins, to have ſnatch'd from us the king on the 'ſudden, by chance of war, or other fatal accident, 'during the tumult of arms abroad, and the civil diſ'orders they had raiſed amongſt us at home, and a 'numerous, corrupt, licentious party throughout the 'nation, from which the Houſe of Commons was 'ſometimes not free; they might entertain hopes, 'from

brought him to a trial, in which he was acquitted the year following (*b*). In 1704, being diſguſted at his diſappointment of being made one of the Commiſſioners of the ſick and wounded, as was promiſed him; and diſſatisfied, at the rejecting of the *Bill to prevent Occaſional Conformity*, and the diſgrace of ſome of his friends who were ſticklers for it, he writ, in concert with Mr Poley Member of Parliament for Ipſwich, 'The Memorial of 'the Church of England: Humbly offered to the Conſideration of all true Lovers of our 'Church and Conſtitution.' Lond. 1704, 8*vo*. The Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin, and other great officers of the Crown in the Whig intereſt, therein ſeverely reflected upon, were ſo highly offended at the publication of it, that they repreſented it to Queen Anne, as an inſult upon her Majeſty's honour, and an intimation that the Church was in danger under her adminiſtration [*B*]. Accordingly, her Majeſty took notice of it in her ſpeech to the enſuing

(*b*) Memorial as above: and Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 841, 842. Hiſtory of Q. Anne, by A. Boyer, fol. 1735. p. 18, 19.

'from the advantage of being at the helm, and the 'aſſiſtance of their rabble, to have put in practice 'their own ſchemes, and, *To have given us a new 'model of government of their own projection*; and ſo 'to have procured to themſelves a laſting impunity, 'and to have mounted their own beaſt, the rabble, 'and driven the ſober part of the nation, like cattle, 'before them. That this is no conjecture, will readi-'ly appear to any conſidering perſons, from the *Treat 'ment her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Denmark, 'the Heireſs Apparent to the Crown, met with all a-'long from them, and all their party* They were 'not contented to ſhew her a *conſtant neglect and 'ſlight* themſelves, but their whole party were in-'ſtructed not only to treat her with diſreſpect, but 'ſpight: They were buſy to traduce her with falſe 'and ſcandalous aſperſions; and ſo far they carried 'the affront, as to make her at one time almoſt *The 'common ſubject of the tittle-tattle of almoſt every 'coffee-houſe and drawing-room*, which they promoted 'with as much zeal, application, and venom, as if a 'bill of excluſion had then been on the anvil, and 'theſe were the introductory ceremonies.'

This paſſage being complain'd of, and read, in the Upper Houſe, the Lords ordered the booksellers, for whom that book was printed, to attend their houſe on the Saturday following. But before that day came, Dr Drake having owned himſelf to be the author of the book in queſtion, he was on the 9th of May examined by the Lord-Keeper; who aſked him, 'What 'he had to ſay concerning the ſaid book?' And the book and the paragraph being ſhewed him, 'He 'owned he writ the book, and that paragraph in 'particular; and thought he had juſt reaſon to write 'it, he having heard her Highneſs talked of diſ-'reſpectfully in almoſt every coffee-houſe.' Then he withdrew, and, after ſome debate, was called in again; and the Lord-Keeper told him, 'The houſe 'was not ſatisfied with what he had ſaid, but thought 'he trifled; and required him to acquaint the Houſe 'with the grounds of his writing that paragraph.' He anſwered, 'He found it mentioned in divers 'anonymous pamphlets publiſhed at that time, and 'hoped, it was no hurt to anſwer thoſe pamphlets, 'and deſired time to recollect what thoſe pamphlets 'were;' and then withdrew. After ſome time he was called in again, and aſked, 'If he could charge 'any perſon or perſons in the kingdom, with the 'matters aſſerted by him in that paragraph? and, 'Whether he had heard any other perſon ſay, that 'they could charge any perſon whatſoever with the 'matters contained in that paragraph?' To theſe queſ-tions he anſwered, 'That he did not know of any 'ſuch perſon.' Being further aſked, 'If he had any 'other grounds beſides the pamphlets? And what 'theſe pamphlets were?' He ſaid, he had no other grounds beſides theſe ſeveral pamphlets following, the two *Legion Letters*; the *Black Liſt*; the *Jura Populi Anglicani*; and, *Toland*'s *Reaſons for inviting over the Princeſs of Hanover*. Laſtly, being aſked, 'If 'in any of theſe pamphlets there was any thing ſaid 'about *Setting aſide the preſent Queen?*' he anſwered, 'He did not remember there was.' Then he being withdrawn, the Lords took the aforeſaid paragraph into conſideration, and reſolved and declared, 'That in 'the preface of a book intituled, *The Hiſtory of the 'laſt Parliament*, &c. written by Dr Drake, as he 'owned at the bar, there were ſeveral groundleſs, 'falſe, and ſcandalous expreſſions, tending to create 'jealouſies in her Majeſty of her people, and to cauſe 'great miſunderſtandings, fears, and diſputes amongſt 'the Queen's ſubjects, and to diſturb the peace and 'quiet of the kingdom (1).'

(1) Complete Hiſtory of England, and Boyer's Hiſt. of Q. Anne, as above.

[*B*] *And an intimation that the Church was in danger under her adminiſtration.*] The deſign of that book, was not ſo much to ſhow the danger of the Church under *The government of the Queen*, as under the *then* adminiſtration; namely, that of the Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin, the Duke of Marlborough, and all thoſe who countenanced the whig, or diſſenting intereſt, and had been the occaſion of the miſcarrying of the bill againſt Occaſional Conformity. And the publication of it at that time, was, with a view of influencing the election of the new parliament. Such was the real intention of that book. But, as moſt Miniſters of State are apt to repreſent affronts againſt themſelves, as inſults upon their Maſters, or even as down-right treaſon; it was ſo in the preſent caſe. That the reader may beſt judge of the drift of that book, we ſhall give here the beginning of it; with a few extracts from the ſame It begins in theſe words. 'Thoſe that look no deeper than the ſurface of things, 'are apt to conclude without heſitation, that the 'Church of England is in a very flouriſhing condi-'tion: Its dignities and preferments make a very 'goodly ſhew, and the patronage of the Queen ſeems 'to promiſe a continuance of proſperity: But, for all 'this fine complexion and fair weather, there is a 'Hectick Fever lurking in the very bowels of it; 'which, if not timely cured, will infect all the hu-'mours, and at length deſtroy the very being of it. 'The nation has a long time abounded with *Sectaries*, 'who, in the preceding Century, violently overturned 'both Church and State.——The ſons of thoſe men 'yet remain, and inherit many of them the principles 'of their fathers; it would therefore be no very un-'charitable ſuppoſition, without any other argument, 'to imagine them heirs of their deſigns likewiſe.—— 'If, ſince the Church recovered its ancient luſtre and 'authority, they have been more ſilent, and, in ap-'pearance, more moderate, it is not that they are bet-'ter tempered or affected, but that, ſubmitting to the 'neceſſity of the times, they have diſſembled their in-'tentions better: Yet ſome overt-attempts here, and 'the whole courſe of their proceedings in Scotland 'during the two laſt reigns, ſufficiently ſhew us what 'treatment we might expect, if they had the power. '——The hiſtory of their carriage towards the 'Church is publick and recent, as likewiſe are the 'advances that have been made in their favour, and 'the repulſes which the Church has met with. Every 'thing has paſt in Scotland to the deſire of the Preſ-'bytery, even to the endangering of the Church and 'Monarchy of England, and the diſheriſon of its 'Conſtitution, and the immediate prejudice of its So-'vereignty; but, on the contrary, nothing for the ſe-'curity of the Church here. ——All attempts to 'ſettle it on a perpetual foundation have been oppoſed, 'and rendered ineffectual.'——Then he ſhows, what danger the Church hath been brought into, by, putting its beſt friends out of their places, viz. the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rocheſter, Not-tingham, Jerſey, and Winchelſea; Sir Edward Sey-mour; the Lords Granville, Guilford, Gower; Earl of Dorſet, Sir George Rook, and other great patrons and aſſerters of the intereſt of the Church at Court; who were turned out, without the leaſt pretence or colour of offence (2). ——Next he proves, what want of moderation there is in all Sects whatſoever, though they reproach the Church of England for having none; and, conſequently, how little favour ſhe muſt expect from them, if they ſhould be uppermoſt. 'The *In-'dependents*

(2) Memorial, &c. edit. 1711. p. 1, 2, 3, 23.

enſuing Parliament, October 27, 1705 (c) [C], and was addreſſed by both Houſes [D] upon that occaſion (d). Moreover, the 6th of December was appointed by the Houſe of Lords, to enquire into the danger of the Church: when, after a long debate, it was voted, That the Church was not in danger (e). The 14th of that month, the Commons concurred in the ſame reſolution: in conſequence of which, they beſought her Majeſty to puniſh the authors and ſpreaders of the 'ſeditious and ſcandalous report' abovementioned. Soon after, the Queen put out a Proclamation for diſcovering the author of the *Memorial* (f). Whereupon, the Printer being taken into cuſtody, and examined before one of the Secretaries of State, pretended to make a diſcovery; but could do nothing more than fix it upon three of the members of the Houſe of Commons, namely, Mr Poley, Mr Ward, and Sir Humphrey Macworth; and related, that a woman in a maſk, with another barefaced, brought him the manuſcript, and made a bargain with him to have two hundred and fifty printed copies; which he delivered to four porters, ſent to him by the perſons concerned. But though the woman that came to the Printer without a maſk, and ſome of the porters, were found out, yet it was impoſſible to fix it with certainty upon any of the three Gentlemen abovementioned, or upon any other perſon (g); ſo that Dr Drake, the true author of the *Memorial* remained undiſcovered. It was not the Parliament only that ſhewed their reſentment againſt that book; for, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, the Grand Jury of the city of London having preſented it, at the ſeſſions, as a falſe, ſcandalous, and traiterous libel, it was forthwith burnt in the ſight of the Court then ſitting: and the Tueſday following before the Royal Exchange; by the hands of the common hangman (h). But though Dr Drake then eſcaped, yet as he was very much ſuſpected of being the author of that book, and had rendered himſelf obnoxious upon other accounts, to ſome perſons then in power, occaſions were ſought for endeavouring to ruin him if poſſible. A news-paper he was publiſhing at that time, under the title of *Mercurius Politicus*, afforded his enemies the pretence they wanted. For, they taking exception at ſome paſſages therein, proſecuted him in the Queen's-Bench, in the beginning of the year 1706. His caſe was argued at the bar of that Court on the 30th of April; when, upon a flaw in the information [E], the trial was adjourned: and the ſixth of November following, the Doctor was acquitted (i). However, the government brought a writ of error (k). The ſeverity of this proſecution, joined to repeated diſappointments, and ill uſage from ſome of his party, flung the Doctor into a fever; of which he died at Weſtminſter, on the 2d of March 1706-7, after a ſhort confinement to his bed; not without violent exclamations againſt the rigor of his proſecutors (l). Beſides thoſe books of his that are mentioned above; he made a new Engliſh tranſlation of Herodotus, which was never publiſhed (m): And finiſhed, not long before his deceaſe, 'A New Syſtem of Anatomy,' which was firſt printed in 1707 [F]. He likewiſe publiſhed, 'Hiſtoria

(c) Hiſt. of Q. Anne by Boyer, as above, p. 210.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Idem, p. 217, 218. But twenty-ſix Lords proteſted againſt that reſolution. Ibid.

(f) Ibid. p. 220, 221.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Ibid. p. 179. See alſo A Deteſtion of the Court and State of England, &c. Vol. III. edit. 1718. 8vo. being a Continuation of Roger Coke's Detection, &c. p. 275, 276.

(i) Boyer's life of Q. Anne, as above, p. 286. and Preface to the Memorial, p. ix, x.

(k) Ibid.

(l) Preface, &c. as above, and, Annual Liſt of the deaths of eminent Perſons: at the end of Boyer's Hiſt. of Q. Anne, p. 42.

(m) Which was undoubtedly owing to Mr Littlebury's excellent tranſlation, publiſhed in the year 1709. 2 Vols. 8vo.

'*dependents* and *Preſbyterians* formerly in England and 'Ireland; the Kirk of *Scotland*, heretofore and at 'preſent; the *Anabaptiſts* at Munſter; the *Lutherans* 'in divers parts of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, &c. 'the *Calviniſts* in Holland, and at Geneva; and the '*Roman Catholicks*, at ſeveral times, almoſt all the 'world over, have in their reſpective turns experi'mentally demonſtrated by their practice, that they 'will not endure a rival Church in their dominions; 'and ſome of them——not even tolerate it (3).' In another place, he gives this excellent character of the Church of England. 'Our Church is not ſo rigid, 'or ſo capricious, as to require an abſolute uniformity 'of ſentiments among her ſons in matters of doubt 'or ſpeculation, which are not eſſential to the true 'faith, nor neceſſary to the maintenance of order and 'good diſcipline: She does not require *implicite Faith*, 'nor command her ſons to believe as the Church be'lieves, whether they comprehend her meaning or 'not, or can be convinced in their underſtandings that 'thoſe things are true, which ſhe delivers as ſuch. 'She could wiſh, indeed, that all her ſons had as 'ſound and clear underſtandings to embrace all uſeful 'truths, as ſtrong conſtitutions to digeſt all wholſome 'food: But, like a tender indulgent mother, ſhe does 'not reject thoſe *weak ones*, who, through infirmity, 'cannot receive all that is good and conducive, if 'they admit All that is eſſential to the Chriſtian Faith, 'and neceſſary to Chriſtian Communion (4).'

(3) P. 7.

(4) P. 27.

[C] *Her Majeſty took notice of it in her ſpeech.*] In theſe words. —— 'I cannot but with grief ob'ſerve, there are ſome amongſt us, who endeavour to 'foment animoſities.——I mention this with a little 'more warmth, becauſe there have not been wanting 'ſome ſo very malicious, as, even in print, to ſug'geſt *The Church of England*, as by law eſtabliſhed, 'to be *in danger* at this time (5).'

(5) Boyer's Hiſt. of Q. Anne, p. 210.

[D] *And was addreſſed by both Houſes.*] The Lords in their addreſs, promiſed, 'Ever to ſhew the utmoſt 'deteſtation of thoſe ungrateful and wicked men, who 'laboured to diſhonour her Majeſty's reign, and di'ſtract her ſubjects with unreaſonable and groundleſs 'jealouſies of dangers to the Church of England: And 'to concur in all meaſures requiſite to put a ſtop to 'the malice of thoſe incendiaries, &c. (6).'

(6) Ibid.

[E] *Upon a flaw in the Information.*] In the libel ſet forth in the information, the word NOR was inſerted; and in the libel given in evidence, the word NOT. Upon arguing of that error, the court inclined for the party accuſed; whereupon the trial was adjourned (7).

(7) Boyer, as above, p. 286.

[F] *A new Syſtem of Anatomy, which was firſt printed in* 1707.] A ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1717 (*), and others ſince, with additions. The title of the book is, 'Anthropologia Nova: Or, A New 'Syſtem of Anatomy. Deſcribing the Animal Oeco'nomy, and a ſhort Rationale of many Diſtempers in'cident to Human Bodies. Illuſtrated with above 'fourſcore figures, drawn after the life. With a 'preface by W. Wagſtaffe, M. D. and reader of 'Anatomy at Surgeons-hall.' In this preface, Dr Wagſtaffe makes the following obſervations: 'How 'much and how eminently Dr Drake excelled in all 'the qualifications I have mentioned,' [*viz.* In giving the *rationale* of things, and enquiring into the nature and cauſes of *phænomena*] 'the learned world 'already have been judges, and poſterity, I am per'ſuaded, will reap the benefit of his labours (8).'—— 'The ſentiments of others are candidly and ingenu'ouſly delivered by him, and like one who thoroughly 'underſtood them; and whenever he diſagrees with, 'or aſſents to their conjectures, or propoſes any thing 'of his own, he gives his reaſons with the utmoſt im'partiality; without the triumph and oſtentation of a 'conqueror, or any fond opinion of his own merit '(9). ——He does not behave himſelf like a meer 'deſcriber of the parts, but like an unprejudiced en'quirer into nature, and an abſolute maſter of his pro'feſſion.

(*) In 2 Vols. in 8vo.

(8) P. iv. ſecond edition.

(9) P. vii.

'*Hiſtoria Anglo-Scotica* [G]: or an Impartial Hiſtory of all that happened between the 'Kings and Kingdoms of England and Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reign of 'William the Conqueror, to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Comprehending their ſe-'veral Homages, Incurſions, Devaſtations, Depredations, Battles, Sieges, Leagues, Truces, 'Breaches, Intermarriages, and divers other Matters worth knowing. Faithfully extracted 'from the beſt Hiſtorians of both Nations. With a Prefatory Dedication.' London, 1703, 8*vo*.——His character is thus repreſented. He was a man of quick pregnant parts, well ſtored with learning, and improved by good converſation. He had a great maſtery of the Engliſh tongue, and wrote with eaſe and fluency in a manly ſtile. Tho' various judgments were paſſed upon his political writings, according to people's different humours, paſſions, and intereſts; yet all agreed in commending his way of writing (*n*).

(*n*) Annual Liſt, &c. by Boyer, ubi ſupra.

'ſeſſion. And if Dr Lower has been ſo much and ſo 'deſervedly eſteemed for his ſolution of the *Syſtole* of 'the heart, Dr Drake, by accounting for the *Diaſtole*, 'ought certainly to be allowed his ſhare of reputation, 'and to be admitted as a partner of his glory (10).' The plates, which are in number XXVII, are accurately drawn, and well engraved: Some of them are taken from Swammerdan. An appendix to this book was publiſhed in 1728, in one volume, 8*vo*.

(10) P. viii.

[G] *Hiſtoria Anglo-Scotica*, &c.] Dr Drake was not the author, but only the publiſher of this book. In the dedication of it, he ſays, that, 'Upon a diligent 'reviſal, in order, if poſſible, to diſcover the name of 'the author, and the age of his writing, *he found*, 'that it was written in, or at leaſt not finiſhed till the 'time of King Charles the Firſt.' ——— But he ſays nothing more of the manuſcript, nor how it came into his hands.———There is alſo 'A diſcourſe (of his, 'in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (11)) concerning 'ſome influence of reſpiration on the motion of the 'heart, hitherto unobſerved.' ——— He moreover writ, 'The Sham-Lawyer, or, The Lucky Extravagant, a Comedy, 4*to*. acted at the Theatre Royal, '1697.' Moſtly borrowed from two of Fletcher's plays, *viz*. The Spaniſh Curate, and Wit without Money (12). And put notes to the Engliſh tranſlation of Le Clerc's Hiſtory of Phyſick. Lond. 1699, 8*vo*.

(11) No. 281. p. 1217.

(12) Langbain's Lives of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets.

C

DRAYTON (MICHAEL) a renowned Poet in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I; was of an antient and worthy family, originally deſcended from the town of *Drayton* in Leiceſterſhire; which gave name to his progenitors, as a learned Antiquary of his acquaintance has recorded (*a*). But his parents removing into the bordering county of Warwickſhire, he was born there, as we receive it from his own information (*b*); and, as it is remembered by his countryman Sir William Dugdale, as well as others, who have followed him, at Atherſton (*c*); but more particularly it appears, that the little village of Harſull, or Hartſhill, in that pariſh, will claim the honour of his birth; whereof it were the greater pity to deprive it, as it is repreſented to have been obſcure till rendered conſpicuous for his nativity, by the author of thoſe Latin verſes at the bottom of his picture; which being publiſhed in the life-time, and under the inſpection of our Poet himſelf, before his own edition of his works, could not have eſcaped his correction had it been erroneous [*A*]. It may alſo be computed from the circumſcription upon the ſaid picture, which with all other circumſtances very agreeably correſponds, containing the year of our Lord, and that of his own age, when it was engraved, that he was born in the year 1563. In his tender age he was bleſſed with ſuch a forwardneſs of genius, ſuch a ſweetneſs of aſpect, temper, and deportment, as rendered him not only the delight of his inſtructors, but preferred him to the favour of ſome perſons of diſtinction. In the year 1573, being then but ten years of age, he appears to have been page to ſome perſon of honour, as we collect from his own words: and, as for his propenſity to learning, it no leſs evidently appears in the ſame place (*d*), that he could then conſtrue his *Cato*, and ſome other little collections of ſentences; which made him very anxious to know, *What kind of ſtrange Creatures* theſe *Poets* were? and very ſollicitous with his Tutor, that, if he could, *he would make him*, of all things, *a Poet*. So he was put to the reading of Mantuan, and Virgil's Eclogues, with others of the inſpired tribe; till, even then, he ſcorned any thing that looked like a ballad, though written by William Elderton [*B*]. If after this, he finiſhed not his education at the Univerſity

(*a*) See the Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, by W. Burton, Eſq; fol. 1622. in the town of Drayton.

(*b*) Drayton's Polyolbion; in Warwickſhire. Song 13.

(*c*) Sir William Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, 2d edit. fol. Vol. II. 1730. p. 1086.

(*d*) Drayton's Elegies; in his Epiſtle to Henry Reynolds. Eſq; of Poets and Poetry.

[*A*] *Could not have eſcaped his correction.*] Theſe verſes, *in the vein of Arioſto, have not been cited by any author who has written of our Poet that we have met with, and are as follow:*

Lux HARESHULLA *tibi (Warwici villa, tenebris*
Ante tuas cunas, obſita) prima fuit.
Arma, Viros, Veneres, Patriam modulamine dixti;
Te Patriæ reſonant Arma, Viri, Veneres.

Thus in Engliſh:

HARSULL, *ſmall town, where firſt your breath you drew,*
Till by your birth renown'd, was known to few:
Albion, Arms, Legends, Love, with fame you crown'd;
Albion, Arms, Legends, Love, your Fame reſound.

[*B*] *Though written by Will. Elderton.*] This Elderton was a famous Comedian of thoſe days; a facetious fuddling companion, who having a great readineſs at rhiming, compoſed abundance of ſonnets and catches upon love and wine, which were then in great vogue among the light and merry part of the town; but he was not more notable for his drollery and his doggerel, than he was for his drinking, inſomuch that he was ſeldom remembered for his ſingular faculty in either of the former, but his thorough practice in the latter was joined to it; wherefore we find him called the Bachanalian Buffoon, the Red-nos'd ballad-maker, and ſuch like. It ſeems by this exceſſive habit he indulged himſelf in, over his ſtrong drink, that he fell a martyr to Sir John Barlycorn, as ſome of his contemporary writers have hinted (†). We find he was dead before the year 1592, and Mr Camden has preſerved this epitaph on him:

Hic ſitus eſt ſitiens, atque ebrius Eldertonus;
Quid dico, hic ſitus eſt? hic potius ſitis eſt (1).

(†) See the controverſial writings of Dr G. Harvey and T. Naſh, &c.

(1) Camden's Remains. Edit. 4to. 1614. p. 382.

Which

Univerſity of Cambridge, it is apparent, from the credible teſtimony of one of his own friends, that he was ſome time a Student in that at Oxford [C]; and by the ſupport, it ſeems, of Sir Henry Goodere; however, he might not be ſo formally entered, as to be remembered by Anthony Wood, though he has made greater digreſſions in the commemoration of ſeveral others, who were more diſtantly related to that Univerſity. In 1588, he ſeems, from his own deſcription of the *Spaniſh Invaſion*, which the Spaniards themſelves, with no leſs preſumption, than arrogance, or vain-glory, had ſtiled *Invincible*, to have been a ſpectator, at Dover, of it's defeat (*e*); and might, poſſibly, be engaged in ſome military poſt or employment there; as we find ſome mention made of his being well ſpoken of by the Gentlemen of the Army. He took delight very early, as we have ſeen, in the ſtudy of Poetry; but how ſoon he delighted the publick with any of his own, all thoſe who have written of him have been very incurious to learn, or inform us. He was certainly eminent for ſome of his poetical publications, nine or ten years before the death of Queen Elizabeth, and how much ſooner, we have not yet diſcovered. At leaſt, ſo early as the year 1593, when he was but thirty years of age, he ſet forth in print, a Collection of his *Paſtorals*; likewiſe ſome of the moſt grave and weighty poems, which have rendered him moſt memorable, and beſt ſupported his fame to poſterity, were, not longer after, publiſhed. His *Barons Wars*, and *England's Heroical Epiſtles*: His *Downfalls* of *Robert of Normandy*; *Matilda*; and *Gaveſton*; for which laſt he is called, by one of his contemporaries, *Tragœdiographus*, and part of his *Polyolbion*, were all written before the year 1598: For all which, and his other deſerts, he was highly celebrated at that time, and diſtinguiſhed not only as a great genius, but a good man; not only for the ſweetneſs and elegance of his words, but of his actions and manners; for his humane and honourable principles, as well as his refined and polite parts: And thus was he characterized, not only by Poets, or the more florid and panegyrical writers of thoſe days, but alſo by Divines, Hiſtorians, and other Scholars of the moſt ſerious and ſolid learning. Of which *Works* and *Characters*, from ſuch contemporary writers, in hopes of reviving his memory ſomewhat more proportionable to his merits, than thoſe who, through their ungrateful negligence, conceited ſufficiency, or blind purſuit of ignorant guides (*f*), have very ſuperficially attempted the ſame, we ſhall here below be more particular: But, as what we find ſufficient for one note, firſt of his *Works* aforeſaid, with ſome others of his early compoſitions [D]: And as to thoſe *Characters* of him, ſuch as were

(*e*) In his Poem intituled Moſes his Birth and Miracles; hereafter again mentioned.

(*f*) Compare Fuller and Phillips with their plagiary Winſtanley; and Jacob, his plagiary with him, &c.

Which may be thus rendered, or imitated:

Dead drunk here Elderton *does lie*;
Dead *as he is, he ſtill is* drie:
So of him, it may well be ſaid,
Here he, *but not his* thirſt, *is laid.*

[C] *Some time a ſtudent in that at Oxford.*] Tho' he appears not in Wood's *Faſti*, to have taken any degree there, yet as he was ſome time a ſtudent in this univerſity, it is conceived that he ought to have been ranked by that author, among the Oxford writers, from the authority of our Poet's intimate acquaintance Sir Aſton Cokain, in theſe lines;

OXFORD, our other academy, you
Full worthy muſt acknowledge of your view;
Here ſmooth-tongu'd DRAYTON was inſpir'd by
Mnemoſyne's manifold progeny (2).

(2) Choice Poems of ſeveral ſorts, &c. by Sir Aſton Cokain. Lond. 8vo, 1669. p. 11.

[D] *Firſt of his ſaid Works, and other early compoſitions.*] Firſt, of thoſe poems abovementioned. What is there called a Collection of his PASTORALS, was firſt publiſhed under, at leaſt the oldeſt edition we have ſeen thereof, was diſtinguiſhed with, the title of, IDEA: *The Shepherd's Garland, faſhioned in nine Eglogs; with* ROWLAND's *Sacrifice to the Nine Muſes. Dedicated to Mr Robert Dudley: By M.* DRAYTON, and printed in *4to* 1593. This *Shepherds Garland*, &c. is the ſame that was reprinted afterwards with emendations by our author, in the firſt folio edition of his works, under the title of PASTORALS: *containing Eglogues: With the Man in the Moon.* They are nine in number, written in ſtanzas of various meaſures, adorned with tales, ſonnets, *&c.* and in this folio edition they are dated 1619. There are many of the true rural images, and much of the beautiful ſimplicity in theſe paſtorals, for which this ſpecies of poetry is ſo much admired. Our author has been therefore juſtly applauded for theſe eclogues, by ſome able judges of our time, and claſſed among the beſt paſtoral writers in his own, for the many new and beautiful varieties, embelliſhments, and improvements, that he has introduced therein: yet ſuch has been the juſtice as well as judgment of others in our time, that though they have, in the very title-page of a late edition, profeſſed to give us his Works complete in one volume (3), neither theſe, nor many others of his moſt conſiderable compoſitions, are therein reprinted, or ſo much as ſpoken of: But perhaps a ſecond volume is intended to ſupply the deficiencies of the firſt. As to his other poems abovementioned, they are hiſtorical. In an old edition of them in *8vo* without date, but printed near about the middle of King James's reign, our author's Dedication before the BARONS WARS to Sir *W.* Aſton, is in verſe; and in the Preface he ſeems to hint as if his travels had not afforded the leiſure and ſtudy he deſired. In his folio edition of theſe poems with others, the Dedication before thoſe *Wars* to his ſaid patron, is in proſe. In this latter edition, theſe *Barons Wars* in the reign of Edward II, are illuſtrated with marginal notes by the author, which have been all ſince omitted (4) by his late editor, though the author of the Preliminary Diſcourſe, was deſirous of a more ample commentary (5). There are commendatory verſes before both editions, by Mr Thomas Green, E. Heywood, John Beaumont, and the learned Mr Selden. His ENGLAND's HEROICAL EPISTLES were newly enlarged, and republiſhed in *8vo*, 1598; which is the moſt antient edition we have ſeen, or read of. Theſe Epiſtles are written in our heroick meaſure of ten ſyllables, and are very judiciouſly explained in the neceſſary places, by ſhort notes drawn out of good authentick Hiſtories, and printed at the end of each epiſtle. There are twenty-four of them, with a ſhort ſummary in fourteen lines of their titles, at the end. They are profeſſedly written in the vein of *Ovid's Epiſtles*; but of a much more ſubſtantial and affecting nature, as they concern ſo many real perſons of the higheſt rank in our Chronicles, and illuſtrate ſo much real matter of fact in their moſt unfortunate, perplexing, and often criminal loves, by the ſtrongeſt ſentiments, and moſt moving numbers. Beſides the author's Preface, there are three panegyrical poems prefixed, which were addreſſed to him by William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Sterline, a famous Poet of Scotland before ſpoken of in this work (6), Sir Edmond Scory, and Mr Thomas Haſſel. In the undated *8vo* edition abovementioned, there are near a dozen Dedications, before as many of the Epiſtles, to ſo many of the author's friends and patrons of both ſexes. The firſt Epiſtle of Fair Roſamond, to King

(3) See the Works of MICHAEL DRAYTON, Eſq; &c. being all the Writings of that celebrated Author. Now firſt collected into one Volume. Printed by J. Hughes, and ſold by R. Dodſley, &c. Folio, 1748.

(4) In the new edition of Drayton's Works, fol. 1748.

(5) Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton, Eſq; prefixed to the ſaid new edition of his Works, fol. 5.

(6) Vol. I.

were written by authors who beſt knew the man, and were themſelves beſt qualified to judge of his talents; ſuch characters we hope may here, in this article, alſo apart, be acceptably aſſembled, or referred to [*E*]. He was in theſe his younger, and indeed to his

Henry II (7), is dedicated to Lucy Counteſs of Bedford; to whom he ſays, 'I ſtrive not to affect ſingularitie, 'yet would faine flye imitation, *&c.* Much would 'ſhe ſay to a King, much would I ſay to a Counteſs; 'but that, the method of my epiſtle muſt conclude 'the modeſty of her's; which I wiſh may recommend 'my ever vowed ſervice to your Honour.' In his Dedication of another Epiſtle to Lady *Anne Harrington*, the wife of Sir *John Harrington*, he forbears to enlarge upon her excellencies, becauſe 'dejected minds 'want that pure fire which would give vigour to 'virtue.' The next Dedication is to Sir *Walter Aſton*, Knight of the Bath (8). The next to *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*, contains the moſt perſonal particulars of our author (†). The next is to Sir *John Swinerton*, Alderman of London (9). The next is to his worthy and eſteemed friend Mr *James Huiſh*, upon the ſubject of Dedications. The next is to Mrs *Elizabeth Tanfield*, ſole daughter and heir of Laurence Tanfield, Eſq; a famous Lawyer. The next is to Sir *Thomas Monſon:* before the Epiſtle of King *Edward* IV to *Jane Shore*, and her *Anſwer*. Our Poet, in his notes of the Chronicle Hiſtory, upon the ſecond of theſe two letters, after having given Sir Thomas More's deſcription of Jane Shore, mentions a curious pourtrait of her in theſe words: 'That picture which 'I have ſeen of her was ſuch, as ſhe roſe out of 'her bed in the morning, having nothing on but 'a rich mantle, caſt under one arm over her ſhoulder, and ſitting in a chair, on which her arm did 'lie' We remember a late publiſhed print of her, in *mezotinto*, in a light or looſe covering, very open at her boſom; whether copied from that, or one at Eaton-College, we cannot at preſent determine (†). The dedication to the next pair of theſe Epiſtles, is to Sir Henry Goodere of Poleſworth (in Warwickſhire) Knight, the nephew of that worthy old Sir Henry Goodere, who was our Poet's moſt early patron (10), in reſpect to whom, he ſays in this Dedication, 'Till 'ſuch time as I may in ſome more large meaſure make 'known my love to the happy and generous family of 'the *Gooderes*, to which I confeſs myſelf beholding 'for the moſt part of my education, I wiſh you all 'happineſs.' The next, is to *Henry*, the Son of *Edward Lucas*, Eſq; of whoſe parents he acknowledges himſelf to have received great favours, though there were many in England of whom he might juſtly challenge greater; 'had I not been born in ſo evil an 'hour, ſays he, as to be poyſoned with that gall of in-'gratitude.' The laſt, which is the eleventh of theſe Dedications; the ſecond brace of epiſtles having none before them, but ſeem to be joyned under the patronage of the firſt, is addreſſed to the Lady Frances Goodere (†). It were eaſy for thoſe who have been converſant in theſe Poems of our Author, to obſerve how the moderns, even the late Mr Pope himſelf, have imitated Drayton, and refined upon his pattern, in thoſe diſtinctions which are eſteemed the moſt delicate improvements of our Engliſh verſification at this day; ſuch as the turns, the pauſes, the contraſts, and elegant tautologies, *&c.* It is alſo eaſy for ſuch readers to point out ſeveral thefts, and petty larcenies which have been committed upon our Poet, however obſolete and unfaſhionable he may have been accounted, by ſome writers of eminent character; and ſhew, where verſes have been appropriated to ſome famous wits, which were compoſed by him, even as many years before they were born, as they attained to when they died. We ſhall here for brevity ſake mention but one inſtance, and that is in theſe lines,

Th' *Arabian* bird which never is but one,
Is only chaſt, becauſe ſhe is alone:
But had our mother nature made them two,
They would have done as Doves and Sparrows do (11).

Theſe are aſcribed to a famous nobleman, who was one of the brighteſt Wits in the reign of King Charles II, and have been admired, as worthy of him: In his works they are not otherwiſe materially alter'd, than by the tranſpoſure of the rhymes in the firſt couplet, and the retrenchment of the meaſure in both (12). His other more early and famous Hiſtorical Poems, before mentioned to have been written in Queen Elizabeth's time, are intituled, His LEGENDS; firſt, of *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*; in which is ſeen a picture of diſtreſſed integrity; ſecondly, *Matilda*, a Pattern of Chaſtity; and thirdly, *Pierce Gaveſton*, a Warning Piece to Court Minions and Prime Miniſters, againſt the abuſe of their Princes favour. He afterwards added to them the Legend of *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of Eſſex, printed *4to*, 1609, an example of ſpeedy advancement to grandeur, by politick advantages taken of his Prince's violent appetites and the troubled times (13). Our author had good encouragement for illuſtrating their hiſtories in this poetical manner; the like having been ſo well received before from other eminent hands (14). They are dedicated in his folio edition to Sir Walter Aſton; and therein are embelliſhed with ſhort and uſeful explanatory notes in the margin; which are left out in the late new folio edition. When his SONNETS were firſt publiſhed, we cannot ſay, but it ſhould ſeem that he ſet them forth, or wrote ſome of them before the death of Queen Elizabeth, becauſe among thoſe five additional ſonnets which he directed to ſome great and worthy perſonages, but never revived them himſelf in his folio edition, one is to *James* King of *Scots*, before he came into England; another, which might be writ afterwards, is inſcribed to *Lucy*, Counteſs of *Bedford*, in which he ſays, *ſhe rain'd upon him her ſweet ſhowers of gold*; and the laſt to Sir *Anthony Cook*, to whom he ſays of theſe rhymes, that but for him, they had ſlept in fable night; and that he had borrowed no man's conceits. The whole number ſhould be ſixty eight or ſixty nine. There was an edition of all, or moſt of thoſe poems abovementioned, publiſhed in *8vo*, 1605, and another, as we have heard, in 1610, beſides the undated one of the ſame ſize before ſpoken of. His ODES (*) were written after Queen Elizabeth's death, as appears in one of them, and dedicated to Sir Henry Goodere, Gent. of the King's Privy-Chamber, in verſe. They are ſeventeen in number and not one reprinted in the late new edition: nor is his Fable of the OWL a pretty allegorical poem, therein preſerved. It was firſt printed ſoon after King James came to the Crown (15), and reprinted in the authors laſt edition in ſmall folio. In which there are title-pages to every Poem we have mentioned but the firſt, which are all dated 1619, wherefore we think this volume of them was all printed that year. The title of it is, POEMS *by* Michael Drayton, Eſq; *The* BARONS WARS, ENGLAND'S HEROICAL EPISTLES, IDEA, ODES, *The* LEGENDS of ROBERT Duke of NORMANDY, MATILDA, PIERCE GAVESTON, and the Great CROMWELL: The OWL. EGLOGUES, with the MAN in the MOON. The reſt of his compoſitions we ſhall mention under the years they were publiſhed.

[*E*] *Such characters we hope may here be acceptably aſſembled, or referred to.*] And firſt, Mr Charles Fitz-Geoffry, the learned Divine and Poet of Broadgate's Hall, in an Hiſtorical Poem he publiſhed at the time that ſome of Drayton's earlieſt pieces appeared, gives him the appellation of the *Golden Mouth'd Poet*, for the purity and preciouſneſs of his phraſe (16). And Mr Francis Meres, alſo a Divine of no ſmall repute at that time for his moral and poetical writings, having mentioned all Drayton's hiſtorical poems, recited as part of the title above, that is, all therein but the three laſt, in a work he publiſhed before the death of Queen Elizabeth, gives him this character: 'Michael Drayton, among '*Scholars, Soldiers, Poets*, and all ſorts of people, is 'helde for a man of virtuous diſpoſition, honeſt con-'verſation, and well-governed carriage, which is al-'moſt miraculous among good wits in theſe declining 'and corrupt times (17).' Two years after Mr Robert Allot, in his Common-Place Book, of the Select Thoughts, of our moſt eminent Engliſh Poets in that century, has many extracts from Michael Drayton's earlier pieces beforementioned, whereby he makes a figure as conſiderable as moſt of them (*). Another Poet of that time refers to an Elegiac Poem upon the death of Sir Philip Sidney, that was compoſed by Drayton; which was never reprinted in his works; and if it was written ſoon after Sir Philip's death (18), it is likely

(7) However, her ſtory had been before illuſtrated in The Complaint of Roſamond, by Sam. Daniel, 4to. 1590, &c.

(8) Sir Walter Aſton, rather perhaps.

(†) Therefore it is tranſcribed in Note [*F*].

(9) He was Lord Mayor of London in 1612. Tho. Delaune's *Angliæ Metropolis*, 8vo. 1690. p. 235. and ThomasDekker, the City Poet, wrote the ſolemnity of his entry, called *London Triumphing*, &c. that year printed in quarto.

(†) Two other Poets, beſides Drayton, had written the ſtory of Shore's Wife in verſe; Thomas Churchyard, in the Mirror for Magiſtrates, and Hen. Chettle.

(10) See Dugdale's Warwickſhire, of this family of the Gooderes.

(†) Who was daughter of old Sir Henry Goodere, and wife of Sir Henry the Nephew above, whom Drayton ſays, he knew from her cradle.

(11) Heroic Epiſtles; in that of King John to Matilda.

(12) The Works of the Earl of Rocheſter, &c. 8vo. 1739. p. 110.

(13) Drayton's Pref. to the folio edit. of his LEGENDS.

(14) Boccace and John Lidgate, in the Fall of Princes; alſo the Mirror of Magiſtrates, by Tho. Sackville, after Earl of Dorſet; W. Baldwin, John Higgens, Edw. Ferrars, Tho. Churchyard, T. Blener Haſſet, &c. &c. in the ſeveral editions between the years 1559 and 1620.

(*) In his folio edition.

(15) London, quarto, 1604. and there is, at leaſt in the laſt edition, a Latin encomium before it, by A. Grenewai.

(16) In his life and death of Sir Francis Drake, in verſe.

(17) Palladis Tamia, &c. 8vo. 1598, fol. 281. *b.*

(*) *England's Parnaſſus: or,* The choiceſt Flowers of our modern Poets, &c. 8vo. 1600.

(18) In 1586.

his latter years, much beloved and befriended by Sir Walter Aſton, of Tixhall in Staffordſhire, to whom, for his kind patronage, he gratefully dedicates many of his Poems, whereof his *Barons Wars* was the firſt, in the ſpring of his acquaintance, as our Poet expreſſes it himſelf to him (*g*). Nevertheleſs, we have ſince gathered, from thoſe Epiſtles before-mentioned (*b*), and, till then, unobſerved by all who have written of him, that his moſt early dependance was upon another noble patron, named Sir Henry Goodere, of Poleſworth, in his own county; to whom he has liberally acknowledged himſelf obliged for the greateſt part of his education, and by whom, ſome time before his death, our Poet was recommended to the patronage of the Counteſs of Bedford; as may evidently appear, in his Epiſtle, to her Lord here-under recited [*F*]. However, it is no leſs viſible, from his many dedications, and acknowledgments alſo, to Sir Walter Aſton, that he was, for many years, patronized by him, and accommodated with ſuch ſupplies, as afforded him leiſure to finiſh ſome of his moſt elaborate compoſitions. Nay, it is intimated, we know not from what authority, that he was, by the intereſt of the ſaid Sir Walter, with Sir Roger Aſton, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King James in his minority, made, in ſome meaſure, miniſterial to an intercourſe of correſpondence between the ſaid young King of Scots and Queen Elizabeth. The words of my author are theſe; ſpeaking of the ſaid Sir Roger Aſton, and of his being of the Bed-chamber to that King when a child; that 'He was the perſon principally entruſted with the meſſages and letters that paſſed between his Maſter and Queen Elizabeth; and, by the interpoſition of 'Sir Walter Aſton, Mr Drayton was, in this reſpect, very uſeful, in faithfully performing the various ſervices which he was commanded (*i*).' But if theſe ſervices were performed by Mr Drayton ſo early as in the childhood of that King, we fear it will be found too ſoon for him to have had the intereſt or recommendation of Sir Walter Aſton thereto, becauſe, at the publication of ſome, which were not his earlieſt poems, they were but in the ſpring of their acquaintance, as he has ſaid himſelf: ſo that, if he was in any ſuch ſort truſted, it muſt be much later than that King's childhood, and nearer the cloſe of the Queen's reign. He certainly had fair proſpects from his ſervices, labours, or other teſtimonies of early attachment to the King's intereſt, of ſome favour or preferment, beſides from what he had written among his *Sonnets* in his praiſe, as a Poet, while King of Scots. He was alſo one of the foremoſt of Apollo's train in England, who welcomed his Majeſty to his Britiſh dominions with *A Congratulatory Poem to King James, &c. 4to*, 1603: and how, through intereſt or ingratitude, it might have proved his ruin, but for his own patient and prudent conduct under the indignity, he has, with as much freedom as was then convenient, himſelf informed us both in proſe and verſe (*k*). The ſame year he was choſen, by Sir Walter Aſton, one of the Eſquires who attended him when he was, with others, created Knight of the Bath at the coronation of the ſaid King (*l*). We find not that our author ever reprinted thoſe poems in praiſe of his Majeſty; and the ungrateful reception they met with,

(*g*) Drayton's Dedication of the Barons Wars, to Sir Walter Aſton.

(*b*) In note [*D*].

(*i*) Hiſtorical Eſſay of the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton, Eſq; in the late new edition of his Works, as before quoted, fol. 6.

(*k*) See his Pref. to Poly-Olbion; and in his Elegies, his Epiſt. to Mr George Sandys, &c.

(*l*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, as before.

likely to have been the earlieſt of his performances. That Poet calls him Noble DRAYTON! and obſerves, how well he bewailed our ſaid loſs in dreary verſe (19). A Divine of Cambridge at the ſame time publiſhed a dramatick performance, wherein a character being given of the Wits of that age, one of the interlocutors, in a dialogue between *Ingenioſo* and *Judicio*, ſays,

DRAYTON's ſweet Muſe is like a ſanguine die,
Able to raviſh the raſh gazer's eye.

(19) Sir Philip Sidney's *Orania*, &c. by N. B. (which is ſuppoſed to be Nich. Britton) 4to. 1606. Again, 4to, 1653. M. 3.

And the other anſwers — 'However, he wants one 'true note of a Poet of our times, and that is this; 'he cannot ſwagger it well in a tavern, or domineer in 'a hot-houſe (20).' There is a deſcription of Drayton's, quoted by two or three authors of thoſe times with applauſe; and one of them, who was the learned tranſlator of Arioſto's Satires, in his verſion of another Italian Wit, where he is deſcribing, in a note, how the Muſes were deſpiſed in that age by the ſtupid Midas's, and ſlaviſh jaylors of their own pelf, has ſaid, 'He will ſet down the *worth of a Poet*, as that *ſweet 'Muſe* of his, who not unworthily beareth the *name* 'of the Chief *Archangel*, ſingeth, after *his ſoul-'raviſhing manner*;' part of which verſes as quoted from the earlier editions, are as follow:

(20) The Return from Parnaſſus, or the Scourge of Symony: a comedy acted by the Students of St John's College in Cambridge, 4to. Lond. 1606.

The diff'rence only 'twixt the *Gods* and *Us*,
Allow'd by them, is but diſtinguiſh'd thus;
They gave them breath, men by their pow'rs are born;
That life THEY give, the POET doth adorn:
And from the world, when they diſſolve mens breath,
He in the world doth give men life in death (21).

(21) The Blazon of Jealouſy, tranſlated from Bened. Varchi; with notes, by R. T. 4to. 1615. p. 48. from the Heroic Epiſt. of Hen. Howard, Earl of Surry, to Gir[illegible]dine.

Mr W. Burton, the learned Antiquary of Lindley in Leiceſterſhire, ſpeaking of Mr Drayton as his near countryman and old acquaintance, adds further of him, theſe words, 'Who, though thoſe Tranſalpines ac-'count us, *Tramontani*, rude and barbarous; holding 'our brains ſo frozen, dull, and barren, that they can 'afford no invention or conceits; yet may he compare, 'either with their old *Dante*, *Petrarch*, or *Boccace*; 'or their Neoteric *Marinella*, *Pignatello*, or *Stiglia-'no*; but why ſhould I go about to commend him, 'whoſe own works and worthineſs have ſufficiently ex-'tolled to the world (22).' Other teſtimonies of our author's merit might be added were they neceſſary, and not liable to be thought tedious or ſuperfluous.

(22) Burton's Deſcrip. of Leiceſterſhire, as before.

[*F*] *As may evidently appear in his Epiſtle to her Lord here recited*] It is in theſe words:

To the Right Honourable and my very good Lord,
EDWARD Earl of BEDFORD.

'Thrice noble and my moſt gracious Lord,

'THE love I have ever borne to the illuſtrious 'houſe of BEDFORD, and to the honourable fa-'mily of the HARINGTONS; to the which by mar-'riage your Lordſhip is happily united, hath long ſince 'devoted my true and zealous affection to your honou-'rable ſervice, and my Poems to the protection of my 'noble Ladie, your Counteſſe; to whoſe ſervice I 'was firſt bequeathed by that learned and accompliſhed 'Gentleman, Sir HENRY GOODERE, not long ſince 'deceaſed; whoſe I was, whileſt he was; whoſe pa-'tience pleaſed to beare with the imperfections of my 'heedleſs and unſtayed youth. That excellent and 'matchleſs Gentleman, was the firſt cheriſher of my 'Muſe, which had been by his death left a poor or-'phan to the world, had he not before bequeathed it to 'that Ladie, whom he ſo dearly loved. Vouchſafe 'then my dear Lord to accept this Epiſtle, which I 'dedicate as zealouſly, as I hope you will patronize 'willingly, until ſome more acceptable ſervice may be 'witneſs of my love to your Honour.

'Your Lordſhip's ever,

'MICH. DRAYTON (23).'

(23) His Dedic. before Queen Iſabella's Epiſt. to K. Richard II. in the octavo undated edit. of Drayton's Poems.

with, as well as the diſagreeable ſcenes he might behold of ſuch wicked vices, and effeminate vanities, as afterwards prevailed at Court, ſo degenerating from that in the Muſe-nurſing *Maiden Reign* (*m*), might damp all deſire of raiſing himſelf there. We have not time to examine how far, in his Fable of the OWL, publiſhed in 1604, he may have made any thing applicable to his preſent caſe (*n*). In 1613, he publiſhed the firſt part of his POLY-OLBION [*G*]. In 1619, came out his firſt folio volume of poems, before deſcribed. In 1622, the foregoing part of the *Polyolbion* was reprinted, together with the ſecond part, making in all thirty books or ſongs. In 1626, we find him, before a copy of his own verſes, ſtiled POET-LAUREAT [*H*]. In 1627 was publiſhed the ſecond part or volume of his poems; containing his *Battle of* AGINCOURT, in ſtanzas of eight lines: *The Miſeries of Queen* MARGARET, in the like ſtanza: NYMPHIDIA, or the *Court of* FAIRIES; a maſter-piece in the groteſque kind (*o*): *The Queſt of* CYNTHIA, another beautiful piece; both reprinted in Dryden's Miſcellanies. *The* SHEPHERD'S SIRENA; alſo, *The* MOON CALF, a ſtrong ſatire upon the maſculine affectations of Women, and the effeminate diſguiſes of the Men, in thoſe times; as they were by others alſo then expoſed in proſe (*p*): Laſtly, there are his ELEGIES upon ſundry occaſions. Theſe are introduced by *The Viſion of* BEN JONSON on the *Muſes* of his friend Michael Drayton; wherein he is very particular in the enumeration and praiſe of his ſeveral compoſitions: Alſo by another poem upon the battle of *Agincourt*, by J. Vaughan; and another by his friend Henry Reynolds, Eſq; Thoſe Elegies are twelve in number, though there are but eight reprinted in the late new edition. In 1630 he publiſhed another volume of poems, in 4*to*, intituled, *The* MUSES ELIZIUM, in ten ſundry NYMPHALLS; with three divine poems, on NOAH'S *Flood*; MOSES his *Birth* and *Miracles* (†); and DAVID and GOLIAH. The Paſtoral Poems are dedicated to Edward Sackvile, Earl of Dorſet, and Lord Chamberlain; whoſe durable *Favours* had now made him one of his *Family*; and theſe are written in verſe of various meaſure. His Divine Poems are in Engliſh Heroic Meaſures: and are dedicated to the Counteſs of Dorſet; and there

(*m*) The Dedicat. of his folio edit. to Sir W. Aſton.

(*n*) As little of his publiſhing appeared between the years 1605 and 1610, but two editions of his Poems in thoſe years, his friend J. Davis, of Hereford, in his book of Epigrams, then printed, charges him not to forſake the Muſes, &c.

(*o*) As Mr Walter Harte juſtly obſerves, in his notes on the ſixth Thebaid of Statius, at the end of his Poems, in 8vo. 1727.

(*p*) See the pamphlets intituled *Hæc Homo* and *Hic Mulier*, 4to. 1620, &c.

(†) Towards the end of the ſecond Canto of this Poem he deſcribes the Plagues of Egypt, from the Plague which then raged in London, at his writing thereof; which was ſo long before this publication, as the year 1603.

[*G*] *The Firſt Part of his* POLY-OLBION, *&c.*] By this Greek title, ſignifying *very happy*, he denotes England; and the antient name of *Albion*, is by ſome derived from ὈΛΒΙΟΝ, happy (24). It is a chorographical deſcription of the rivers, mountains, foreſts, caſtles, *&c.* in this iſland, intermixed with the remarkable antiquities, rarities, commodities, *&c.* thereof. This firſt part is dedicated to Prince Henry, by whoſe encouragement it was written; and there is a picture at full length of that hopeful Prince, in a military poſture, exerciſing his pike. He had ſhewed Drayton ſome ſingular marks of his favour, and ſeems to have admitted him as one of his poetical penſioners, but dying before the book was publiſhed, our Poet loſt the benefit of his patronage. The reaſon why the publick was ſo long debarred of it, he has intimated in his Preface, where he acknowledges that the means to finiſh it, were owing to the bounty of Sir Walter Aſton. There are eighteen ſongs in this volume, illuſtrated with the learned notes of Mr Selden; and there are maps before every ſong, wherein the cities, mountains, foreſts, rivers, *&c.* are repreſented by the figures of men and women. His metre of twelve ſyllables being now antiquated, it is quoted more for the Hiſtory than the Poetry in it; however, it contains many excellent lines, and is ſo exact, that, as Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves, 'Drayton's Poly-Olbion affords a much truer 'account of this kingdom, and the dominion of Wales, 'than could well be expected from the pen of a 'Poet (25),' 'Tis interwoven with many fine epiſodes; of the conqueſt of this iſland by the Romans (26); of the coming of the Saxons (27), the Danes (28), and the Normans (29), with an account of their Kings; of the noble Engliſh Warriours in the conqueſt of France, *&c.*(30). our brave navigators(31); the Saints(32); and of the Civil Wars in England (33), *&c.* This volume was reprinted in 1622, with the Second Part, or Continuation of *Twelve Songs* more, making thirty in the whole, and dedicated to Prince Charles; to whom he gives hopes of beſtowing the like pains upon Scotland. There are verſes before this Second Part by William Brown, Geo. Wither, and John Reynolds. 'Tis as accurately written as the Firſt Part; but Mr Selden being otherwiſe engaged, had not time to adorn this Second with notes, and perhaps the want of a friend to help out the expence, may be the reaſon it was not adorned with maps. From the encomiums of thoſe Poets we ſhall not make any extract; but add this ſhort one, wherewith we have been favoured by the learned and ingenious tranſlator into Latin, of ſome of the fineſt eſſays written by Mr Pope, out of a Poem that is now in the preſs, wherein there are theſe lines:

DRAYTON, ſweet ancient Bard, his ALBION ſung,
With their own praiſe her echoing *Vallies* rung;
His bounding Muſe o'er ev'ry *Mountain* rode,
And ev'ry *River* warbled where he flow'd (34).

(24) See Mr Selden's notes on *Poly-Olbion*, p. 19.

(34) *Sea-Piece*: Canto 2. By Dr James Kirkpatrick.

[*H*] *Before a copy of his own verſes ſtiled* POET LAUREAT.] Before the poſthumous Poems of Abraham, the ſon of Dr Philemon Holland, among the commendatory verſes, the firſt copy of ten lines, bears this title; *Michael Drayton, Eſq; and Poet Laureat, in commendation of the author*, &c. which ends with this diſtich:

Proceed, let not *Apollo*'s ſtock decay,
POETS and KINGS, are not born ev'ry day (35).

(35) Hollandi Poſthuma, &c. Cantab. impenſis Hen. Holland, 4to. 1626.

It is likely this ſtile or appellation of Poet Laureat was not formerly confined ſo ſtrictly as it is now, to his Majeſty's ſervant, known by that title, who is preſumed to have been at that time Ben Jonſon (†); becauſe we find it given to others only as a diſtinction of their excellency in the art of Poetry. So it was beſtowed alſo upon our author's friend Mr George Sandys, and we could produce an author who has called Francis Quarles by the ſame title. As for the pictures of our Poet appearing ſo conſtantly laureated, it may be a complement alſo of the Painters and Gravers. The print of Mr Drayton before the firſt volume of his Poems in folio, graved by W. Hole in 1613, has a wreath of bays above his head, and ſo has his buſt in Weſtminſter-abbey: the like had the painting of him, as we have heard, which was in the collections of the late Thomas Sclater Bacon, Eſq; at his ſeat in Cambridgeſhire; and ſo likewiſe another delicate pourtrait in miniature, ſaid to be painted of him by Peter Oliver, which was in the poſſeſſion of the late Lord Lanſdown, and highly eſteemed by him. as we have lately been ſatisfied, not only from an ample deſcription (36), but alſo by the ſight of it. And yet when we find that the pourtraits of Joſhua Sylveſter, John Owen, and others, who never had any grant of the Poet Laureat's place, are as formally crowned with laurel as thoſe who had the utmoſt right to it; there is reaſon to believe, it was only an honour conferred by the artiſts who drew or engraved thoſe pictures, here mentioned of Maſter Drayton.

(†) Drayton himſelf ſays, He leaves the Laurel to thoſe who may look after it; in his Dedic. to Sir W. Aſton, of *The Owl*, in edit. fol. 1619.

(25) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736. fol. p. 5.

(26) Song 8.

(27) Song 11.

(28) Song 12.

(29) Song 17.

(30) Song 18.

(31) Song 19.

(32) Song 24.

(33) Song 22.

(36) In a letter from Mr George Vertue, dated Nov. 11. 1749.

[*I*] *Com-*

there are ſome images truly ſublime in them. But there is not one of theſe Poems revived, or ſo much as mentioned, in the late edition, pretending to have comprehended all the works of this celebrated Poet. At the end of the firſt Divine Poem, there are three copies of verſes in praiſe of the author; by Beal Sapperton, in Latin; Mr John Fletcher and Thomas Andrews in Engliſh; which laſt has very expreſsly diſplayed the great extent of our Poet's renown. In 1631, he exchanged his laurel for a crown of glory, as it is expreſſed in his monumental inſcription. He was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey among the Poets; and the handſome table monument of blue marble, which was raiſed over his grave the ſame year (*q*), is adorned with his effigies *in buſto*, laureated. On one ſide is a creſt of *Minerva*'s cap, and *Pegaſus* in a ſcutcheon on the other (*r*). Among thoſe poetical friends who have lamented his death, was Sir Aſton Cokain, who, in gratitude for his having brought him acquainted with Sir Thomas Burdet, Bart. by our Poet, compoſed an elegy upon him [*I*]; and Ben Jonſon is ſaid to have been the author of his epitaph, which was written in letters of gold upon his monument.

(*q*) Remains, in John Stowe's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633. p. 763.

(*r*) See the Hiſt. and Antiquities of Weſtminſter-Abbey, by J. Dart, Vol. II. p. 81.

[*I*] *Compoſed an elegy upon him.*] The firſt lines of the ſaid elegy are theſe:

PHOEBUS, art thou a God, and canſt not give
A privilege unto thy own to live?
Thou canſt: but if that Poets ne'er ſhould die,
In Heaven, who ſhould praiſe thy deity?
Elſe ſtill, my DRAYTON, thou hadſt liv'd and writ;
Thy *life* had been immortal as thy *wit*.

And it ends with theſe:

But I moleſt thy quiet; ſleep, while we,
That live, cou'd leave our lives to die like Thee (37).

(37) Sir Aſton Cokain's Poems, as before, p. 66, 67.

The epitaph on his monument, aſcribed to Ben Jonſon, is in theſe words:

Doe, pious marble, let thy readers know
What they, and what their children owe,
To Drayton's name; whoſe ſacred duſt
We recommend unto thy truſt:
Protect his memory, and preſerve his ſtory,
Remain a laſting monument of his glory:
And when thy ruins ſhall diſclaime
To be the treaſurer of his name;
His name, that cannot fade, ſhall be
An everlaſting monument to thee.

G

DRYDEN (JOHN), the moſt eminent Poet of the laſt century, was ſon of Eraſmus Dryden, of Tichmerſh in Northamptonſhire, third ſon of Eraſmus Dryden, of Canons-Aſhby, in the ſame county, Baronet; and was born at Aldwincle near Oundle in that county, the ninth of Auguſt 1631 (*a*). He was educated in grammar learning at Weſtminſter-ſchool, being King's Scholar there, under the famous Dr Buſby; and was from thence elected, in 1650, a Scholar of Trinity-College in Cambridge (*b*). During his ſtay at ſchool, he tranſlated the *Third Satire of Perſius* [*A*], for a Thurſday-night's exerciſe (*c*); and, the year before he left it, wrote a poem *On the Death of the Lord Haſtings*; a performance very unworthy of the great Poet he afterwards proved. In 1658, he publiſhed *Heroick Stanzas on the late Lord Protector, written after his Funeral* (*d*). In 1660, came out his *Aſtræa Redux* [*B*], *a Poem on the happy Reſtoration and Return of his ſacred Majeſty King Charles* II (*e*); and, the ſame year, his *Panegyrick* to the King *on his Coronation* (*f*). In 1662, he addreſſed a poem *To the Lord Chancellor Hyde, preſented on New-Year's Day* (*g*); and the ſame year publiſhed *A Satire on the Dutch* (*h*). His next piece was his *Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders* 1666: *An Hiſtorical Poem* (*i*). In 1668, Mr Dryden, upon the death of Sir William Davenant, was made Poet-Laureat and Hiſtoriographer to King Charles II (*k*); and, the ſame year, publiſhed his *Eſſay on Dramatick Poeſy* [*C*]. Our author's firſt *Play*, intituled *The Wild Gallant*, appeared in

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 414. See the epitaph in the remark [*Y*].

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) See the remark [*A*].

(*d*) See Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt collected and publiſhed together; in two Volumes, 12mo. London, 1743. Vol. I. p. 17.

(*e*) Ib. p. 22.

(*f*) Ib. p. 32.

(*g*) Ib. p. 36.

(*h*) Ib. p. 135.

(*i*) Ib. p. 43.

(*k*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *During his ſtay at ſchool, he tranſlated the* Third Satire of Perſius.] We learn this from the following advertiſement at the head of that Satire. *I remember I tranſlated this Satire, when I was a King's Scholar at Weſtminſter-ſchool, for a Thurſday-night's exerciſe; and I believe that it, and many other of my exerciſes of this nature, in Engliſh Verſe, are ſtill in the hands of my learned maſter, the Reverend Dr Buſby* (1).

(1) The Satires of D. J. Juvenalis, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. p. 257.

[*B*] *His* Aſtræa Redux.] A remarkable diſtich in this piece expoſed our poet to the ridicule of the wits. It was this:

An *horrid ſtillneſs* firſt invades the ear,
And in that *ſilence* we the tempeſt fear (2).

(2) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt collected and publiſhed together; in two Volumes. 12mo. Lond. 1743. Vol. I. p. 23.

Among others, Captain Alexander Radcliff has a fling at it in the following lines of his *News from Hell* (3):

Laureat, who was both learn'd and florid,
Was damn'd long ſince for *ſilence horrid*:
Nor had there been ſuch clutter made,
But that his *ſilence* did *invade*:
Invade! and ſo't might well, that's clear;
But what did it *invade?* An *Ear*.

(3) Second Part of Miſcellany Poems, p. 98, edit. 1727.

[*C*] *His* Eſſay on Dramatick Poeſy.] It is dedicated to Charles Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex. Mr Dryden tells his patron, that the writing this eſſay had ſerved as an amuſement to him in the country, when the violence of the plague (in 1665) had driven him from the town; but that he finds many things in it, which he does not now approve, his judgment being not a little altered ſince the writing it. Preſently after he ſays: 'For the way of writing plays in verſe, which 'I have ſeem'd to favour, I have, ſince that time, 'laid the practice of it aſide, till I have more leiſure, 'becauſe I find it troubleſome and ſlow. But I am no 'way altered from my opinion of it, at leaſt with any 'reaſons which have oppoſed it. For your lordſhip 'may eaſily obſerve, that none are very violent againſt 'it, but thoſe who either have not attempted it, or 'who

in 1669 (*l*), and was followed by a great number of others; a liſt, and ſome account, of which we ſhall give in the remark [*D*]. Mr Gerard Langbaine, a contemporary writer

(*l*) Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets. Lond. 1691. p. 130, &c.

' who have ill ſucceeded in their attempt.' In the preface *to the reader*, we are told, that the drift of this diſcourſe was to vindicate the honour of our Engliſh writers from the cenſure of thoſe who unjuſtly prefer the French before them. ' This (*ſays* Mr Dryden) I in-' timate, leſt any ſhould think me ſo exceeding vain, as ' to teach others an art, which they underſtand much ' better than myſelf. But if this incorrect Eſſay, writ-' ten in the country, without the help of books, or ad-' vice of friends, ſhall find an acceptance in the world, ' I promiſe to myſelf a better ſucceſs of the ſecond part, ' wherein I ſhall more fully treat of the virtues and ' faults of the Engliſh poets, who have written either ' in this, the epick, or the lyrick way.' The *Eſſay* is drawn up in the form of a dialogue between *Eugenius*, *Crites*, *Liſideius*, and *Neander*. It was animadverted upon by Sir Robert Howard, in the *Preface* to his *Great Favourite* or *Duke of Lerma*; to which Mr Dryden replied in a defence of it, prefix'd to the ſecond edition of his *Indian Emperor*.

[*D*] *A liſt, and ſome account, of Mr* Dryden's plays.] I. *The Wild Gallant:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre Royal, and printed in 4*to*: London, 1699. This was Mr Dryden's firſt attempt in dramatick poetry, and met with but very indifferent ſucceſs in the action. Mr Langbaine tells us (4), Mr Dryden confeſſed, the plot was not originally his own: ' but however (*he* ' *adds, with a ſneer*) having ſo much altered and ' beautified it, we will do him the honour to call him ' the author of the *Wild Gallant*; as he has done Sir ' Robert Howard, the author of the *Duke of Lerma* (*): ' and by way of excuſe I ſhall tranſcribe his own lines ' (‖) in behalf of a new brother of Parnaſſus:

(4) Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 175.

(*) Defence of his Eſſay, &c. p. 5.

(‖) Prologue to Dr Davenant's Circe. See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 242.

' 'Tis miracle to ſee a firſt good play;
' All hawthorns do not bloom on Chriſtmas-day:
' A ſlender poet muſt have time to grow,
' And ſpread and burniſh as his brothers do:
' Who ſtill looks lean, ſure with ſome pox is curſt;
' But no man can be *Falſtaff* fat at firſt.'

To ſay the truth, this play is ſo indifferent a performance in itſelf, and was ſo ill received, that, if the author had not had a peculiar force of inclination to writing, he would have been ſufficiently diſcouraged from any farther progreſs. II. *The Indian Emperor, or, the Conqueſt of Mexico by the Spaniards: being the Sequel of the Indian Queen:* A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal in 1670, and printed in 4*to*. It is dedicated to the Ducheſs of Monmouth and Buccleugh. It is written in heroic verſe, or rhyme, and appeared on the ſtage with great approbation. The ſtory may be found in Mariana's *Hiſtory of Spain*, B. 26. ch. 3. and Sir Paul Ricaut's *Hiſtory of Peru*. III. *An Evening's Love, or, The Mock Aſtrologer:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1671. It is dedicated to the Duke of Newcaſtle. The principal plot of this play is built on Calderon's *El Aſtrologo fingido*; and the play is, for the moſt part, taken from Corneille's *Feint Aſtrologue*, Moliere's *Depit Amoreux* and *Precieuſes Ridicules*, and Quinault's *Amant Indiſcret*. IV. *Marriage Alamode:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1673. It is dedicated to the Earl of Rocheſter. This play, though ſtiled a Comedy, is rather a Tragi-Comedy, and conſiſts of two actions, the one ſerious, and the other comic; both borrowed from two ſtories, which the author has tacked together. The ſerious part is founded on the ſtory of *Seſoſtris* and *Timareta* in the *Grand Cyrus*, Pt. 9. B. 3. and the characters of *Palamede* and *Rodophil* on the ſtory of *Timantes* and *Parthenia* in the ſame romance, Pt. 6. B. 1. The character of *Doralice* ſeems borrowed from the ſtory of *Nogaret*, in a piece called *The Annals of Love*; and Melantha's making court to herſelf, in *Rodophil*'s name, from *Les Contes d'Ouville, part* 1. p. 13. V. *Amboyna:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1673. It is dedicated to the Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. The plot of this play is chiefly founded on hiſtory, being an account of the cruelty of the Dutch to our countrymen in Amboyna, A. D. 1618; for which ſee Stubbs's *Relation of the Dutch Cruelties*, &c. Wanley's *Hiſtory of Man*, B. 4. ch. 10. The Rape of *Iſabinda* by *Harman* is built on a novel in Cynthio Gyraldi, *Dec.* 5. *Nouv.* 10. VI. *Miſtaken Huſband:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1675. Mr Langbaine tells us (5), Mr Dryden was not the author of this play, ' tho' it was adopted by him, ' as an orphan, which might well deſerve the charity ' of a ſcene, which he beſtow'd on it.' It is in the nature of Low Comedy, or Farce, and written on the model of Plautus's *Menechmi*. VII. *Aurenge-Zebe, or, The Great Mogul:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1676. It is dedicated to the Earl of Mulgrave. The ſtory is related at large in Tavernier's *Voyages in the Indies, Vol.* I. *Pt.* 2. *ch.* 2. Mr Langbaine (6) determines, that the characters of *Aurenge-Zebe* and *Nourmahal* are borrowed from Seneca's *Phædra* and *Hippolytus*. But whoever conſiders them, will ſee, that there is nothing alike through their whole ſtory, excepting only the love of a mother-in-law towards her ſon-in-law, and the ſon-in-law's averſion; and as to the characters (a thing Mr Langbaine ſeems never to underſtand) *Hippolytus* has an averſion to love; *Aurenge-Zebe* is in love: *Hippolytus* is an hunter; *Aurenge-Zebe* is a warrior: as for *Nourmahal*, ſhe is a degree beyond the lewdneſs even of Seneca's *Phædra*, who degenerates extremely from her original in Euripides, and indeed has none of her qualities, but only revenge for diſappointed love. Mr Langbaine accuſes our poet likewiſe of theft, in borrowing, or rather imitating, ſeveral paſſages of Seneca, in this play. But, with his leave, a poet deſerves praiſe, rather than cenſure, who tranſplants the beauties of antient authors into his own works. This play is written in heroick verſe, or rhyme. VIII. *The Tempeſt, or, The Inchanted Iſland:* A Comedy: acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed in 4*to*, 1676. This is only an alteration of Shakeſpear's *Tempeſt* by Sir William Davenant and Mr Dryden. The characters of the *ſailors* were chiefly the invention and writing of Sir William, as is acknowledged by Mr Dryden in the preface. IX. *Feign'd Innocence, or, Sir Martin Mar-all:* A Comedy: acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed in 4*to*, 1678. The foundation of this play is originally French, the greateſt part of the plot, and ſome of the language of Sir Martin, being taken from Quinault's *Amant Indiſcret*, and Moliere's *Etourdi*. Warner's playing on the lute, inſtead of his maſter, is copied from Du Pare's *Francion*, B. 7; and the hint of Old Moody and Sir John ſeems borrowed from Shakerly Marmion's (*) *Fine Companion*. X. *The Aſſignation, or, Love in a Nunnery:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1678. It is dedicated to Sir Charles Sedley. This play, Mr Langbaine tells us (7), was *damn'd on the ſtage*, or, as the author expreſſes it in the *epiſtle dedicatory, ſucceeded ill in the repreſentation:* but ' whe-' ther the fault was in the play itſelf, or in the lame-' neſs of the action, or in the number of it's enemies, ' who came reſolved to damn it for the title,' he will not pretend, any more than the author, to determine. Mr Ravenſcroft, in the prologue to his *Careleſs Lovers*, acted the year following, reflects on this and the preceding play, in theſe lines:

(5) Ubi ſupra, p. 166.

(6) Ib. p. 156.

(*) A writer of plays in Charles the Firſt's time.

(7) Ib. p. 154.

An author did, to pleaſe you, let his wit run,
Of late, much on a *ſerving-man* and *cittern* (‡);
And yet you wou'd not like the *ſerenade*;
Nay, and you damn'd his *Nuns* in *maſquerade:*
You did his Spaniſh ſing-ſong too abhor;
Ah! que locura con tanto rigor!
In fine, the whole by you ſo much was blam'd,
To act their parts the players were aſham'd.

(‡) Warner playing on the lute.

Several of the incidents and characters of this play are borrowed: thoſe of the Duke of Mantua, Frederick, and Lucretia, from the ſtory of *Conſtance the Fair Nun*, in the *Annals of Love*, p. 81. thoſe of Aurelian, Camillo, Laura, and Violetta, from the ſtory of *Deſtiny* and

writer (*m*), has treated Mr Dryden with more severity than justice, on account of his dramatick (m) Id. ibid.

(*) Or, Comical Romance, as it mis-translated.

and *Star*, in Scarron's *Romance of the Players* (*). Benito's affectation of musick is taken from Quinault's *Fodolet*; in his *Comedie sans Comedie*; and Frontona's throwing water on Laura, from Fontaine's *Contes*, Pte. 1ere. n. 11. XI. *The State of Innocence, or, the Fall of Man:* An Opera, written in heroick verse, and printed in 4*to*, in 1678. It is dedicated to her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, on whom the author passes the following extravagant compliment: 'Your person is so admirable, that it can scarce receive 'addition, when it shall be glorified; and your soul, 'which shines through it, finds it of a substance so 'near her own, that she will be pleased to pass an 'age within it, and to be confined to such a palace.' To this piece is prefixed *An Apology for Heroick Poetry and poetick Licence*. The subject is taken from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and many of that excellent poet's thoughts and expressions are copied in this play; but with what success, the judicious reader will easily determine. Mr Nat. Lee wrote commendatory verses on this play, and speaks of it in these terms:

To the dead bard your fame a little owes:
For Milton did the wealthy mine disclose,
And rudely cast what you cou'd well dispose.
He roughly drew, on an old-fashion'd ground,
A chaos; for no perfect world was found;
Till thro' the heap your mighty genius shin'd:
His was the golden Ore, which you refin'd,
He first beheld the beauteous rustick maid,
And to a place of strength the prize convey'd:
You took her thence, to Court the virgin brought,
Dress'd her with gems, new-weav'd her hard-spun thought,
And softest language, sweetest manners taught:
Till from a comet she a star did rise,
Not to affright, but please our wond'ring eyes.
Betwixt ye both is fram'd a nobler piece,
Than e're was drawn in Italy or Greece.

But these lines, as Mr Dryden himself justly observes in the *Apology*, &c. 'ought to be esteem'd the effect 'of Mr Lee's love to him, rather than his deliberate 'and sober judgment.' XII. *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, in two parts: Two Tragi-Comedies: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, in 1678. These two plays are dedicated to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and were received on the stage with great applause. The story is to be found in Mariana's *History of Spain*, B. 25. ch. 18. Thuanus's *History*, B. 48. Guicciardine, l. 12. &c. Mr Langbaine tells us (8), the characters in these plays are all borrowed from French and Spanish Romances, particularly *Almahide, Grand Cyrus, Ibrahim*, and *Guzman*: but, in truth, that of *Almanzor* seems rather a copy of Homer's *Achilles*, ill understood. These plays are written in heroick verse, or rhyme. To the first is prefix'd *An Essay on Heroick Plays*; and to the second, *A Defence of the Epilogue, or An Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the last Age*. Mr Richard Leigh, a player belonging to the Duke of York's Theatre, attack'd Mr Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, in a Pamphlet, intitled; *A Censure of the Rota: On Mr Dryden's Conquest of Granada:* Oxford, 1673, in 4*to*. This occasioned several other Pamphlets, particularly; *The Friendly Vindication of Mr Dryden from the Censure of the Rota*; Cambridge, 1673, in 4*to*: *Mr Dryden vindicated in a Reply to the Friendly Vindication of Mr Dryden*; *with Reflexions on the Rota*; London, 1673, in 4*to*: and *A Description of the Academy of the Athenian Virtuosi, with a Discourse held there in Vindication of Mr Dryden's Conquest of Granada, against the author of the Censure of the Rota*; London, 1673, in 4*to*. Mr Elkanah Settle likewise criticised on these Plays of our author's, in a Pamphlet, intitled, *Reflexions on several of Mr Dryden's Plays*; *particularly The First and Second Part of the Conquest of Granada*; By E. Settle, Gent. London, 1687, in 4*to*. XIII. *All for Love, or The World well lost*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1678. It is dedicated to the Earl of Danby. This Play is written in imitation of Shakespear's Style, and is chiefly taken from that author's *Anthony and Cleopatra*. Mr Dryden tells us (9), he prefers the Scene betwixt *Anthony* and *Ventidius*, in the first Act, to any thing he had written in this kind. At the same time he acknowledges the introducing of *Octavia* to be an error in the contrivance of the drama. 'For, though, *says he*, I might use 'the privilege of a Poet to introduce her into Alexan-'dria, yet I had not enough considered, that the com-'passion she moved to herself and children was destruc-'trive to that which I reserved for Anthony and Cleo-'patra; whose mutual love being founded upon vice, 'must lessen the favour of the audience to them, when 'virtue and innocence were oppressed by it. And 'though I justified Anthony in some measure, by mak-'ing Octavia's departure to proceed wholly from her-'self, yet the force of the first machine still remained, 'and the dividing of pity, like the cutting of a river 'into many channels, abated the strength of the natu-'ral stream.' XIV. *Tyrannick Love, or, The Royal Martyr:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1679. This play is written in heroick verse, or rhyme, and dedicated to the Duke of Monmouth. The Plot founded on History. See *Zosim.* l. 4. *Socrat.* l. 5. c. 14. *Herodian.* l. 7, 8. *Jul. Capit. in vit. Max. Jun.* XV. *Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth found out too late:* A Tragedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in 4*to*, 1679. It is dedicated to the Earl of Sunderland, and has a Preface prefixed concerning *the grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*. This play is originally Shakespear's, and revised and altered by Mr Dryden, who added several new scenes; among which the last in the third act is allowed, even by Langbaine (10), to be a master-piece. The plot was taken by Shakespear from Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, which that poet (according to Mr Dryden) translated from the original story, written in Latin verse by one Lollius a Lombard. Mr R. Duke addressed a copy of verses to our author on occasion of this play; in which he thus compliments him at the expence of Shakespear:

(9) In the Preface.

(10) Ib. p. 173.

Shakespear, 'tis true, this tale of Troy first told;
But, as with Ennius Virgil did of old,
You found it dirt, but you have made it gold.
A dark and undigested heap it lay,
Like Chaos e're the dawn of infant day;
But you did first the chearful light display.
Confus'd it was as Epicurus' world
Of atoms by blind chance together hurl'd;
But you have made such order thro' it shine,
As loudly speaks the workmanship divine.

(8) Ib. p. 158.

XVI. *OEdipus, King of Thebes:* A Tragedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in 4*to*, 1679. It was written jointly by Mr Dryden and Mr Lee, and is justly esteemed an excellent Play. The subject has been treated by the best dramatick writers in all languages, particularly by Sophocles, Seneca, and M. Corneille. Mr Dryden, in the Preface, taxes Seneca with 'run-'ning after Philosophical Notions, more proper for the 'study than the stage;' and accuses Corneille of failing in the character of his Hero, which he calls *an error in the first concoction*. XVII. *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen:* A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1679. The serious part of the plot is founded on the *History of Cleobuline Queen of Corinth*; and the characters of Celadon, Florimel, Olinda, and Sabina, are borrowed from the story of Pisistrates and Cerintha in the *Grand Cyrus*, Pt. 9. B. 3. XVIII. *The Rival Ladies:* A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4*to*, 1679. It is dedicated to the Earl of Orrery. The Dedication is in the nature of a Preface, in defence of English verse, or rhyme. Mr Langbaine (11) accuses Mr Dryden of a gross mistake in the Preface, where he says, 'that 'the Tragedy of *Queen Gorbuduc* was written in En-'glish verse, and consequently that verse was not so 'much a new way among us, as an old way revived; 'and that this Play was written by the late Lord Buck-

(11) Ib. p. 168.

hurst,

'hurſt, afterwards Earl of Dorſet.' Mr Langbaine obſerves, that Gorbuduc was not a *Queen*, but a *King* of the race of *Brute*; and that the three firſt acts were written by Mr Thomas Norton; and that the play itſelf is not in rhyme, but blank verſe. Sir Robert Howard, in the Preface to his Plays, anſwered this Preface of Mr Dryden's. In this Play, the diſpute between Amideo and Hippolyto, and Gonſalvo's fighting with the Pyrates, in the laſt act, are borrowed from the ſtory of Encolpius, Giton, &c. in Petronius Arbiter; and the cataſtrophe bears a near reſemblance to Scarron's *Rival Brothers*. XIX. *The Kind Keeper, or, Mr Limberham:* A Comedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, printed in *4to*, 1680. It is dedicated to John Lord Vaughan. Some of the incidents are borrowed from Cynthio Gyraldi's *Novels*, Pte. 1ere. *Dec.* 3. *Nouv.* 3. and from the *Zelotide* of M. de Pais. Mr Langbaine, who takes this to be the beſt of Mr Dryden's Comedies, tells us (12), that it ſo much expoſed the *keeping* part of the town, that it was ſtopt after the third night; but that the author took care to omit in the publication what had given offence on the ſtage. A writer of thoſe times concludes a ſhort *Satire againſt Keeping* with theſe lines (13):

(12) Ib. p. 164.

(13) Cleve's Poems, p. 94.

Dryden, good man, thought *Keepers* to reclaim,
Writ a kind Satire, call'd it *Limberham*.
This all the herd of *Letchers* ſtraight alarms;
From *Charing-Croſs* to *Bow* was up in arms.
They damn'd the Play all at one fatal blow,
And broke the glaſs that did their picture ſhow.

XX. *The Spaniſh Fryar, or, The Double Diſcovery:* A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in *4to*, 1681. It is dedicated to John Lord Haughton. Mr Langbaine is very angry with Mr Dryden for the character of the *Fryar*. 'Whether, (14) Ib. p. 171. 'ſays he (14), Mr Dryden intended his character of 'Dominick as a ſatire on the Romiſh Prieſts only, or on 'the Clergy of all opinions in general, I know not; 'but ſure I am, that he might have ſpared his reflecting quotation in the front of his Play;

'Ut melius poſſis fallere, ſume togam.

'But the truth is, ever ſince a certain worthy biſhop 'refuſed orders to a certain poet, Mr Dryden has declared open defiance to the whole clergy; and ſince 'the church began the war, he has thought it but juſtice to make repriſals on the church —— But, whatever ſucceſs this way of writing may find from the 'ſparks, it can never be approved of by ſober men, '&c.' The comick parts of Elvira, Lorenzo, &c. are founded on a Novel called *The Pilgrim*, written by M. S. Bremond. XXI. *The Duke of Guiſe:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1683. It was written by Mr Dryden and Mr Lee, and dedicated to the Earl of Rocheſter. The plot is taken from Davila, Mezerai, and other writers of the French affairs. See alſo Thuanus, l. 93. For the ſtory of Malicorn the conjurer, read Roſſet's *Hiſtoires Tragiques*, &c. p. 449. This play gave great offence to the Whigs, and was immediately attacked in a pamphlet, intitled; *A Defence of the Charter and Municipal Rights of the City of London, and the Right of other municipal Cities and Towns of England. Directed to the Citizens of London. By* Thomas Hunt. In this piece, Mr Dryden is charged with condemning the Charter of the City of London, and executing it's magiſtrates in effigy, in his *Duke of Guiſe*; a Play, 'moſt certainly intended to provoke the rabble into tu'mults and diſorders.' About the ſame time were printed *Some reflexions upon the pretended Parallel in the Play called* The Duke of Guiſe. The author of this pamphlet tells us, 'he was wearied with the dul'neſs of this play, and extremely incenſed at the wick'ed and barbarous deſign it was intended for; that the 'fierceſt *Tories* were aſhamed of this piece; in ſhort, 'that he never ſaw any thing, that cou'd be called A '*Play*, more deficient in wit, good character, or en'tertainment, than this.' In anſwer to this, and Mr Hunt's Pamphlet, Mr Dryden publiſhed *The Vindication: or, The Parallel of the* French Holy League, *and the* Engliſh League and Covenant, *turn'd into a Seditious Libel againſt the King and his Royal Highneſs*, by Thomas Hunt, *and the author of* Reflexions, &c. London, 1683, *4to*. In this *Vindication*, he tells us, that, in the Year of the Reſtoration, the firſt Play he undertook was the *Duke of Guiſe*, as the faireſt way, which the *Act of Indemnity* had then left, of *ſetting forth the riſe of the late Rebellion*; that at firſt it was thrown aſide, by the advice of ſome friends, to whom he ſhew'd it; but that, at the earneſt requeſt of Mr Lee, (with whom he had promiſed to join in another play, after the writing of *OEdipus*, and who now claim'd his promiſe) it was afterwards produced between them; and that only the firſt ſcene, the whole fourth act, and ſomewhat more than half the fifth, belonged to him (*Mr Dryden*) all the reſt being Mr Lee's. XXII. *Albion and Albanius:* An Opera: performed at the Queen's Theatre in Dorſet Garden, and printed in *folio*, 1685. The ſubject of it is wholly allegorical, and intended to expoſe the Lord Shafteſbury and his party, who are repreſented by the man on the pedeſtal, with a long pale face, &c. encompaſſed by ſeveral heads, which ſuck poiſon from his ſide. The muſick for this Opera was made by one Grabut; and Mr Langbaine tells us (15), the following ſatirical lines were (15) Ib. p. 152. made upon this occaſion:

Grabut his yoke-mate n'ere ſhall be forgot,
Whom th' God of tunes upon a Muſe begot.
Bays on a double ſcore to him belongs,
As well for *writing* as for *ſetting* ſongs:
For ſome have ſworn (th' intrigue ſo odd is laid)
That *Bays* and he miſtook each other's trade,
Grabut the lines, and he the muſick made.

XXIII. *Don Sebaſtian, King of Portugal:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1690. It is dedicated to the Earl of Leiceſter. This play is generally eſteemed one of the beſt of Mr Dryden's, and was received with great applauſe; though the actors were forced to curtail it after the firſt night, it being, as the author himſelf tells us in the Preface, *inſupportably too long*. As for the ſtory, or plot, it is chiefly founded on a French novel of the ſame name. XXIV. *King Arthur: or, The Britiſh Worthy:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre in Dorſet Garden, and printed in *4to*, 1691. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Halifax. This play is more remarkable for ſinging and fine ſcenery, than for any excellency of the drama. The ſtory in general is founded upon Geoffrey of Monmouth's Hiſtory: the *Inchanted Grove*, and the character of *Oſmond*, are taken from Taſſo. XXV. *Amphytrion, or, The Two Socias:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1691. It is dedicated to Sir Leviſon Gower. This play is taken from Plautus and Moliere. XXVI. *Cleomenes: The Spartan Heroe:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1692. It is dedicated to the Earl of Rocheſter. There is prefixed to it *The Life of Cleomenes*, tranſlated from Plutarch by Mr Creech. This play was at firſt prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain; but, upon examination, being found innocent of any deſign (as had been ſuggeſted) to ſatirize the government, it was ſuffered to be repreſented, and had great ſucceſs. In the Preface, the author tells us, a fooliſh objection had been raiſed againſt him by the Sparks, for Cleomenes not accepting the favours of Caſſandra. 'They, *ſays he*, would not have refuſed a 'fair Lady: I grant, they would not; but let them 'grant me, that they are not heroes.' He adds: 'Some have told me, that many of the fair ſex com'plain for want of tender ſcenes, and ſoft expreſſions 'of love. I will endeavour to make them ſome a'mends, if I write again; and my next heroe ſhall be 'no Spartan.' XXVII. *Love Triumphant, or, Nature will prevail:* A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1694. It is dedicated to the Earl of Shafteſbury, and is the laſt Mr Dryden wrote or intended for the Theatre. It met with but indifferent ſucceſs; though in many parts the genius of that great man breaks out, eſpecially in the diſcovery of Alphonſo's ſucceſsful love, and in the cataſtrophe, which is extreamly affecting. ——Thus, in the ſpace of twenty-five years, Mr Dryden produced (beſides his other numerous poetical writings) twenty-ſeven plays. As to the character of Mr Dryden's dramatick performances, we find, that the Criticks, his contemporaries, made very free with them; particularly, Mr Gerard Langbaine (16): and it muſt be confeſſed, they (16) See the next remark.

are

dramatick performances [*E*]. In 1671, Mr Dryden was publickly ridiculed on the ſtage; under

are not the leaſt exceptionable of his compoſitions. As to Tragedy, the Criticks have obſerved, that Mr Dryden ſeldom touches the *paſſions*, but deals rather in pompous language, poetical flights, and deſcriptions. That this was his real taſte, appears, not only from his Tragedies themſelves, but from two inſtances mentioned by Mr Gildon (17). The firſt is, that, it being recommended to him to turn his thoughts to a tranſlation of *Euripides*, rather than of *Homer*, he replied, that *he confeſſed he had no reliſh of that Poet*, who was a great maſter of *Tragick ſimplicity*. The other is, that he conſtantly expreſſed a very mean, if not contemptible, opinion of Mr *Otway*, who is univerſally allowed to have ſucceeded very happily in affecting the *paſſions*: though, in the preface to his tranſlation of M. *Freſnoy*, he ſpeaks more favourably of that Poet. The author, who mentions theſe inſtances, aſcribes this *guſto* in Mr Dryden to his great converſation with French Romances. As to Comedy, our Poet himſelf acknowledges his want of genius for that ſpecies of the drama. 'I know, *ſays he* (18), I am not fitted by 'nature to write Comedy: I want that gaiety of humour, which is required in it. My converſation is 'ſlow and dull, my humour ſaturnine and reſerved. 'In ſhort, I am none of thoſe, who endeavour to break 'jeſts in company, or make repartees. So that thoſe, 'who decry my Comedies, do me no injury, except it 'be in point of profit: reputation in them is the laſt 'thing to which I ſhall pretend.' But, perhaps, Mr Dryden would have wrote better in both kinds of the drama, had not the neceſſity of his circumſtances obliged him to conform himſelf to the popular taſte. Hence my Lord Lanſdowne (19):

(17) In his Laws of Poetry, as laid down by the Duke of Bucks, &c. p. 211.

(18) In his Defence of the Eſſay on Dramatick Poeſy, prefixed to his Indian Emperor.

(19) In his Eſſay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry. See his Works. Vol. I. p. 93. edit. 1736.

Dryden himſelf, to pleaſe a frantick age,
Was forc'd to let his judgment ſtoop to rage:
To a wild audience he conform'd his voice,
Comply'd to cuſtom, but not err'd thro' choice.
Deem then the people's, not the writer's ſin,
Almanzor's rage, and rants of *Maximin*:
That fury ſpent, in each elaborate piece,
He vies for fame with antient Rome and Greece.

And Mr Dryden himſelf inſinuates as much in the following paſſage (20): 'I remember ſome verſes of my 'own *Maximin* and *Almanzor*, which cry vengeance 'upon me for their extravagance. ——— All I can ſay 'for thoſe paſſages, which are, I hope, not many, is, 'that I knew they were bad enough to pleaſe, even 'when I writ them. But I repent of them among my 'ſins; and if any of their fellows intrude by chance 'into my preſent writings, I draw a ſtroke over all 'thoſe *Dalilahs* of the Theatre, and am reſolved I 'will ſettle myſelf no reputation by the applauſe of 'fools. 'Tis not that I am mortified to all ambition; 'but I ſcorn as much to take it from half-witted 'judges, as I ſhould to raiſe an eſtate by cheating of 'bubbles; neither do I diſcommend the lofty ſtile in 'Tragedy, which is naturally pompous and magnifi'cent. But nothing is truly ſublime, that is not juſt 'and proper.' He tells us elſewhere (21), that his *Spaniſh Fryar* was *given to the people*, and that *he never wrote any thing* (in the dramatick way) *to pleaſe himſelf, but* his *Anthony and Cleopatra*, i. e. his *All for Love, or, The World well loſt*.

(20) Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Spaniſh Fryar.

(21) Preface to his Tranſlation of M. Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting, p. 58. Lond. 1716, 8vo.

[*E*] *Mr Langbaine has treated Mr Dryden with more ſeverity, than juſtice, on account of his dramatick performances.*] He begins his account of our Poet with treating him as an errant plagiary. 'Mr Dryden, 'ſays he (22), is the moſt voluminous writer of our 'age, he having already extant above twenty plays of 'his own writing, *as the title-page of each would per'ſuade the world*; though ſome people have been ſo 'bold as to call the truth of this in queſtion, and to 'propagate in the world another opinion.' Speaking of Mr Dryden's *Comedies*, he tells us (23), 'he is for 'the moſt part beholden to French Romances and 'Plays, not only for his plots, but even a great part 'of his language.' Having obſerved, that Mr Dryden, in the preface to his *Conqueſt of Granada, magiſterially huffs at and domineers over*, the French writers, he deſires the reader to take notice, that all the characters of that play are ſtolen from the French: 'ſo that, *ſays he* (24), Mr Dryden took a ſecure way 'to conqueſt; for having robbed them of their weapons, he might ſafely challenge them, and beat them 'too; eſpecially having gotten *Ponce de Leon* (*) 'on his ſide, in diſguiſe, and under the title of *Al'manzor*: and ſhould Monſ. Voiture preſume to lay 'claim to his own ſong, *l'Amour ſous ſa loy*, &c. 'which Mr Dryden has robbed him of, and placed in 'the play of *Sir Martin Marr-all* (being that ſong, 'which begins *Blind Love to this hour* &c.) our Poet 'would go nigh to beat him with a ſtaff of his own 'rhimes, with as much eaſe, as Sir Martin defeated 'the Bailiffs in the reſcue of his rival' Mr Langbaine, next, undertakes the defence of Shakeſpear, Fletcher, and Johnſon, againſt the attacks of Mr Dryden, whom he repreſents as treating the memory of thoſe great Poets with the utmoſt diſreſpect. 'Had 'he, *ſays he* (25), only extended his conqueſts over 'the French Poets, I had not meddled in this affair; 'and he might have taken part with *Achilles* and *Ri'naldo*, againſt *Cyrus* and *Oroondates*, without my en'gaging in this foreign war: but when I found him 'flushed with his victory over the great *Scudery*, and 'with *Almanzor*'s aſſiſtance triumphing over the noble 'kingdom of *Granada*; and not content with con'queſts abroad, like another *Julius Cæſar*, turning his 'arms upon his own country; and, as if the proſcription of his contemporaries reputation was not 'ſufficient to ſatiate his implacable thirſt after fame, 'endeavouring to demoliſh the ſtatues and monuments 'of his anceſtors, the works of thoſe his illuſtrious 'predeceſſors, *Shakeſpear*, *Fletcher*, and *Johnſon*; 'I was reſolved to endeavour the reſcue and preſervation of thoſe excellent trophies of wit, by raiſing 'the *Poſſe Comitatus* upon this Poetick *Almanzor*, to 'put a ſtop to his ſpoils upon his countrymen.' The foundation of this heavy charge, is, ſome paſſages in the Poſtſcript to Mr Dryden's *Conqueſt of Granada*; in which he ſpeaks of *Shakeſpear*, as *writing, in many places, below the dulleſt writers of any age*; of Fletcher, as *a perſon, that neither underſtood correct plotting, nor what is called The Decorum of the Stage*; of Johnſon, as a writer, whoſe chief *excellency lay in the low characters of vice and folly*; and of all three together, as guilty, in every page of their works, of *ſome ſoleciſm in ſpeech, or ſome notorious flaw in ſenſe*. And here Mr Langbaine applies to Mr Dryden the character, which an ingenious writer (†) draws of a malignant wit; 'who, conſcious of his own vices, and ſtu'dious to conceal them, endeavours by detraction to 'make it appear, that others alſo, of greater eſtima'tion in the world, are tainted with the ſame, or 'greater: as infamous women generally excuſe their 'perſonal debaucheries, by incriminating upon their 'whole ſex, calumniating the moſt chaſte and vir'tuous, to palliate their own diſhonour.' This is the ill-natured turn Mr Langbaine gives to our author's *Apology*, in the ſame *Poſtſcript*, where he begs the reader's pardon for accuſing thoſe authors, deſiring him to conſider, that 'he lives in an age wherein his leaſt 'faults are ſeverely cenſured, and that he has no way 'left to extenuate his failings, but by ſhewing as great 'in thoſe whom he admires.' Mr Langbaine proceeds to cenſure Mr Dryden for *aſſaulting with all the bitterneſs imaginable, not only the Church of England, but alſo the ſeveral profeſſions of the Lutherans, Calviniſts, Preſbyterians*, &c. though I muſt obſerve, *ſays 'he* (26), by the way, that ſome people among the 'perſuaſions here mentioned might juſtly have ex'pected better uſage from him on account of old ac'quaintance in the year 1659.' We ſhall not enter upon Mr Langbaine's defence of Shakeſpear, Fletcher, and Johnſon; which he concludes with theſe words: 'As to his (*Mr Dryden's*) reflexions on this triumvirate '(*Shakeſpear, Fletcher, and Johnſon*) in general; 'I might eaſily prove, that his *improprieties in gram'mar* are equal to theirs, and that he himſelf has been 'guilty of *ſoleciſms in ſpeech*, and *flaws in ſenſe*: but 'this would be to waſte paper and time; and beſides, 'I conſider, that Apollo's laws, like thoſe of our own 'nation, allow no man to be tried twice for the ſame 'crime: and Mr Dryden having already been ar-

(22) Ubi ſupra, p. 130.

(23) Ib. p. 131.

(24) Ib. p. 132.

(*) The chief hero in a romance called *Almahide*.

(25) Ib. p. 133.

(†) Dr Charleton, in his Different Wits of Men, p. 120.

(26) Ib. p. 140.

under the character of *Bays*, in the Duke of Buckingham's Comedy called *The Rehearſal* [*F*]. In 1679, was publiſhed *An Eſſay on Satire* [*G*], written jointly by Mr Dryden and the Earl of Mulgrave (*n*). In 1680, came out a Tranſlation of *Ovid's Epiſtles*, in Engliſh Verſe, by ſeveral hands; two of which, *viz. Canace to Macareus*, and *Dido to Æneas*, were tranſlated by Mr Dryden, who likewiſe wrote the Preface; and that of *Helen to Paris* by Mr Dryden and the Earl of Mulgrave (*o*). In 1681, Mr Dryden publiſhed his *Abſalom and Achitophel* (*p*) [*H*]; and, the ſame year, his *Medal, A Satire againſt*

(*n*) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 328.

(*o*) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 83, &c.

(*p*) Ib. Vol. I. p. 143.

'raigned before the Wits, upon the evidence of the 'Rota, and found guilty by Mr Clifford the foreman 'of the jury; I ſhall ſuppreſs my farther evidence, 'till I am ſerved with a *ſubpœna* by him, to appear 'before that Court, or have an action clapped upon 'me by his Proctor, as guilty of a *Scandalum Archi-'Poetæ*; and then I ſhall readily give in my depo-'ſitions (27).'

(27) Ib. p. 150.

[*F*] *Mr Dryden was ridiculed on the ſtage—in the Rehearſal.*] The character of *Bays*, in that excellent ſatirical Comedy, we are told (28), was originally intended for Sir *Robert Howard*, under the name of *Bilboa*. But the repreſentation being put a ſtop to by the breaking out of the plague in 1665, it was laid by for ſeveral years, aud not exhibited on the ſtage till 1671: in which interval Mr Dryden being advanced to the *Laurel*, the noble author changed the name of his Poet from *Bilboa* to *Bays*, and made great alterations in his play, in order to ridicule ſeveral dramatick performances, which had appeared ſince the firſt writing of it. Thoſe of Mr Dryden, which fell under his Grace's laſh, are *The Wild Gallant*, *Tyrannick Love*, *The Conqueſt of Granada*, *Marriage Alamode*, and *Love in a Nunnery*; and how juſtly, may be ſeen in the following extracts.

(28) See the Key to the Rehearſal, printed with that play, p. 88. edit. 1735.

Conqueſt of Granada. Part ii. p. 48.

So two kind turtles, when a ſtorm is nigh,
Look up, and ſee it gathering in the ſky;
Each calls his mate to ſhelter in the groves,
Leaving, in murmurs, their unfiniſh'd loves:
Perch'd on ſome dropping branch, they ſit alone,
And coo, and hearken to each other's moan.

Rehearſal, p. 18.

So boar and ſow, when any ſtorm is nigh,
Snuff up, and ſmell it gathering in the ſky;
Boar beckons ſow to trot in cheſnut groves,
And there conſummate their unfiniſh'd loves:
Penſive in mud, they wallow all alone,
And ſnore and gruntle to each other's moan.

Conqueſt of Granada. Part i. p. 55.

As ſome fair tulip, by a ſtorm oppreſt,
Shrinks up, and folds it's ſilken arms to reſt;
And bending to the blaſt, all pale and dead,
Hears from within the wind ſing round it's head:
So ſhrouded up your beauty diſappears;
Unveil, my love, and lay aſide your fears:
The ſtorm that caus'd your fright is paſt and gone.

Rehearſal. p. 28.

As ſome tall pine, which we on Ætna find
T' have ſtood the rage of many a boiſt'rous wind,
Feeling without that flames within do play,
Which wou'd conſume his root and ſap away;
He ſpreads his worſted arms unto the ſkies,
Silently grieves, all pale, repines, and dies:
So ſhrouded up your bright eye diſappears;
Break forth, bright ſcorching ſun, and dry my tears.

Tyrannick Love. p. 25.

——————— My earthly part,
Which is my tyrant's right, death will remove:
I'll come all ſoul and ſpirit to your love.
With ſilent ſteps I'll follow you all day;
Or elſe before you in the ſun-beams play.
I'll lead you hence to melancholy groves,
And there repeat the ſcenes of our paſt loves.
At night I will within your curtains peep;
With empty arms embrace you, while you ſleep.
In gentle dreams I often will be by,
And ſweep along before your cloſing eye.
All dangers from your bed I will remove;
But guard it moſt from any future love.
And when at laſt in pity you will die,
I'll watch your birth of immortality:
Then, turtle-like, I'll to my mate repair,
And teach you your firſt flight in open air.

Rehearſal. p. 55.

Since death my earthly part will thus remove,
I'll come a humble bee to your chaſte love:
With ſilent wings I'll follow you, dear cuz,
Or elſe before you in the ſun-beams buz:
And when to melancholy groves you come,
An airy ghoſt, you'll know me by my hum;
For ſound being air, a ghoſt does well become.
At night into your boſom I will creep,
And buz, but ſoftly, if you chaunce to ſleep;
Yet in your dreams I will paſs ſweeping by,
And then both hum and buz before your eye.

Mr Dryden affected to deſpiſe the ſatire levelled at him in the *Rehearſal*, as appears from his *Dedication* of the tranſlation of *Juvenal* and *Perſius* (29), where, ſpeaking of the many *lampoons* and *libels*, that had been written againſt him, he ſays: 'I anſwered not the *Re-'hearſal*, becauſe I knew the author ſat to himſelf 'when he drew the picture, and was the very *Bays* of 'his own farce: becauſe alſo I knew, that my betters 'were more concerned than I was in that ſatire; and, 'laſtly, becauſe Mr *Smith* and Mr *Johnſon*, the main 'pillars of it, were two ſuch languiſhing gentlemen in 'their converſation, that I could liken them to no-'thing but to their own relations, thoſe noble cha-'racters of men of wit and pleaſure about town.' But it is impoſſible our Poet could be inſenſible of the force of that admirable ſatire; and we ſhall be convinced that he felt it's edge, if we reflect on the character of *Zimri*, in his *Abſalom* and *Achitophel* (30), in which he took a full revenge on the author of the *Rehearſal*.

(29) Edit. 1735. P. 12.

(30) See the remark [*H*].

[*G*] *The Eſſay on Satire.*] This piece, which was handed about in manuſcript, containing reflexions on the Ducheſs of Portſmouth and the Earl of Rocheſter; they, ſuſpecting Mr Dryden to be the author of it, hired three men, who took their opportunity to cudgel our Poet, in Will's coffee-houſe in Covent-Garden, the 16th of December, at eight of the clock at night. We give you this ſtory on the authority of Anthony Wood (31).

(31) Ath. Oxon. col. 805, 806.

[*H*] *His Abſalom and Achitophel.*] This poem, which was at firſt printed without the author's name, is a ſevere ſatire on the contrivers and abettors of the rebellion, againſt King Charles II, under the Duke of Monmouth; and may ſerve to convince us of what Mr Dryden ſays in the preface, that *he could write ſeverely with more eaſe than he could gently.* 'The 'violent, *ſays he*, on both ſides, will condemn 'character of *Abſalom* (*), as either too favourably, 'or too hardly drawn: but they are not the violent 'whom I deſire to pleaſe. The fault, on the right-'hand, is to extenuate, palliate, and indulge; and to 'confeſs freely, I have endeavoured to commit it.

(*) The Duke of Monmouth.

Beſides

againſt Sedition (*q*) [*I*]. In 1682, came out his *Religio Laici* (*r*) [*K*]. In 1684, he publiſhed

(*q*) Ib. p. 189.

(*r*) Ib. p. 209.

'Beſides the reſpect, which I owe his birth, I 'have a greater for his heroick virtues; and *David* 'himſelf (†) could not be more tender of the young 'man's life, than I would be of his reputation. But, 'ſince the moſt excellent natures are always the moſt 'eaſy; and, as being ſuch, are the ſooneſt perverted 'by ill counſels, eſpecially when baited with fame and 'glory; 'tis no more a wonder that he withſtood not 'the temptations of *Achitophel* (‖), than it was for A-'dam to have reſiſted the temptation of the two devils, 'the ſerpent and the woman (32).' Mr Dryden goes on to aſſign the reaſon why he left the ſubject unfiniſhed. 'The concluſion of the ſtory, *ſays he*, I pur-'poſely forbore to proſecute, becauſe I could not 'obtain from myſelf to ſhew *Abſalom* unfortunate. 'The frame of it was cut out but for a picture to the 'waiſt; and if the draught be ſo far true, 'tis as much 'as I deſigned. Were I the inventor, who am only 'the Hiſtorian, I ſhould certainly conclude the piece 'with the reconcilement of *Abſalom* to *David*. And 'who knows but this may come to paſs? things were 'not brought to extremity where I left the ſtory: 'there ſeems, yet, to be room left for a compoſure; 'hereafter, there may be only for pity. I have not 'ſo much as an uncharitable wiſh againſt *Achitophel*; 'but am content to be accuſed of a good-natured er-'ror, and to hope with *Origen*, that the *devil* himſelf 'may, at laſt, be ſaved. For which reaſon, in this 'poem, he is neither brought to ſet his houſe in order, 'nor to diſpoſe of his perſon afterwards, as he in wiſ-'dom ſhall think fit (33).

(†) King Charles.

(‖) Lord Shafteſbury.

(32) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 146, 147.

(33) Ibid.

This poem is celebrated in ſome commendatory verſes, addreſſed to the then *unknown* and *concealed* author, by Mr Nat. Lee, Mr Richard Duke, and Mr N. Tate. The firſt of theſe gentlemen affirms,

'Tis ſpirit ſeen, whoſe fiery atoms roul
So brightly fierce, each ſyllable's a ſoul (34).

(34) Ib. p. 1.

The ſecond tells Mr Dryden,

Not David's ſelf could in a nobler verſe
His gloriouſly offending ſon rehearſe,
Tho' in his breaſt the Prophet's fury met,
The father's fondneſs, and the Poet's wit (35).

(35) Ib. p. 3.

And the laſt repreſents him as triumphing over the *idol cauſe* of faction and rebellion:

That cauſe, whoſe growth to cruſh our Prelates wrote
In vain, almoſt in vain our heroes fought;
Yet by one ſtab of your keen ſatire dies:
Before your ſacred lines their ſhatter'd *Dagon* lies (36).

(36) Ib. p. 4.

There are two tranſlations, in Latin verſe, of Mr Dryden's *Abſalom and Achitophel:* one by Dr William Coward, a Phyſician, of Merton-college in Oxford; publiſhed in 4*to* at Oxford 1682 (37): the other by Dr Francis Atterbury, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter; pnbliſhed the ſame year in 4*to* (38). That the reader may judge a little of the comparative merit of theſe two tranſlations, we ſhall tranſcribe a few lines from the beginning of the original, and ſubjoin the different verſions.

(37) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 230.

(38) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1063.

The *Original.*

In pious times, e're prieſt-craft did begin,
Before polygamy was made a ſin;
When man on many multiply'd his kind;
E're one to one was, curſedly, confin'd;
When nature prompted, and no law deny'd,
Promiſcuous uſe of concubine and bride:
Then Iſrael's Monarch, after Heaven's own heart,
His vig'rous warmth did variouſly impart
To wives and ſlaves; and, wide as his command,
Scatter'd his maker's image thro' the land (39).

(39) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 151.

Dr Coward's *Tranſlation.*

Nondum myſtarum pia fraus eluſerat orbem,
Nondum uni conjux porrexerat ora capiſtro;
Sed ſimilem amplexa eſt, natura urgente, maritum
Sponſaque, et innocuo reſidens in fornice pellex.
Tunc qui Judaicas rerum flectebat habenas,
Jeſſides, cœlo charum caput, integer ævi,
Igne pari nuptas arſit, ſervaſque, tonantis
Ectypa ſyderei brevibus tranſcripta tabellis
Diffundens lati vaga per confinia regni.

Dr Atterbury's *Tranſlation.*

Cognovere pias nondum pia ſæcula fraudes
Arte ſacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos
Multiplici celebrare jugo connubia leges;
Cum vir ſponſarum numeraverat agmen, et uni
Non ſervare toro, fato adverſante, coactus
Plurima fertilibus produxit ſtemmata lumbis;
Cum ſtimulos natura daret, nec legibus ullis
Et ſponſæ et lenæ vetitum eſt commune cubile;
Tunc Iſraelis, cælo cedente, Monarcha
Concubitu vario vernas nuptaſque fovebat;
Quaque erat Imperii limes, ibi meſſe feraci
Tranſcripta Archetypi ſparſim generatur imago.

An Anſwer was publiſhed to Mr Dryden's *Abſalom and Achitophel*, intitled, *Azariah and Huſhai, a Poem*, Lond. 1682, in 4*to*, ſaid to be written by Mr Elkanah Settle. *A Second Part of Abſalom and Achitophel* was undertaken, and written, by Mr Tate, at the requeſt, and under the direction, of Mr Dryden, who wrote near two hundred lines of it himſelf, beginning with

Next theſe a troop of buſy ſpirits preſs,

and ending with

To talk like *Doeg*, and to write like thee (40);

(40) Ib. p. 182.

beſides ſome touches in other places.

[*I*] *His Medal, a Satire againſt Sedition.*] This poem was occaſioned by the ſtriking of a medal, on account of the indictment againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury, for high-treaſon, being found *ignoramus* by the Grand-Jury at the Old Bailey, in November 1681; for which the Whig party made great rejoicings, by ringing of bells, bonefires, &c. in all parts of London (41). The poem is introduced with a very ſatirical *Epiſtle to the Whigs*; in which the author ſays: 'I have one favour to deſire of you at parting, that 'when you think of anſwering this poem, you would 'employ the ſame pens againſt it, who have combated 'with ſo much ſucceſs againſt *Abſalom and Achitophel*; 'for then you may aſſure yourſelves of a clear victory 'without the leaſt reply. Rail at me abundantly; 'and, not to break a cuſtom, do it without wit. By 'this method you will gain a conſiderable point, which 'is wholly to wave the anſwer of my arguments. —— 'If God has not bleſſed you with the talent of rhim-'ing, make uſe of my poor ſtock and welcome: let 'your verſes run upon my feet; and for the utmoſt re-'fuge of notorious blockheads, reduced to the laſt ex-'tremity of ſenſe, turn my own lines upon me, and, 'in utter deſpair of your own ſatire, make me ſatirize 'myſelf (42). The whole poem is a ſevere invective againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury, and the Whig party. Mr Elkanah Settle wrote an anſwer to this poem, intituled, *The Medal Revers'd*, Lond. 1681, 4*to*.

(41) See Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 390.

(42) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 195, 196.

[*K*] *His Religio Laici.*] The whole title is: *Religio Laici, or, A Lay-man's Faith.* This piece is intended as a defence of Reveal'd Religion, and the excellency and authority of the Scriptures, as the only Rule of Faith and Manners, againſt Deiſts, Papiſts, and Preſbyterians. The author acquaints us, in the preface, that it was written for an ingenious young Gentleman, his friend, upon his tranſlation of Father Simon's *Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*; and that the ſtyle of it is *Epiſtolary*. Whereupon he adds: 'If any one 'be ſo lamentable a critick, as to require the ſmooth-'neſs, the numbers, and the turn of heroick poetry 'in

publiſhed a Tranſlation of M. *Maimbourg's Hiſtory of the League*; in which he was employed by the command of King Charles II, on account of the plain parallel between the troubles of *France* and thoſe of *Great Britain* (*s*). Upon the death of King Charles II, he wrote his *Threnodia Auguſtalis*; *A Poem ſacred to the happy Memory of* that Prince (*t*). Soon after the acceſſion of King James II, our author turned Roman Catholick [*L*]; and, in 1686, he wrote *A Defence of the Papers written by the late King of bleſſed Memory, and found in his ſtrong box* [*M*]. In 1687, he publiſhed his *Hind and Panther* [*N*], *A Poem* (*u*); and, in 1688, his *Britannia Rediviva, a Poem on the Birth of the Prince* (*w*).

(*s*) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the King.

(*t*) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 106.

(*u*) Ib. p. 243.

(*w*) Ib. p. 123.

He

' in this Poem, I muſt tell him, that if he has not ' read *Horace*, I have ſtudied him, and hope the ſtyle ' of his *Epiſtles* is not ill imitated here. The expreſ- ' ſions of a poem, deſigned purely for inſtruction, ' ought to be plain and natural, and yet majeſtick; ' for here the Poet is preſumed to be a kind of Law- ' giver, and thoſe three qualities, which I have named, ' are proper to the legiſlative ſtyle (43).'

(43) Ib. p. 225.

[*L*] *He turned Roman Catholick.*] Upon this occaſion, Mr T. Brown wrote *The Reaſons of Mr Bays's changing his Religion conſidered, in a Dialogue between* Crites, Eugenius, *and Mr* Bays. London, 1688, in 4*to*. Alſo, *The late Converts expoſed: Or, The Reaſons of Mr* Bays's *changing his Religion conſidered, in a Dialogue; Part the Second.* London, 1690, in 4*to*. There likewiſe appeared another piece againſt Mr Dryden, intituled, *The Revolter; A Tragi-Comedy, acted between the* Hind and Panther *and* Religio Laici. London, 1687, in 4*to*.

[*M*] *His Defence of the Papers written by the late King of bleſſed Memory, and found in his ſtrong box*] This piece was written in oppoſition to Dr Stillingfleet's *Anſwer to ſome Papers lately printed, concerning the Authority of the Catholick Church, in Matters of Faith, and the Reformation of the Church of England.* London, 1686, in 4*to*. Mr Dryden, in the abovementioned piece, takes occaſion, from the two *Papers*, publiſhed by King James II. and by him affirmed to have been found in the Strong Box of the deceaſed King Charles II (44), to vindicate the authority of the Catholick Church, in decreeing Matters of Faith, upon this principle, that, *The Church is more viſible than the Scripture, becauſe the Scripture is ſeen by the Church* (45); and to abuſe the Reformation in England, which, he affirms (46), *Was erected on the Foundation of Luſt, Sacrilege, and Uſurpation.* Dr Stillingfleet, hereupon, publiſhed *A Vindication of the Anſwer to ſome late Papers*, London, 1687, in 4*to*; in which he treats Mr Dryden with ſome ſeverity: And another author (47) obſerved, that this Tract of Mr Dryden ' Is very light, and in ſome places even ' ridiculous; and ſhews that the author's talent lay to- ' wards controverſy no more in *proſe*, than it appears ' by the *Hind and Panther* it did in *verſe*.'

(44) See the Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 422.

(45) Defence, &c. p. 2, 3.

(46) Ibid.

(47) The author of the Continuation of the preſent State of the Controverſy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, &c. Lond. 1688, 4to. p. 28.

[*N*] *His Hind and Panther.*] It is divided into three parts, and is a direct defence of the Romiſh Church, chiefly by way of dialogue between a *Hind*, who repreſents the Church of Rome, and a *Panther*, who ſuſtains the character of the Church of England. Theſe two beaſts very learnedly diſcuſs the ſeveral points controverted between the two Churches, as, Tranſubſtantiation, Church-Authority, Infallibility, &c. In the preface, the author tells us, this Poem ' Was ' neither impoſed on him, nor ſo much as the ſubject ' given him by any man. It was written, *ſays he*, ' during the laſt winter, and the beginning of this ' ſpring, though with long interruptions of ill health, ' and other hindrances. About a fortnight before I ' had finiſhed it, his Majeſty's *Declaration for Liberty* ' *of Conſcience* came abroad; which, if I had ſo ſoon ' expected, I might have ſpared myſelf the labour of ' writing many things which are contained in the third ' Part of it. But I was always in ſome hope, the ' Church of England might have been perſuaded to ' have taken off the *Penal Laws*, and the *Teſt*, which ' was one deſign of the Poem, when I propoſed to ' myſelf the writing of it. 'Tis evident that ſome ' part of it was only occaſional, and not firſt intend- ' ed: I mean that defence of myſelf, to which every ' honeſt man is bound, when he is injuriouſly attacked ' in print (48).' Mr Dryden then lets us into the ſubject matter of the Poem, and the ſtyle in which it is written. ' The *Firſt* Part, *ſays he*, conſiſting moſt ' in general characters and narration, I have endeavoured to raiſe, and give it the majeſtick turn of ' heroick Poeſy. The *Second*, being matter of diſpute, and chiefly concerning Church-Authority, I ' was obliged to make as plain and perſpicuous as poſſibly I could; yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, ' though I had not frequent occaſions for the magnificence of verſe. The *Third*, which has more of the ' nature of domeſtick converſation, is, or ought to be, ' more free and familiar than the two former. There ' are in it two *Epiſodes* or *Fables*, which are interwoven with the main deſign; ſo that they are properly parts of it, though they are alſo diſtinct ſtories ' of themſelves. In both of theſe I have made uſe ' of the common-places of ſatire, whether true or ' falſe, which are urged by the members of the one ' Church againſt the other (49).' In the *Firſt Part*, Mr Dryden ſpeaks of his own *converſion* in the following terms:

(48) Original Poems, &c. p. 247, 248.

(49) Ib. p. 249, 250.

But, gracious God, how well do'ſt thou provide
For erring judgments an unerring guide!
Thy throne is darkneſs in th' abyſs of light,
A blaze of glory that forbids the ſight.
O teach me to believe thee thus conceal'd,
And ſearch no farther than thyſelf reveal'd;
But her alone for my director take,
Whom thou haſt promis'd never to forſake!
My thoughtleſs youth was wing'd with vain deſires;
My manhood, long miſled by wandring fires,
Follow'd falſe lights; and when their glimpſe was gone,
My pride ſtruck out new ſparkles of her own.
Such was I, ſuch by nature ſtill I am;
Be thine the glory, and be mine the ſhame.
Good life be now my taſk; my doubts are done——(50).

(50) Ib. p. 253.

The *Third Part* begins with an Apology for the Fable or Contrivance of this Poem; as if Mr Dryden foreſaw the ridicule, to which it would expoſe him.

Much malice, mingled with a little wit,
Perhaps, may cenſure this myſterious writ;
Becauſe the Muſe has peopled *Caledon*
With Panthers, Bears, and Wolves, and Beaſts unknown,
As if we were not ſtock'd with monſters of our own.
Let *Æſop* anſwer, who has ſet to view
Such kinds as Greece and Phrygia never knew;
And mother *Hubbard*, in her homely dreſs,
Has ſharply blam'd a *Britiſh Lioneſs*——
Led by theſe great examples, may not I
The wanted organs of their words ſupply (51)?

(51) Ib. p. 290.

This Poem was immediately attacked by the wits, particularly by Mr Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and Mr Matthew Prior, who joined in writing *The Hind and Panther tranſverſed to the Story of the Country Mouſe and the City Mouſe.* London, 1687, 4*to*. In the preface to which, the authors obſerve, That Mr Dryden's Poem ' Naturally falls into ' ridicule,' and that, in this burleſque, ' Nothing is ' repreſented as monſtrous, and unnatural, which is ' not equally ſo in the original.' They afterwards remark, that ' We have this comfort under the ſeverity ' of Mr Dryden's Satire, to ſee his abilities equally ' leſſened with his opinion of us; and that he could ' not be a fit champion againſt the *Panther*, 'till he ' had

He was ſuppoſed to have been engaged in tranſlating M. Varillas's *Hiſtory of Hereſies*, but to have dropped that deſign [O]. At the Revolution, having diſqualified himſelf for Court favours, by turning Papiſt, he was diſmiſſed from the office of Poet-Laureat [P], in which he was ſucceeded by Mr Thomas Shadwell; againſt whom he wrote his *Mac Flecknoe* [Q]. The ſame year he publiſhed *The Life of St Francis Xavier*; tranſlated from the French of Father Dominic Bouhours. In 1693, came out a Tranſlation of *Juvenal* and *Perſius* [R]; in which, the *firſt*, *third*, *ſixth*, *tenth*, and *ſixteenth Satires* of *Juvenal*, and *Perſius entire*, were done by Mr Dryden, who prefixed a long and beautiful *Diſcourſe*, by way of *Dedication* to the Earl of Dorſet (x). He contributed likewiſe to the Tranſlation of *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*, publiſhed, ſeveral years after his death, by Dr Garth; in which, the *firſt Book*; the Story of *Meleagar* and *Atalanta* in the *eighth*; that of *Baucis* and *Philemon* in the ſame; the Fable of *Iphis* and *Ianthe* in the *ninth*; that of *Pygmalion* and the *Statue* in the *tenth*; the Story of *Cinyras* and *Myrrha*, in the ſame; that of *Ceyx* and *Alcyone* in the *eleventh*; the *twelfth Book*; the *Speeches* of *Ajax* and *Ulyſſes*, and the *Death* of *Ajax*, in the *thirteenth*; the Story of *Acis* and *Galatea*, in the ſame; and the *Pythagorean Philoſophy* in the *fifteenth*; are Mr Dryden's (y). In 1695, he publiſhed a Tranſlation, in proſe, of M. *Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting* [S]; and, in 1697, a Tranſlation

(x) See the remark [R].

(y) See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 150, &c. See alſo Mr Dryden's Fables. Lond. 1734. 12mo. p. 80, 115, 123, 127, 200, 240, 265, and 299.

'had laid aſide all his judgment.' Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, ſpeaks with great ſeverity of this Poem, as well as of it's author (52).

(52) See the next remark.

[O] *He was ſuppoſed to have been engaged in tranſlating M. Varillas's Hiſtory of Hereſies, but to have dropped that deſign.*] This we learn from a paſſage in Dr G. Burnet's *Defence of the Reflexions on the Ninth Book of the firſt Volume of M. Varillas's Hiſtory of Hereſies. Being a Reply to his Anſwer* (53). The Doctor ſays: 'I have been informed from England, that 'a Gentleman, who is famous both for poetry, and 'ſeveral other things, has ſpent three months in tranſ'lating M. Varillas's *Hiſtory*; but that, as ſoon as my '*Reflexions* appeared, he diſcontinued his labour, 'finding the credit of his author was gone. Now, if 'he thinks it is recovered by his *Anſwer*, he will per'haps go on with his tranſlation; and this may be, 'for ought I know, as good an entertainment for him, 'as the converſation he has ſet on foot between the '*Hinds* and *Panthers*, and all the reſt of the animals; 'for whom M. Varillas may ſerve well enough as an 'author; and this *Hiſtory* and that *Poem* are ſuch extraordinary things of their kind, that it will be but 'ſuitable to ſee the author of the *worſt Poem* become 'likewiſe the tranſlator of the *worſt Hiſtory*, that the 'age has produced. If *his* grace and *his wit* improve 'both proportionably, we ſhall hardly find, that he 'has gained much by the change he has made, from 'having no religion to chooſe one of the worſt. It is 'true, he had ſomewhat to ſink from in matter of '*wit*; but as for his *morals*, it is ſcarce poſſible for 'him to grow a worſe man than he was. He has lately wreaked his malice on me for ſpoiling his three 'months labour; but in it he has done me all the honour that a man can receive from him; which is to be 'railed at by him. If I had ill-nature enough to prompt 'me to wiſh a very bad wiſh for him, it ſhould be, that 'he would go on and finiſh his *tranſlation*. By that it 'will appear, whether the Engliſh nation, which is the 'moſt competent judge in this matter, has, upon the 'ſeeing our debate, pronounced in M. Varillas's favour or me. It is true, Mr D. will ſuffer a little by 'it; but at leaſt it will ſerve to keep him in from 'other extravagancies; and if he gains little honour 'by this work, yet he cannot loſe ſo much by it as he 'has done by his laſt employment.' This paſſage, beſides the fact it lets us into, ſhews how ill an opinion Dr Burnet had entertained of Mr Dryden (54).

(53) Pag. 138, 139. Amſterd. 1687. 12mo.

(54) See the remark [Z].

[P] *He was diſmiſſed from the office of Poet-Laureat.*] Mr Mat. Prior, in the *Dedication* of his *Poems* to the Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, having ſaid of the great Earl of Dorſet, that 'he was ſo inviolable 'in his friendſhip, and ſo kind to the character of 'thoſe whom he had once honoured with a more intimate acquaintance, that nothing leſs than a demonſtration of ſome eſſential fault could make him break 'with them; and then too his good nature did not conſent to it without the greateſt reluctance and difficulty:' adds; 'Let me give one inſtance of this 'among many. When, as Lord Chamberlain, he 'was obliged to take the King's penſion from Mr Dryden, who had long before put himſelf out of a poſſibility of receiving any favour from the Court; my 'Lord allowed him an equivalent out of his own 'eſtate. However diſpleaſed with the conduct of his 'old acquaintance, he relieved his neceſſities; and 'while he gave him his aſſiſtance in private, in public he extenuated and pitied his error.'

[Q] *His Mac Flecknoe.*] This is one of the beſt, and ſevereſt, ſatires in the Engliſh language. Mr Richard Flecknoe, with whoſe name it is inſcribed, was a very indifferent Poet of thoſe times (55), or rather, as Mr Dryden expreſſes it (56),

(55) Langbaine, ubi ſupra, p. 199.

In proſe and verſe, was own'd, without diſpute,
Thro' all the realms of *nonſenſe*, abſolute.

(56) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 136.

[R] *The Tranſlation of Juvenal and Perſius.*] In the *Dedication* to the Earl of Dorſet, Mr Dryden gives us the following account of this tranſlation: 'I would 'excuſe, *ſays he* (57), the performance of this tran'ſlation, if it were all my own; but the better, tho' 'not the greater, part being the work of ſome gentlemen, who have ſucceeded very happily in their undertaking; let their excellencies atone for my imperfections, and thoſe of my ſon's. I have peruſed ſome 'of the *Satires*, which are done by other hands; and 'they ſeem to me as perfect in their kind, as any thing 'I have ſeen in Engliſh verſe. The common way, 'which we have taken, is not a *literal tranſlation*, 'but a kind of *paraphraſe*; or ſomewhat which is yet 'more looſe, betwixt a paraphraſe and imitation. 'It was not poſſible for us, or any men, to have made 'it pleaſant any other way. If rendering the exact 'ſenſe of theſe authors, almoſt line for line, had been 'our buſineſs, *Barten Holiday* had done it already to 'our hands.——But he wrote for fame, and wrote 'to ſcholars. We write only for the pleaſure and entertainment of thoſe Gentlemen and Ladies, who, 'though they are not ſcholars, are not ignorant: perſons of underſtanding and good ſenſe; who, not 'having been converſant in the original, or at leaſt not 'having made Latin verſe ſo much their buſineſs, as to 'be Criticks in it, would be glad to find, if the wit 'of our two great authors be anſwerable to their fame 'and reputation in the world.——This muſt be 'ſaid for our tranſlation, that if we give not the whole 'ſenſe of *Juvenal*, yet we give the moſt conſiderable 'part of it: we give it, in general, ſo clearly, that 'few notes are ſufficient to make us intelligible.—— 'If ſometimes any of us (and 'tis but ſeldom) make 'him expreſs the cuſtoms and manners of our native 'country, rather than of Rome; 'tis either when 'there was ſome kind of analogy betwixt their cuſtoms 'and ours, or when, to make him more eaſy to vulgar 'underſtandings, we give him thoſe manners, which 'are familiar to us.'

(57) Dedication, p. 107.

[S] *His Tranſlation of M. Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting.*] The *Second Edition, corrected and enlarged*, was publiſhed at London, in 1716. The Title is: *The Art of Painting: By C. A. Du Freſnoy: With Remarks: Tranſlated into Engliſh; with an Original Preface, containing a Parallel between Painting and Poetry: By Mr Dryden. As alſo a ſhort account of the moſt eminent Painters, both ancient and modern:* By R. G. (*) Eſq; It is dedicated to the Earl of Burlington. The editor acquaints us (58), that ſome liberties have been taken with this excellent tranſlation; of which

(*) Richard Graham.

(58) See the Dedication.

tion of all *Virgil's Works* [*T*]. Beſides the *Original Pieces* and *Tranſlations* hitherto mentioned, Mr Dryden wrote many others, publiſhed in the *Six Volumes* of *Miſcellanies* (z), and

(z) Printed ſeveral times for J. Tonſon.

which he gives the following account. 'The misfortune that attended him (Mr *Dryden*) in that undertaking, was, that, for want of a competent knowledge in *Painting*, he ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by an unſkillful guide. Monſ. *de Piles* told him, that his *French Verſion* was made at the requeſt of the author himſelf, and alter'd by him till it was wholly to his mind. This Mr *Dryden* taking upon content, thought there was nothing more incumbent on him, than to put it into the beſt *Engliſh* he cou'd, and accordingly perform'd his part here (as in every thing elſe) with accuracy. But, it being manifeſt that the *French* tranſlator has frequently miſtaken the ſenſe of his author, and very often alſo not ſet it in the moſt advantageous light; to do juſtice to Monſ. *du Freſnoy*, Mr *Jervas* (a very good Critick in the *language*, as well as in the *ſubject* of the Poem) has been prevailed upon to correct what was found amiſs: and his amendments are every where diſtinguiſhed with proper marks.' Mr Dryden, in his *Preface* (59), tells us, it was not of his own choice that he undertook this work. 'Many, *ſays he*, of our moſt ſkillful Painters, and other Artiſts, were pleaſed to recommend this author to me, as one who perfectly underſtood the rules of painting; who gave the beſt and moſt conciſe inſtructions for performance, and the ſureſt to form the judgment of all who loved this noble art.' He freely owns, he thought himſelf uncapable of performing this tranſlation, either to the ſatisfaction of others, or his own credit. 'Not, *ſays he* (60), but that I underſtood the original *Latin*, and the *French* author, perhaps as well as moſt Engliſhmen: but I was not ſufficiently verſed in the *Terms of Art*.' However, having obtained the aſſiſtance of others in this particular, he tells the reader, he may aſſure himſelf of a tolerable tranſlation. 'In this one particular only, *ſays he*, I muſt beg the reader's pardon: the *proſe tranſlation* of the poem is not free from *poetical* expreſſions, and I dare not promiſe, that ſome of them are not fuſtian, or at leaſt highly metaphorical; but this being a fault in the firſt digeſtion (that is, the original *Latin*) was not to be remedied in the ſecond, *viz.* the tranſlation.' When Mr Dryden undertook this work, he was already engag'd, he tells us (61), in the Tranſlation of *Virgil*, from whom he borrowed only two months; and he acquaints us (62), that his *preface* was begun and ended in twelve mornings: 'and perhaps, *ſays he*, the judges of Painting and Poetry, when I tell them how ſhort a time it coſt me, may make me the ſame anſwer, which my Lord Rocheſter made to one, who, to commend a bad Tragedy, ſaid it was written in three weeks; *How the Devil could he be ſo long about it?*' Mr Pope has addreſſed a copy of verſes *To Mr* Jervas, *with* Freſnoy's *Art of Painting*, *tranſlated by* Mr Dryden; in which are theſe lines:

(59) P. 1.

(60) Pref. p. 3.

(61) Ib. p. 4.

(62) Ib. p. 60.

Read theſe inſtructive leaves, in which conſpire
Freſnoy's cloſe art, and *Dryden*'s native fire:
And reading wiſh, like theirs, our fate and fame,
So mix'd our ſtudies, and ſo join'd our name;
Like them to ſhine thro' long ſucceeding age,
So juſt thy ſkill, ſo regular my rage (63).

(63) Works of A. Pope, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 67. edit. 1735. 8vo.

[*T*] *His Tranſlation of Virgil.*] It has paſſed thro' ſeveral editions, and appeared in various forms. The *Paſtorals* (or *Eclogues*) are dedicated to Hugh Lord Clifford, Baron of Chudleigh. Mr Dryden tells his patron, 'What *he* now offers his Lordſhip, is the 'wretched remainder of a ſickly age (*), worn out 'with ſtudy, and oppreſſed by fortune; without other 'ſupport than the conſtancy and patience of a Chriſtian (64);' and he adds (65), that he began this work in his great *climacterick*. The *Life of Virgil*, which follows this *Dedication*, the two *Prefaces* to the *Paſtorals* and *Georgicks*, and all the *Arguments* in proſe to the whole Tranſlation, were given him, he tells us (66) by two worthy friends of his (‖), who, ſeeing him ſtraitened in his time, took pity on him, and lent him their aſſiſtance. Beſides which, Mr Dryden had the advantage of peruſing the Earl of Lauderdale's tranſlation of the *Æneis*; of which he gives us the following account: 'The late Earl of Lauderdale ſent 'me over his new tranſlation of the *Æneis*; which he 'had ended before I engaged in the ſame deſign. 'Neither did I then intend it: but ſome propoſals being afterwards made me by my Bookſeller, I deſired 'his Lordſhip's leave that I might accept them; which 'he freely granted, and I have his letter yet to ſhew 'for that permiſſion. He reſolved to have printed his 'work; which he might have done two years before I 'could publiſh mine; and had performed it, if death 'had not prevented him (†). But having his manuſcript in my hands, I conſulted it as often as I 'doubted of my author's ſenſe. For no man underſtood Virgil better than that learned nobleman (67).' Mr Congreve, likewiſe, he tells us (68), did him the favour to reviſe the *Æneis*, and compare his verſion with the original. And, 'I ſhall never be aſhamed 'to own, *adds Mr* Dryden, that this excellent young 'man has ſhewed me many faults, which I have endeavoured to correct.' The tranſlation of the *Georgicks* is dedicated to the Earl of Cheſterfield; and That of the *Æneis* to the Earl of Mulgrave. This latter *dedication* contains the author's thoughts on *Epic Poetry*, particularly that of *Virgil*. At the end of the *Æneis*, is *A poſtſcript to the reader*; in which Mr Dryden acquaints him (69), that the *Firſt Georgick*, and the greateſt part of the *laſt Æneid*, were tranſlated at *Denham-Court*, the houſe of Sir *William Bowyer*; and the *Seventh Æneid*, at *Burleigh*, the ſeat of the Earl of *Exeter*. And ſpeaking of ſome particular parts of Virgil, tranſlated by other hands, he ſays: 'Whoever has given the world the tranſlation of part 'of the *Third Georgic*, which he calls *The Power of 'Love*, has put me to ſufficient pains to make my own 'not inferior to his: As my Lord *Roſcommon*'s *Silenus* 'had formerly given me the ſame trouble. The moſt 'ingenious Mr *Addiſon* of Oxford has alſo been as 'troubleſome to me as the other two, and on the 'ſame account: After his *Bees*, my little ſwarm is 'ſcarcely worth the hiving. Mr *Cowley*'s *Praiſe of a 'Country Life*, is rather an imitation of *Virgil*, than 'a verſion (70).' Mr Dryden likewiſe informs us (71), that, when he began this work, Gilbert Dolben, Eſq; ſon of Dr Dolben, Archbiſhop of York, made him a preſent of all the ſeveral Editions of *Virgil*, and all the Commentaries of thoſe Editions in *Latin*: 'Amongſt 'which, *ſays he*, I could not but prefer the *Dauphin*'s, 'as the laſt, the ſhorteſt, and the moſt judicious. '*Fabrini* I had alſo ſent me from *Italy*; but either 'he underſtands *Virgil* very imperfectly, or I have 'no knowledge of my author.' The *Poſtſcript* is followed by ſome *Notes and Obſervations on Virgil*'s *Works in Engliſh*, which, the author tells us (72), he wrote *par maniere d' acquit*, becauſe he had obliged himſelf by articles to do ſomewhat of that kind.——

(*) Mr Dryden was then ſixty-ſix years old.

(64) The Works of Virgil, &c. edit. 1721. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 7.

(65) Ib. p. 8.

(66) Ib. Vol. III. p. 435.

(‖) The Preface to (or Eſſay on) the Georgicks was written by Mr Addiſon.

(†) My Lord Lauderdale's Tranſlation has been ſince publiſhed.

(67) Ib. p. 434, 435.

(68) Ibid.

(69) Ib. p. 1003.

(70) Ib. p. 1007.

(71) Ib. p. 1005.

(72) Ib. p. 1007, 1008.

It is generally allowed, that Mr Dryden's tranſlation of *Virgil* is, upon the whole, extremely well performed; at leaſt, better than by any other Poet in any other language. Dr Felton ſays in it's commendation, that 'Thoſe who excel him, where they obſerve he hath 'failed, will fall below him in a thouſand inſtances 'where he hath excelled (73):' And Mr Pope, the beſt Poet of his times, ſpeaking of Mr Dryden's tranſlation of ſome parts of *Homer*, ſays, 'Had he tranſlated the whole work, I would no more have attempted *Homer* after him, than *Virgil*; his verſion 'of whom (notwithſtanding ſome human errors) is the 'moſt noble and ſpirited tranſlation I know in any 'language (74).' Dr Trapp (75) charges Mr Dryden with groſsly miſtaking his author's ſenſe in many places; with adding or retrenching, as his turn is beſt ſerved by either; and with being leaſt a tranſlator, where he ſhines moſt as a Poet: and whereas it is a juſt rule laid down by my Lord Roſcommon, that a tranſlator, in regard to his author, ſhould

(73) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks, &c. Lond. 1730. p. 130.

(74) Preface to the Iliad of Homer, tranſlated by Mr Pope.

Fall as he falls, and as he riſes riſe;

Mr Dryden, he tells us, frequently acts the very reverſe of this precept; of which he produces ſome inſtances, and remarks in general, that the firſt ſix Books of

(75) See his Works of Virgil, tranſlated into Engliſh blank Verſe, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. Pref. to the Æneis, p. 83—89.

and in other collections. They conſiſt of *Tranſlations* from the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets; *Epiſtles* to ſeveral perſons; *Prologues* and *Epilogues* to various Plays, and on various occaſions; *Elegies*; *Epitaphs*; and *Songs* (*a*). His laſt work was his *Fables* [*U*], *Ancient and Modern*; *tranſlated into Verſe from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer.* A new Collection of our author's *Poetical Works* has been lately publiſhed (*b*), under the title of *Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt collected and publiſhed together* [*W*]. As to his performances in *proſe*, beſides thoſe already mentioned, he wrote the *Lives* of *Plutarch* and *Lucian*, prefixed to the tranſlations of thoſe authors by ſeveral hands; the *Life* of *Polybius*, before the tranſlation of that Hiſtorian by Sir Henry Sheer; and the *Preface* to the *Dialogue concerning Women*, by Wm. Walſh, Eſq; This great Poet died the firſt of May 1701 (*c*), and was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey [*X*], where a monument has been ſince erected over him, by John late Duke of Bucks [*Y*]. We ſhall ſet down his character, as

(*a*) See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II.

(*b*) For J. and R. Tonſon. In two Vols. 12mo. Lond. 1743.

(*c*) See his epitaph in the remark [*Y*].

of the *Æneis*, which are the beſt and moſt perfect in the Original, are the leaſt ſo in the Tranſlation, and the ſix laſt Books *vice verſa*.

[*U*] *His Fables.*] To this work is prefixed, by way of *Preface*, a critical Account of the authors, from whom the *Fables* are tranſlated. Among the original pieces, the *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt perfect in any language, and has been ſet to muſick more than once; particularly, in the winter of the Year 1735, by that great maſter Mr Handel; and publickly performed, with the utmoſt applauſe, on the Theatre in Covent-Garden. Mr Pope has celebrated this Ode in the following lines:

Hear how *Timotheus'* vary'd lays ſurprize,
And bid alternate paſſions fall and riſe!
While, at each change, the ſon of *Libyan Jove*
Now burns with glory, and then melts with love:
Now his fierce eyes with ſparkling fury glow;
Now ſighs ſteal out, and tears begin to flow:
Perſians and *Greeks* like turns of nature found,
And the world's victor ſtood ſubdu'd by ſound:
The *Power of Muſick* all our hearts allow;
And what *Timotheus* was, is *Dryden* now (76).

(76) Eſſay on Criticiſm, v. 376.

All the other parts of this *Miſcellany* are ſo excellent, that the reader muſt think Mr *Dryden* (as, he tells us (77), he thought himſelf) *as vigorous as ever in the faculties of his ſoul*, though he was ſixty-eight years of age at the publication of this his *laſt Work*.

(77) In the Preface.

[*W*] *Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt collected and publiſhed together.*] The editor acquaints us in the *preface* with the motives to the publication of this collection. 'It was 'thought, *he tells us*, but juſtice to the productions of 'ſo excellent a poet, to ſet them free, at laſt, from 'ſo diſadvantageous, if not unnatural, an union (*viz.* '*of being blended with the Compoſitions of inferior* 'Writers); an union, which, like the cruelty of *Me*'*zentius* in *Virgil*, was no leſs than a junction of *liv*'*ing* and *dead* bodies together.' And a little farther: 'It is *now* high time the *Partnerſhip* ſhould be 'diſſolved, and Mr *Dryden* left to ſtand upon his own 'bottom. His *Credit*, as a *Poet*, is out of all danger, 'though the withdrawing his *Stock* may, probably, 'expoſe many of his *Co-Partners* to the hazard of a 'Poetical Bankruptcy.' There is a collection of *Original Poems and Tranſlations by Mr* Dryden, publiſhed by *J. Tonſon*, in 1701, in a thin *folio:* But, as it contains not much above half the pieces, ſo it does not at all anſwer the deſign of this collection, which, with the author's *Plays*, *Fables*, and *Tranſlations* of *Virgil*, *Juvenal*, and *Perſius*, is intended to complete Mr Dryden's *Works* in *twelves*. The *Firſt volume* of this collection conſiſts of our author's *Larger Poems*; and the *Second*, of his *Tranſlations*, *Epiſtles*, *Prologues*, *Epilogues*, *Elegies*; *Epitaphs*, and *Songs*. Particular care, we are told, has been taken to render this edition as correct as poſſible, by reforming numberleſs errors of the preſs, which have been continued down through all editions hitherto publiſhed; but eſpecially by obſerving the ſtricteſt accuracy in the *pointing:* 'An article of correctneſs *(ſays the editor very juſtly)* 'too generally neglected, though ſo much of the 'beauty, as well as the *perſpicuity*, of language de'pends upon it.'

[*X*] *He was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] There are ſome circumſtances, relating to the funeral of Mr Dryden, recorded in the *Memoirs of the Life of Mr Congreve* (78); with which we ſhall entertain the reader. The day after Mr Dryden's death, the Dean of Weſtminſter (79) ſent word to the Lady Elizabeth Howard, Mr Dryden's widow, that he would make a preſent of the ground, and all the other Abbey Fees. The Lord Halifax likewiſe ſent to the Lady Elizabeth, and Mr Charles Dryden her ſon, offering to defray the expences of our Poet's funeral, and afterwards to beſtow 500 pounds on a monument in the Abbey; which generous offer was accepted. Accordingly, on the Sunday following, the company being aſſembled, the corps was put into a velvet hearſe, attended by eighteen mourning coaches. When they were juſt ready to move, the Lord Jefferies, Son of the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, with ſome of his rakiſh companions, coming by, aſked whoſe funeral it was; and being told, it was Mr Dryden's, he proteſted, he ſhould not be buried in that private manner; that he would himſelf, with the Lady Elizabeth's leave, have the honour of his interment, and would beſtow a thouſand pounds on a monument in the Abbey for him. This put a ſtop to the proceſſion, and Lord Jefferies, with ſeveral of the Gentlemen, who had alighted from the coaches, went up ſtairs to the Lady Elizabeth, who was ſick in bed. His Lordſhip repeated the purport of what he had ſaid below; but the Lady Elizabeth abſolutely refuſing her conſent, he fell on his knees, vowing never to riſe till his requeſt was granted. The Lady, under a ſudden ſurprize, fainted away; and Lord Jefferies, pretending to have obtained her conſent, ordered the body to be carried to Mr Ruſſel's an undertaker in Cheapſide, and leave it there till farther Orders. In the mean time, the Abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, the Choir attending, and the Biſhop waiting ſome hours to no purpoſe for the corps. The next day, Mr Charles Dryden waited upon the Lord Halifax, and the Biſhop, and endeavoured in vain to excuſe his mother, by relating the truth. Three days after, the Undertaker, having received no orders, waited on the Lord Jefferies, who pretended, it was a drunken frolick, that he remembered nothing of the matter, and he might do what he pleaſed with the body. Upon this, the Undertaker waited on the Lady Elizabeth, who deſired a day's reſpite, which was granted. Mr Charles Dryden immediately wrote to the Lord Jefferies, who returned for anſwer, That he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it. Mr Dryden applied again to the Lord Halifax, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, who abſolutely refuſed to do any thing in the affair. In this diſtreſs, Dr Garth ſent for the corps to the College of Phyſicians, and propoſed a funeral by ſubſcription: which ſucceeding, about three weeks after Mr Dryden's deceaſe, Dr Garth pronounced a fine Latin Oration over the body; which was conveyed from the College, attended by a numerous train of coaches, to Weſtminſter-Abbey. After the funeral, Mr Charles Dryden ſent a challenge to the Lord Jefferies, which the latter refuſed; and Mr Dryden publickly declaring, he would watch every opportunity to meet and fight him, his Lordſhip thought fit to leave the town upon it.

(78) Compiled, &c. by Charles Wilſon, Eſq; Lond. 1730. 8vo. Part ii. p. 3, &c.

(79) Dr Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter.

[*Y*] *A Monument has been ſince erected over him by John late Duke of Buckinghamſhire.*] Mr Dryden had no monument erected to him for ſeveral years; to which Mr Pope alludes in his *Epitaph intended for Mr Rowe* (80), in which is this line, ſpeaking of Dryden:

(80) Works of A. Pope, Eſq; edit. 1735. 12mo. Vol. II. p. 155.

Beneath

represented by different writers, in the remark [Z]. It is insinuated, that he had offered himself for Holy Orders, but was refused; and had failed likewise in his application for the Provostship of Eaton-College (d). He himself tells us, he had formed a plan for an *Heroic Poem* (e); but he did not live to execute any part of it. Mr Dryden married the Lady

(d) See Tom Browne's Late Converts exposed, &c. in the Preface.

(e) See the Dedication of his *Aurenge-Zebe*.

Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies.

In a note upon which, we are informed, that the tomb of Mr Dryden was erected upon this hint by the Duke of Buckingham; to which was originally intended this Epitaph:

This *Sheffield* rais'd: The sacred dust below
Was *Dryden* once: The rest who does not know?

Which the author since changed into the plain inscription now upon it, being only the name of that great Poet. The Inscription is,

J. DRYDEN.
Natus Aug. 9, 1631.
Mortuus Maii 1, 1701.
Johannes Sheffield, Dux Buckinghamiensis, fecit.

[Z] *Mr Dryden's Character, as represented by different writers.*] To shew our impartiality, we shall begin with Bishop Burnet, who, speaking of the corruption of the times, says: 'The *Stage* was defiled beyond all example, *Dryden*, the great master of Dramatic Poesy, being a monster of immodesty and impurities of all Sorts (81).' The late Lord Lansdown took upon himself to vindicate Mr Dryden's Character from this severe imputation. He observes (82), that, 'He was so much a stranger to *Immodesty*, that *Modesty* in too great a degree was his failing. A monster of impurities of all sorts! *Adds his Lordship:* Good God! What an idea must That give! Is there any wickedness under the Sun, but what is comprized in those few words? But, as it happens, he was the reverse of all this, a man of regular life and conversation, as all his acquaintance can vouch. And, I cannot but grieve, that such rash expressions should escape from a Bishop's pen. If bearing false witness against one's neighbour is a breach of the Commandment, Can there be a more flagrant one than this?' His Lordship concludes with observing, that Mr Dryden's writings 'Will do honour to his name and country, and his Poems last as long as the Bishop's Sermons.' Mr Burnet the Bishop's son, in reply to this passage of my Lord Lansdown's, observes (83), that *Immodesty*, in the Bishop's words, is not opposed to *Modesty*, but *Chastness*, and that this expression, as well as that of *Impurities of all Sorts*, can only be meant of *Dramatick Poesy*, of which only the Bishop was speaking; and have nothing to do with Mr Dryden's life and conversation. Indeed, he acknowledges, a writer more accurate in his stile, would rather have used the terms *obscenities*. Whereupon he asks: 'Are not Dryden's *Comedies* then full of obscenities, of immodesty, and impurities?' He instances in his *Limberham, or The Kind Keeper*; and then says: 'Where is the Clergyman, who would not merit his Lordship's esteem instead of censure, for calling this play *a monster of immodesty and impurities of all sorts?* And this, this only is Dr Burnet's crime, for which he is to be unbishop'd, unchristian'd, and stigmatiz'd as a flagrant false witness against his neighbour.' Mr Congreve, in the *Dedication* of our Poet's *Dramatick Works* to the Duke of Newcastle, has drawn his character to very great advantage. 'Mr Dryden, *he tells us*, had personal qualities to challenge both love and esteem from all who were truly acquainted with him. He was of a nature exceedingly humane and compassionate; easily forgiving injuries, and capable of a prompt and sincere reconciliation with them who had offended him. — His friendship, where he professed it, went much beyond his professions. — As his reading had been very extensive, so was he very happy in a memory tenacious of every thing that he had read. He was not more possessed of knowledge, than he was communicative of it. But then his communication of it was by no means pedantick, or imposed upon the conversation; but just such, and went so far, as by the natural turns of the discourse, in which he was engaged, it was necessarily promoted or required. He was extreme ready and gentle in his correction of the errors of any writer who thought fit to consult him; and full as ready and patient to admit of the Reprehension of others in respect of his own oversights or mistakes. He was of very easy, I may say, of very pleasing, access; but something slow, and as it were diffident in his advances to others. He had something in his nature that abhorred intrusion in any society whatsoever. Indeed it is to be regretted, that he was rather blameable in the other extream: for by that means he was personally less known, and consequently his character might become liable both to misapprehensions and misrepresentations. — He was, of all the men that ever I knew, one of the most modest, and the most easily to be discountenanced, in his approaches, either to his superiors, or his equals. — As to his *Writings* — I may venture to say in general terms, that no man hath written in our language so much, and so various matter, and in so various manners, so well. Another thing I may say very peculiar to him; which is, that his parts did not decline with his years; but that he was an improving writer to the last, even to near seventy years of age; improving even in fire and imagination; as well as in judgment: witness his *Ode on St Cecilia's Day*, and his *Fables*, his latest performances. He was equally excellent in verse and in prose. His prose had all the clearness imaginable, together with all the nobleness of expression; all the graces and ornaments proper and peculiar to it, without deviating into the language or diction of poetry. — I have heard him frequently own with pleasure, that if he had any talent for English prose, it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbishop Tillotson. His versification and his numbers he could learn of nobody: for he first possessed those talents in perfection in our tongue: and they who have best succeeded in them since his time have been indebted to his example; and the more they have been able to imitate him, the better have they succeeded. — In his *Poems*, his Diction is, wherever his subject requires it, so sublimely and so truly poetical, that it's essence, like that of pure gold, cannot be destroyed. Take his verses, and divest them of their rhimes, disjoint them in their numbers, transpose their expressions, make what arrangement and disposition you please of his words, yet shall there eternally be poetry, and something which will be found incapable of being reduced into absolute prose. — What he has done in any one species, or distinct kind (*of writing*), would have been sufficient to have acquired him a great name. If he had written nothing but his *Prefaces*, or nothing but his *Songs*, or his *Prologues*, each of them would have entitled him to the preference and distinction of excelling in his kind.' It should be remembered, that Mr Congreve, in drawing this character of Mr Dryden, discharged an obligation laid upon him by our Poet in these lines (84):

Be kind to my remains; and O defend,
Against your judgment, your departed friend!
Let not th'insulting foe my fame pursue,
But shade those laurels which descend to you.

(84) See his verses to Mr Congreve on his Comedy called The Double Dealer; prefixed to that play.

Dr Garth, in his *Preface* to the translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, in which Mr Dryden's share is considerable, speaks of him as follows: 'I cannot pass by that admirable English Poet, without endeavouring to make his country sensible of the obligations they have to his Muse. Whether they consider the flowing grace of his versification; the vigorous sallies of his fancy; or the peculiar delicacy of his periods; they'll discover excellencies never to be enough admired. If they trace him from the first productions of his youth, to the last performances of his age, they'll find, that, as the tyranny of rhyme never imposed on the perspicuity of the sense, so a languid

'sense

(81) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I.

(82) Letter to the author of the Reflexions Historical and Political, &c. p. 5.

(83) Remarks upon the Lord Lansdowne's Letter, &c. p. 25.

*

Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkſhire, who ſurvived him about eight years, and by whom he had three ſons, Charles, John, and Henry [*AA*].

'ſenſe never wanted to be ſet off by the harmony of 'rhyme. And as his earlier works wanted no matu-'rity, ſo his latter wanted no force or ſpirit. ——— 'As a tranſlator, he was juſt; as an inventer, he was 'rich. —— With all theſe wond'rous talents, he was 'libelled in his life-time by the very men, who had no 'other excellencies, but as they were his imitators. 'Where he was allow'd to have ſentiments ſuperior to all 'others, they charged him with theft: But how did 'he ſteal? no otherwiſe than like thoſe, that ſteal 'beggars children, only to cloath them the better.' The teſtimony of ſo great a Poet, and ſo good a judge, as Mr Pope, muſt not be omitted, when we are ſetting down the praiſes of Mr Dryden. In a letter to Mr Wycherley, dated December the 26th, 1704 (85), he ſays: 'It was certainly a great ſatisfaction to me, 'to ſee and converſe with a man, whom in his writ-'ings I had ſo long known with pleaſure. But it was 'a high addition to it, to hear you at our very firſt 'meeting doing juſtice to your dead friend Mr *Dryden*. 'I was not ſo happy as to know him; *Virgilium tan-'tum vidi*. Had I been born early enough, I muſt 'have known and loved him. For I have been aſ-'ſured, not only by yourſelf, but by Mr Congreve 'and Sir William Trumbul, that his perſonal qualities 'were as amiable as his poetical, notwithſtanding the 'many libellous miſrepreſentations of them; againſt 'which the former of theſe Gentlemen has told me 'he will one day vindicate him (*). I ſuppoſe thoſe 'injuries were begun by the violence of party; but 'it is no doubt they were continued by envy at his 'ſucceſs and fame. And theſe ſcribblers, who attack-'ed him in his latter times, were only like gnats in a 'ſummer's evening, which are never troubleſome, but 'in the fineſt and moſt glorious ſeaſon; for his Fire, 'like the Sun's, ſhone cleareſt towards it's ſetting.' The Editor of *Original Poems and Tranſlations by John Dryden*, Eſq; &c. (86), ſpeaking, in the *Preface*, of his Character, ſays: 'Poſterity has been juſt to his 'Fame, and he ſtands now in full poſſeſſion of that '*eſtabliſhed Reputation*, ſo juſtly due to the ſpright-'lineſs of his wit, the livelineſs of his imagination, 'the beauty of his ſentiments and expreſſion, but 'eſpecially that *improved harmony* of his Numbers, 'ſo happily begun by his predeceſſor Mr *Waller*; and 'if ſince brought to a greater perfection by a POET 'of our own times (†), it is what he himſelf always 'owned to be owing to the foundation laid by Mr '*Dryden*. To this honour may be added another, 'that he improved our Proſe as much as our Verſe, 'and is, in that way too, one of the moſt correct 'writers in the Engliſh Language.'

[*AA*] *He had three ſons, Charles, John, and Henry.*] Charles became Uſher of the Palace to Pope Clement XI. and, upon his return to England, left his brother John to officiate in his room, and was drowned in ſwimming croſs the Thames near Windſor, in 1704. He wrote ſeveral pieces, and tranſlated the *Sixth Satire* of *Juvenal*. Mr John Dryden tranſlated the *Fourteenth Satire* of *Juvenal*, and was author of a Comedy intituled, *The Huſband his own Cuckold* (87). He died at Rome not many months after his father. Mr Henry Dryden entered into a religious Order. T

(85) Works of A. Pope, Eſq; Vol. V. p. 2. edit. 1737. 12mo.

(*) He did ſo in the Dedication of Mr Dryden's Plays to the Duke of Newcaſtle. See towards the beginning of this remark.

(†) Mr Pope.

(86) In two volumes, 12mo. 1743.

(87) Printed in 1696.

DUDLEY, the ſurname of a noble family in England, formerly Viſcounts L'Iſle, Earls of Warwick and Leiceſter, and Dukes of Northumberland (*a*). In order to give the reader a clear and diſtinct account of this great Houſe, concerning which many of our beſt writers have fallen into palpable errors, it is requiſite to obſerve, that this ſurname was taken from the caſtle of Dudley, and aſſumed as the antient cuſtom of England was, by the younger children of the Barons of that place (*b*). This caſtle ſtands upon the very edge of Staffordſhire, on the ſummit of a lofty rock, affording a free and pleaſant proſpect over a vaſt extent of country (*c*). So much as remains of it, (for, in ſpite of the injuries of time, and of men far leſs merciful, there are ſtill ſome remains,) may claim the honour of being part of one of the oldeſt fortreſſes in this iſland (*d*). Dudo, an Engliſh Saxon, beſtowed his name upon it about the year 700 (*e*). At the time of the Norman Conqueſt it was granted to a Norman Baron, whoſe name was Fitz-Auſculph (*f*), but did not remain long in his family; for the daughter of William Fitz-Auſculph being married to Fulk Paganel, brought with her the inheritance of Dudley-Caſtle, which deſcended to her ſon Ralph Paganel, who took up arms for the Empreſs Maud againſt King Stephen (*g*). His ſon Gervaſe Paganel married Iſabel, daughter to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, by whom he had a daughter Hawiſe, who was firſt married to John de Somery, and afterwards to Roger de Berkeley, of Berkeley-Caſtle (*h*). Her ſon by the firſt marriage, Ralph de Somery, was Baron of Dudley in right of his mother, and flouriſhed in the reign of Richard I. The male heirs of this family ended in John de Somery, who died in the fifteenth of Edward II. leaving his ſiſters, Margaretta and Joan, coheireſſes. The eldeſt of theſe ſiſters, Margaret, married Sir John Sutton, of the antient Saxon family of Sutton in Nottinghamſhire, who became, in her right, Baron of Dudley (*i*). This noble perſon, taking part with Thomas Earl of Lancaſter againſt the evil Miniſters of Edward II. was compelled, in order to ſave his life, to convey all his right and title in the caſtle and manor of Dudley, and many other large eſtates, to Hugh le Deſpencer, ſon to Hugh Earl of Wincheſter; but, in the firſt of Edward III. he obtained reſtitution of them all (*k*). His ſon John married Iſabel, daughter to John de Charlton, Lord of Powis, by whom he had a ſon named John, concerning whom there occurs little either in Records or Hiſtory, except that he inherited a great eſtate from his grandmother (*l*). He died in the eighth of Henry IV. leaving a ſon of the ſame name, who was then five years of age, and who carried the ſtandard at the ſolemn funeral of Henry V (*m*). He was in great favour with King Henry VI. or rather with his uncle the good Duke of Glouceſter, by whom he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and ſworn into that high office in the month of January 1428 (*n*). According to Sir William Dugdale's account, this noble perſon was honoured with many other high employments in that reign, and lived much beyond it; of which there is ſome reaſon to doubt, ſince we have the poſitive authority of Sir Philip Sydney to the contrary (*o*), who ſeems to have been well acquainted with, and to have taken great pains about, the

(*a*) See Milles, Brook, Vincent, Dugdale.

(*b*) Of which there are many inſtances, as particularly in Touchet Lord Audley, the younger ſon's taking the name of Audley.

(*c*) Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, ch. x. §. 27.

(*d*) Camden's Britan. in Staffordſhire.

(*e*) Dugdal. Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. II. p. 122.

(*f*) Camden's Britannia in Staffordſhire.

(*g*) Liber niger Scaccarii, p. 62.

(*h*) Dugdal. Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. II. 912. *a*. n. 30.

(*i*) Clauſ. 19 E. II. in Dorſo, m. 27.

(*k*) Clauſ. 1 E. III. p. 1. m. 7.

(*l*) Lib. cedul. 2 H. IV. p. 17.

(*m*) Hollinſhed, p. 584, *a*. n. 20.

(*n*) This appears from the table of chief Governors of Ireland, collected from Records publiſhed in Sir James Ware's Works.

(*o*) In his Remarks on a libel againſt Robert Earl of Leiceſter, his uncle.

genealogy of his family. It is therefore highly probable, that his ſon John Sutton, Baron of Dudley (*p*), ſucceeded him in that title pretty early in that reign, and was employed in many great affairs during the continuance of it, and particularly in an embaſſy to France, where he was attended by Leon d'Or, a Purſuivant of his own (*q*). After his return he obtained ſeveral large grants from the Crown, was advanced to be Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, and, in the 39th year of his reign, was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*r*). After the acceſſion of King Edward IV. he grew likewiſe into great favour with that Prince, and, in the very firſt year of his reign, obtained a ſpecial diſcharge, under the Broad Seal, for all ſuch ſums of money as might be due and owing from him on account of the poſt he held in the former reign (*s*); in the fourth year of the ſame King he obtained a grant of one hundred marks *per annum*, out of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, for his great integrity, and in conſideration of his large expences in the King's ſervice; and the year following had another grant of one hundred pounds a year for life, out of the cuſtoms of the port of Southampton (*t*). He was alſo employed, together with the Earl of Arundel, and other noble perſons, to treat with the French King for a continuance of peace, and intruſted in many other affairs of great conſequence by his royal maſter (*u*). Sir William Dugdale was of opinion, that he died towards the cloſe of that reign, and mentions his being ſucceeded in his barony by his grandſon John, who, he aſſures us, was ſummoned to Parliament the firſt of Richard III (*w*). It is however evident, from the Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, that the old Lord lived not only through that reign, but even ſo low as that of Henry VII (*x*), and that there never was any ſuch grandſon as Sir William Dugdale, miſled by more antient writers, ſuppoſes [*A*]. On the contrary, this John Sutton, Lord Dudley, was appointed

(*p*) This may be collected from what appears on record as to his ſon Edmund Sutton Lord Dudley.

(*q*) Exit. Pell. m. 25 H. 6.

(*r*) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 163.

(*s*) Pat. 1 E. IV. p. 1. m. 10.

(*t*) Pat. 4 E. IV. p. 1. m. 10. P. 4 E. IV. p. 2. m. 29.

(*u*) Rot. Franc. 17 E. IV. m. 2.

(*w*) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*x*) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 230, 231.

[*A*] *As Sir William Dugdale, miſled by more antient writers, ſuppoſes.*] It is a point that enters ſtrictly within the plan of this work, and muſt at the ſame time be of much publick utility, to correct, where it can be done, the genealogies of great families, more eſpecially when the miſtakes about them receive countenance from authors of great character. This happens to be the caſe of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, whoſe ſucceſſion the learned Sir William Dugdale found recorded in the Heralds books, particularly in the collections of Glover, who was a man of great reputation; and to theſe he laboured, as well as he could, to reconcile the circumſtances he met with in the patent rolls, and thoſe of Parliament. Now there being great miſtakes in thoſe collections, it was impoſſible that Sir William Dugdale, reducing the facts he met with to theſe erroneous pedigrees, ſhould fail of adding to the miſtakes, as we ſhall plainly prove he did: but firſt let us ſee what that great man has ſaid.

After obſerving that John Sutton Baron of Dudley, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, and widow of the Lord Powis, had iſſue three ſons, Edmund, John, and William, and a daughter Margaret (1), in which he is certainly right, he proceeds thus: 'Which Edmund, in 7 Edward IV., being then a 'Knight, accompanied (2) John Earl of Worceſter, 'Deputy to George Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of 'Ireland, into that realm, for the ſafeguard thereof: 'and in the thirteenth of the ſame reign, in conſide'ration of his expences (3) in the King's ſervice, as 'well in this realm as in Ireland, obtained the ſtew'ardſhip of the manor of Aberbury in the county of 'Salop, then in the King's diſpoſal, by reaſon of the 'minority of George, ſon and heir to John Earl of 'Shrewſbury, but died in his father's life-time, leaving 'iſſue by Joyce, his firſt wife, ſiſter and co-heir to 'John Tiptoft Earl of Worceſter, John his ſon and 'heir, as alſo four other ſons, *viz.* Arthur, Geoffry, 'Thomas, and George, and a daughter called Alia'nore, married to Charles Somerſet Earl of Wor'ceſter: and by Maud his ſecond wife, daughter of 'Thomas Lord Clifford, two ſons, Thomas, who 'married ———, daughter and coheir to Lancelot 'Threlkeld of Gerworth, and Richard a Clerk: as 'alſo four daughters, *viz.* Joyce, married to William 'Middleton, of Stokkelde in the county of York, Eſq; 'Margaret to Edward Lord Powis; Alice to Sir John 'Ratcliffe, of Ordſale in the county of Lancaſter, 'Knight; and Dorothy, to Sir John Muſgrave, 'Knight (4). Which John, in the firſt of Richard III, 'obtained a grant to himſelf, and the heirs male of 'his body, of the manors of Derlaſton, Bentley, 'Titteſovre, Hertwel, Pakynton, and Newton in the 'Moors, *in com.* Stafford, Bruggenorth in the county 'of Salop, and Rokeby in the county of Warwick. 'And by his teſtament, bearing date the 17th of Auguſt *anno* 1487 (2 Hen. VII. (5)) he bequeathed 'his body to be buried (6) within the priory of St James 'at Dudley, appointing that a tomb ſhould be ſet over 'his grave. Alſo that twenty-four new torches ſhould 'be lighted during the performance of divine ſervice at 'his funeral; likewiſe that every Prieſt or religious 'perſon coming thereto ſhould have four pence, and 'every Clerk ſinging three pence. Moreover, that 'twenty marks in money ſhould be diſpoſed in alms 'the ſame day, and on the morrow, to poor people to 'pray for his ſoul, and for the ſoul of his wife and all 'their friends. Furthermore, that a thouſand maſſes 'ſhould be ſaid for him ſo ſoon as poſſible after his bu'rial, which maſſes to coſt ſixteen pounds thirteen 'ſhillings, and fourpence. And having been ſum'moned to Parliament (7) from the firſt of Richard III 'till the third of Henry VII, died ſoon after, leaving 'iſſue by (8) Cecily his wife, daughter of Sir William 'Willughby, Knt. Edward his ſon and heir, Knight 'of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (9), elected 'ſhortly after the beginning of King Henry VIIIth's 'reign: and ſummoned to Parliament from the (10) 'ſeventh of Henry VII, to the twenty-firſt of Hen'ry VIII, inclusive.'

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(2) Rot. Franc. 7 Ed. IV. m. 12.

(3) Pat. 13 E. IV. p. 1. m. 1.

(4) Ex coll. R. Gl. 8.

(5) Pat. 1 R. III. p. 3.

(6) Miles, qu. 8.

(7) Clauſ. de iiſd. ann. in dorſo.

(8) Ex coll. R. Gl. 8.

(9) Inſpiſ. &c. of the Garter, per E. A.

(10) Clauſ. de iiſd. ann. in dorſo.

The firſt error that occurs in this account, is, that Edmund did not die in the life-time of his father John, Baron of Dudley, but ſucceeded him in that honour. The next, that by his wife Joyce he was not father of any of the children mentioned by Dugdale, but had by her an only ſon whom he does not mention, *viz.* Edward, who ſucceeded him in the barony, and was Knight of the Garter, whom Dugdale makes his grandſon. As to the children by the ſecond marriage they are right, except the firſt, whoſe name was Jane and not Joyce. With reſpect to the grants made to, and the will made by, John Lord Sutton, ſon to Edmund, they really relate to his father; and whereas he ſays, that this John married Cecily, daughter to Sir William Willughby, the truth is, that Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, ſon of Edmund Lord Dudley, married that Lady, and had by her John Sutton Lord Dudley, and alſo a daughter Eleanor, who married Charles Somerſet Earl of Worceſter, which Lady, Dugdale makes to have been the daughter of Edmund Sutton Lord Dudley, by his firſt wife. Theſe facts are ſet right from a manuſcript Peerage of England written in the year 1596 (11), and that they are really ſet right will appear from hence, that whereas Dugdale makes John, Baron of Dudley, ſon to Edmund, deceaſe in the beginning of the reign of Henry VII, it is evident beyond all contradiction from the regiſter of that moſt noble Order, this was John Sutton Lord Dudley (12), Knight of the Garter, not the ſon, but the father of Edmund. The reaſon of theſe miſtakes was this, Sir William Dugdale was perſuaded, that John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, who was born in the third year of Henry

(11) Baronagium Angliæ, magnatum ſcilicet illius Regni ſtemmata recentiora, ad conſanguinitates, affinitateſque, per intermixta connubia diſcernendas delineata. Fol.

(12) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 231.

appointed, by King Edward V. which is very remarkable, to hold the feaſt of St George at Windſor; which he accordingly did on the 24th of May 1483 (y). He was alſo preſent in a Chapter of the Order held in King Richard the Third's palace in Weſtminſter, in the firſt year of his reign. In the third year of King Henry VII. the feaſt of St George being held with extraordinary ſolemnity, and offerings then made for the Knight's Companions deceaſed, according to the cuſtom of the Order, we find the ſword of John Lord Dudley, or, as they ſpelt it in thoſe days, Dudely, offered by the Earl of Shrewſbury and the Lord Denham (z). This noble perſon eſpouſed Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, of Beverſton in the county of Glouceſter, Knight, by whom he had iſſue three ſons and one daughter; his eldeſt ſon Edmund Sutton (a), from whom the Barons Dudley deſcended; which title remains to our times, as will be ſhewn in the notes [B]; William, who became, in proceſs of time, Biſhop of Durham, and died in 1483 (b), was the youngeſt ſon; Margaret his daughter married Sir George Longueville, of Little Billing in the county of Northampton, Knight. The ſecond ſon of this noble Peer was Sir John Dudley, Knight, who married Elizabeth, one of the two daughters of Sir John Bramſhot, of Bramſhot in the county of Suſſex, Knight (c), and by her he had only one ſon Edmund, of whom in the next article.

(y) Liber niger Ordin. Priſcil. p. 155.

(z) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 231.

(a) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

(b) Godwin. de præſulib. P. ii. p. 135.

(c) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

Henry IV, was Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry VI, and father to Edmund Sutton; whereas, in truth, he was his grandfather by another John whom he does not mention at all: farther ſtill, whereas Dugdale ſays that John Sutton married Cecily, daughter of Sir William Willughby, Knt. and had by her Edward his ſon and heir; whereas the manuſcript before cited ſays, that Edward Lord Dudley married that Lady, and had by her a ſon John and a daughter Alianore. We can prove from Sir William Dugdale himſelf, that the account in the manuſcript is right, and his own is wrong; for, ſpeaking of Charles Somerſet Earl of Worceſter, he tells us, that his third wife was Eleanor, daughter of Edward Lord Dudley (13), and not John Lord Dudley, as ſet forth in the article of that noble family. But notwithſtanding theſe miſtakes, and thoſe that have been diſcovered by others, his work is truly valuable, ſince, before it appeared, we had nothing upon the ſubject in any degree worthy of it, and we ſhould have had, in all probability, nothing worthy of it yet, if Sir William Dugdale's labours had never appeared; but the moſt diligent and careful man living may be miſled if he truſts to bad guides, or if he travels at a time when none but bad guides are to be had.

(13) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 294.

[B] *As will be ſhewn in the notes.*] In the former note we have ſhewn that Edward Lord Dudley, by Cecily his wife, had iſſue John, his ſon and heir, who married Cecily daughter of Thomas Gray, Marquis of Dorſet, by whom he had his ſon and ſucceſſor, Edward Lord Dudley (14), who was in great favour with Queen Mary (15), and who deceaſed July 4, 1586: He married, firſt, Catherine, daughter to the Lord Chandos, by whom he had an only daughter (16); ſecondly, Jane, daughter to the Earl of Derby, by whom he had two ſons, Edward and John; and thirdly, he married Mary, daughter to William Lord Howard of Effingham (17). His ſon Edward, Lord Dudley, eſpouſed Theodoſia, daughter of Sir James Harrington, Knight, by whom he had a ſon, Ferdinando, and three daughters; Mary married to James Earl of Hume, in Scotland; Anne, who was the wife of Baron Schomberg, and the mother of the great Marſhal Schomberg; and Margaret, who married Sir Miles Hobart, Knight of the Bath (18): As for his ſon Ferdinando, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, and eſpouſing Honora daughter to the Lord Beauchamp, and grand-daughter to the Earl of Hertford, had iſſue by her an only daughter, Frances (19). He died November 22, 1621, in his father's life-time. The old Baron of Dudley being a man of very diſſolute life, ruined the large eſtate which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, and to repair it married his grand-daughter Frances to Humble Ward, Eſq; (20), the ſon of a rich Goldſmith of London, deſcended from the ancient family of the Wards, in Norfolk. This Gentleman adhering ſteadily to his Sovereign, King Charles the Firſt, in all his troubles, was by him knighted at Oxford, June 24, 1643, and on the 23d of March, the ſame year, was created Baron Ward of Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, and in that year, likewiſe, deceaſed the old Lord Dudley, by which the honour deſcended to Lady Ward (21). Humble, Lord Ward, died October 4, 1670, having had iſſue three ſons and four daughters; Edward, the eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded in the honour and eſtate, John died an infant, and William, the third ſon, ſettled at Willingſworth in the County of Stafford (22). Edward, Lord Ward, became, a very little before his death, Lord Dudley, by the deceaſe of his mother in 1701; by his Lady Frances, daughter of Sir William Brereton of Cheſhire, Baronet, and ſole heireſs to her brother, he had three ſons, John, William, and Ferdinand, and three daughters; the eldeſt and youngeſt of his ſons died unmarried, William, the ſecond ſon, married Frances, daughter of Thomas Dilkes, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and a daughter, Frances, who married William Lea, Eſq; of Hale-Owen, in the County of Salop, and died in the life-time of his father; upon the demiſe therefore of Edward, Lord Dudley and Ward, the titles deſcended to the eldeſt ſon of William, beforementioned: Which Edward Lord Dudley and Ward, married Diana, daughter of Thomas Howard of Aſhſted, in the County of Surrey, Eſq; and dying March 28, 1704, under-age, left his Lady big with child of a ſon, who was Edward Lord Dudley and Ward. He dying September 6, 1731, unmarried, his honours and eſtate devolved upon his uncle William, ſon to William Ward, Eſq; ſecond ſon to Edward, firſt Lord Dudley and Ward, and he dying unmarried, the title of Dudley deſcended to Ferdinando Dudley Lea, ſon of Frances, daughter of William Ward, Eſq; beforementioned (23). As for the barony of Ward, it deſcended to John Ward of Sedgley Park in the county of Stafford, Eſq; grandſon of William Ward of Willingſworth, third ſon of Humble, firſt Lord Ward of Birmingham, and this Nobleman is now in poſſeſſion of Dudley caſtle (24).

(14) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 720.

(15) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 34.

(16) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

(17) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(18) Idem, ibid.

(19) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(20) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 217.

(21) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(22) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 472.

(23) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 34.

(24) From private information.

E

DUDLEY (EDMUND), a celebrated Lawyer, and able Stateſman, in the reign of Henry VII. He was, as we have before informed the reader, the grandſon of John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, and Knight of the Garter, by his ſecond ſon Sir John Dudley (a); and, therefore, the malicious reports of his being the ſon of a Mechanick, and that the whole ſtory of his deſcent was a fable, framed by his ſon's flatterers in the time of his greatneſs, though adopted by ſome authors of reputation, is equally groundleſs and ridiculous (b) [A]. He was born ſome time in the year 1462, in the ſecond year of the reign

(a) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

(b) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, 2d edit. Vol. I. p. 420.

[A] *Is equally groundleſs and ridiculous.*] We cannot ſet this matter in a clearer light, than by giving the reader what the famous Dr Fuller has ſaid upon this ſubject (1). 'Edmund Dudley, Eſq; ſays he, 'was ſon to John Dudley, Eſq; ſecond ſon to John 'Sutton firſt Baron of Dudley, as a learned Antiquary 'hath

(1) Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

reign of Edward IV. and his father having, in his own and in his wife's right, a very plentiful fortune, he received a ſuitable education (*c*); and, diſcovering very early the great pregnancy of his parts, he was ſent, in the year 1478 (*d*), to the Univerſity of Oxford, being then about the age of ſixteen. When he had ſpent there ſome time in the ſtudy of antient learning, he was removed to London, and, being intended for the profeſſion of the Law, he was placed in Gray's-Inn (*e*), where, when he afterwards became ſo eminent, his arms, finely depicted, amongſt thoſe of many other noble and illuſtrious perſons, were placed in one of the windows of the Hall (*f*). It is very certain, that he ſtudied the Law with great diligence, and came to be very ſoon conſidered as one of the moſt conſiderable

(*c*) Bale's Scrip. Britan. cent. xi.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 11.

(*e*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

(*f*) Origines Judiciales, p. 309.

'hath beheld his pedigree derived. But his deſcent is 'controverted by many, condemned by ſome, who 'have raiſed a report that John, father to this Ed'mund, was but a Carpenter, born in Dudley town, '(and therefore called John Dudley) who travelling 'ſouthward to find work for his trade, lived at Lewes 'in Suſſex, where they will have this Edmund born, 'and for the pregnancy of his parts, brought up by 'the Abbot of Lewes in learning. But probably ſome 'who afterwards were pinched in their purſes by this 'Edmund, did in revenge give him this bite in his re'putation, inventing this tale to his diſparagement. 'I muſt believe him of noble extraction, becauſe qua'lified to marry the daughter and heir of the Viſcount 'L'Iſle, and that before this Edmund grew ſo great 'with King Henry VII, as by the age of John his 'ſon, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, may pro'bably be collected.' This writer is frequently unhappy in his accounts, in which he is too often followed by ſuch as have written ſince his time. He ſays that Edmund Dudley was the grandſon of John Sutton, firſt Baron of Dudley; in the very page before this he informs us, that William Dudley Biſhop of Durham, who died in 1483, was the ſon of John Dudley, the eighth Baron of Dudley, of Dudley caſtle in the county of Stafford (2). Now there is nothing more certain, than that this William Dudley was the uncle of our Edmund Dudley, and that his father John Dudley, the eighth Baron of Dudley, was the very ſame perſon with John Sutton the firſt Baron of Dudley, which Dr Fuller might eaſily have diſcerned, if he had conſidered the time when theſe Dudleys lived. The ſtory of the Carpenter he had out of a manuſcript intituled *A View of Staffordſhire, by Samſon Erderſwick, Eſq*; which he highly commends (3). This tale, which Fuller treats as it deſerves, paſſed for true Hiſtory with all the enemies of the Leiceſter family. In a famous Popiſh libel in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, I find it obſerved of Robert Earl of Leiceſter (4). 'That he was the ſon 'of a Duke, the brother of a King, grandſon of an 'Eſquire, and great grandchild of a Carpenter. *The 'Carpenter*, ſays my author, *was in all likelihood the 'happieſt of his race, for he perhaps was an honeſt man 'and died in his bed.*' But though Dr Fuller is right in his criticiſm, yet he is right upon wrong grounds, for he did not marry the daughter and heir of the Viſcount L'Iſle before he was high in King Henry's favour, ſince that match was the pure effects of it, the Lady being the King's ward (5). His other argument is ſtill worſe, for John, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, was not born till eight years after the marriage, and not quite ſix years before the King's death (6); ſo that if it proves any thing, it muſt prove directly the reverſe of what he cites it to prove. In our ſubſequent articles the reader will ſee the true reaſon, why the fooliſh ſtory of the Carpenter came to gain any credit, and that was the endeavours of this Gentleman's ſon to deprive the chief of his family of his honour and dignity, and to attribute to himſelf, in a direct deſcent from his anceſtors, the barony of Dudley, to which indeed they never had any title at all; and thus from a malignant ambition in him to be deſcended wholly from Lords, his enemies took the advantage of ſuggeſting, that his grandfather was not ſo much as a gentleman, and ſo turned his own art upon himſelf, or rather upon his deſcendants.

(2) Ibid. p. 42.

(3) Ibid. p. 45.

(4) Taken from the extracts of a libel written in Latin, amongſt the papers of Lord Burleigh.

(5) See the Record cited in the text.

(6) So it appears from his petition to Parliament to be reſtored in blood.

But we cannot part with this matter thus. There was another writer of much greater figure than Dr Fuller, whom the ſtory of the Carpenter alarmed, and who, though he profeſſes that he was ſatisfied this was falſe, yet he ſaw no reaſon to believe that our Edmund Dudley was deſcended from the Barons of Dudley, though he knew that with his own hand that Gentleman, in a pedigree of his family, aſſerted himſelf ſo to be (7). But notwithſtanding this, Sir William Dugdale thinks he might be the ſon of ſome Gentleman of the name of Dudley, but not of the Baron's family, of which he ſays there are many in ſeveral parts of England. Upon the whole he ſuggeſts, that though the father of Edmund Dudley was without doubt a Gentleman, ſince he married a woman of conſiderable family and fortune, yet it was not impoſſible that his grandfather might be a Carpenter, or if not his grandfather, his great-grandfather. In anſwer to this we ſhall obſerve, firſt, that it is a very ſtrange thing Sir William Dugdale ſhould doubt, that ſo wiſe and learned a man as Mr Dudley is on all hands confeſſed to be, ſhould not know who his grandfather was as well as Mr Erderſwick, the father of this tale of the Carpenter. In the next place, Why, ſince this tale is abſolutely falſe as to his father, which is the matter of fact affirmed, muſt it be ſuppoſed true of his grandfather, or his great-grandfather, of which there is not a word ſaid any where? But, thirdly, though Sir William Dugdale aſſerted this in his Hiſtory of Warwickſhire, yet afterwards, when he came to examine things better, in order to compoſe a Hiſtory of our Nobility in general, he thought fit to abandon this notion, and though his account of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, is not very exact, yet he is very clear that Edmund Dudley was really the ſon of John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, and conſequently allows that neither his grandfather, nor his great-grandfather, could be a Carpenter.

(7) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol I. p. 420.

But ſince we have ſaid ſo much upon this head, we will go a little farther, and put it entirely out of doubt, both by reaſon and authority. In the firſt place let it be obſerved, that Edmund Dudley, Eſq; was admitted into the ſervice and Council of King Henry VII. in the firſt year of his reign, when that gentleman was in the twenty-third or fourth year of his age, and in the life time of his grandfather, John, Lord Dudley, Knight of the Garter. Now, though it is ſaid that he owed this preferment to his prudence and reputation, yet is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that theſe might have been overlooked, if he had not been alſo a man of quality? In the next place, when Perkin Warbeck publiſhed a proclamation, in which he reproached King Henry VII. with admitting many mean and low men into his Councils, of whom he gives a long catalogue (8). Can one imagine, that if Edmund Dudley's birth had not been truly noble, he would not have ſtood there, as well as Sir Richard Empſon, Biſhop Fox, and Sir Reginald Bray? Thirdly, How came Bale, Pitts, and all the old writers in general, to inſiſt ſo expreſsly on the nobility of his birth, without the leaſt note of doubt, or ſuſpicion of the matter? Fourthly, when ſo much weight is every where laid upon the mean birth of Sir Richard Empſon, who was the ſon of a ſievemaker at Towceſter; how can it be conceived that Edmund Dudley, in the ſame condemnation, ſhould be mentioned by the ſame writers with ſo much reſpect for his birth, if it had not been in thoſe times, as clear as any thing could be? or, what but reſpect to his family could move King Henry VIII. to reſtore his ſon, a child of eight years old, in blood, and give him his eſtate. Laſtly, in point of authority, I ſhall mention but one writer, becauſe his name is ſufficient to ſilence all diſputes, it is the famous John Leland, who, in his Itinerary, has theſe words (9). 'The Viſcount 'Duddeley now being, is of the Suttons, that married 'the heirs general of the Duddelys. He cometh by his 'mother ſide, of the Talbot, Lord or Viſcount Liſle.' This is ſpoken of Sir John Dudley, Viſcount Liſle, and being ſet down in a note book merely for his proper uſe, cannot be ſuſpected, ſince no Antiquary deſires to deceive himſelf.

(8) See the ſubſtance of this proclamation in Lord Bacon's Hiſtory.

(9) Vol. VIII. p. 29.

[B] *During*

conſiderable perſons of the profeſſion; which induced Henry VII. a Prince who was an excellent judge of the talents of men, to take him very early into his ſervice (*g*); it is alſo ſaid, that, for his ſingular prudence and fidelity, he was ſworn of the King's Privy-Council, in the 23d year of his age (*h*); and, as Polydore Virgil affirms this, who was then here, there can be no cauſe to doubt. In 1492 we find he was one of thoſe great men in the King's army near Bologne, who offered propoſitions to the King for the concluſion of a treaty with France, and adviſed him to comply with them (*i*); which he at their interceſſion did, and a peace was accordingly ſigned November 6th, 1492. This was the fineſt ſtroke in politicks of that reign; and though the peace was very far from being well received in England, yet it anſwered the King's purpoſes compleatly, and was highly honourable for this nation, ſince an annual tribute was, in plain terms, ſtipulated, and actually paid during the remainder of this reign and part of the next (*k*) [*B*]. It is highly probable, that Mr Dudley was one of the King's principal inſtruments in this intrigue, ſince, two years afterwards, we find he obtained the wardſhip and marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Grey, Viſcount L'Iſle, ſiſter and coheireſs of John Viſcount L'Iſle, her brother (*l*). In 1499 he was one of thoſe who ſigned the ratification of the peace beforementioned, by authority of Parliament (*m*). This plainly ſhews, that he was a perſon in great credit with his country, as well as in high favour with his Prince, whom he ſerved in promoting the filling of his coffers, under colour of the Law, though with very little reſpect to the principles of equity and juſtice, as an able and excellent author informs us (*n*) [*C*]. But, in what capacity he did this, is not at all in our power to aſſert. We are

(*g*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

(*h*) Polydor. Virgil. Hiſtoria Angliæ, p. 567. n. 10.

(*i*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XII. p. 490.

(*k*) See that point explained in the note.

(*l*) Eſc. 20 H. VII.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XII. p. 710.

(*n*) Lord Bacon in his life of Henry VII.

[*B*] *During the remainder of this reign, and part of the next.*] It was a maxim with Henry VII. to have as little to do with the Continent as poſſible, but when he was obliged to have to do with it, he carried things as high as he could. In the beginning of his reign, he had temporized with the French King, to prevent having a foreign war and domeſtick broils to deal with at the ſame time. But finding the French grew upon him, he reſolved to make war in ſuch a manner, as ſhould procure him peace for the future (10). He laid before the Parliament, therefore, the ground of his quarrel, in which he was certainly right. For this induced them to eſpouſe the propoſal of a war very warmly; but to avoid oppreſſing the meaner ſort of people in raiſing money for the ſupport of it, they granted the King a benevolence by law, which was collected by way of requeſt, but of the better ſort only, and brought in a vaſt ſum of money (11). The King on his part, raiſed an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and one thouſand ſix hundred horſe, and attended by the flower of his Nobility, paſſed the ſeas after Michaelmas 1492. And as if he intended no time ſhould be loſt, he afterwards actually opened the ſiege of Bologne, though propoſitions had been made for amicably compoſing all diſputes; upon which a negotiation was begun, and while the ſiege went on, a peace was concluded by the commiſſioners, to continue for both Kings lives; 'in which, ſays Lord Bacon (12), 'there was no article of importance, being in effect, rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained 'as they were, ſave, that there ſhould be paid to the 'King, ſeven hundred and forty five thouſand ducats, 'in preſent, for his charges in that journey, and five and 'twenty thouſand crowns yearly, for his charges ſuſtained in the aids of the Britains. For which annual 'ſum, though he had Maximilian bound before for 'thoſe charges, yet he counted the alteration of the 'hand, as much as the principal debt. And beſides, 'it was left ſomewhat indefinitely, when it ſhould determine or expire, which made the Engliſh eſteem it 'as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth 'is, it was paid both to the King, and to his ſon 'King Henry VIII. longer than it could continue 'upon any computation of charges. There was alſo 'aſſigned by the French King, unto all the King's 'principal Counſellors, great penſions, beſides rich 'gifts for the preſent. Which, whether the King 'did permit to ſave his own purſe from rewards, or to 'communicate the envy of a buſineſs that was diſpleaſing to his people, was diverſly interpreted. For 'certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this 'peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had, underhand, procured ſome of his 'beſt captains and men of war, to adviſe him to a 'peace under their hands in an earneſt manner, in the 'nature of a ſupplication. But the truth is, this peace 'was welcome to both Kings. To Charles, for, that 'it aſſured unto him the poſſeſſion of Britain, and freed 'the enterprize of Naples. To Henry; for, that it 'filled his coffers; and, that he foreſaw at that time, 'a ſtorm of inward troubles coming upon him, which 'preſently after brake forth. But it gave no leſs diſcontent to the nobility and principal perſons of the 'army, who had many of them ſold, or engaged their 'eſtates upon the hopes of the war. They ſtuck not 'to ſay, that the King cared not to plume his nobility 'and people to feather himſelf. And ſome made 'themſelves merry with, that the King had ſaid in 'Parliament, that after the war was once begun, he 'doubted not but to make it pay itſelf; ſaying, he 'had kept promiſe.' The curious reader may find a very fair and full account of this matter in the French Hiſtorians, which will convince him, that they differed very little in their judgment of the matter from us, that is, they thought the honour of the nation highly concerned, and blamed Lewis XII. who ſucceeded in 1498, for renewing this treaty, and undertaking to continue the payment of thoſe ſums annually, which had been ſtipulated by his father (13). This they ſay he might very well do for the ſake of peace, but then he ſhould have done it as an act of his own, and not as heir and ſucceſſor to his father, and ſo bound to comply with, and diſcharge his engagements (14).

(10) Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt. Angliæ, lib. xxvii.

(11) Hollinſhed, Stowe.

(12) Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 447.

(13) P. Daniel Hiſt. d'France, Vol. VI. p. 671.

(14) Recueil des Roys des France leurs Couronne et Maiſon, par J. du Tillet, P. ii. p. 380.

[*C*] *As an able and excellent author informs us.*] In all our general hiſtories, this matter is handled in the groſs, ſo that it is very difficult to conceive wherein the crimes of Empſon and Dudley conſiſted; but Lord Bacon, who underſtood the matter well, relates every circumſtance freely and fully, in the following manner (15). 'As Kings do more eaſily find inſtruments 'for their will and humour, than for their ſervice and 'honour; he had gotten for his purpoſe, or beyond 'his purpoſe, two inſtruments, Empſon and Dudley, 'bold men and careleſs of fame, and that took toll of 'their maſter's griſt. Dudley was of a good family, 'eloquent, and one that could put hateful buſineſs into 'good language. But Empſon, that was the ſon of a 'Sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, 'putting off all other reſpects whatſoever. Theſe two 'perſons being Lawyers in ſcience, and Privy-Counſellors in authority, turned law and juſtice into wormwood and rapine. For firſt, their manner was to 'cauſe divers ſubjects to be indicted of ſundry crimes, 'and ſo far forth to proceed in form of law; but 'when the bills were found, then preſently to commit 'them: and nevertheleſs, not to produce them in any 'reaſonable time to their anſwer, but to ſuffer them to 'languiſh long in priſon, and by ſundry artificial devices and terrors, to extort from them great fines and 'ranſoms, which they termed compoſitions and mitigations. Neither did they towards the end, obſerve 'ſo much as the half face of juſtice in proceeding by 'indictment, but ſent forth their precepts to attach 'men, and convent them before themſelves and ſome 'others, at their private houſes in a Court of Commiſſion, and there uſed to ſhuffle up a ſummary proceed-

(15) In his Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 491.

are assured by Stowe, that, in 1497, he was Under-Sheriff of London, and continued so for six years (*o*); which might, indeed, put it in his power to pack Juries, and to have a hand in other enormities with which he was charged; but, that the same person should, at the same time, be Under-Sheriff of London, one of the most distinguished Lawyers at the Bar, and a Privy-Counsellor, is not to be conceived (*p*). The ingenious Dr Fuller gives us a more plausible account, for he makes him a *puisne Judge* (*q*); but it happens unluckily, that, had he been so, it must have appeared, which it does not. Besides, as a Judge, he could not have meddled with the King's revenue; as a Baron of the Exchequer he might, but neither was he that. Polydore Virgil, who was well acquainted with those times, tells us, what both he and Sir Richard Empson were, but he tells it us in Latin; they were, says he, *Fiscales Judices* (*r*); the misfortune is, that we do not know how to put this into English. It might, perhaps, be no improbable guess, that they were Attorney and Sollicitor General; for which, however, no direct authority can be alledged. In the Parliament held in 1504, Edmund Dudley, Esq; was Speaker of the House of Commons (*s*), and, about the same time, was, by the King's writ, discharged from the state and degree of a Serjeant at Law (*t*), as Sir William Dugdale tells us; another writer calls it degraded, which, however it may sound, was, in reality, an act of favour (*u*) [*D*]. In the Parliament in which this Gentleman was Speaker, there were several acts passed, much for the publick benefit; but which, at the same time, very plainly discovered, that they were framed and digested by Lawyers; and this, perhaps, was one reason why they were found very practicable in the execution, and, like many other laws made in this reign, have been since admired for going clearly and directly to the ends that they were meant to accomplish (*w*) [*E*]. In consideration, as it may be presumed,

(*o*) Annals, p. 487.

(*p*) See this point examined in note [*D*].

(*q*) Worthies in Staffordshire, p. 43.

(*r*) Hist. Angliæ, p. 613. n. 10.

(*s*) Bacon's Hist. H. VII. in his Works, Vol. III. p. 494.

(*t*) Chronica Series, p. 77.

(*u*) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 147.

(*w*) Lord Bacon's Hist. H. VII.

'ing by examination, without trial of jury, assuming 'to themselves there, to deal both in pleas of the 'Crown, and controversies civil. Then did they also 'use to enthrall and charge the subjects lands with 'tenures in capite, by finding false offices, and thereby 'to work upon them for wardships, liveries, premier 'seisins, and alienations, being the fruits of those tenures, refusing, upon divers pretext and delays, to 'admit men to traverse those false offices according to 'the law. Nay, the King's wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to 'have livery of their lands, without paying excessive 'fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They did 'also vex men with informations of intrusion, upon 'scarce colourable titles. When men were outlaw'd 'in personal actions, they would not permit them to 'purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid 'great and intolerable sums, standing upon the strict 'point of law; which, upon outlawries, giveth forfeiture of goods: Nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the 'half of mens lands and rents, during the space of 'full two years, for a pain, in case of outlawry. They 'would also ruffle with jurors, and enforce them to find 'as they would direct; and if they did not, convent 'them, imprison them, and fine them.' It appears from Polydore Virgil, that at first, these proceedings were carried on with much temper and address; that is to say, the penalties levied, were not very severe, and those who paid them, were commonly persons in prety good circumstances, which prevented any great clamour: but by degrees, when the legality of these proceedings seemed to be thoroughly established, they were extended farther, and then it was, that they created such a general dissatisfaction, as induced the King to promise restitution, and to part with his Ministers, Sir Richard Empson, and Edmund Dudley.

[*D*] *Which however it may sound, was in reality an act of favour.*] That learned Herald and Antiquary mentioned in the text, gives us a large account of this matter (16). 'In the nineteenth of Henry VII, says 'he, he was Speaker of the Parliament, and should 'the same year have been made a Serjeant at Law, 'but, for what reason I will not take upon me to assign, he desired that he might be discharged from 'assuming that degree, whereupon the King directed 'his precept to William, Bishop of London, then Lord 'Keeper of the Great Seal, commanding his forbearance of making out any writ to him for that purpose.' This sufficiently shews Dr Fuller's mistake in affirming our Dudley to have been a Puisne Judge, for if so he must have been a Serjeant. We have a large account of the antient manner of making Serjeants at Law, from an author of great dignity (17), who informs us, that the Chief Justices of the Common-Pleas, with the advice of the other Judges of that Court, were wont to set down the names of a certain number of the discreetest persons who had most profited in the Laws, and were thought to be of best disposition, which being presented to the Lord Chancellor of England in writing, he, by the King's writ, charged every of the persons elect, to be before the King at a day by him assigned, to take upon him the state and degree of a Serjeant at Law, under a great penalty which in those writs was specified. But there were many reasons why persons thus named chose to avoid taking upon them that dignity, though it may be doubted whether this was not the first instance of a person's being discharged by the interposition of the royal authority, but it was soon followed, for we find in the second year of Henry VIII, that the King granted to Richard Brooke (18) an exemption from being called to the degree of a Serjeant against his good will, or if he was called, to refuse it. Sometimes also they were discharged from that degree in order to their enjoying some office that was inconsistent therewith, which was the case of Thomas Fleming, Serjeant at Law, who was discharged by writ directed to himself from Queen Elizabeth, November 5, in the thirty-seventh year of her reign, in order to his being made Sollicitor-General (19). Now, from what Sir William Dugdale says, it looks as if there was some particular reason for Mr Dudley's desiring his discharge, and it is not impossible that it might be for obtaining the office of Sollicitor-General. It is very true that Sir William Dugdale mentions but two Sollicitors in the whole reign of Henry VII, *viz.* Andrew Dimmock, who obtained that office in the first of Henry VII, and John Ernley, who came into it in the twenty-second of the same reign (20). But that there were other persons in that office within that space of time, may be concluded from hence, that Andrew Dimmock was raised to the degree of a Baron of the Exchequer in the eleventh year of that King, and one cannot suppose, that in so busy a reign there should be no Sollicitor for eleven years together. Something of the same kind might be said as to the post of Attorney-General, in which we find Sir James Hobart during that whole reign.

[*E*] *That they were meant to accomplish.*] We have this matter admirably set forth by the wise and judicious Historian of this reign (21). 'In this Parliament, says he, there were not made any statutes memorable touching publick government. But those 'that were, had still the stamp of the King's wisdom 'and policy. There was a statute made for the disannulling of all patents of lease or grant, to such as 'came not upon lawful summons to serve the King in 'his wars against the enemies or rebels, or that should 'depart without the King's licence, with an exception 'of several persons of the long robe. Providing nevertheless, that they should have the King's wages 'from their house till their return home again. There 'hath

(16) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 420.

(17) From a MS. of the Lord Chancellor Fortescue.

(18) See the Chronica Series in that year.

(19) See the copy of that writ in the Origines Juridiciales, p. 140.

(20) In his Chronica Series, p. 75, 79.

(21) Bacon's Hist. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 494.

ſumed, of the great ſervices rendered by him in this high ſtation, we find, that, two years afterwards, he obtained a grant of the Stewardſhip of the rape of Haſtings, in the county of Suſſex (*x*). This was one of the laſt favours that he received from his Maſter, who, at the cloſe of his life, is ſaid to have been very much troubled at the oppreſſions and extortions of which his Miniſters, particularly Empſon and Dudley, had been guilty, inſomuch that he expreſſed a willingneſs to make reſtitution to ſuch as had been injured, and directed the ſame by his will (*y*). Polydore Virgil (*z*), and ſome other courtly writers, take occaſion from hence to free that Monarch, in a great meaſure, from blame, diſcharging, as is commonly done, all the errors and evil practices in his government upon the ſhoulders of Empſon and Dudley (*a*), who, it is very certain, loſt their heads for them. But, that they did not drive the King, or even deceive him, into ſuch meaſures, the judicious Lord Bacon (*b*) has very plainly proved, from inſtances that are worth the reader's notice [*F*]. The King died at Richmond on the 21ſt of April 1509 (*c*); and he was ſcarce laid in his grave before Mr Dudley was ſent to the Tower, the clamour of

(*x*) Pat. 22 H. VII. p. 2.

(*y*) Hollinſhed, Stowe.

(*z*) Hiſt. Angliæ, lib. xxvi.

(*a*) Hall, Cooper, and Stowe.

(*b*) Hiſt. of Hen. VII. See alſo Grafton's Chronicle in the ſame reign.

(*c*) Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt. Angliæ, p. 790.

'hath been the like made before for offices, and by 'this ſtatute it was extended to lands. But a man may 'eaſily ſee, by many ſtatutes made in the King's time, 'that the King thought it ſafeſt to aſſiſt martial law by 'law of Parliament. Another ſtatute was made, pro'hibiting the bringing in of manufactures of ſilk 'wrought by itſelf, or mixed with any other thread. 'But it was not of ſtuffs of whole piece (for that the 'realm had of them no manufacture in uſe at that time) 'but of knit ſilk, or texture of ſilk; as ribbons, laces, 'cauls, points, and girdles, which the people of En'gland could then well ſkill to make. This law 'pointed at a true principle, that where foreign ma'terials are but ſuperfluities, foreign manufactures 'ſhould be prohibited. For that will either baniſh 'the ſuperfluity, or gain the manufacture. There was 'a law alſo of reſumption of patents of gaols, and the 'reannexing of them to the ſheriffwicks, privileged 'officers being no leſs an interruption of juſtice than 'privileged places. There was a law likewiſe to re'ſtrain the bye-laws, or ordinances, of corporations, 'which many times were againſt the prerogative of the 'King, the common law of the realm, and the liberty 'of the ſubject, being fraternities in evil. It was 'therefore provided, that they ſhould not be put in 'execution without the allowance of the Chancellor, 'Treaſurer, and the two Chief-Juſtices, or three of 'them, or of the two Juſtices of Circuit where the cor'poration was. Another law was in effect to bring in 'the ſilver of the realm to the mint, in making all 'clipped, miniſhed, or impaired coins of ſilver, not to 'be current in payments, without giving any remedy 'of weight, but with an exception only of reaſonable 'wearing, which was as nothing in reſpect of the un'certainty; and ſo upon the matter to ſet the mint on 'work, and to give way to new coins of ſilver which 'ſhould be then minted. There likewiſe was a ſtrong 'ſtatute againſt vagabonds, wherein two things may be 'noted, the one, the diſlike the Parliament had of 'gaoling them, as that which was chargeable, peſte'rous, and of no open example. The other, that in 'the ſtatutes of this King's time (for this of the nine'teenth year is not the only ſtatute of that kind) there 'are ever coupled the puniſhment of vagabonds and the 'forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games un'to ſervants and mean people, and the putting down 'and ſuppreſſing of ale-houſes, as ſtrings of one root 'together, and as if the one were improfitable without 'the other. As for riot and retainers, there ſcarce 'paſſed any Parliament in this time without a law a'gainſt them, the King ever having an eye to might 'and multitude. There was granted alſo that Parlia'ment a ſubſidy, both from the temporality and the 'clergy. And yet nevertheleſs, e'er the year expired, 'there went out commiſſions for a general benevolence, 'though there were no wars, no fears. The ſame year 'the city gave five thouſand marks for confirmation of 'their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of 'Kings reigns than the latter ends. Neither was it a 'ſmall matter that the mint gained upon the late ſta'tute, by the recoinage of groats and half groats.

[*F*] *That are worth the reader's notice.*] The turn given by ſome writers to theſe oppreſſions and exactions, is this, that the King intended one thing, and his Miniſters did another. He found many of his ſubjects either too rich, or too proud, to ſtoop to the laws, which conceiving to be the effects of thoſe domeſtick commotions with which the realm had been often troubled, he judged that the beſt phyſick for this ſtate malady, was the calling great and opulent offenders to juſtice; but Sir Richard Empſon, and Mr Dudley, extended this plan, ſo as to take in all ranks of people, and at the ſame time ſtretched the laws, and heightened the ſeverities of them beyond the intention of the legiſlators; with all which, when the King was thoroughly informed, he was highly offended (22). But that there was little or no truth in this; that the King was himſelf as ſevere, and as rapacious as his Miniſters could be; and that there is very ſmall reaſon to ſuppoſe he was at all ignorant of any of their proceedings, will appear from the following inſtances; one of which, the noble author had from good authority, and the other he relates from his own knowledge: ſo that if we aim at diſcovering truth in this buſineſs, we may eaſily diſcern it (23).

(22) Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt. Angl. lib. xxvi.

(23) Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 492, 493.

'There remaineth to this day, ſays Lord Bacon, a 'report, that the King was on a time, entertained by 'the Earl of Oxford, his principal ſervant, both for 'war and peace, nobly and ſumptuouſly, at his caſtle 'at Hemingham; and at the King's going away, the 'Earl's ſervants ſtood in their livery-coats, with cog'nizances ranged on both ſides, and made the King a 'lane. The King called the Earl to him, and ſaid to 'him, my Lord, I have heard much of your hoſpi'tality, but I ſee it is greater than the ſpeech: theſe 'handſome gentlemen and yeomen which I ſee on both 'ſides of me, are ſure your menial ſervants. The Earl 'ſmiled, and ſaid, it may pleaſe your Grace, that 'were not for mine eaſe, they are moſt of them my 'retainers that are come to do me ſervice at ſuch a 'time as this, and chiefly to ſee your Grace. The 'King ſtarted a little, and ſaid, by my faith, my 'Lord, I thank you for my good chear, but I may 'not endure to have my laws broken in my ſight, my 'Attorney muſt ſpeak with you. And, it is part of 'the report, that the Earl compounded for no leſs 'than fifteen-thouſand marks. And to ſhew farther the 'King's extreme diligence, I do remember to have 'ſeen a book of accompt of Empſon's, that had the 'King's hand almoſt to every leaf, by way of ſigning, 'and was in ſome places poſtilled in the margin with 'the King's hand; likewiſe, where was this remem'brance.

'Item, *Receiv'd of ſuch a one,* five *marks for a par'don to be procured, and if the* pardon *do not 'paſs, the money to be repaid, except the* party *be 'ſome otherways ſatisfied.*

'And over againſt this memorandum, of the King's 'own hand,

'*otherwiſe ſatisfied.*'

It was by ſuch ſmall ſums as theſe, as our excellent Hiſtorian well obſerves, that King Henry collected that immenſe maſs of treaſure of which he died poſſeſſed, and how immenſe that wealth was, in compariſon of thoſe, or indeed of theſe times, that learned and painful Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, has told us, from a book of receipts and payments kept between the King, and Mr Edmund Dudley, viz. four millions and a half in coin and bullion, excluſive of rich furniture, wrought plate, and jewels. It appears likewiſe from the ſame book, that the extrordinary, or caſual reve-

venue

of the people being so great, that this step was thought absolutely necessary to quiet them (*d*); tho' Stowe seems to think, that both he and Sir Richard Empson were decoyed into the Tower, or they had not been so easily taken (*e*). At the same time numbers of their subordinate instruments were seized, imprisoned, tried, and punished (*f*). On the 16th of July, the same year, Edmund Dudley, Esq; was arraigned, and found guilty of High-Treason, before Commissioners assembled in Guild-Hall (*g*) [*G*]. The King taking a progress afterwards into the country, found himself so much incommoded by the general outcry of his people, that he caused Sir Richard Empson to be carried down into Northamptonshire, where, in the month of October following, he was also tried and convicted, and then remanded back to the Tower (*h*). In the Parliament which began January 21st, 1510, of which Sir Thomas Ingleby was Speaker, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, Esq; were attainted of High-Treason (*i*). The King, however, was unwilling to execute them; and Stowe (*k*) informs us, that a rumour prevailed, as if Queen Katherine had interposed, and procured Mr Dudley's pardon. To give some employment to his thoughts during his tedious imprisonment, and, perhaps, with a view of extricating himself happily out of all his misfortunes, he composed a very extraordinary piece (*l*), which he addressed to King Henry VIII; but, as it never came to his hand, so it could not contribute to save the head from which it sprung [*H*]. The clamours of the people continually increasing,

(*d*) Lord Herbert's Hist. of H. VIII. p. 1.

(*e*) Annals, p. 486.

(*f*) See Grafton, Stowe, Hollinshed.

(*g*) Petition in Parliament for the restitution of his son, 3 Hen. VIII.

(*h*) Hollinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 804.

(*i*) Polydor. Virgil. Hist. Angliæ, lib. xxvii.

(*k*) Annals, p. 487.

(*l*) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 798.

venue arising from the sale of offices, composition of penalties, and dispensing with the laws, was advanced to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year (24).

(24) Discourse of foreign war, with an account of all the taxations from the Conquest to the end of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 53. in which the sum is written in words at length.

[*G*] *Before Commissioners assembled in Guild-Hall.*] It appears from the account given by Stowe, that Sir Richard Empson, and Mr Dudley, were sent for to attend the King in the Tower of London at such a time, very probably, as his Privy-Counsellors were sworn; and having thus put themselves in the power of those who had no good will to them, they were committed to prison, contrary, as he insinuates, to their expectations (25). Grafton tells us, that in the last year of King Henry VIIth's reign, they were by special Commission, appointed to enquire of the offenders against penal laws, which they diligently prosecuted; but, says he, the malice of the people was so increased against them, for their endeavours and service in the said Commission, the new King, to pacify the populace, was obliged to proceed against them (26). Accordingly, Edmund Dudley, Esq; was brought, on the day mentioned in the text, before Edward, Duke of Buckingham; Henry, Earl of Northumberland; Thomas, Earl of Surrey; George, Earl of Shrewsbury; Thomas, Earl of Derby; Thomas, Prior of St John's of Hierusalem, in England; Charles Somerset, of Herbert, Knight; Stephen Jennings, Mayor of the City of London; John Fineux, Knight; Robert Rede, Knight; William Hodie, Knight; Robert Brudnele, Humphry Coningsby, John Fisher, Knight; John Boteler, William Grevill, Thomas Lovell, Knight; Edward Poynings, Knight; Henry Marney, Knight; Thomas Englefield, Knight; and Robert Drury, Knight; Justices to enquire, &c (27). He was then indicted, together, as it seems, with Sir Richard Empson, for high-treason; in proof of which, it was alledged, that during the sickness of the late King, in the month of March preceding, they summoned certain of their friends to be in arms at an hour's warning, and upon the death of the said King, to hasten to London. Out of which, and other circumstances, it was collected by the jury, that their intention was to seize on the person of the new King, and so to assume the sole government, or, if they could not attain this, to destroy him. It was a very strange inference, that because a man who had the misfortune to labour under the publick hatred, desired the assistance of his friends, in order to come safe to London, therefore this implied a design to imprison and destroy the King; but as strange as it was, the jury it seems thought it credible. However, Sir Richard Empson was sent down into the country, and there tried for as strange a felony as this was a treason (28). To ratify all this, they were attainted in Parliament, notwithstanding an excellent speech made by Sir Richard Empson, which was not, as is generally supposed, written for him by the Lord Herbert (29); for the substance of it was long before printed in one of our chronicles (30). The whole of these proceedings, which were in the first and second years of the reign of Henry VIII. were recited at large in the petition exhibited in the name of John Dudley, the son of Edmund, by his guardian Edward Guildford, Esq; in the third year of the same reign, upon which he obtained a special Act of Parliament, for the repeal of this attainder; which sufficiently shews, that it was founded rather in clamour, than in justice, and that the Parliament were as willing to remove that precedent as to make it.

(26) Brief Chronicle of England, fo. 120. *b.*

(27) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 420, 421.

(28) Hollinshed, Vol. II. p. 804.

(29) Hist. of the reign of H. VIII. p. 2.

(30) Hollinshed, Vol. II. p. 803.

[*H*] *To save the head from which it sprung.*] It is somewhat strange, that this book, though seen and perused by many, and thence made often the theme of publick discourse, should never yet see the light; as from the title and contents it seems well to deserve. We will first give the reader these, next speak of the fate of the author's original book, and lastly, say somewhat of it's consequences. It was entituled (31),

The Tree *of the* Commonwealth, *by* Edmund Dudley, Esq; *late Counsellor to King* Henry VII, *the same* Edmund, *being at the compiling thereof, prisoner in the Tower, in* 1 Hen. VIII.

'The effect of this treatise, consisteth in three especial points.

'First, Remembrance of God, and the faithful of 'his holy Church, in the which, every Christian prince 'had need to begin.

'Second, Of some conditions and demeanors neces'sary in every prince, both for his honour and assurety 'of his continuance.

'Thirdly, Of the Tree of Commonwealth, which 'toucheth people of every degree, of the conditions 'and demeanors they should be of.'

(31) Cat. Lib. MSS. Ang. & Hib. Oxon. Tom. II. p. 102. where it is said, there is a copy of it among the MSS of Wm. Bromley, of Bagington in Warwickshire, Esq;

As to the original book, as it missed the King's hands, so it seems the family were also deprived of it; but many years afterwards, it was met with by that faithful historian and curious collector, of whatever regarded our antiquities, honest John Stowe; who believing the sight of it would be welcome to the grandson of this great man, then Earl of Warwick, he set himself to make a very fair transcript of it; which, when he had performed, he carried to that noble person, by whom it was very graciously accepted, John Stowe receiving in return, as much thanks, and as many good words as he could wish (32). The original, that industrious man kept to his death; long after which, with the greatest part of his historical collection, it came into the possession of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who purchased them at a considerable price, about the time that he began to collect his noble library of manuscripts, afterwards purchased by the late worthy Earl of Oxford, in which it is highly probable, this original work is to be found, though several copies of it have been, and are still to be met with in other Libraries, besides that before specified in the margin, which probably was transcribed from the Earl of Warwick's.

(32) See Strype's life of Stowe, prefixed to his edition of the Survey of London.

It may be conjectured, that if this piece had been presented, as it's author intended, to King Henry VIII. it might have delivered him from his misfortunes; but as Camden says on another occasion, some ill star seems to have waited upon all such undertakings. King Henry VIII. being very desirous of having such a book as our author Dudley had composed for his use, assigned this employment to another of his father's Counsellors, Dr Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham (33), a man famous for his abilities, and who executed it with all the skill

(33) Godwin. de Præsulibus, P. ii. P. 136.

increasing, and being rather exaggerated than softened by seeing numbers of mean fellows, whom these great men had employed as informers and witnesses, convicted and punished, while they were spared, the King was, at last, obliged to issue his writ for their execution, in obedience to which the Sheriffs of London, August 18th, 1510 (*m*), brought Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, Esq; out of the Tower to a scaffold upon the Hill, where they both lost their heads. The same night their bodies were interred; that of Empson in White-Friers, and that of Dudley in the Black-Friers Church (*n*). Such was the end of our great Lawyer and Statesman, in the forty-eighth year of his age. We are assured, that he inherited some estate from his father, and a better from his mother, to whom he was found heir at her death, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. He was a gainer by both his marriages, and a great gainer by the last; to which if we add the profits of his profession, what he received from his Master's bounty, and what might be diverted into his own coffers, in it's passage to the royal treasury, we have no great reason to scruple what Stowe relates as a fact, that, at the time of his fall, he had an estate of eight hundred pounds a year, and above twenty thousand pounds in money, exclusive of plate, jewels, and rich furniture (*o*). As to his character, it sufficiently appears from what has been said, as well of his abilities as actions; and, in reference to his family, because there are many disputes about it, and we go somewhat a different road from that in which those travelled who went before us, we shall speak of it at large in the notes [*I*]. The reader may observe, in this and the subsequent articles, that we are careful in giving him matters of fact, without adopting the sentiments of any of our Historians, farther than we find them supported by evidence. Several of them ascribe all the exactions and prosecutions under colour of penal laws, which began in this reign, almost as soon as the Civil Wars ceased, to Sir Richard Empson and Mr Dudley; but there is no proof at all to support this, more especially with respect to the latter, who seems to have entered into the management of such affairs but a very few years before the King's death. The Noble Historian, who has so impartially written the history of Henry VII, speaks clearly to this point; of which, if we consider his profession, he must be allowed a much better judge than any who have taken upon them to treat of the same subject. The King's close and griping disposition, he plainly admits, was the cause of all these rigorous proceedings; but he observes, that Cardinal Morton, Sir Reginald Bray, and some other Ministers in the beginning of his reign, took much pains to bridle his avaricious disposition; which, however, was not so understood by the people, who, measuring the merits of Ministers by those events which fell out under their administration, attributed to them those mischiefs which, but for their interposition, had been far greater than they were. The wise Lord Bacon tells us, that, upon their decease, and the coming of Sir Richard Empson, and Edmund Dudley, Esq; into the direction of these matters, the King made no account of them at all, farther than as they obeyed his orders, and carried all things as far as they would go, which Polydore Virgil, and other writers, say they did; and Lord Bacon also says much the same: and, if this be the truth, then they were strictly and properly the King's instruments; but it may be with some distinction in their practices: for, if Dudley had been as guilty as Empson, he might have been convicted for such offences as he was, whereas the matter objected to him was treason: as to the other great men of this line, they are treated much in the same way, and writers give what colour they think fit to their actions; which makes their characters uniform indeed, but in a way that will not satisfy impartial readers, who know that all actions may be set in different lights, and will therefore expect to be told, why they are set in one light rather than another. This, whenever it is in our power, we shew; and when not, we content ourselves with the bare matters of fact, knowing that even the greatest men are inconsistent, and that there is no such thing as guessing, with any degree of certainty, at their secret intentions. Lastly, it is to be observed, that, when we speak of rewards, honours, or offices, conferred for the wisdom, fidelity, and great services of those who receive them, we speak commonly in

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, p. 488.

(*n*) Hollinshed's Chronicle, p. 809.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 487.

skill and accuracy imaginable. It happened however a little unluckily for him, that, prompted by the same desire which warmed the breast of his master, he had drawn up a book of the same kind, with respect to his Bishoprick of Durham, and caused both, according to the custom of those times, to be very neatly bound in parchment, precisely in the same manner. When therefore, Cardinal Wolsey came from the King, to enquire for this system of government for his use, the Bishop directed his Secretary to reach the new parchment book, who by mistake, reached him that of the Bishoprick of Durham. The Cardinal taking the liberty to read the book first, then carried it to his master with this complement; I bring your Grace a mine, out of which, when your occasions require it, you may take a large mass of treasure: it was not long before this mistake reached the Bishop's ears, which affected him so strongly, that, falling into a fever, he died, and Wolsey succeeded him. Another treatise of the like nature, was penned for the special use of King Edward VI. by William Thomas, Esq; Clerk of the Council in his reign (34), who afterwards had the misfortune to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for high-treason, in that of Queen Mary.

(34) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. Page 16

[*I*] *We shall speak of it at large in the notes.*] Sir William Dugdale takes no notice at all of this gentleman's having two wives, and indeed, I do not find any writer that mentions his having had issue by the first, except the manuscript Baronage, which has been so often cited; from thence, we learn that he married, first, Anne, Daughter of Sir Andrews Windsor, afterwards Lord Windsor, then the widow of Sir Roger Corbet, of Morton, in the County of Salop, by whom he had a daughter Elizabeth, who married William, Lord Stourton (35). His second wife, was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Lord Lisle, and sister and coheiress to John, Viscount L'Isle, by whom he had three sons, John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, of whom in the next article, Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight of the Garter, and Jerom Dudley, Esq; concerning

(35) Baronagium Angliæ, fo. 21.

in the words of the grant, and mean thereby no more, than to declare the cauſes expreſſed by the Royal Donor, without pretending to maintain that theſe were never miſtaken.

cerning whom we know very little, except that he lived long in the family of his brother the Duke of Northumberland, and that he was provided for by the will of the Ducheſs. As to the Lady Elizabeth Grey, about five years after the deceaſe of her huſband Edmund Dudley, ſhe married Arthur Plantagenet, ſon to Edward IV. by Lady Elizabeth Lucy, who in her right upon the reſignation of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who had married that lady's neice, was created Viſcount L'Iſle. By this noble perſon ſhe had three daughters; Bridget, married to Sir William Carden, Knight; Frances, who eſpouſed John Baſſet, Eſq; firſt, and afterwards, Thomas Monk of Potheridge, in the County of Devon, Eſq; from whom deſcended, George, created by King Charles II. Duke of Albemarle; and laſtly, Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Francis Jobſon, Knight (36).

(36) See the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

DUDLEY (JOHN), ſon of the former, Baron of Malpas, Viſcount L'Iſle, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland; reputed, by many of our Hiſtorians, the moſt powerful ſubject ever flouriſhed in this kingdom. He was born ſome time in the year 1502, when his father was in the very zenith of his power, and ſtood in equal credit with the King and his ſubjects, as appears by his being choſen, the year after, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons (*a*). At the time his father was put to death, this John, his eldeſt ſon, was about eight years old; and it being well enough known, that the ſeverity exerciſed in that act was rather to ſatisfy the people than juſtice, John Dudley, by Edmund Guilford, Eſquire of the body to the King his Guardian, petitioned the Parliament that the attainder might be reverſed of Edmund Dudley, his late father, and himſelf reſtored in blood; which was accordingly obtained, and a ſpecial act paſſed for that purpoſe in 1511 (*b*). There is no reaſon to doubt, that all due care was taken of his education, by a mother equally diſtinguiſhed by her virtues and her quality, and by a Guardian, who is celebrated for being one of the fineſt Gentlemen in a Court then eſteemed the politeſt in Europe (*c*). But, as to any particulars, Hiſtorians are ſilent. When his mother, with the King's conſent, married Arthur Plantagenet, who, in her right, was created Viſcount L'Iſle (*d*), which was about the year 1523, we find that he was brought to Court, and, being a young Gentleman of a fine perſon, and highly accompliſhed, he attended the King's favourite Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France (*e*); where his gallant behaviour not only entitled him to the ſpecial notice of his noble General, but procured him alſo the honour of knighthood (*f*). It may be reaſonably preſumed, that, upon his return, he met with a kind reception at Court, having many relations in great favour; but it ſeems he truſted chiefly to his own abilities, and very wiſely attached himſelf to the King's Firſt Miniſter Cardinal Wolſey (*g*), whom he accompanied in his embaſſy to France, in the nineteenth year of that reign (*h*); and, making a proper uſe of the advantage which this afforded, entered, not long after, into the King's ſervice, as appears from a patent (*i*) granted him for the office of Maſter of the Armory in the Tower, with the allowance of a groom. His hopes at Court did not hinder him, from attending to his concerns in the country, where he was very careful to improve his intereſt amongſt the Gentry; and, in 1536, was Sheriff of Staffordſhire, where he lived hoſpitably, and had the good-will of his neighbours in a much greater degree, than when he was exalted to a far ſuperior ſtation (*k*). About two years after this he entered himſelf of the ſociety of Gray's-Inn (*l*); but that he ever ſtudied the Laws there, as his father did, ſeems to be very doubtful; though ſome authority might be brought to prove it (*m*). The Court was ſtill his home, and Wolſey his patron ſo long as he had power. He was alſo in great confidence with the next Prime Miniſter Thomas, Lord Cromwell; ſo that upon the coming over of Lady Anne of Cleves, whom that Stateſman had engaged the King to marry, when that Lord was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex, and Great Chamberlain of England, he was made Maſter of the Horſe to the intended Queen (*n*). On the firſt of May 1539, he was the firſt of the challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Weſtminſter, in which he appeared with great magnificence (*o*) [*A*]. The fall of the Earl of

(*a*) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. p. 6.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 218.

(*c*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(*d*) Pat. 15 H. VIII. p. 1.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 519, 520.

(*f*) November 6th, 1523.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(*h*) Stowe's Annals, p. 531.

(*i*) Pat. 26 H. VIII. p. 1.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 53.

(*l*) Origines Juridiciales, p. 299.

(*m*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 189.

(*n*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 919. *b*.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 579.

[*A*] *In which he appeared with great magnificence.*] We are told that this great man, who did not riſe over haſtily at the beginning, took a great deal of pains to qualify himſelf for the King's ſervice; in order to which he made a tour to Italy, and remained ſome time at Rome: as with the like deſign he viſited France, by which means he became a very compleat Courtier, and capable of employments of very different kinds (1). In this, which was to make way for his future honours, he, to pleaſe the King, accepted an office in the houſhold of a Queen who was not like to enjoy that honour long, it being well enough known in the Court, that the King had not married her from affection but from policy (2). This tournament, in which he made the principal figure, had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers to try their proweſs againſt the Engliſh challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, Knights, Anthony Kingſton, and Richard Cromwell, Eſquires. They came into the liſts upon May-day, preceded by a band of Knights and Gentlemen, all dreſſed in white velvet, the furniture of their horſes was of the ſame, but the challengers themſelves were very richly dreſſed. The firſt day there were forty-ſix defendants, amongſt whom were the Earl of Surrey, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, ſon to the Prime-Miniſter who was a little before created Earl of Eſſex. Sir John Dudley, by ſome miſchance of his horſe, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr Breme, but however he mounted again and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in ſtate to Durham Houſe, where they entertained the King, Queen, and Court. On the ſecond of May, Anthony Kingſton and Richard Cromwell were made Knights; on the third, the challengers fought on horſeback with ſwords againſt twenty-nine defendants. Sir John Dudley and the Earl of Surrey

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 271.

of Eſſex, which happened ſoon after, did not in the leaſt affect the favour or the fortune of Sir John Dudley, who had a very great dexterity in maintaining himſelf in the good graces of powerful Miniſters, without embarking too far in their deſigns (*p*), preſerving always a proper regard for the ſentiments of his ſovereign, which kept him in full credit at Court in the midſt of many changes, as well of men as of meaſures. It was owing to this wiſe conduct of his, as well as to his ſplendid manner of living, and great liberality, not only to the extent but beyond the limits of his eſtate, that he never wanted friends to ſollicit in his behalf, and to excite, in his Royal Maſter, a juſt attention to his ſervices (*q*). This very clearly appeared ſoon after the death of his father-in-law, when the King, by letters patents, bearing date the twelfth of March 1542, raiſed him to the dignity of Viſcount L'Iſle (*r*), with very ſingular marks of his eſteem and conſideration [*B*]. At the next feſtival of St George he was alſo elected Knight of the Garter (*s*). This was ſoon after followed by a much higher inſtance, both of kindneſs and truſt; indeed, ſuch an inſtance, as had ſcarce any example in former times, and has not been conſidered as a precedent fit to follow in thoſe that have ſucceeded ſince; for the King, conſidering his prudence, his courage, and his activity, as well as the occaſion he had, and was like to have, for a man of ſuch talents in that office, conſtituted him Lord High-Admiral of England for life (*t*). The next year he commanded a fleet of two hundred ſail, with which he proceeded to the Scotch coaſts, where he performed all the ſervice that was expected from him, and, having landed his forces, marched through the ſouthern provinces of Scotland by land, and moſt effectually reſtored the tranquillity of the marches (*u*) [*C*]. He next embarked for France, and, on the twenty-eighth of July 1543, appeared before Bologne, then beſieged by King Henry VIII. in perſon, and, by his great diligence and courage, facilitated very much the taking of the place, of which the King left him the charge, with the title of his Lieutenant (*w*). In this important employment he did more than his maſter had reaſon to expect, and as much as the nation or himſelf could deſire [*D*]. On the twenty-ſeventh of March 1646, the King declared him, by patent, Lieutenant-General, and Commander of all his forces at ſea (*x*), for the more effectual carrying on of the

(*p*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(*q*) Strype's Memorials.

(*r*) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 3.

(*s*) Regiſter of the Order of the Garter.

(*t*) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 7.

(*u*) Cowper, Holliſhed, and Strype.

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 585.

(*x*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 84.

Surrey running firſt with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers againſt thirty defendants. In the courſe of theſe military diverſions, the challengers, at a vaſt expence, entertained both Houſes of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and their wives, and all the perſons of diſtinction then in town, as a reward for which the King gave each of them a houſe and a hundred marks a year for ever, out of the revenues of the Knights of Rhodes, which had been given to his Majeſty by the Parliament then ſitting (3).

(3) Holliſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 950, 951.

[*B*] *Of his eſteem and conſideration.*] We have before obſerved, that, upon the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Viſcount L'Iſle, and widow of Edmund Dudley, Eſq; to Sir Arthur Plantagenet, he was raiſed to that dignity, which was limited to his heirs male by that Lady, in prejudice of her children by the firſt marriage, but he dying in the Tower on the third of March 1542 (4), it was repreſented to the King that this honour naturally deſcended to Sir John Dudley, to which therefore he was advanced by patent (5), in conſideration (as the preamble ſets forth) not only of the acceptable and laudable ſervices of his beloved and faithful ſubject Sir John Dudley, Knt. variouſly done, but alſo his vigilance, foreſight, faithfulneſs, valour, and illuſtrious deſcent. To hold the ſaid title to him, and the heirs male of his body, and to enjoy ſeat and place in Parliament among the Viſcounts of this realm of England, and in all other the King's dominions, with a grant of an annuity of twenty marks, payable half yearly out of the revenues of the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, by the Sheriffs of the ſaid counties.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 312.

(5) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 3.

[*C*] *The tranquallity of the marches.*] We find the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, from the time of his being promoted to the great office of Lord High-Admiral, commonly mentioned, by that title, in all our hiſtories. It is plain enough, that he had ſerved with reputation at ſea, before he obtained that honour, ſince we are told, by a perſon who attended him in all his expeditions, that he boarded and took the Admiral of Sluys, fighting her ſhip to ſhip (6). In this expedition to Scotland, he had a fleet of two hundred ſail, on board of which, at Newcaſtle, he embarked an army of ten thouſand men; on the 4th of May, 1544, he landed the troops about four miles from Leith, from whence, they marched to Edinburgh, the Lord Admiral commanding the van-guard, and the Earl of Hertford the main battle (7); the former, had the credit of routing the Scots, and of forcing the principal gate of Edinburgh, into which, he was the firſt man that entered (8); the fleet alſo, did infinite miſchief, ruining the ſea-coaſts, and taking all the ſhips which the Scots had in thoſe parts, particularly, the Salamander, a very fine ſhip of war, preſented by the French King, to his ſon-in-law King James, at the time of his marriage; and the Unicorn, built by order of the King of Scots. The fleet quitted Leith on the 15th of May, after ſpoiling the port, deſtroying the pier, burning the town, ruining the towns and villages on each ſide the river, as high as Stirling, and ſinking every veſſel, great and ſmall, that they did not carry away. The land army, in it's return, proceeded with the ſame rigour, and, in our hiſtories, there is a long liſt of places, by the ruin of which, their rout was diſtinguiſhed (9). This was, in execution of the King's orders: afterwards, it ſeems, his Hiſtorian thought of it in another light, when he ſaid, we did on that occaſion too much for lovers, and for conquerors, too little (10).

(6) The valiant exploits of the Right Honourable the Viſcount L'Iſle, Lord Admiral, &c. by Mr Cock, Lancaſter-Herald, preſerved amongſt the papers of the Sidney family.

(7) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 331.

(8) Lancaſter-Herald's account of his exploits before cited.

(9) Holliſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 963.

(10) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. in the Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 243.

[*D*] *As the nation, or himſelf could deſire.*] The ſiege of Bologne, was formed on the 19th of July, by the Duke of Suffolk; the King came to the camp in perſon on the 26th, the Lord Admiral arrived there on the 28th of the ſame month, where he encamped the neareſt the town of any of the King's forces. In this ſiege, he was preſent in moſt of the attacks, and had there, the misfortune to loſe his eldeſt ſon. The place was ſurrendred on the 14th of September, and on the 18th, the King made his public entry into it, and ſoon after, delivered the keys of the place to the Lord Admiral, with the title of Governor; and upon his embarking for England, on the 30th of the ſame month, declared him his Lieutenant-General (11). The Dauphin being not far off, with an army of upwards of fifty-thouſand men, he firſt formed a deſign of retaking the place by ſiege; and afterwards, on the 9th of October, attempted it by ſurprize, in which, through the vigilance, care, and courage of the Lord Admiral, and his garriſon, the French were repulſed, with the loſs of eight hundred men of their beſt troops; and this, all our writers allow (12), to have been one of the gallanteſt actions performed in that war, none of the breaches being repaired, and the place in a manner open. On the 1ſt of February following, the Lord Admiral ſallying out of Bologne, with a ſmall body of horſe and foot, attacked a much ſuperior corps of French forces, under the command of Monſ. de Beiz, forced them to retire precipitately, and made themſelves maſters of twelve pieces of canon (13).

(11) From the Journal of this Siege, inſerted in Lord Herbert's Hiſtory.

(12) Holliſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 967. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 342.

(13) Holliſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 967.

[*E*] *And*

the war againſt France; and this at a time when the French, by the help of money, and alliances with the maritime powers of Europe, had drawn together a very great naval force, and threatened to make the Engliſh feel the weight of it, not only at ſea, but by covering an invaſion, which they had long meditated; all which vaſt deſigns were fruſtrated by the courage and conduct of the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, with a force much inferior to theirs (*y*). After this the Lord High-Admiral returned their viſit, landed fifty thouſand men upon their coaſts, burnt the town of Treport, and ſome other villages; and the French army advancing offered them battle, which they declined; and he thereupon reimbarked his troops, having, in this expedition, loſt only a ſingle man, and done infinite miſchief to the enemy (*z*) [*E*]. The ſame year he was, together with Dr Cuthbert Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham, and Dr Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, appointed a Commiſſioner to take the oath of Francis the French King, for obſerving the treaty of peace ſigned June 7th, 1546 (*a*); which he performed with great ſolemnity. On the ſixteenth of October following he was, together with many other perſons of rank, named in a commiſſion for ſettling the accompts of the army. This was one of the laſt ſervices he performed in the reign of that great Prince, to whom he owed all his honours and fortune, receiving from him, towards the cloſe of his reign, very large grants of Church-lands, which delivered him from the inconveniences that muſt otherwiſe have enſued from his unbounded generoſity; which grants, however, created him many enemies (*b*) [*F*]. The King's health daily declining, his Majeſty made the beſt proviſion he could for the ſafety and quiet of his ſon's reign; in order to which he cauſed his laſt will and teſtament to be framed, with much deliberation, by the ableſt and wiſeſt of his Counſellors, which he ſealed and ſubſcribed December 30th, 1546 (*c*); and therein, as the laſt mark of his affection and truſt, he named Sir John Dudley, Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, one of his ſixteen executors, and gave him alſo a legacy of five hundred pounds, which was the higheſt that he beſtowed upon any of them (*d*). By this will they were conſtituted Privy-Counſellors, and had the government put into their hands, which gave them a legal authority, ſince this will was founded upon an act of Parliament (*e*). On the laſt day of the month of January ſucceeding, King Henry VIII died, and his ſon Edward VI ſucceeded him, to the general joy and ſatisfaction of the nation (*f*). It was not long before great alterations were made in the diſpoſitions by the late King's will; which alterations were, in truth, the ſource of all the miſchiefs that followed. The Earl of Hertford, who was the King's uncle, and, by that near relation, in very great credit about his perſon, thought that ſufficient regard had not been ſhewn to him, by the bare nomination to a ſeat in the Council, among ſo many where, at firſt, he did not perceive that he was like to have any precedency. He therefore preſſed to be declared Protector, that the State might have ſome viſible head; to which, very probably, from their own views, the major part of the Council yielded, much againſt the will of the Lord Chancellor Wriotheſly, who ſhewed, that this was departing entirely from the will of Henry VIII, which was the only legal rule they had (*g*). The Protector ſoon after took from him the Seals, and thought of nothing ſo much as how to eſtabliſh his own power. It is indeed reported, by many writers, that he was excited to theſe ſteps by a wiſer man than himſelf, by whom they mean the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle (*b*); but of this, as there is no evidence, ſo in truth there is not much probability. Amongſt the firſt of the Protector's projects one was, to get his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, made High-Admiral, in whoſe favour the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle reſigned, not willingly (*i*) to be ſure, but upon the

(*y*) The valiant exploits of the Right Honourable the Viſcount Liſle, Lord Admiral, &c. by Mr Cock, Lancaſter-Herald, preſerved among the papers of the Sidney family.

(*z*) Hayward's life of Ed. VI. p. 16.

(*a*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 98.

(*b*) See this point explained in the note.

(*c*) Alen, Qu. p. 32.

(*d*) See the King's Will in Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

(*e*) See Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 593.

(*g*) Hayward, Burnet, Strype.

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 422.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

[*E*] *And done infinite miſchief to the enemy.*] The French King at an immenſe expence, hired from ſeveral of the Italian powers, what in thoſe days was accounted a very large fleet; it conſiſted of upwards of two hundred ſail of all ſorts, beſides gallies; which, however, met with an accident when it firſt put to ſea, one of their beſt ſhips, of the burthen of eight hundred ton taking fire (14). Between Alderney and Guernſey, their gallies attacked the Lord Admiral, who, had but a ſmall ſquadron with him, bending all their endeavours to take his own ſhip; which, however, he defended ſo well againſt eighteen of thoſe veſſels at once, that they were at length glad to retire (15). The whole French fleet appearing before St Helens, and making a ſhew of attempting ſomething upon the coaſt, the Admiral advanced, with his ſmall fleet of ſixty ſail, but after exchanging ſome ſhot, the French retired. The Engliſh fleet being then reinforced, and taking ſome troops on board, offered them battle again, forced them to retire to their own coaſts, where they were ſpectators of thoſe miſchiefs done by the Engliſh (16), which are briefly mentioned in the text. All theſe tranſactions happened between the beginning of June, and the end of Auguſt, 1545.

(14) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. Vol. II. p. 250.

(15) Lancaſter-Herald's account of his exploits before cited.

(16) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 970.

[*F*] *Which grants, however, created him many enemies.*] The Abbey of Hales-Owen, in Shropſhire, dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, and St John the Evangeliſt; which, at the diſſolution, had lands of the annual value of three hundred thirty-ſeven pounds, fifteen-ſhillings and ſix-pence, according to Speed, was granted to Sir John Dudley, by King Henry VIII, in the thirtieth year of his reign (17); the hoſpital of Burton Lazars, in Leiceſterſhire, which, was the largeſt foundation of that kind in England, being valued, both according to Dugdale and Speed, at the annual rent of two-hundred ſixty-five pounds, ten ſhillings, was granted to the Lord L'Iſle, by the ſame monarch, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign (18); the Manor of Choſel, near Ringſtead, in the County of Norfolk, was about the ſame time granted to him, as being annexed to the hoſpital beforementioned; by the ſame grant, he acquired the Hoſpital of St Giles's (19), without the Bar of the Old Temple, London. The ſame King, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, granted to John Dudley, Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, and Lord High-Admiral of England, as well in conſideration of his ſervice, as for the ſum of one thouſand pounds ſterling, the ſite, circuit, and precinct of the Hoſpital, or Priory of St John of Jeruſalem (20), only the lead, bells, timber, ſtone, glaſs, and iron, and other things of the church, were ſpecially reſerved to the King's Majeſty. I have likewiſe ſeen accounts of ſome other ſmall grants, with which I will not trouble the reader.

(17) Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 452.

(18) Ibid. p. 239.

(19) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 500. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 602, 611.

(20) Ibid. p. 668.

[*G*] *And*

the beſt terms he could make. Accordingly, February 17th, 1547, the very ſame day that the new Lord Admiral's patent paſſed, he was created Earl of Warwick, and made Great Chamberlain of England; neither was it long before he had great grants from the Crown, particularly Warwick Caſtle and Manor (*k*). This has occaſioned ſeveral writers to repreſent the promotions made, and titles conferred about this time, as proceeding from his intrigues; whereas, in truth, he had a title by deſcent to the Earldom of Warwick; King Henry VIII intended to have created him Earl of Coventry (*l*); and the new King's coronation made it natural to do ſomething extraordinary to grace it. The Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, finding himſelf under a neceſſity of marching an army into Scotland, reſolved to command it in perſon, and took the Earl of Warwick with him, in quality of his Lieutenant-General (*m*); in this expedition he added to that great reputation which he had already acquired, as even his enemies themſelves confeſs, being the chief author of that victory which was then obtained, and would alſo have puſhed the war to a glorious concluſion, if he had been intruſted with the ſole command; as it was, his conduct was univerſally commended, and all the blame fell elſewhere (*n*) [G]. He was next employed by the Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, in conjunction with many other honourable perſons, to compromiſe matters with the French, who, after the death of King Henry, were very deſirous of getting Bologne again into their hands (*o*), which it was of great conſequence to the Protector to prevent, and yet to avoid, if poſſible, engaging in a war; both which ends were effected for the preſent; to which the induſtry and authority of the Earl of Warwick did not a little contribute (*p*). It was this activity of his in buſineſs, which was generally attended with ſucceſs, that chiefly recommended him to the Protector Somerſet, who certainly had much ſlowneſs and timidity in his nature, which made him admire men of quick parts and ſolid abilities, whoſe advice he uſed from time to time, but more eſpecially liſtened to the counſels of Warwick, Sir William Paget, who was Secretary, and Sir William Cecil, who afterwards enjoyed the

(*k*) Pat. 1 Ed. VI. p. 6, 9.

(*l*) Strype's Memorials.

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, p. 595.

(*n*) See Patten's Relation, inſerted both in Hayward and Hollinſhed.

(*o*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 135.

(*p*) Hayward, Burnet, Strype.

[G] *And all the blame fell elſewhere.*] Sir John Hayward, who took upon him to write the Hiſtory of this reign, was no friend at all to the noble perſon who is the ſubject of this article, and yet he allows him all the honour of this expedition. We will firſt give the reader a ſhort character of the Earl of Warwick as he has drawn it, and afterwards ſome other paſſages, which will fully juſtify what we have advanced in the text (21). 'The Earl of Warwick, ſays he, was a 'man of antient Nobility, comely in ſtature and countenance, but of little gravity or abſtinence in pleaſures, yea ſometimes almoſt diſſolute, which was not 'much regarded, if, in a time when vices began to 'grow into faſhion, a great man was not over ſevere. 'He was of a great ſpirit and highly aſpiring, not forbearing to make any miſchief the means of attaining 'his ambitious ends. Hereto his good wit and pleaſant ſpeeches were altogether ſerviceable, having the 'art alſo by empty promiſes and threats to draw others 'to his purpoſe. In matters of arms he was both ſkilful and induſtrious, and as well in foreſight as reſolution preſent and great. To ſay truth, for enterprizes by arms he was the minion of that time, ſo as 'few things he attempted but he atchieved with honour, which made him more proud and ambitious 'when he had done. He generally increaſed both in eſtimation with the King, and authority among the 'Nobility, doubtful, whether by fatal deſtiny to the 'State, or whether by his virtues, or at leaſt by his 'appearances of virtues.' After this character, the ſame author proceeds to give us the following relation (22): 'As the Engliſh directed their way towards 'the place where they underſtood the Scots aſſembled, 'they came to a river called Lynne, croſſed with a 'bridge of ſtone. The horſemen and carriages paſſed 'through the water, the footmen over the bridge, 'which, becauſe it was narrow, the army was long in 'ſetting over. The avaunt guard marched forth, and 'the battail followed; but as the rear was paſſing over 'a thick miſt did ariſe. The Earl of Warwick having 'before eſpied certain plumps of Scottiſh horſemen in 'ranging the field, returned towards the rear, to prevent ſuch danger as the thickneſs of the miſt, the 'nearneſs of the enemy, and the diſarray occaſioned 'by the narrowneſs of the bridge, might caſt upon 'them. The Scots conjecturing, as it was, that ſome 'perſonage of honour ſtayed to have a view of the 'rear, called to the Engliſh to know if any Nobleman 'were near, for that one whom they named, well 'known to be of honourable condition, would preſent 'himſelf to the General, in caſe he might ſafely be 'conducted. Certain young ſoldiers, not uſed to ſuch 'trains, made raſh and ſudden anſwer, That the Earl 'of Warwick was near, under whoſe protection he 'might be aſſured. Hereupon they paſſed the water, 'placed two hundred of their prickers behind a hillock, and, with forty more, caſt about to find the 'Earl. Now the Earl eſpying ſix or ſeven of them 'ſcattered near the army, and taking them to be of 'the Engliſh, ſent one to command them to their 'array, and to that end himſelf rode an eaſy pace towards them, followed only with ten or twelve on 'horſeback: he that had been ſent before, was ſo 'heedleſs either to obſerve or advertiſe what they 'were, that the Earl did not diſcover them to be enemies until he was in the midſt among them. Certainly a Commander ſhould not careleſsly caſt himſelf into danger, but when either upon neceſſity or 'miſadventure he falleth into it, it much advanceth 'both his reputation and enterprize, if bravely he behave himſelf. Now, the Earl eſpying where he was, 'gave ſo rude a charge upon a Captain of the Scots, 'named Dandy Care, that he forced him to turn, and 'chaced him above twelve ſcore at the lance's point. 'Herewith the reſidue retired deceitfully towards the 'place of their ambuſh, from whence iſſued about 'ſixty more. Then the Earl gathered his ſmall company about him, and, with good countenance, 'maintained the fight. But the enemy in the end, 'whether perceiving ſome ſuccours advancing from the 'army where the alarm was then taken, or whether 'intending to draw the Engliſh further into their ambuſh, turned away an eaſy pace. The Earl forbad 'his men from following, fearing a greater ambuſh 'behind the hill, as in truth there was. At his return 'he was received with great applauſe by the Engliſh 'ſoldiers, for that he did ſo well acquit himſelf in the 'danger, whereunto, by error, and not by raſhneſs, 'he had been carried. One of his men was ſlain; another hurt in the buttock; a third, named Vane, 'ſo grievouſly hewn, that many thouſands have died 'of leſs than half his hurts, whereof, notwithſtanding 'he was cured afterwards. Of the Scots three were 'taken priſoners, and preſented to the General by the 'Earl.' When a challenge was brought in the name of the Earl of Huntley, to the Lord Protector, the Earl of Warwick told the trumpeter, that he would undertake that Lord, and give him at houſand crowns reward upon his bringing news that his offer was accepted (23). In the battle of Muſſleborough, fought Sept. 10, which was one of the greateſt defeats the Scots ever received, the victory was the pure effects of the courage and

(21) Hiſt. Ed. VI. p. 15. in which what regards the war with the Scots is by far the beſt written part of the book, being drawn from Patten's Relation, Stowe's Chronicle, p. 594.

(22) Hayward's Hiſt. of Ed. VI. p. 17.

(23) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 984. in which Patten's Relation is inſerted in his own words; and there it is but one hundred crowns, whereas Hayward makes it one thouſand.

the ſame place (*q*). Happy had it been for him, if he had conſtantly followed their opinions. But it ſo fell out, that, without regarding the feebleneſs of the government, he perſiſted in a war with Scotland, which was very indifferently managed, aſſumed the direction of affairs at home entirely to himſelf, undertook too many great enterprizes at once, which unluckily croſſed one another, and, by degrees, brought all into confuſion (*r*). His own brother, the Lord Admiral, entered into ſtrange practices againſt him, which occaſioned much diſturbance in the Court; but there is no ſign that the Earl of Warwick had any correſpondence with him, but, on the contrary, diſcountenanced his proceedings, and, in appearance at leaſt, ſupported the cauſe of the Duke of Somerſet, who, after temporizing a long time, cauſed the Lord Admiral, in the end, to be attainted by Parliament, and executed (*s*). In the midſt of theſe troubles the common people in moſt parts of the kingdom, as is uſual when any State is diſtracted by factions, began to grow mutinous and diſobedient, and, at laſt, broke out into inſurrections (*t*). The Protector Somerſet permitted theſe to grow to a great head, either from an unwillingneſs to ſhed the blood of his countrymen, for he was certainly a man of a mild and merciful diſpoſition, or that he might gain time to bring in foreign troops, which he might have afterwards at his own diſpoſal. In Devonſhire they grew ſo ſtrong, that they beſieged the city of Exeter, and, before they could be reduced by the Lord Ruſſell, a new rebellion broke out in Norfolk, under the command of one Robet Ket, a Tanner, who was very ſoon at the head of ten thouſand men (*u*). The ſwiftneſs of their progreſs excited a commotion in Yorkſhire, and, in both places, the rebels went upon levelling principles, thought of nothing but pulling down the Nobility, and changing the Conſtitution at their fancy: this was an evil not to be trifled with, and therefore an army of ſix thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, which was to have been employed againſt the Scots, received orders to march towards the rebels, under the command of John Earl of Warwick, whoſe known military abilities rendered him fitteſt for this ſervice. He preſerved Norwich with ſome difficulty, and afterwards fought with the rebels, who both, in drawing up their men, and, in the courſe of the action, behaved much better than could have been expected from ſuch raw ſoldiers (*w*). The Earl, however, defeated them, and killed about a thouſand men, other writers ſay many more. This greatly diſcouraged, but did not diſſipate them; on the contrary, they collected all their ſcattered parties, and offered him battle a ſecond time. The Earl marched directly towards them, but, when he was on the very point of engaging, he ſent them a meſſage, *That he was ſorry to ſee ſo much courage expreſſed in ſo bad a cauſe; but that, notwithſtanding what was paſſed, they might depend upon the King's pardon on delivering up of their leaders*; to which they anſwered, *That he was a Nobleman of ſo much worth and generoſity, that, if they might have this aſſurance from his own mouth, they were willing to ſubmit* (*x*). The Earl accordingly went amongſt them, upon which they threw down their arms, delivered up Robert Ket and his brother William, with the reſt of their chiefs, who were hanged; upon hearing which the Yorkſhire rebels diſperſed, and ſo all was quiet again (*y*). This rebellion being ſuppreſſed in the ſummer, the Lords of the King's Council, amongſt whom was the Earl of Warwick, began in the autumn to confer amongſt themſelves, as to the cauſes of that diſtreſſed and diſcontented ſtate into which the nation was reduced. The Protector upon this ſent Secretary Petre to know the meaning of their meetings, whom they kept with them; and, October 8th, 1549, they went into the city, where, having acquainted the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, that they had no other views than for the ſafety of the King's perſon, the redreſs of grievances, and the reſtoring the peace of the kingdom, the city thankfully concurred with them; upon which the Protector, who had removed the King from Hampton-Court to Windſor, ſubmitted himſelf, and was ſent priſoner to the Tower on the 28th of the ſame month (*z*). The Earl of Warwick was again made Lord High-Admiral, by the King's letters patents, with very extenſive powers (*a*). At this time, it is ſaid, the Papiſts had ſome hopes that he would favour their religion; but, whether as a Politician he gave them any grounds for theſe hopes, whether they took them up without grounds, or whether, as others had done, he altered his ſyſtem when he came into power, certain it is that he adhered ſteadily to the Reformation, and, ſhortly after

(*q*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 424.

(*r*) Stowe, Hollinſhed, Speed.

(*s*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 996.

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 597.

(*u*) Hayward, Burnet, and Strype.

(*w*) There is a long and very diſtinct relation of this expedition in Speed.

(*x*) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1036.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 597.

(*z*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 136.

(*a*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 194.

and conduct of the Earl of Warwick. The Lord Grey began the battle, contrary to his orders, and being ſoundly beaten, had like to have thrown all into confuſion, but the Earl of Warwick ſtood firm, though very much expoſed, and, giving his orders with great preſence of mind, recovered all, and drove the Scots out of the field. What little was done afterwards was by his command, and the execution of it truſted to his brother, Sir Andrews Dudley (24). But the Protector had his reaſons for returning as ſoon as poſſible to London; and Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the Earl of Warwick was not diſpleaſed with that, becauſe he ſaw it would leſſen the Duke's reputation; which is a conjecture only, and ought to be conſidered as ſuch, and not at all eſteemed a fact, ſince there is no evidence to ſupport it (25). At that time the Protector had ſo good an opinion of the Earl of Warwick, that he left him behind in the North to treat with the Scots, which proved indeed a thing of no conſequence, as the Scots never intended to treat, but made that propoſal to the Duke of Somerſet, only to gain time, as the Duke accepted it, becauſe it afforded him a fair pretence for returning into England (26). It has little or no relation to the Earl of Warwick's character, whether this war was wiſely or imprudently entered into; ſince it is univerſally acknowledged, that he diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with great capacity, hazarded his perſon freely, and, by a right application of his military ſkill, gained a glorious victory, which procured him, at that time, what he certainly deſerved, a very high and general reputation.

(24) Lancaſter-Herald's account of his exploits, before cited. Hayward, Hollinſhed, Stowe.

(25) Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 35.

(26) See Hayward and Burnet.

[*H*] *In*

after, procured the removal of ſome who differed in opinion from him in that and many other reſpects (*b*) [*H*]. He ſtood, at this time, ſo high in the King's favour, and had ſettled ſo firm a friendſhip with the reſt of the Lords of the Council, that nothing was done but by his advice or conſent; to which, therefore, we muſt attribute the releaſe of the Duke of Somerſet out of the Tower, and reſtoring him to ſome ſhare of power and favour at Court. The King was much pleaſed with this, and, being deſirous that the friendſhip of theſe two great men ſhould not be barely in appearance, a marriage was propoſed between the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Warwick and the Lady Anne Seymour, daughter to the Duke of Somerſet; which, at length, was brought to bear, and, on the third of June, 1550, was ſolemnized in the King's preſence, who expreſſed great ſatiſfaction thereat (*c*). The King's favour to him ſtill continued, or rather increaſed, ſo that upon his ſurrendering the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England, which was beſtowed upon the Marquis of Northampton, the King was pleaſed to make him Lord Steward of his Houſhold, by Letters Patents (*d*), not only expreſſive of his Majeſty's affection and eſteem, but containing alſo ſome other matters that deſerve the reader's notice [*I*]. In the month of April, 1551, he was conſtituted Earl Marſhal of England (*e*); but whereas a certain Hiſtorian ſays, that he was joined in an embaſſy with William, Marquis of Northampton, to the French King, about the ſame time (*f*), it is clearly a miſtake; ſince it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that it was his ſon the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle. On the 15th of Auguſt the ſame year, Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Earl's younger ſons, was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen of the Chamber (*g*); a ſhort time afterwards the Earl of Warwick was made Lord Warden of the Northern Marches (*h*); and, on the 11th of October the ſame year, he was advanced to the dignity

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 139.

(*c*) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(*d*) Pat. 4 Ed. VI. p. 2.

(*e*) Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 4.

(*f*) Sir John Hayward, in his Hiſt. of Ed. VI. from whom it has been often tranſcribed.

(*g*) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(*h*) Pat. 5 Ed. VI p. 7.

[*H*] *In that and many other reſpects.*] If we conſider the removal of the Lord Protector Somerſet from the government, as it is ſtated by Stowe and other plain writers, it will appear that the far greateſt part of the King's Council concurred in that meaſure, and offered very plauſible reaſons for their ſo doing (27). Sir John Hayward is very clear, that the whole was a contrivance of the Earl of Warwick's, that the reſt were but his tools, and that the articles objected againſt the Protector were invented to make him odious (28). It is very true, that when the Council met to take this bold ſtep of pulling down the King's uncle, it was at Ely houſe, where the Earl of Warwick then reſided; yet it no where appears that he was at the head of this buſineſs, nor indeed could he be, when the Lord Chancellor Rich, and the Lord St John, who was Preſident of the Council, were at all the conſultations. The articles againſt the Protector are extant in our Hiſtories, there is nothing in them of black and heinous crimes, but of preſumption, overbearing, and high indiſcretions, many of the facts in them were notoriouſly known, and the Duke of Somerſet confeſſed them in his ſubmiſſion (29). When the Lords went to the King to juſtify their complaints, the Earl of Warwick went not with them, which Sir John Hayward ſays was a piece of craft, it might be ſo, and it might alſo be the effects of tenderneſs and modeſty. He was appointed by the Council one of the Lords to attend upon the King's perſon, which was a great honour, but then he ſhared it with five others (30). Sir John Hayward ſpeaks much of his ſecret conferences with the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, and affirms, that not being able to work theſe great Peers to ſerve his purpoſes, he got them both excluded from the Council. Biſhop Burnet is of quite another opinion, he ſuggeſts, that the Papiſts were in hopes of making ſome great advantage by this notable change in the government, becauſe they were ſure of the other two Earls, and had a favourable opinion of Warwick (31). But it ſeems he was a very great politician, he ſaw that the King was a firm Proteſtant, and perhaps he made it a rule with him to be of the religion of the Crown; ſo that it is very likely his conferences with Arundel and Southampton might be upon this ſubject, Whether it was beſt to ſtop the reformation of religion or to promote it? and there is nothing more certain, than that in this they differed, that the two Earls were for the old Popiſh road, but the Earl of Warwick was for marching in the King's high-way; and therefore it is no wonder that he procured their excluſion from Councils, in which he was determined to lead, and knew very well they were not inclined to follow (32). In all this he acted like a great Stateſman, though perhaps not upon virtuous or religious principles; whatever cenſures he may deſerve for this, muſt light upon him in common with many others, for few Stateſmen are very remarkable for a ſteady adherence to any thing but their own intereſt, and if his happened at this time to concur with the true intereſt of his country, he was ſo much the leſs to blame.

(27) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 597. Hollinſhed, Vol. II. p. 1057.

(28) Hiſt. Ed. VI. p. 322.

(29) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 138.

(30) King Edward's Journal of his own reign, in the Appendix to Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(31) Hiſt. Ed. VI. p. 103, 112. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 139, 140.

(32) See what is ſaid upon this ſubject in Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

[*I*] *That deſerve the reader's notice.*] Theſe letters patents bear date, February 20th, 1550, in the fourth of Edward VI (33), wherein the King recites, 'That 'whereas Henry VIII, late King of England, granted 'to his moſt beloved Couſin and Counſellor, Charles, 'late Duke of Suffolk, deceaſed; the office of Lord 'Steward of the Houſhold, by the name of Great Maſter of the Houſhold, or the Great Maſter of the 'King's Houſhold: and, whereas, by Act of Parliament, in May 22 Hen. VIII, it was enacted, that 'during the time the late Duke of Suffolk, and his 'ſucceſſors in the ſaid office, ſhould enjoy the ſaid poſt 'of Lord Steward; they ſhould be called Lord Steward 'of the King's Houſhold, as by the ſaid Act appears. 'That, attributing much to the loyalty, wiſdom, and 'virtue of his beloved Couſin and Counſellor, John, 'Earl of Warwick, &c. and having always experienced 'his conſtancy in the Chriſtian Religion, his valour in 'war, ſedition, and riots; his friendly and faithful inclination towards him, and deſiring his abode and reſidence in his Palace, and attendance on his Royal 'Perſon. By advice of his Privy-Council, he grants 'to the ſaid Earl of Warwick the office of Lord, or 'Great Maſter of his Houſhold for life, with all fees, 'wages, &c. as the ſaid Duke of Suffolk, Earl of 'Wiltſhire, or any Steward of the King's Houſhold, 'held, or enjoyed. And commands, that the ſaid 'Earl of Warwick, have his Letters Patent, without 'fine or fee, great or ſmall, to his uſe to be paid.' At this time he was looked upon as ſo warm a Proteſtant, that the moſt zealous Divines had recourſe to his favour and protection; amongſt the reſt, Dr Hooper, appointed about that time, Biſhop of Glouceſter, who ſcrupled much the wearing the epiſcopal habit, and for whom, the Earl, out of reſpect to the tenderneſs of his conſcience, actually interpoſed; but afterwards, when the Earl became better acquainted with the ſtate of the queſtion, and was made ſenſible of the conſequences that might follow from indulging ſuch a ſingularity in ſentiments, he withdrew his protection, and Dr Hooper was forced to ſubmit (34). On the other hand, tho' it is certain, that Dr Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, wrote him a letter of complement after the fall of the Protector, yet he never ſhewed him any countenance, nor did he give the leaſt oppoſition to his being deprived of the rich Biſhoprick of Wincheſter, when he knew that Archbiſhop Cranmer, conſidered it as a thing neceſſary to the peace of the Church (35). The reader is left to judge from theſe facts, whether he was a man wholly indifferent about religion, or a deep diſſembler, willing to do any thing that might either gain, or preſerve power.

(33) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 203, 208.

(34) Fuller's Church Hiſt. cent. xvi. p. 403. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 152, 154.

(35) See the account of his deprivation in Burnet and Strype.

[*K*] *Of*

nity of Duke of Northumberland (*i*), at the ſame time that the Marquis of Dorſet was created Duke of Suffolk. In a few days after theſe promotions, the conſpiracy of the Duke of Somerſet, as it was called, broke out, being betrayed by Sir Thomas Palmer; the Duke, his Ducheſs, and ſeveral other perſons, were ſent priſoners to the Tower; and the King, being perſuaded that he had really formed a deſign to murder the Duke of Northumberland, reſolved to leave him to the law (*k*). Accordingly, on the 1ſt of December, he was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-Hall, where the Duke of Northumberland, which was very indecent, ſat as one of his Judges (*l*). He was acquitted of the treaſon, but found guilty of the felony, upon a ſtatute made in the third year of that reign, received ſentence of death, and on the 22d of January following, was executed upon Tower-hill; which many conſidered as an effect of the potent Duke of Norrhumberland's reſentment (*m*) [*K*]. About this time, or rather a little before, he was elected Chancellor of Cambridge

(*i*) Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 4.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 179.

(*l*) See the proceedings againſt Edward Duke of Somerſet, in the 7th Vol. of the State-Trials.

(*m*) Fuller, Hayward, Strype.

[*K*] *Of the potent Duke of Northumberland's reſentment.*] This buſineſs of the Duke of Somerſet's death, is very warily related in our old chronicles, more eſpecially thoſe written neareſt the time, yet in one of theſe (36), we have the following account. 'Sir Edward 'Seymour, Duke of Somerſet, was again apprehended 'and caſt into the Tower of London, by means of Sir 'John Dudley, lately made Duke of Northumberland, 'at this time, of great authority in the realm. It was 'laid to the Duke of Somerſet's charge, that he pur'poſed, and went about, the death of the Duke of 'Northumberland, being one of the Privy-Council, 'and therefore, by ſtatute, was guilty both of treaſon 'and felony. Of this he was after arraigned at Weſt'minſter, and by his peers acquitted of treaſon, but 'condemned of felony. At this time many of the 'people rejoiced, being perſwaded, that the King's 'uncle ſhould never be put to death for felony, and 'thereby, thought he ſhould have eſcaped: but he was 'had again to the Tower, and there kept, until he 'was brought out to his death.' Sir John Hayward, according to his uſual cuſtom, charges it roundly upon the Duke of Northumberland, as if he conſpired againſt the Duke of Somerſet, and not that Duke againſt him, he relates the matter thus (37). 'The 'Duke of Northumberland, being now inferior unto 'none of the nobility in title of honour, and ſuperior 'to all in authority and power, could not reſtrain his 'haughty hopes from aſpiring to an abſolute command. 'But, before he would directly level at his mark, the 'Duke of Somerſet was thought fit to be taken away, 'whoſe credit was ſo great with the common people, 'that although it ſufficed not to bear out any bad at'tempt of his own, yet, was it of force, to croſs the 'evil purpoſes of others. And now to begin the third 'act of this tragedy, ſpeeches were caſt, that he cauſed 'himſelf to be proclaimed King in divers countries; 'which albeit, they were known to be falſe, inſo'much, as the Miller's ſervant at Battle-Bridge, in 'Southwark, loſt both his ears upon a pillory for ſo 'reporting; yet, the very naming of him to be King, 'either as deſired by himſelf, or by others eſteemed 'worthy, brought with it a diſtaſteful reliſh, apt to 'apprehend ſuſpicion to be true. After this, he was 'charged to have perſwaded divers of the nobility to 'chuſe him Protector at the next Parliament. The 'Duke being queſtioned, neither held ſilence as he 'might, nor conſtantly denied it, but entangled him'ſelf in his doubtful tale. One Whaley, a buſy-headed 'man, and deſirous to be ſet on work, gave firſt 'light to this appeachment, but the Earl of Rutland 'did ſtoutly avouch it. Herewith, Sir Thomas Pal'mer, a man neither loving the Duke of Somerſet, 'nor beloved of him, was brought by the Duke of 'Northumberland to the King, being in his garden. 'Here he declared, that upon St George's day laſt, 'before the Duke of Somerſet, being upon a journey 'towards the North, in caſe Sir William Herbert, 'Maſter of the Horſe, had not aſſured him, that he 'ſhould receive no harm, would have raiſed the peo'ple; and that he had ſent the Lord Grey before, to 'know, who would be his friends: alſo, that the 'Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northamp'ton, the Earl of Pembroke, and other Lords, ſhould 'be invited to a banquet, and if they came with a 'bare company, to be ſet upon by the way; if 'ſtrongly, their heads ſhould have been cut off at the 'place of their feaſting. He declared further, that 'Sir Ralph Vane, had two thouſand men in readineſs; 'that Sir Thomas Arundel, had aſſured the Tower; 'that Seymour and Hammond would wait upon him, 'and that all the horſe of the Gendarmorie, ſhould be 'ſlain. To this, Mr Secretary Cecil added, that the 'Duke had ſent for him, and ſaid, that he ſuſpected 'ſome ill meaning againſt him, whereto Mr Secretary 'anſwered, that if he were not in fault, he might 'truſt to his innocency, if he were, he had nothing to 'ſay, but to lament him. The Duke being adver'tiſed of theſe informations againſt him, by ſome, 'who had ſome regard to honeſty, did forthwith defy 'the Secretary by his letters. Then he ſent for Sir 'Thomas Palmer, to underſtand what he had reported 'of him, who denied all that he had ſaid; but by this 'hot and humourous ſtriving, he did but draw the 'knots more faſt.' We have this account afterwards repeated, and a little diverſified, in ſpeaking of the Duke's trial, ſentence, and execution. Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks with much more tenderneſs of this unfortunate nobleman; and though he bears pretty hard every where upon the Duke of Northumberland, yet he does not venture to charge that Duke of with forging any of the circumſtances of this conſpiracy (38); to ſay the truth, the friends of Somerſet, *in the very* ſame breath that they charge Northumberland with bringing him by art to the block, let fall things that ſeemed to ſpeak quite the contrary; for inſtance, a certain author (39), delivers himſelf thus. 'The 'Duke of Somerſet is trained by his enemies to ſuch 'fears and jealouſies, as tranſport him beyond his own 'good nature, to an attempt one morning upon the 'Earl of Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, a 'bed, where being received with much kindneſs, his 'heart relented, and he came off *re infecta*. At his 'coming out, one of his company aſked him if he had 'done the deed? he anſwered, no; then, ſaid he, you 'are, yourſelf undone. And indeed, it ſo fell out, 'for when all other accuſations failed, this only ſtuck 'by him, and could not be denied, and ſo he was 'found guilty by a ſtatute of his own procurement, viz. '*That if any ſhould attempt to kill a Privy-Counſellor,* '*although the fact were not done, yet it ſhould be felony,* '*and to be puniſhed with death.*' This fact of Somerſet's going with an intention to murder Northumberland in his chamber, is related more at large by a foreign author of the higheſt credit, who is known to have had his materials from the moſt knowing perſons in this kingdom, who might perhaps be more free in their communications, than they would have been in penning a hiſtory, for which they muſt have been accountable themſelves, if it had been publiſhed; the reader will be probably pleaſed to ſee what he ſays (40). 'Northumberland having drawn the chief power into 'his own hands, he had nothing elſe to do, but to 'remove Somerſet himſelf out of the way, towards 'whom he ſhewed ſuch a contempt, as drove the 'other upon the thoughts of killing Dudley, for the 'vindication of his own authority. Somerſet therefore 'went to his houſe, under pretence of a viſit, covered 'with a coat of mail under his cloaths, and carrying 'with him, a party of men, whom he left in the next 'chamber; but, when he was introduced in the 'civileſt manner to Dudley, who was naked, and ly'ing upon his bed, the good natured man repenting, 'he would not execute his deſign, and departed with'out ſtriking a ſtroke.' It is the obſervation of the very learned and judicious Mr Camden (41), that *the Duke of* Somerſet *loſt his life for a very ſmall crime, and that upon a nice point, ſubtilly deviſed and managed by his enemies.* Now if Doctor Fuller may be admitted to explain this ſhort text, he will bring it home

(36) Cooper's Chronicle, fo. 352.

(37) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the 2d Vol. of the Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 320.

(38) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 178, 179.

(39) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 425, 426.

(40) Preſident de Thou's Hiſt. of his own times, tranſlated by the Reverend Dr Wilſon, Vol. II. p. 409.

(41) Camden's Britannia, in Engliſh, 2d edition, col. 97, 98.

Cambridge (*n*), in the room of that unfortunate Peer of whom we have been ſpeaking; but at what time he became High-Steward, which Dr Heylyn aſſures us he was (*o*), and that theſe two offices have never been in one perſon before or ſince, is very uncertain. This great Politician had now raiſed himſelf as high as it was poſſible, in point of dignity and of power; the aſcendancy he had gained over the young King was ſo great, that he directed him entirely at his pleaſure; and he had, with ſuch dexterity, wrought moſt of the great Nobility into his intereſts, and had ſo humbled and depreſſed all who ſhewed any diſlike to him, that he ſeemed to have all things to hope, and little to fear (*p*). We ought, therefore, to attribute to this ſituation, and that vain pride which naturally triumphs in the breaſts of ambitious men, his mean and barbarous uſage of the head of his family, and his near relation, John, Baron of Dudley, whoſe eſtate being entangled by uſurers, he, by purchaſing aſſignments of mortgages, drew by degrees entirely into his own hands, ſo as at laſt to compaſs what he for many years deſired, the poſſeſſion of the antient caſtle of Dudley; which he not only thoroughly repaired, but added alſo a moſt noble ſtructure, worthy of his wealth and greatneſs, which was called the new building, adorning all parts of the caſtle, with the arms of the noble families from which, by his mother's ſide, he was deſcended, that, in ſucceeding times, it might not be taken for an acquiſition, but the patrimony of his family (*q*). This was certainly going far enough, or rather much too far; yet he ventured ſtill farther, and, having deſpoiled his poor couſin of his caſtle and eſtates, thruſt the titles of Dudley and Somerie amongſt his other baronies, leaving his unhappy kinſman a new and ſtrange title in their ſtead; for living, as well as he could, amongſt the great families in Staffordſhire and Warwickſhire, who pitied his misfortunes, he went there currently by the name of Lord Quondam, till, by a ſudden revolution, he became maſter of Dudley caſtle again, and his ſon obtained, out of the forfeiture of this potent Duke, an ample fortune, free from all incumbrances, with a clear title. But to return to our Hiſtory. Many writers there are who inſinuate, that, from the time the Duke of Northumberland and his family came to have the perſon of the King, as well as the direction of the Government, in their hands, the health of that young Prince began to decline; but theſe, perhaps, are no other than calumnies, ſince the decay of the King's health may, with great probability, be attributed to his having the meaſles and ſmall-pox in a ſhort time, one after the other, which could not but harraſs extreamly a conſtitution naturally tender; and theſe were diſeaſes which artifice or intrigue could never procure, though they might have afforded a better colour to bad deſigns, if ſuch had been really entertained, than a *lingering conſumption which followed them* (*s*). It does not indeed appear, that the Duke of Northumberland had any cauſe to ſuſpect the loſs of his power while that King lived, nor did he ſeem to fear it; but, when he diſcerned his Majeſty's health to decline apace, it was very natural for him to conſider how he might render himſelf and his family ſafe. This appears plainly, from the hurry with which the marriage was concluded between the Lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and his fourth ſon Lord Guildford Dudley, which was celebrated in the month of May, *1553*, that is, not above two months before the King died (*t*). We may however ſuppoſe that he had, for ſome time, been contriving in his mind that plan, for the diſpoſal of the Kingdom, which he carried afterwards into execution [*L*]. In the Parliament held a little before the King's death, the Duke of Northumberland procured a conſiderable ſupply to be granted, and, in

(*n*) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 128.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 161.

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 176.

(*q*) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 423.

(*r*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*s*) See the account of the King's ſickneſs at large in Burnet and Strype.

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

(42) Church Hiſtory, p. 406.

home to the noble perſon whoſe article we are writing, ſpeaking of Somerſet's accuſation (42), he ſays, 'Here I muſt ſet John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, as a 'tranſcendent, in a form by himſelf, being a compe- 'tent lawyer, ſon to a Judge, known ſoldier, and able 'ſtateſman, and acting againſt the Protector, in all 'theſe his capacities. Indeed, he was the very ſoul 'of the accuſation, being all in all, and all in every 'part thereof.' It may be preſumed, that the King was as well informed in theſe points, as any writer whatever; and it appears as well from his Journal, which he kept very exactly, and very ſecretly (43), as from a private letter of his to Mr Barnaby Fitzpatrick (44), that he did not judge his uncle altogether ſo innocent, or, that he was convicted without evidence. But after all can be ſaid, the reſentment of the Duke of Northumberland, was certainly ſeen in his execution, if not in his condemnation; ſince the King might have been eaſily prevailed on to ſpare his uncle, if he had been applied to, or rather muſt have been drawn with difficulty to conſent to the death of him, he had ſo long conſidered as a parent. Here then lay the cruelty of Northumberland, which was generally remembered when his fall came, and loudly charged upon him by the people (45); and yet it may be urged, if not in juſtification, yet in excuſe, that he was not bound to regard his own life leſs than Somerſet did his, who, for his ſecurity, procured that act of Parliament on which he died, nor could it be well expected, that he ſhould have more pity or commiſeration for his rival in thoſe unhappy circumſtances, than Somerſet, when Protector, had for his own brother.

(43) There is a full account of the conſpiracy and trial of the Duke of Somerſet, in that Journal, Dec. 1, 1551.

(44) This letter is in Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

(45) When he was brought priſoner to the Tower, a woman thruſt a handkerchief in his face dipped in the Duke of Somerſet's blood.

[*L*] *Which he carried afterwards into execution.*] We are told by Sir John Hayward, that after the creation of the Marquis of Dorſet, and the Earl of Warwick, Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and other promotions and alterations made at court (46), there followed ſomewhat of ſtill greater conſequence; which he introduces thus: 'And which was the ac- 'compliſhment of miſchief, Sir Robert Dudley, one 'of the Duke of Northumberland's ſons, a true heir; 'both of his hate againſt perſons of the Nobility, and of 'his cunning to diſſemble the ſame, was ſworn one of 'the ſix ordinary gentlemen. He was afterwards, for 'luſt and cruelty, a monſter of the Court, as apt to 'hate, ſo a moſt ſure executioner of his hate; yet, 'rather by practice, than open dealing, as wanting 'rather courage than wit. After his entertainment 'into a place of ſo near ſervice, *the* King *enjoyed his* 'health not long.' After laying this foundation, he takes it for granted in ſeveral paſſages in the ſubſequent part of his work, that the King was poiſoned by the procurement of the Duke of Northumberland; yet the reverend Mr Strype cenſures him for writing ſo poſitively without authorities, and not without reaſon. His very introduction is ill grounded; for, as the King tells us himſelf, Sir Robert Dudley was ſworn one of his gentlemen in ordinary, Auguſt 15th, 1551 (47), and the promotions of which, Sir John Hayward makes this a conſequence, were in the October following, it was

(46) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the 2d Vol. of the Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 320.

(47) King Edward's Journal under that date.

in the preamble of that act, a direct cenſure of the Duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration; and, having wiſely anſwered his purpoſes by this ſingle meaſure, diſſolved that Parliament immediately (*u*). He then applied himſelf to the King, and ſhewed him the neceſſity of ſetting her aſide, from the danger the Proteſtant religion would be in, if the Lady Mary, ſhould ſucceed him; in which, from the piety of that young Prince, he met with no great difficulty. Biſhop Burnet ſays, he did not well underſtand how the King was prevailed upon to paſs by his ſiſter Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour (*w*); perhaps he might be told, that it was impoſſible to aſſign any reaſons for diſinheriting one ſiſter, that might not alſo be applied for the other; ſo that there was a neceſſity of depriving both, or neither. Yet, when this was done, there was another difficulty in the way. The Ducheſs of Suffolk was the next heir, and ſhe might have ſons; and, therefore, to bar theſe in favour of Lady Jane Dudley ſeemed to be unnatural, as well as illegal; the Ducheſs herſelf contributed, as far as in her lay, to remove this obſtacle, by devolving her right upon her daughter, even if ſhe had male iſſue; which ſatisfied the King, who was but in the ſixteenth year of his age, and might not therefore perceive the fallacy of reſigning not only her own claim, but that of thoſe who might deſcend from her, which ſhe could not poſſibly have power to do (*x*). The King's conſent being obtained, the next point was to procure a proper inſtrument to be drawn by the Judges; in doing which the Duke of Northumberland made uſe of threats as well as promiſes, and when done at laſt, it was in ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhewed it to be illegal in their own opinions (*y*) [*M*]. At this

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 195. Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 222.

(*x*) This appears from the inſtrument for eſtabliſhing the Lady Jane.

(*y*) See Judge Montague's relation, which is inſerted in Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

was in the month of April 1552, that the King had the meaſles and the ſmall-pox, and his health did not begin to decline till ſome time afterwards, ſo that there is great impropriety in ſaying, that after his coming into a place ſo near him, the King enjoyed his health not long. All the reſt of our hiſtorians ſpeak very doubtfully of the King's death, chiefly from a great indiſcretion, which was the putting him into the hands of a woman, after the Phyſicians began to doubt whether he could be ſaved by their ſkill; from which time it is certain, that he did grow worſe, and ſo the Phyſicians were called in again (48); yet there are many who will hardly take this for a teſtimony of his being poiſoned, though Sir John Hayward, ſays, *ſhe was a ſchoolmiſtreſs well inſtructed for the purpoſe* (49), but will rather conceive, that the Duke of Northumberland conſented to this, in hopes of ſaving the King's life; which, if he was a ſound politician, he muſt have conſidered, as of greater conſequence to him, than to any other man in the kingdom. But be this as it will, there is no ſort of proof, that the Duke took ſuch early care as he might have done for his family, if he had any foreſight of the King's death; but his doing things as he did in a hurry, ſeems to ſhew quite the contrary, and indeed, there is a letter of his to Sir William Cecil, which looks as if he had deceived himſelf much in this particular, and entertained hopes of the King's recovery, after they were loſt by others. Yet it cannot be conceived, that while the whole nation was alarmed by the King's ſickneſs, the Duke ſhould be wholly unconcerned as to the event, which is the reaſon of it's being ſaid in the text, that he might have digeſted in his mind that ſcheme of the ſucceſſion, ſome time before he mentioned it to the King; and that looking upon it as a dangerous undertaking, and his laſt ſhift, he delayed it till the neceſſity became preſſing.

(48) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 224.

(49) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the 2d Vol. of Compleat Hiſt. p. 327.

[*M*] *As plainly ſhewed it to be illegal in their own opinions.*] The full narrative of this whole important tranſaction, and of the Duke of Northumberland's behaviour therein, is thus briefly and clearly delivered by Biſhop Burnet (50). 'On the 11th of June, ſays he, 'Montague, that was chief Juſtice of the Common-'Pleas, and Baker and Bromley, two Judges, with 'the King's Attorney and Sollicitor, were commanded 'to come to Council. There they found the King with 'ſome Privy-Counſellors about him. The King told 'them, he did now apprehend the danger the king-'dom might be in, if, upon his death, his ſiſter Mary 'ſhould ſucceed, who might marry a ſtranger, and ſo 'change the laws and the religion of the realm; ſo he 'ordered ſome articles to be read to them, of the way 'in which he would have the crown to deſcend. They 'objected, that the Act of Succeſſion, being an act of 'Parliament, could not be taken away by any ſuch de-'vice: yet the King required them to take the ar-'ticles, and draw a book according to them: they 'aſked a little time to conſider of it. So having 'examined the ſtatute of the firſt year of this reign, con-'cerning treaſons, they found that it was treaſon, not 'only after the King's death, but even in his life, to 'to change the ſucceſſion. Secretary Petre, in the 'mean while preſſed them to make haſte: when they 'came again to the Council, they declared they could 'not do any thing, for it was treaſon, and all the 'Lords ſhould be guilty of treaſon, if they went on in 'it. Upon which, the Duke of Northumberland, 'who was not then in the Council-Chamber; being 'advertiſed of this, came in great fury, calling Mon-'tague a traytor, and threatned all the Judges, ſo that 'they thought he would have beaten them. But the 'Judges ſtood to their opinion. They were again ſent 'for, and came with Goſnald added to them, on the '15th of June. The King was preſent, and he ſome-'what ſharply aſked them, why they had not prepared 'the book as he had ordered them? they anſwered, 'That whatever they did, would be of no force with-'out a Parliament. The King ſaid, he intended to 'have one ſhortly. Then Montague propoſed, that 'it might be delayed till the Parliament met. But 'the King ſaid, he would have it firſt done, and then 'ratified in Parliament, and therefore, he required 'them on their allegiance, to go about it, and ſome 'Counſellors told them, that if they refuſed to obey, 'that they were traytors. This put them in a great con-'ſternation; and old Montague thinking it could not 'be treaſon whatever they did in this matter while the 'King lived, and at worſt, that a pardon under the 'Great-Seal would ſecure him, conſented to ſet about 'it, if he might have a commiſſion, requiring him to 'do it, and a pardon under the Great-Seal when it 'was done. Both theſe being granted him, he was 'ſatisfied. The other Judges being aſked, if they 'would concur, did all agree, being overcome with 'fear, except Goſnald, who ſtill refuſed to do it. 'But he alſo being ſorely threatned, both by the 'Duke of Northumberland, and the Earl of Shrewſ-'bury, conſented to it the next day. So they put the 'entail of the crown, in form of law, and brought it 'to the Lord Chancellor, to put the ſeal to it. They 'were all required to ſet their hands to it; but, both 'Goſnald and Hales refuſed. Yet the former was 'wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a moſt 'ſteady and zealous man for the Reformation, would 'upon no conſideration yield to it: after, that the 'Lord Chancellor for his ſecurity, deſired that all the 'Counſellors might ſet their hands to it, which was 'done on the 21ſt of June, by thirty-three of them, 'it is like, including the Judges in the number. But 'Cranmer, as he came ſeldom to Council after the 'Duke of Somerſet's fall, ſo he was that day abſent 'on deſign. Cecil, in a relation which he made one 'write of this tranſaction for clearing himſelf, after-'wards, ſays, that when he had heard Goſnald and 'Hales declare how much it was againſt law, he re-'fuſed to ſet his hand to it as a Counſellor, and 'only ſigned it as a witneſs to the King's ſubſcription. 'But Cranmer ſtill refuſed to do it, after they had all 'ſigned

(50) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 223.

this time indeed the Duke, either from the hurry of his paſſions, the fear he had of what might happen from delays, or the haughtineſs ariſing from a ſeries of good fortune which had ſo long continued, began to loſe much of his former gentleneſs and affability, as he ſhewed himſelf amazingly rapacious in the grants which he obtained from a King, whoſe age, excluſive of his ſickneſs, made it indecent at leaſt, if not illegal, to accept ſuch mighty bounties, the worth of which he could never be preſumed to know, from his giving them thus laviſhly away. The Duke was no leſs careful in drawing to himſelf as much power, and diffuſing his intereſt as wide as poſſible; ſo that whatever happened he might not want a retreat, or find his ſchemes in danger of being broken through an oppoſition by the diſcontented Nobility, in which ſchemes, notwithſtanding their difficulty, he ſucceeded to his wiſh, his eſtate being enlarged, and his offices multiplied, beyond any thing that had in former times been beſtowed upon any ſubject (z) [N]. The Letters Patents for diſpoſing of the Crown were ſigned by King Edward on the 21ſt of June (a), and on the 6th of July that Monarch expired, expreſſing to the laſt great ſatisfaction in the proviſion he had made for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, and the happineſs of his people (b). It is ſaid, that the Duke of Northumberland was very deſirous of concealing the King's death for ſome time, but this being found impoſſible, he carried his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane, from Durham-Houſe to the Tower for the greater ſecurity, and on the 10th of July proclaimed her Queen (c); the Council alſo wrote to Lady Mary requiring her ſubmiſſion, but they were very ſoon informed that ſhe was retired into Norfolk, where many of the Nobility, and multitudes of people, reſorted to her (d). It was then reſolved to ſend forces againſt her under the command of the Duke of Suffolk, but Queen Jane, as ſhe was then ſtiled, would by no means part with her father, and the Council earneſtly preſſed the Duke of Northumberland to go in perſon, to which he was little inclined, as doubting their fidelity. He ſignified as much in the ſpeech he made at taking his leave, and was anſwered with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that men could give; the Earl of Arundel particularly told him, he was ſorry it was not his chance to go with him, in whoſe preſence he could find in his heart to ſpend his blood even at his feet (e). On the 14th of July the Duke, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Grey, and others, marched through Biſhopſgate with two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot; but, as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forbear ſaying to the Lord Grey, *The people preſs to ſee us, but not one ſays God ſpeed us* (f). His activity and courage, for which he had been ſo famous, ſeemed, from this time, to have deſerted him; for though he advanced to St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, yet finding his troops diminiſh, the people little affected to him, and no ſupplies coming from London, though he had wrote to the Lords in the moſt preſſing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge (g). In the mean time the Council thought of nothing but how to get out of the Tower, and at laſt effected it, under pretence of going to the Earl of Pembroke's houſe at Baynard's Caſtle, to give audience to the foreign Ambaſſadors. This was on the 19th of the ſame month, and the firſt thing they did when they came there, was to ſend for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheapſide, and there Garter King at Arms proclaimed Queen Mary; the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, went the ſame night

(z) See this at large in the note.

(a) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 222.

(b) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, cent. xvi. p. 425.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(d) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 233.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 610, 611.

(f) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 161.

(g) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 238.

'ſigned it, and ſaid he would never conſent to the diſ-
'inheriting of the daughters of his late maſter. Many
'conſultations were had to perſwade him to it. But
'he could not be prevailed on, till the King himſelf
'ſet on him, who uſed many arguments from the
'danger religion would otherwiſe be in, together with
'other perſwaſions; ſo that by his reaſons, or rather
'importunities, at laſt he brought him to it.'

[N] *Been beſtowed upon any ſubject.*] If all the inſtances that might be alledged of this, were carefully collected, they would ſwell this note very much beyond it's proper bounds; and therefore, it ſhall ſuffice to alledge here, the teſtimony of the induſtrious Strype, who, though in other places he has diſtinctly conſidered them, thus ſums up the matter at once, ſpeaking of the Duke's ſtate and condition, in the year 1553 (51). 'Dudley, the great Duke of Northumberland, now 'bore all the ſway at Court, and, in effect, did what he 'liſted. This year, beſides the County Palatine of 'Durham, the honour and power of which was like 'to fall to him; the King gave him Bernard's Caſtle 'there, with very great additions of lands and lordſhips 'in that county, and in Northumberland, Weſtmore-'land, and York, or any otherwhere in the Biſhoprick 'of Durham for life. He had alſo granted to him, 'the manors of Feckenham, Bromeſgrove, King's Nor-'ton in Worceſterſhire, with many other lands. 'The year before, he was made Chief Steward of 'the Eaſt-riding of York, and of all the King's 'lordſhip in Holderneſs and Cottingham in the ſaid 'county. The year before that, he was conſtituted 'General Warden, or Keeper of the Marches of 'England, towards Scotland, namely, of the Eaſt, 'Weſt, and middle Marches. Which were ſcarcely 'before, put into one man's hand (except the Marquis 'of Dorſet immediately before him) and he to ap-'point his deputy-wardens. And his patent was 'ordered to be drawn up in the moſt large and 'comprehenſive manner, endowing him with as much 'authority, power, pre-eminence, commodity, and 'liberty, as any before him had enjoyed, from Ri-'chard the ſecond's time, to Henry the eighth, as 'the warrant ran. Beſides theſe things in the North, 'he obtained of the King, great and ſpreading de-'means in Somerſetſhire, Warwick, and Worceſter-'ſhire, and many other counties. So that by this 'time, the Duke had prodigiouſly enriched himſelf, 'and made himſelf formidably great, by lands and 'lordſhips, honours and offices, caſtles and places 'of truſt heaped upon him by the King, by whom 'it was not ſafe to deny him any thing he aſked. 'He had ſtrengthened his intereſt alſo, by raiſing 'himſelf friends upon the King's coſt, as more 'eſpecially the Lord Clinton, and Sir John Gates, 'and his brother, Sir Andrews Dudley, Maſter of 'the Wardrobe, and taken into the order of the 'Garter; and his own ſons, John, raiſed to the 'degree of Earl of Warwick, and maſter of the 'King's horſe (52); Sir Robert Dudley made a 'Lord (53), and the King's Carver, and Guildford 'Dudley, whom the Duke was now marrying to one 'of the royal blood, *viz.* the Lady Jane, eldeſt 'daughter of the Duke of Suffolk.'

(51) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 422.

(52) This was only by his father's being created Duke of Northumberland.

(53) He was a Lord barely by courteſy, as all the reſt of the Duke's ſons were.

[O] *Will*

night poſt to pay their duty to her (*b*). The Duke of Northumberland had advice of this on the 20th, and about five in the afternoon the ſame day, cauſed her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap and crying, *God ſave Queen Mary!* with how much joy and ſincerity may be eaſily imagined (*i*); about an hour afterwards came letters from the Council to the Duke of Northumberland, by one of the Heralds, requiring him to diſband his forces, upon receiving which the Duke gave leave to every man to depart, and ſoon after he was arreſted in King's-college by Slegge, Serjeant at Arms; but other letters coming from the Council, that all men ſhould go each his way, the Duke ſaid to thoſe that kept him, *Ye do me wrong to withdraw my liberty, ſee ye not the Council's letters, without exception, that all men ſhould go whither they would.* Whereupon they who guarded him and the other Noblemen, ſet them at liberty, and ſo they continued for that night, and the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberland's ſon, was ready in the morning to have rode away, at which time the Earl of Arundel came from the Queen to the Duke into his chamber, who, when he ſaw him, ſaid, *For the love of God conſider, I have done nothing but by the conſent of you, and all the whole Council. My Lord*, replied the Earl of Arundel, *I am ſent hither by the Queen's Majeſty, and in her name I arreſt you. I obey it*, ſaid the Duke, *I beſeech you, my Lord of Arundel, uſe mercy towards me, knowing the caſe as it is. My Lord*, anſwered the Earl, *you ſhould have ſought for mercy ſooner, I muſt do according to my commandment.* And thereupon committed the charge of him, and of others, to the guard, and Gentlemen that ſtood by (*k*). The 25th of July, the Duke, with the reſt, were brought to the Tower of London, under the conduct of Henry Earl of Arundel, with a body of light horſemen (*l*). On Friday the 18th of Auguſt he was arraigned, a great ſcaffold being ſet up in Weſtminſter-Hall, with John, Earl of Warwick, his ſon and heir, and William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, before Thomas Duke of Norfolk, High-Steward of England on that occaſion. As to his behaviour at his trial, which was equally modeſt and decent, ſome particulars of it will be mentioned in the notes (*m*) [*O*]. After his condemnation he was carried back to the Tower, where he remained a cloſe priſoner. Monday, the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, was the day fixed for his execution, when a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled upon Tower-Hill, all the uſual preparations being made, and the executioner ready; but, after waiting ſome hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open ſhew of the change of his religion, ſince that very day, in the preſence of the Mayor and Aldermen, as well as ſome of the Privy-Council, he heard maſs in the Tower (*n*). The next day he was actually brought out to ſuffer death, on the ſame ſcaffold, on Tower-Hill, where he made a very long ſpeech to the people; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his religion, which he not only profeſſed to be then that of the Church of Rome, but that it had been always ſo, taking upon himſelf the odious character of a hypocrite in the ſight of God, as well as a diſſembler with men (*o*). John Fox affirms, that he had a promiſe of pardon even if his head was upon the block, if he would recant and hear maſs (*p*); and ſome have believed that he entertained ſuch a hope to the laſt, from a paſſage in his ſpeech [*P*]. However that may be, it is allowed that he behaved with becoming

(*b*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 164.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 612.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 239. Stowe's Annals, p. 612.

(*l*) Hollinſhed and Speed.

(*m*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 21, 22.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 243. Stowe's Annals, nals, p. 614.

(*o*) Hollinſhed, Stowe, and Speed.

(*p*) Book of Martyrs, Vol. III. p. 12, 13.

[*O*] *Will be mentioned in the notes.*] The indictment having been read, containing a charge againſt him of high-treaſon. The Duke of Northumberland, with great reverence towards the Judges, proteſted his faith and allegiance to the Queen, whom he confeſſed grievouſly to have offended, and ſaid he meant not to ſpeak any thing in defence of his acts, but requeſted to underſtand the opinion of the court in two points (54):

(54) Stowe's Annals, p. 614.

Firſt, Whether a man doing any act by the authority of the Prince's Council, and by warrant of the Great Seal of England, and doing nothing without the ſame, might be charged with treaſon for any thing he might do by warrant thereof.

Secondly, Whether any ſuch perſons as were equally culpable in that crime, and thoſe by whoſe letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or paſs upon his trial as his Peers?

To which it was anſwered: 'That the Great-Seal 'which he had for his warrant, was not the Seal of 'the lawful Queen of the realm, nor paſſed by autho-'rity, but the Seal of an uſurper, and therefore could 'be no warrant to him. And that if any were as 'deeply to be touched in the caſe as himſelf, yet ſo 'long as no attainder was of record againſt them, they 'were perſons able in law to paſs on any trial, and not 'to be challenged but at the Prince's pleaſure.' After which anſwer the Duke uſed few words, but confeſſed the indictment; by whoſe example the other priſoners arraigned with him did the like, and thereupon had judgment. The Duke, on receiving his ſentence, ſaid: 'I beſeech you, my Lords, all to be humble ſuitors to 'the Queen's Majeſty, and to grant me *four* requeſts: 'First, That I may have that death which Noblemen 'have had in times paſt, and not the other, *Secondly*, 'That her Majeſty will be gracious to my children, 'which may hereafter do good ſervice, conſidering 'that they went by my commandment, who am their 'father, and not of their own free wills. *Thirdly*, 'That I may have appointed to me ſome learned men 'for the inſtruction and quiet of my conſcience. And '*fourthly*, That ſhe will ſend two of the Council to 'commune with me, to whom I will declare ſuch 'matters as ſhall be expedient for her and the com-'monwealth. And thus I beſeech you all to pray for 'me.'

[*P*] *From a paſſage in his ſpeech.*] Several authors agree in affirming that he made a long ſpeech at the time of his death, and we have reaſon to regret that only a part of it is preſerved, which is what follows:

(55) 'Good people, all you that be here preſent to ſee 'me die, though my death be odious and horrible to 'the fleſh, yet I pray you judge the beſt in God's 'works, for he doth all for the beſt. And as for me 'I am a wretched ſinner, and have deſerved to die, 'and moſt juſtly am condemned to die by Law. And 'yet this act whereof I die was not altogether of me, 'but I was procured and induced thereunto by others; 'I was I ſay induced thereunto by others. Howbeit, 'God forbid that I ſhould name any man unto you, 'I will name no man unto you, and therefore I be-'ſeech you look not for it. I, for my part, forgive 'all men, and pray God alſo to forgive them, and if 'I have offended any of you here, I pray you and all 'the world to forgive me, and moſt chiefly I deſire 'forgiveneſs of the Queen's Highneſs, whom I have 'moſt grievouſly offended. And I pray you all to 'witneſs

(55) Ibid. p. 615.

becoming courage and compoſure, putting off his damaſk gown when he had done ſpeaking, and then kneeled down, ſaying, to them that were about him, *I beſeech you all to bear me witneſs that I die in the true Catholick faith*, and then ſaid the Pſalms of *Miſerere*, and *De profundis*, his *Pater noſter*, and ſix of the firſt verſes of the Pſalm, *In te Domine ſperavi*, ending with this verſe, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit.* And when he had thus ended his prayers, the Executioner aſked him forgiveneſs, to whom he ſaid, *I forgive thee with all my heart, do thy part without fear.* And bowing towards the block, he ſaid, *I have deſerved a thouſand deaths*; then laid his head on the block, and was beheaded; whoſe body, with the head, was buried in the Tower by the body of Edward Duke of Somerſet, ſo that there lie between the high altar in St Peter's church, two Dukes between two Queens, *viz.* Queen Anne and Queen Catherine, all four beheaded (*q*). Such was the end of this potent Nobleman, who, with the title of a Duke, exerciſed, for ſome time, a power little inferior to that of a King, in the fifty-firſt, or at moſt in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, one differently repreſented by our Hiſtorians [2], but

(*q*) Stowe's Annals, p. 615.

'witneſs for me, that I depart in perfect love and 'charity with all the world, and that you will aſſiſt me 'with your prayers at the hour of death. —— 'And here I do proteſt unto you, good people, moſt 'earneſtly, even from the bottom of my heart, that 'this which I have ſpoken is of myſelf, not being re'quired nor moved thereunto by any man, nor by any 'flattery or hope of life; and I take witneſs of my Lord 'of Worceſter (*) here, mine old friend and ghoſtly 'father, that he found me in this mind and opinion 'when he came to me, but I have declared this only 'upon mine own mind and affection, and for the zeal 'and love that I bear to my natural country. I could, 'good people, rehearſe much more even by expe'rience, that I have of this evil that hath happened 'to this realm by theſe occaſions, but you know I 'have another thing to do, whereunto I muſt prepare 'me, for the time draweth away. And now I be'ſeech the Queen's Highneſs to forgive me mine of'fences againſt her Majeſty, whereof I have a ſingular 'hope, foraſmuch as ſhe has already extended her 'goodneſs and clemency ſo far upon me, that whereas 'ſhe might forthwith, without judgment, or any far'ther trial, have put me to moſt vile and cruel death, 'by hanging, drawing, and quartering, foraſmuch as 'I was in the field in arms againſt her Majeſty. Her 'Highneſs nevertheleſs, of her moſt merciful goodneſs, 'ſuffered me to be brought to my judgment, and to 'have my trial by law, where I was moſt juſtly con'demned. And her Highneſs hath now alſo ex'tended her mercy and clemency upon me, for the 'manner and kind of my death. And therefore my 'hope is, that her Grace, of her goodneſs, will remit 'all the reſt of her indignation and diſpleaſure towards 'me, which I beſeech you all moſt heartily to pray 'for, and that it may pleaſe God long to preſerve her 'Majeſty, to reign over you in much honour and feli'city.' I muſt confeſs it does not appear to me, that this ſpeech of the Duke implies any perſuaſion of pardon, but quite the contrary; he recapitulates thoſe inſtances of juſtice and kindneſs, which he would have the people believe, he, in his own opinion, had received from the Queen, and from thence infers, that her Majeſty would retain no reſentment againſt him after he was dead, and conſequently would not proceed againſt his family, of which many were obnoxious to her juſtice, and all of them to her ſuſpicions. If, therefore, any promiſes were made to him, it is more likely that they ſhould relate to his children, and his brother, in favour of whom he might poſſibly reſolve to die as he lived, like a Courtier, as he evidently did.

(*) Dr Nich. Heath.

[2] *One differently repreſented by our Hiſtorians.*] We have the following character of this great man, drawn by the hand of a famous Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian (56). 'Such was the end of this great perſon, 'the firſt Earl of Warwick, and the laſt Duke of Nor'thumberland of this name and family. By birth he 'was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Edmund Sutton, *alias* Dud'ley, who, together with Sir Richard Empſon, were 'the chief inſtruments and promoters under Henry VII 'for putting the penal laws in execution, to the great 'grievance and oppreſſion of all ſorts of ſubjects. For 'which, and other offences of a higher nature, they 'were both ſacrificed to the fury of the common peo'ple, by King Henry VIII, which poſſibly might 'make him carry a vindictive mind towards that 'King's children, and prompt him to the diſinheriting 'of all his progeny. Firſt trained up (as his father had 'alſo been before him) in the ſtudy of the Common 'Laws, which made him cunning enough to pick 'holes in any man's eſtate, to find ways by which to 'bring their lives in danger. But finding that the long 'ſword was of more eſtimation than the long robe in 'the time of that King, he put himſelf forward on all 'actions wherein honour was to be acquired, in which 'he gave ſuch teſtimony of his judgment and valour, 'that he gained much on the affections of his Prince, 'by whom he was created Viſcount L'Iſle, on the '15th of March, *anno* 1541, inſtalled Knight of the 'Garter in 1543, and made Lord Admiral of England. 'Employed in many actions againſt the Scots, he came 'off always with ſucceſs and victory, and having ſaid 'this, we have ſaid all that was accounted either good 'or commendable in the whole courſe of his life. 'Being advanced unto the title of Earl of Warwick by 'King Edward VI, he thought himſelf in a capacity 'of making Queens, as well as Richard Nevil (one of 'his predeceſſors in that title) had been for ſetting up 'and depoſing Kings; and they both periſhed under the 'ambition of thoſe proud attempts. Puniſhed as Ne'vil alſo was, in having no iſſue male remaining to 'preſerve his name. For though he had ſix ſons, all 'of them living to be men, and all of them to be mar'ried men, yet they went all childleſs to the grave, I 'mean, as to the having of lawful iſſue, as if the curſe 'of Jeconijah had been laid upon them. With him 'died alſo the proud title of Duke of Northumberland, 'never aſpired to by the Piercies, though men of emi'nent nobility.' The reader may compare this with the following ſketch of his character by Biſhop Burnet, than whom no man could be better acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe times (57). 'Thus died the am'bitious Duke of Northumberland. He had been, in 'the former parts of his life, a great Captain, and had 'the reputation of a very wiſe man: he was generally 'ſucceſsful, and they that are ſo, are always eſteemed 'wiſe. He was an extraordinary man in a lower ſize, 'but had forgot himſelf much when he was raiſed 'higher, in which his mind ſeemed more exalted than 'his fortunes. But as he was tranſported by his rage 'and revenge out of meaſure, ſo he was as ſervile and 'mean in his ſubmiſſions. Fox, it ſeems, was in'formed, that he had hopes given him of his life, if 'he ſhould declare himſelf of the Popiſh religion, even 'though his head were laid on the block; but which 'way ſoever he made that declaration, either to get 'his life by it, or that he had really been always what 'he now profeſſed, it argues that he regarded religion 'very little, either in his life, or at his death. But, 'whether he did any thing to haſten the King's death, 'I do not find it was at all enquired after. Only thoſe 'who conſider how much guilt diſorders all people, 'and that they have a black cloud over their minds, 'which appears either in the violence of rage, or the 'abjectneſs of fear, did find ſo great a change in his de'portment in theſe laſt paſſages of his life, from what 'was in the former parts of it, that they could not but 'think there was ſome extraordinary thing within him, 'from whence it flowed.' We may well ſuppoſe, that ſome ſhining qualities were very conſpicuous in this unfortunate Duke, ſince the greateſt enemy his family ever had, at the cloſe of his moſt virulent invective againſt his ſon, the Earl of Leiceſter, has theſe words,

(56) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation of the Church of England, p. 189.

(57) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 244.

but of whom it may be truly ſaid, that though even his enemies could not deny he had many great, and ſome good, qualities, yet the beſt friends to his memory muſt confeſs, they were much overballanced by his vices. His relict, Jane, Ducheſs of Northumberland, was a Lady of great piety and virtue, of whom therefore we ſhall give a ſhort account in a note [*R*]. His brother, Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, fell under the ſame condemnation with himſelf, but, through the clemency of Queen Mary, his life was ſpared; ſome particulars of which the reader will find at the bottom of the page [*S*]. This great Duke had alſo a numerous iſſue, *viz.* eight ſons and five daughters, of whom ſome went before him to the grave, others ſurvived, and lived to ſee a great change in their fortunes; we ſhall likewiſe give a ſuccinct account of them, for the reader's ſatisfaction [*T*]. It may not be amiſs to remember here, that Sir John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, was taken into the new Queen's favour, though he did not live to enjoy it long, dying in leſs than a month after the great Duke his couſin, and, by the Queen's ſpecial command, was, on the 21ſt of September 1553, buried with great pomp and ceremony at Weſtminſter, the Heralds attending at his funeral, when his ſtile and titles were publickly proclaimed (*r*). His ſon Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, received ſtill higher marks of her Royal beneficence, ſince, by her Letters Patents, ſhe reſtored to him and the heirs of his body all the manors of Horburne and Smethwick, with the advowſon of the church of Horburne in the county of Stafford; as alſo the whole priory of Dudley, and the tithes of Norfield and Sedgeley, with divers meſſuages and lands, parcel of the poſſeſſions belonging to the ſame priory, then in the poſſeſſion of the Crown by the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland (*s*). This Lord taking to wife Catherine, the daughter of Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos of Sudeley, one of the Ladies in ordinary attending on the Queen, ſhe granted to him, and to the heirs of their two bodies, the lordſhips of Sedgeley, Himley, and Swinford, with the parks of Etinſhall, Sedgeley, and Himley; the hays, foreſts, and chaces, of Aſhwood and Chaſpell, with all the land called Willingſworth, and divers other lands and tenements in

(*r*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 34.

(*s*) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M.

which falling from him are very remarkable (58). 'In his father, no doubt, there were to be ſeen many 'excellent good parts, if they had been joined with 'faith, honeſty, moderation, and loyalty. For all the 'world knows that he was very wiſe, valiant, magnanimous, liberal, and aſſured friendly where he once 'promiſed, of all which virtues, my Lord his ſon hath 'neither ſhew nor ſhadow.' That he was a good maſter, and that he had a ſervant in whom the memory of paſt favours out-lived the Duke, as well as his fortunes, will appear from the following paſſage, recorded in an old Hiſtory of our Peerage (59), and except the laſt ſentence tranſcribed by Sir William Dugdale (60). 'John Cock, Lancaſter Herald, ſome time ſer-'vant to this Duke, begged of Queen Mary to bury 'the head of his old maſter in the Tower of London, 'which was granted him with the whole body, and 'performed accordingly. In remembrance whereof, 'the ſaid Lancaſter, did ever after bear for his creſt, '*a bear's head, ſilver; crowned, gold.*' It may not be amiſs to add here, that it was alſo in gratitude for this good office he was made Lancaſter Herald in 1585, when Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, ſon to this Duke, went Governor of the Low-Countries, whom he attended (61).

(58) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 178.

(59) Catalogue of Nobility, by Ralph Brook, p. 149, 150.

(60) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 219.

(61) Weever's Funeral Monuments, in his Cat. of Heralds.

[*R*] *A ſhort account in a note.*] The name of this lady, was Jane Guilford, daughter and heir of Sir Edward Guilford, Marſhal of Calais, Lord-Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Maſter of the Ordnance under King Henry VIII, by Eleanor, ſiſter and heireſs of Thomas Weſt, Lord la Warre. It ſeems this was a marriage of affection, their fathers having been intimate friends, and themſelves brought up together while children. The Duke married her when he was ſcarce of age, ſo that they had lived together thirty years at the time he loſt his life, when her eſtate was truly deplorable, being, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the words, turned out of doors, all her furniture ſeized, left without fortune, without friends, and without neceſſaries, her huſband and her ſon executed, her other ſons living, but by permiſſion; ſo that conſidering her age, her quality, and the manner in which ſhe had ſpent her days, the Duke being as abſolute in his own houſe, by affection, as in the ſtate by power, ſhe could not but be very miſerable. By degrees however things grew better, more eſpecially after the marriage of Queen Mary to King Philip, the Spaniſh lords and ladies of his court, employing all their intereſt in her favour, as appears from her will, written with her own hand, in which ſhe expreſſes a very grateful ſenſe of their kindneſſes. But no reaſon has been aſſigned hitherto for their behaviour towards her, though there was a very good one; for her uncle Henry Guilford had ſerved long in Spain, was knighted by King Ferdinand, and for his gallant behaviour in war, had the arms of the kingdom of Granada granted him, as an augmentation of his paternal coat; ſhe deceaſed at her houſe at Chelſea, in the forty-ſixth year of her age, on the 22d of January 1554-5, and was buried with great funeral ſolemnity in the church there, on the 1ſt of February following, and had a noble monument erected there, with a ſuitable inſcription to perpetuate her memory (62).

[*S*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It does not appear, at what time this gentleman received the honour of knighthood, but we find, that by the title of Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight, he had the manor of Whitney granted him by King Edward VI, in the year 1551 (63). A like grant of the manor of Minſter Lovel, and the hundred of Chadlington, paſſed in the month of February, 1552; in the month of October, the ſame year, upon his being recalled from the caſtle of Guiſnes, of which he was captain, he was appointed one of the four gentlemen in ordinary of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber (64); he was alſo keeper of the palace of Weſtminſter, and, as the warrants to him plainly ſhew, Maſter of the Wardrobe (65); but the laſt and greateſt favour he received in that reign, was his being elected, April 23d, in the ſixth year of Edward VI, one of the Knights Companions of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter (66). He joined, as it was natural for him to do, with the Duke his brother, and for that offence, on the 19th of Auguſt 1553, received judgment to die as a traytor, notwithſtanding which, he was reprieved, and afterwards pardoned, and diſcharged out of the Tower, Octob. 18, 1554, living the remainder of his life privately, at his houſe in Tothill-ſtreet, where he deceaſed in 1559, but it does not appear that any notice was taken of him by Queen Elizabeth, ſo that, at the time of his demiſe, his fortune was but ſmall (67).

(62) Theſe particulars are taken from the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(63) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 497.

(64) From the King's Journal.

(65) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 233, 234. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 520.

(66) Regiſter of the Order.

[*T*] *For the reader's ſatisfaction.*] We are here to ſpeak of the Duke of Northumberland's poſterity, and firſt of the ſons, which were eight.

I. Henry, who was killed at the ſiege of Bologne, at the age of nineteen, married to Wynefred, daughter to the Lord Rich; upon whoſe death there is an elegy extant, by Leland (68).

II. Thomas, who died when he was two years old.

III. John, who had the title of Earl of Warwick in his father's life-time; at the coronation of Edward VI, he was made one of the Knights of the Bath; in the fifth year of that monarch's reign, he accompanied the Marquis of Northampton, who carried the Order of the Garter to the French King (69). In the ſixth of Edward

(67) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(68) Publiſhed by Hearne, at the end of Roſs of Warwick's Hiſtory.

(69) MS. ſub effig. Jul. C. IX. in Bibl. Cotton.

(t) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M. in the county of Stafford (t): her Majeſty alſo granted him, though the date does not appear, the whole caſtle of Dudley, the park called the Conigree, the old park of Dudley, with divers other lands lying in Dudley, Rowley, and Sedgeley, in the county of Stafford; all which came to the Crown by the forfeiture of the ſaid John, Duke of Northumberland (u). The Queen alſo made this Lord Governor of the caſtle of Hampnies in Picardy, for the term of his natural life (w). By his Lady beforementioned, he had only one daughter, Anne, married to Thomas Wylmer, Eſq; Counſellor at Law (x). As to his other marriages and iſſue, the reader has ſeen them already in another place (y); we ſhall therefore add nothing farther here, than that this noble Peer dying July 4, 1586, in the twenty-eighth year of Queen Elizabeth (z), his body was interred in the church of St Margaret, Weſtminſter.

(u) Pat. 21 Eliz. per inſpex.

(w) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M. p. 4.

(x) Catalogue of Nobility, by R. B.

(y) In note [B] in the article of DUDLEY.

(z) F. F. in officio arm. fol. 13. a.

Edward VI, he was made Maſter of the Horſe, with a fee of one hundred pounds per annum (70). He had the wardſhip granted him, of Sir Edward Seymour, Knight, ſon to the Protector (71). But whereas it is ſaid, by certain writers, that when his father cauſed the Lord Paget to be deprived of the Garter (72), it was to make room for his ſon the Earl of Warwick, that is not likely to be true, becauſe this young nobleman never had it at all; he was condemned with his father, but reprieved and releaſed out of the Tower with his uncle, and going to his brother's houſe at Penſhurſt in Kent, died there in two days time; ſo that it is probable, he was dying when he was diſcharged (73). He was, as a certain writer informs us, a nobleman of great hope, and one of the mirrors of his age for religion, learning, and military affairs (74). He deceaſed, October the 21ſt, 1554, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, leaving no iſſue by his Counteſs, the daughter of the Duke of Somerſet, who after his death, married Sir Edward Umpton, Knight (75).

(70) Pat. 6 E. VI. p. 51.

(71) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 111.

(72) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 236. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 206.

(73) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 202.

(74) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 819.

(75) Brook's Catalogue of the Nobility, p. 218. Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 819.

IV. and V. Ambroſe and Robert, of whom hereafter.

VI. Guilford, who, as we have ſhewn in the text, married Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, in the month of May, 1553, and on the 12th of February following, loſt his life, together with his unfortunate lady, upon the ſcaffold (76).

(76) Baronagium Angliæ, fo. 21.

VII. Henry, who married Margaret, the ſole daughter and heireſs of Thomas, Lord Audley, High-Chancellor of England, and was killed at the ſiege of St Quintins, in 1557. His widow married Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and from her deſcended the Howards, Earls of Suffolk (77).

(77) Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 818.

VIII. Charles, who at his death, was but four years old.

(78) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

The daughters were five, *viz.*

1. Mary, who married Sir Henry Sydney, Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Lord Preſident of Wales, from whom deſcended the Earls of Leiceſter of that name (78).

(79) Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 818. Memoirs beforefore cited.

2. Margaret, who died when ſhe was ten years old.

3. Catherine, who became the wife of Henry Haſtings, Earl of Huntington, and Lord Preſident of the North, by whom ſhe had no iſſue, ſhe ſurvived him long, and deceaſing in the month of Auguſt, 1620, was interred by her mother in Chelſea church (79).

(80) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 220.

4. Temperance, who died at a year old (80).

5. Another Catherine, who died at ſeven years of age (81).

(81) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

DUDLEY (Lady JANE), ſee GRAY (Lady JANE), or, as Heylyn ſtiles her, QUEEN JANE.

DUDLEY (AMBROSE), ſon of John, Duke of Northumberland beforementioned,

afterwards Baron L'Iſle, and Earl of Warwick, through the favour of Queen Elizabeth. He was born, as I conjecture, either in 1530 or 1531, and was carefully educated in his father's family, and ſhewing an early propenſity to arms, he attended his father, then Earl of Warwick, when he went into Norfolk againſt the rebels in the year 1549 (a), and there it was, in all probability, that he deſerved the honour of knighthood, which was conferred upon him November the 17th, with the Duke of Lunenburgh, Sir John Perrot, Sir Nicholas Pelham, and Sir Thomas Ruſſel (b). We find him very high in King Edward's favour in 1552, when he aſſiſted at ſeveral tournaments, made, as ſome writers inſinuate, to amuſe the young King, while his uncle the Duke of Somerſet was under ſentence of death (c). He was then ſtiled Lord Ambroſe Dudley, and received by that title ſome marks of benevolence from the King his maſter (d). He continued all that reign, as the reader may conceive, in much credit at Court, and being in arms at the ſame time with the Duke of Northumberland on the behalf of Lady Jane, he was attainted, received ſentence of death, and remained a cloſe priſoner till October 18, 1554 (e), when he was diſcharged out of the Tower, and pardoned for life (f). Upon the demiſe of his mother, the Ducheſs of Northumberland, in the ſucceeding year, he became poſſeſſed of the Lordſhip of Hale Owen, charged with ſome annuities to his younger brothers by the Will of that Lady (g). In 1557, in company with both his brothers, he attended the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Viſcount Montacute, the Lord Wilton, and the Earl of Lincoln, who, in the month of May, with a body of eight thouſand men, paſſed over into the Low-Countries, and joined the Spaniſh army that lay then before St Quintins (h). He had his ſhare in the famous victory that was gained over the French who came to the relief of the place, and was likewiſe preſent during the remaining part of the ſiege, which after the battle was reſumed (i). Having had the misfortune to loſe there his youngeſt brother, who was a perſon of great hopes, and a ſingular favourite with King Edward VI (k), this matter was ſo repreſented to Queen Mary, that ſhe conſented to reſtore the whole family in blood, and accordingly an act paſſed this year for that purpoſe, by which Sir Ambroſe Dudley, Knight, was entirely freed from the inconveniencies derived upon him by the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland, his father (l) [A]. On the

(a) Cooper, Hollinſhed, Stowe.

(b) Nom. Equit. MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Not. Claudius c. ii. p. 186.

(c) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(d) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 500.

(e) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 208.

(f) Cole's Eſc. Lib. ii. Not. 61. A. 13. in Bibl. Harley.

(g) See the Ducheſs's will in the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(h) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1133.

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 631.

(k) As appears by ſeveral paſſages in the King's Journal.

(l) An. 4 & 5 Ph. & Mar. No. 12.

[A] *By the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland, his father.*] It is highly probable, that this reſtitution in blood was obtained by the power of King Philip, on account of the good ſervices that had been performed by all the brothers at St Quintins, where the youngeſt, Henry, in the laſt aſſault given to the place, was killed by a ſhot, as he was ſtooping to draw his ſtocking over his knee, that it might not incommode him in ſcaling (1). This act of Parliament recites (2), that by reaſon of the attainders of John, Duke

(1) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1134.

(2) An. 4 & 5 Ph. & Mar. No. 12.

the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, he became immediately one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons at her Court, and was called, as in the days of her brother, Lord Ambroſe Dudley (*m*). In the firſt year of her reign, he obtained a grant of the manor of Kibworth Beauchamp in the county of Leiceſter, to be held by the ſervice of Pantler to the Kings and Queens of this realm at their coronation (*n*), which ſeemed to be a happy omen of the reſtitution of his family, ſince that office had been, by his father, and other his anceſtors Earls of Warwick, enjoyed. In the firſt promotion however he had no higher preferment given him, and was alſo paſſed by in the firſt creation of Peers (*o*). In the ſecond year of her reign, the Queen beſtowed on him a much ſtronger mark of her kindneſs, by advancing him to the great office of Maſter of the Ordnance (*p*), and to ſhew her confidence in him the greater, he was ſo conſtituted for life. On Chriſtmas day, in the fourth year of her reign, he had the antient honour of his family, though with ſome change in the title, conferred upon him, being created by patent Baron of Kingſton L'Iſle in the county of Berks, in conſideration of his illuſtrious blood, fidelity, valour, prudence, and other great merits, as the preamble of that patent recites (*q*); and the very next day was advanced to the honour of Earl of Warwick, with very ſingular circumſtances of the Queen's eſteem [*B*]. It was about this time judged neceſſary to ſend over a body of Engliſh troops to Normandy, upon a promiſe made by the Proteſtants to Queen Elizabeth, that they ſhould have a very important port put into their hands, which being conſidered as a matter of the higheſt importance, the Council recommended to her the Earl of Warwick, as the propereſt perſon to be entruſted with the command. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1562, he was honoured with a commiſſion to be the Queen's Lieutenant in Normandy, where the important town of Havre de Grace, called by our writers New Haven, was delivered to him, and he was with great ſolemnity ſworn into his office (*r*). He behaved himſelf, in the courſe of that expedition, with the greateſt courage and conduct, executed the Queen's orders with the utmoſt punctuality, and when he found himſelf ſhut up in the place, defended it with all the firmneſs and prudence imaginable; neither would he deliver it up, though warmly preſſed by a great army, and attacked within by famine and peſtilence, till he received the Queen's expreſs commands, and then obtained an honourable capitulation (*s*) [*C*]. While he commanded in France, the Queen cauſed him to be elected Knight

(*m*) This appears from ſeveral MSS of Dr John Dee, to whom he was a bountiful patron.

(*n*) Pat. 1 Eliz.

(*o*) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 33.

(*p*) Pat. 2 Eliz. p. 4.

(*q*) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 6.

(*r*) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 2. in dorſo & Rymer.

(*s*) Holliniſhed's Chron. p. 1222.

Duke of Northumberland, the ſaid Ambroſe Dudley, and Robert Dudley, Knights, now remain out of all name and reputation, to their great diſcomfort, grief, and daily ſorrow. And for as much as the ſaid Ambroſe and Robert be, and always, ever ſince the ſaid attainders have been, and always hereafter intend to be, her Highneſs's true and faithful ſubjects: It may therefore pleaſe her Highneſs, &c. at their moſt humble petitions, for the true and faithful ſervice which they had done, and intend to do during their lives; and having already given good proof and trial of their fidelity, &c. it was therefore enacted, with the aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That the ſaid Ambroſe Dudley, and Robert Dudley, Knights, the Lady Mary Sidney, and Lady Catherine Haſtings, and every of them, and their heirs, and the heirs of every of them, from henceforth, may, and ſhall, by authority of this act, be reſtored and enabled in blood and name, and made heir and heirs, as well to the ſaid Sir John Dudley, Knight, late Duke of Northumberland, their ſaid father, as alſo to any other their auncеſtor or auncеſtors, lyneal or collateral, in ſuch manner and form, as if the ſaid late Duke their father, or they, or any of them had never byn attainted, and as yf no ſuch attainder or attainders were, or had byn had: the corruption of bloud between the ſaid late Duke their father, and your ſaid ſubjects, or any of them, or the corruption of bloud between your ſaid ſubjects, and any other their auncеſtor, or auncеſtors, or any act of Parliament, or judgment at Common-Law, concerning the attainder of the ſaid late Duke their father, or of the ſaid Sir Ambroſe Dudley, or of the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley, or any of them, or any other thing, whereby the bloud of the ſaid late Duke their father, or of the ſaid Sir Ambroſe Dudley, or of the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley, or any of them, is, ſhould, or might be, corrupted, &c. And it was alſo enacted, that the ſaid Ambroſe Dudley, and Robert Dudley, the Lady Mary Sidney, and the Lady Catherine Haſtings, and every of them, and their heirs, &c. ſhall be enabled to demand, aſk, have, hold, and enjoy, all ſuch lands, tenements, and hereditaments, &c. which at any time hereafter ſhall deſcend, come, remain, or revert from any their auncеſtor, or auncеſtors, as if the ſaid Duke their father, or any of them had never byn attainted, and as though no ſuch attainder of their ſaid late father, or of them, or any of them had ever been had or made.

[*B*] *With very ſingular circumſtances of the Queen's eſteem*] It is no unreaſonable conjecture, that the Queen had the raiſing of this noble perſon and his brother much at heart, from the very beginning of her reign; at which, though ſome hiſtorians affect much amazement, and have recourſe to the influence of the ſtars, to account for what they could not comprehend (3), there ſeems however, to be no great difficulty in the caſe. In her youth, the princeſs Elizabeth, had converſed very intimately with Ambroſe and Robert Dudley, ſaw them high in her brother King Edward's favour, and probably had made uſe of their intereſt in thoſe times of proſperity. They had been alſo, abating the great diſtance in their rank, companions in adverſity under Queen Mary; nor is it at all improbable, that they might render the Princeſs Elizabeth very acceptable ſervice, during the latter part of that reign, when both the brothers had recovered ſome degree of favour. But notwithſtanding all this, the Queen proceeded ſlowly, and with much deliberation. The preamble to his patent for the Earldom of Warwick ſets forth (4), That the Queen conſidering that the way to increaſe her royal dignity, is by advancing men to titles of honour, eminent for their abilities and valour, and of ſuch, the more ſhe prefers, the brighter her crown ſhines. And Sir Ambroſe Dudley, Knight, Baron L'Iſle, being lawfully deſcended from the illuſtrious and ancient race of the Earls of Warwick, as alſo he is at the preſent eldeſt ſon of John, late Duke of Northumberland, and Earl of Warwick. She therefore being willing to reſtore the family, has created him Earl of Warwick, by girding him with a ſword, and placing a cap of honour and circle on his head; to hold to him, and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, Maſter of the Horſe to her Majeſty, otherwiſe called Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, brother of the ſaid Sir Ambroſe Dudley, Knight, Baron L'Iſle, and now Earl of Warwick, and to the heirs male of the body of the ſaid Sir Robert, with a grant of twenty pounds annually, out of the fee-farm rent of the city of Coventry, payable by the ſheriff and citizens of the ſaid city.

(3) Camden. Annal. p. 109.

(4) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 6.

[*C*] *And then obtained an honourable capitulation*] About this time, the firſt civil wars on the ſcore of religion

Knight of the Garter, and the enſigns of the Order were ſent over to him thither (*t*). Upon his return he was received with great kindneſs by his Sovereign, who continued to him her accuſtomed favour, and gave him, upon many occaſions, extraordinary marks of her confidence. In 1566 he was created Doctor of Laws by the Univerſity of Oxford (*u*), and, in 1568, he was added, with ſome other Noblemen, to the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council, as a Commiſſioner in the great cauſe of the Queen of Scots, upon her retiring into England; and took the oath of ſecrecy impoſed upon that occaſion (*w*). In 1569 he, together with the Lord Clinton, was appointed jointly and ſeverally the Queen's Lieutenants in the North, upon that dangerous rebellion which broke out under the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, which, by his care and vigilance, was happily ſuppreſſed. In 1570 the Queen was pleaſed to grant him the office of Chief-Butler of England (*x*). In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, when the unfortunate Thomas Duke of Norfolk was brought to his trial before George Earl of Shrewſbury, as Lord High-Steward of England, he was one of the Peers appointed, by the Queen's Commiſſion, to ſit upon the trial (*y*). In the ſame year he was ſworn one of the Members of her Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council (*z*). We find him in all the great and publick ſervices during this active and buſy reign, but never in any of the intrigues with which it was blemiſhed; for he was a man of great ſweetneſs of temper, and of unexceptionable character, ſo that he was beloved by all parties, and hated by none (*a*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly as the zealous patron of the trade and manufactures of his country, which induced him to promote a deſign, formed by ſome Merchants of London, for opening the trade to Barbary; which, however, was not attended with ſo much good fortune as they expected; upon which that noble Lord, in 1585, procured a licence from the Queen, for the ſole tranſporting of cloths into thoſe parts for two years, that Thomas Starkey, Gerard Gore, and other Merchants of London, who were embarked in the firſt unfortunate adventure, might repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained (*b*). In 1586 he was one of the Peers that aſſiſted at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, and to whom, as a perſon for whom ſhe had a particular regard, that unfortunate Princeſs addreſſed herſelf when the Aſſembly broke up (*c*). In the laſt years of his life he endured great pain and miſery, from the wound received in his leg, when he defended Newhaven againſt the French, and this, at laſt, brought him ſo low, that, ſubmitting to the opinion of Phyſicians and Surgeons, he conſented to an amputation, which was accordingly performed, but without ſucceſs, ſo that he departed this life ſoon after at Bedford-Houſe, Bloomſbury, February 20th, 1589, when he was about the age of threeſcore (*d*). As the long decline of his health gave him timely notice of the approach of death, he made a long and very remarkable will, ſome few paſſages of which the reader will find in the notes [*D*].

(*t*) Funeral's MS. Not. 31, in Bibl. Joh. Anſtis, Arm.

(*u*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 91.

(*w*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 171.

(*x*) See the inſcription upon his monument.

(*y*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 245.

(*z*) See the inſcription upon his monument.

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 450.

(*c*) See the proceedings at the Caſtle of Fotheringay.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 621.

This

ligion broke out in France, King Charles IX, being then in his minority. The Guiſes, who were at the head of the Papiſts, had the King, and the Queen his mother, in their hands, which induced the Prince of Condé, and the other Chiefs of the Proteſtants, to deſire the protection of Queen Elizabeth, which ſhe accordingly granted. The Earl of Warwick embarked at Portſmouth, October the 17th, 1562, but was obliged by ill weather to put into Dover, from whence he ſailed again, and was again forced back, ſo that he did not arrive at Newhaven till the 29th of the ſame month; he found the place in the hands of Sir Adrian Poynings, who had taken poſſeſſion of it on the 2d of September. While the Civil-War continued, the Engliſh Lord-Lieutenant, gave all the aſſiſtance poſſible to the Proteſtants, but they having made up their quarrel with the Court, declared againſt the Engliſh, upon which, the Lord-Lieutenant obliged all the French to quit the town (5). It was not long before the place was inveſted by a numerous army, under the command of the Conſtable Montmorency, the Proteſtants being as active againſt the Engliſh as any, that they might recover the favour of the Court. The place was quickly deprived of freſh water, partly through the dryneſs of the ſeaſon, and partly by the pains taken by the French to cut off the aqueducts, which obliged the ſoldiers to boil their victuals in ſalt water. This produced an epidemick diſtemper, by which numbers periſhed. Notwithſtanding all this, the Lord-Lieutenant continued to make an obſtinate defence, and frequently repulſed the French in their aſſaults, as is very largely related by our own Hiſtorians, and is alſo clearly admitted by theirs (6). The Queen having intelligence of the ſtate that things were in, expreſſed with tears her commiſeration for her ſubjects, and that ſhe might no longer expoſe ſo many brave men at once to ſickneſs and the ſword; ſhe publickly applauded their noble courage, and at the ſame time directed the Earl of Warwick to capitulate upon honourable terms. He ſent accordingly commiſſioners to treat, and on this occaſion, going himſelf upon the rampart without armour, to ſpeak to a French officer of diſtinction, he was baſely, and againſt the rules of war, ſhot with a poiſoned bullet in the leg, which proved not only the cauſe of his loſing that limb, but afterwards his life (7). It was not long before the articles of ſurrender were adjuſted, and were in ſubſtance theſe, *viz.* That the town, with all the ammunition, ſhipping, and furniture, which belonged to the French King and his ſubjects, ſhould be ſurrendered. That the large tower ſhould forthwith be delivered up to Montmorency. That the priſoners taken on both ſides ſhould be exchanged without ranſom, and that the Engliſh ſhould have free liberty to depart in ſix days, if the wind ſerved, with all things that belonged to the Queen and them. The hoſtages delivered were, Sir Oliver Manners, the Earl of Rutland's brother; the captains, Leighton, Pelham, and Horſey. The laſt that ſtayed, ſays Camden, was Colonel Edward Randolph, who out of a piety, never enough to be commended, carried upon his ſhoulders the ſick and deceaſed ſoldiers into the ſhips. Thus was Newhaven, after it had ſtood the ſiege of a ſickneſs, more violent than the enemies fire, left at laſt to the French, after the Engliſh had been maſters of it eleven months. The ſoldiers that were brought back to England ſick of the infection, ſcatter'd the bad influence thereof ſo unhappily, that it ſeized on the whole kingdom in a miſerable manner, and there were carried out of the city of London alone, which then conſiſted of an hundred and twenty-one pariſhes, twenty-one thouſand five hundred and thirty corps (8).

(5) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1201.

(6) Stowe, Holinſhed, Camden, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

(7) As appears from Sir Wm. Dethick's account in the MS. preſerved in the Office of Arms cited in the text.

(8) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 101.

[*D*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] Theſe paſſages are at the cloſe of the will, and are produced to ſhew the temper of mind in which he died, the great affection he had for his friends, and who thoſe friends were (9). 'Concerning all our goods, chattels, and 'moveables whatſoever, I do give and bequeath them 'to my aforeſaid beloved wife, whom I do ordain and 'make

(9) Ex Regiſt. vocat. Drury, n. 75. qu. 43. in cur prærog. Cantuar.

This noble perſon was thrice married, firſt to Anne, daughter and heir of William Whorwood, Eſq; Attorney-General to King Henry VIII, by his firſt wife Caſſandra, daughter to Sir Edward Grey, Knight, which Lady died on the 26th of May 1552, his and her only ſon John dying before her (e). He married next Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert Talboys, Knight, ſiſter and ſole heireſs to George, Lord Talboys (f); and, after her deceaſe, by whom he had no iſſue, he married Lady Anne Ruſſell, daughter to Francis, Earl of Bedford, by whom alſo he had no iſſue (g). Sir William Dethick had the direction of his funeral, which was performed with great ſolemnity; Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, who had married his ſiſter, was chief mourner, and his corps was attended to the grave by the Earls of Kent, Bedford, Cumberland, and Pembroke, the Lords Dudley and St John, Sir William Ruſſell, Sir Henry Knevet, Sir John Harrington, Sir Fulk Grevil, Sir Drew Drury, and Sir Henry Lea (h). He was interred April 9th, 1590, in the midſt of the chapel dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, at Warwick, where a curious altar-monument is erected to his memory, by the pious care of his relict Anne, Counteſs of Warwick, with his effigies in armour, and mantle of an Earl lying thereon, his head reſting on a mattreſs cut in marble, with his hands conjoined, as in prayer, and, at his feet, a bear couchant muzzled, all painted to the life (i). On this monument there is a large inſcription, which, being already inſerted in ſeveral books (k), it would be needleſs to tranſcribe; and, therefore, let us conclude with obſerving, that he was called by the people, long before and after his deceaſe, THE GOOD EARL of WARWICK (l).

(e) Cole's Eſc. Lib. ii. p. 14.

(f) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 822.

(g) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fo. 21.

(h) Funeral's MS. Not. 31, in Bibl. Joh. Anſtis, Arm.

(i) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(k) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 447, 448.

(l) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 821.

'make my ſole and only executrix of this my laſt will 'and teſtament, requiring her to have an honourable 'conſideration of all my ſervants, according to their 'ſpecial deſerts and times ſpent in my ſervice, as in 'part, I do declare by a codicil hereunto annexed. 'And I do inſtantly intreat my very aſſured good 'Lords, the Lord Burleigh, Lord-Treaſurer of Eng'land, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Hunting'don, to be overſeers of this my ſaid will, beſeeching 'them to yield their honourable and friendly furthe'rance unto my ſaid executrix, for the better perfor'mance of the ſame: and in teſtimony of my moſt 'dutiful and faithful heart towards her moſt excellent 'Majeſty, whoſe days I inſtantly beſeech God to 'lenghthen here upon earth, to the comfort of his 'Church and this realm with much happineſs, and after 'her pilgrimage here ended, ſhe may everlaſtingly 'reign with him. I do will and bequeath to her High'neſs, my beſt jewel ſet with an emerald, moſt humbly 'beſeeching her gracious acceptation, notwithſtanding 'the baſeneſs thereof; and that it would pleaſe her 'Highneſs to continue her good favour towards my 'ſaid wife, whom I leave to continue her moſt faith'ful, and devoted ſervant, recommending this moſt 'effectually as my laſt petition to her Majeſty. I do 'give and bequeath to my ſaid very good Lord, the 'Lord-Treaſurer, my collar of gold of the Order, and 'my George annexed thereunto. And to the Earl of 'Cumberland, my brooche with diamonds, with an 'agate therein; and to my Lord of Huntingdon, my ſe'cond beſt George and beſt garter, and a baſon and 'ewer of ſilver, of forty pounds at the leaſt: and to 'my dear ſiſter the Counteſs of Huntingdon, a jewel 'worth five-hundred marks; and to my neice the 'Counteſs of Pembroke, a diamond of fifty pounds: 'and to my very good Lord, the Lord-Chancellor, 'my beſt George, with a chain and garter. To my 'Lord Cobham, and Lord Grey of Wilton, either of 'them a George. To Mr Secretary Walſingham, 'my honourable good friend, a baſon and ewer of 'ſilver of forty pounds. And to my little neice Sid'ney, a jewel of one-hundred marks. And to Mr 'Vice-Chamberlain, a pair of gilt livery pots of 'twenty pounds. And to Mr Roger Manners, my 'beſt foot cloth nag, and the beſt furniture belonging 'to the ſame. In witneſs, &c.' E

DUDLEY (ROBERT), Baron of Denbigh, and Earl of Leiceſter, ſon of John, Duke of Northumberland, and brother to Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, before-mentioned. We have no certainty at all as to the time of his birth, or diſtinct account of the manner of his education, except that he had a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue, and was thoroughly verſed in the Italian (a). He received the honour of knighthood when he was but a youth, and came very early into the ſervice and favour of King Edward (b). It was one of his father's maxims to marry his children while they were young, as the ſureſt means of fixing their fortunes, bringing them into a ſettled courſe of life, and giving him an opportunity of procuring for them valuable grants, or places of honour and profit. Accordingly June the 4th, 1550, being the day after the marriage of his brother the Lord L'Iſle to the Duke of Somerſet's daughter, Sir Robert Dudley eſpouſed Amy, daughter of Sir John Robſart (c), at Sheen in Surrey, the King honouring their nuptials with his preſence [A]. He was, not long after, made Maſter of the King's

(a) Upon both which he is complimented by Dr Wilſon, in his Dedication to him of a Diſcourſe upon Uſury.

(b) This appears from the King's Journal, and all the hiſtories of that reign.

(c) See this explained in the note.

[A] *The King honouring their nuptials with his preſence.*] There is not any article in this collection, encumbred with more difficulties than this of Queen Elizabeth's diſtinguiſhed favourite, the third in deſcent of the ſame family, to the third in deſcent of the ſame royal houſe. Edmund Dudley, Eſq; was the chief Miniſter of Henry VII. John, Viſcount L'Iſle, honoured, living and dying, with the favour of King Henry VIII; and, by the title of Northumberland, ruling all things under Edward VI; and this Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, from the very entrance of Queen Elizabeth's reign, taking in the ſpace of near thirty years, in as high credit and power as a ſubject could be; but notwithſtanding all this, and that hardly any nobleman's name occurs more frequently in our Hiſtories, yet there are many particulars relating to his life, which are very obſcure, chiefly from the different views which thoſe perſons had, by whom they were recorded, and theſe we ſhall principally endeavour to clear up, as far as the narrow bounds which the nature of ſuch a collection preſcribes will allow.

As to this marriage, King Edward enters it thus in his Journal (1). 'June 4, 1550, Sir Robert Dudley, 'third ſon to the Earl of Warwick, married Sir John 'Robſart's daughter, after which marriage, there were 'certain gentlemen that did ſtrive who ſhould firſt take 'away a gooſe's head, which was hanged alive on two 'croſs poſts.' Authors differ as to the name of this lady. Brooke, in his firſt edition (2), calls her Amy, in which he agrees with ſome ancient authorities that I have ſeen; but in his ſecond edition, following the general courſe of other authors, he ſtiles her Anne (3), and indeed, in old writings it is very difficult to diſtinguiſh between *Amie* and *Anne*. She was a very conſiderable heireſs, and deſcended of a noble family in Norfolk,

(1) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 15.

(2) Cat. of Nobility, p. 136.

(3) Vincent's Errors in Brooke's Cat. p. 310.

(d) Pat. 4 Ed. V. §. 6. King's Buckhounds for life (d), and, on the 15th of Auguſt 1551, he was ſworn one of the Six Gentlemen of the King's Chamber in Ordinary, together with Mr Barnaby Fitzpatrick (e). In the month of October he was, amongſt many other perſons of diſtinction, appointed to wait upon the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, and appears to have had a ſhare in moſt of the King's diverſions, who gave him, upon all occaſions, very pregnant marks of his ſingular affection (f). In the firſt year of Queen Mary he fell into the ſame misfortunes with the reſt of his family, was brought priſoner from the Queen's camp to London, ſent to the Tower, indicted of high-treaſon, and, upon his pleading guilty (g), received ſentence of death, but was pardoned for life, and ſet at liberty October 18th, 1554 (h). He was reſtored in blood at the ſame time, and by the ſame act of Parliament with his brother (i), but had the advantage of him in one reſpect, being raiſed to the important poſt of Maſter of the Ordnance by Queen Mary (k), which has been thought to give ſome credit to the earlieſt piece of ſecret hiſtory that is to be met with in reſpect to this great man, if we except what regards King Edward's death (l); though, perhaps, both are without foundation [B]. On the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth it very ſoon appeared, that the change of Sovereigns had created no alteration but in the degree of his favour: he was immediately entertained at Court as one of the new Queen's principal favourites, promoted to the office of Maſter of the Horſe, with the fee of one hundred marks *per annum* (m), and named firſt in the commiſſion for compounding with ſuch as might be called to receive the honour of knighthood at the Queen's coronation, by the name of Lord Robert Dudley (n). On the 4th of June 1589, he was inſtalled Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and ſworn of the Council (o). Theſe great preferments excited ſome degree of envy, the rather, becauſe this noble perſon, in compliance with his Sovereign's humour, and perhaps with his own, lived at a very high rate, and, in point of magnificence, ſurpaſſed moſt of the Nobility, tho' he had not as yet any other title than he derived from curteſy. In 1562 he obtained from the Queen the Caſtle and Manor of Kenilworth, together with Aſtell-Grove in Warwickſhire, the Lordſhips, Manors, and Caſtles of Denbigh and Chirk, of very large value (p). The ſame year he became High-Steward of the Univerſity of Cambridge, and obtained prodigious grants from the Crown, and from others, in virtue of that influence which he was known to have at Court [C]. All

(e) See King Edward's Journal of that date.

(f) Strype, Holinſhed, Stowe, Speed, Burnet.

(g) Stowe's Annals, p. 618.

(h) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(i) See DUDLEY (AMBROSE) Earl of Warwick.

(k) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 208.

(l) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 425.

(m) Pat. 1 Eliz. P. iv. m. 12.

(n) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. P. 493.

(o) From the plate in St George's Chapel at Windſor.

(p) Stowe's Annals, p. 657, 658.

Norfolk, one of her anceſtors by the father's ſide, having been a peer of the realm in the reign of Henry V, and two of them Knights of the Garter in the reign of that prince, and of his ſon (4). So, that as we obſerved in the text, this match at the time it was made, agreed perfectly with his father's maxim, and afforded Sir Robert Dudley a very good eſtabliſhment for a younger brother, which he improved, by procuring grants to his father-in-law and himſelf.

(4) See this explained in note [D].

[B] *Though perhaps both are without foundation.*] We are told in that famous book, which is aſcribed to Perſons the Jeſuit, that at the very cloſe of K. Edward's reign, the Duke of Northumberland wrote flattering letters to the Lady Mary, promiſing to aſſiſt in eſtabliſhing her ſucceſſion (5), which ſeems not a little incredible. It is not however at all unlikely, that his younger ſons, Ambroſe and Robert, might expreſs an affection for her cauſe, and a great unwillingneſs to act againſt her, which turned afterwards highly to their advantage; but in this, as in the ſucceeding reign, the younger brother ſhewed himſelf the more expert courtier of the two, attaching himſelf wholly to King Philip after his marriage; ſo that we find him made choice of to carry meſſages between the King and Queen, riding poſt (6) upon ſuch occaſions, and neglecting nothing that might ingratiate him with either of theſe princes. This aſſiduity recommended him to the poſt he obtained under the Queen, and in all probability he had a great ſhare in King Philip's favour, not only then, but long after, which, at the firſt acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, he employed for her ſervice, and was for ſome years looked upon as a perſon well affected to his Catholick Majeſty, and rather a friend than an enemy to the Popiſh intereſt; yet without running any hazards in their defence, and purely by obſerving great civility towards them, which he afterwards excuſed out of gratitude for favours formerly received. But when the Papiſts felt the ſeverity of the laws, and ſaw this noble perſon ſet himſelf at the head of the Puritans, they made no ſcruple of affirming loudly, that he was once theirs; that if Queen Mary had lived, he would have neglected nothing to ingratiate himſelf with her; and that following his father's example, he was ready to embrace, or at leaſt to profeſs, any Creed that might promote his own progreſs at Court, and leſſen the greatneſs of thoſe who refuſed to depend upon him.

(5) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(6) Strype's Memorials.

[C] *When he was known to have at Court.*] The intelligent reader will obſerve, that notwithſtanding the revenues of the Crown were far inferior in thoſe days, to what they are now, yet ſuch as had the favour of the prince, knew how to turn it to greater advantage than can be done at this day; as for inſtance, the Earl of Leiceſter having obtained a licence for tranſporting cloths, ſold it immediately to ſome of the Merchant-Adventurers, for the ſum of ſix-thouſand two-hundred ſixty-ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence (7). He made ſuch a diſplay of his power over the Queen his miſtreſs's mind, that even her beſt friends, and oldeſt ſervants, were glad to court his favour, as appears by a letter in a very humble ſtile, from Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, with a preſent (8). By the reputation of this high influence, he obtained whatever he ſought, almoſt from all hands. As for example, he had a patent of the ſtewardſhip of the Biſhoprick of Ely, confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of that place, alſo the office of Chamberlain of the County Palatine of Cheſter. And theſe following were after conferred on him, the ſtewardſhip of the foreſt of Snoden; the ſtewardſhip of Reading; the ſtewardſhip of Abingdon; the ſtewardſhip of Harrow on the Hill, from Roger, Lord North. The ſtewardſhip of Tewxbury, Cleve, Swell, and Longney, with the fees of eleven pounds *per annum*, and the Bailiwick, with the fees, of ſixty-ſix ſhillings and eight pence. The ſtewardſhip of Clun. A patent of maſter of the game and liberties belonging to the Biſhoprick of Coventry and Lichfield, with licence to muſter his tenants, &c. with a fee of ten pounds *per annum*. A patent from the Archbiſhop of York, of the high-ſtewardſhip of his poſſeſſions, and maſter of his game, with a fee of ten pounds. The ſtewardſhip of the Church of Norwich, with a fee of ten pounds. A grant of a rent-charge of ſix pounds *per annum*, from the Biſhop of Wincheſter, for term of his life, out of the manor of Taunton, and other lands in Somerſetſhire, confirmed by the Dean and Chapter. The ſtewardſhip of the lands of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and a rent-charge of ten pounds *per annum*, granted by the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church, Canterbury. And a patent in reverſion, of the ſtewardſhip of the lands of the Biſhop of London, with a fee of ten pounds *per annum*, granted by Edwin, Biſhop of London, and a confirmation of the ſame from the Dean and Chapter. The ſtewardſhip of the honour of Tickhall, with the accuſtomed fee.

(7) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(8) Peck's Deſiderata, Vol. II. Lib. vii. p. 28.

All things gave way, at this time, to his ambition, influence, or policy, ſo that whatever he deſired for himſelf, or his friends, were obtained as ſoon as demanded. He had a grant of Windſor-Park, in terms as ample as he could deſire, or the Queen could give (q). In his attendance on the Queen, when ſhe viſited the Univerſity of Cambridge, the higheſt reverence was paid him; he was lodged in Trinity-College, conſulted in all things, requeſts made to the Queen through him, and, Auguſt 10th, 1564, he, on his knees, entreated the Queen to ſpeak to the Univerſity in Latin, which ſhe accordingly did (r). At Court, however, Thomas, Earl of Suſſex ſhewed himſelf averſe to his counſels, and ſtrongly promoted the overture of a marriage between the Queen and the Archduke Charles of Auſtria, as much more worthy of ſuch a Princeſs than any ſubject of her own, let his qualities be what they would. This was reſented by Lord Robert, who inſinuated, that foreign alliances were always fatal, that her ſiſter Mary never knew an eaſy minute after her marriage with King Philip, and that her Majeſty ought to conſider, ſhe was herſelf deſcended of ſuch a marriage as, by thoſe lofty notions, was decried; ſo that ſhe could not contemn an alliance with the Nobility of England, but ſhe muſt, at the ſame time, reflect on her father's choice, and her mother's family (s). Theſe diſputes created a kind of civil war in the very palace, both Lords openly avowing their diſtaſte to each other, and keeping their ſervants armed about their perſons, and, whenever they went abroad, as if things were to be decided by the ſword. But the Queen taking up the matter, reconciled them, or rather prevented an open rupture (t). But this without any diminution of Lord Robert Dudley's aſcendency, who continued daily to ſollicit and obtain new grants and offices for himſelf, and his dependants, which, by degrees, grew ſo numerous, and made ſo great a figure, that he was ſtiled the *Heart of the Court* by the common people. It was thought neceſſary to give ſome colour to theſe extraordinary marks of royal indulgence, and therefore the Queen thought proper to propoſe him as a ſuitor to the Queen of Scots, promiſing that Princeſs all the advantages that ſhe could expect or deſire, either for herſelf or her ſubjects, in caſe ſhe conſented to the match (u). The ſincerity of this was ſuſpected at that time, when the deepeſt Politicians believed, that, if the Queen of Scotland had complied, it would have ſerved only to countenance the preferring him to his Sovereign's bed. But the French faction at the Court of Queen Mary repreſented to her, that ſuch a ſtep would be highly diſhonourable to a Queen-Dowager of France, and a Queen of Scotland in her own right; which induced her to reject the propoſal (w), in a manner that ſome have thought proved as fatal to her as to another Lady, who was ſuppoſed to be ſacrificed to his ambition of marrying a Queen (x) [D]. Whatever truth there might be in theſe ſuggeſtions, very certain it is, that, on the

(q) Pat. 3 Eliz. p. 5.

(r) Journal of the Queen's viſit to the Univerſity of Cambridge.

(s) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 117.

(t) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iv.

(u) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 102.

(w) Life of Mary Queen of Scots, by Sanderſon.

(x) See this fully explained in the note.

ſee. The ſtewardſhip of the city of Briſtol, with the fee of four pounds; alſo the ſtewardſhip of the Biſhoprick, with the ſame fee. The ſtewardſhip of Eveſham, with the fee of forty ſhillings. The ſtewardſhip of the honour of Grafton. He was alſo choſen High-Steward of the Manor and Hundred of Andover, by the Bailiffs and Burgeſſes there; alſo ſteward of the town of great Yarmouth, and Recorder of the town of Malden in Eſſex (9).

(9) Extract of Grants to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, amongſt the Sidney MSS.

[D] *To his ambition of marrying a Queen.*] The death of this lady, happened Sept. 8. 1560, at a very unlucky juncture for the Earl's reputation, becauſe the world at that time conceived it might be much for his conveniency to be without a wife, this iſland then holding two Queens, young and without huſbands. The manner too of this poor lady's death, which Mr Camden ſays, was by a fall from a high place (10), was another untoward circumſtance, which added to the number of this favourite's enemies, filled the world with the rumour of a lamentable tragedy. The reader will perhaps expect to be gratified with ſome account of this, and it ſo falls out, that the induſtrious John Aubrey, Eſq; ſpeaking of Cumnor in Berkſhire where this happened, inſerts the following relation, which is very circumſtantial, and carries in it ſtrong pretences to abſolute certainty. At all events it is very curious, and much clearer than any thing elſe that is to be met with on this ſubject (11). 'Robert Dudley, Earl of 'Leiceſter, a very goodly perſonage, being a great 'favourite to Queen Elizabeth, it was thought, and 'commonly reported, that had he been a bachelor or 'widower, the Queen would have made him her huſ'band; to this end, to free himſelf of all obſtacles, he 'with fair flattering intreaties, deſires his wife to 'repoſe herſelf here, at his ſervant Anthony Forſter's 'houſe, who then lived in the manor-houſe of this place; 'and alſo preſcribed to Sir Richard Varney (a prompter to this deſign) at his coming hither, that he 'ſhould firſt attempt to poiſon her, and if that did not 'take effect, then by any other way whatſoever to 'diſpatch her. This was proved by the report of 'Dr Walter Bayley, ſome time Fellow of New-College, 'then living in Oxford, and Profeſſor of Phyſick in 'that Univerſity; who, becauſe he would not conſent 'to take away her life by poiſon, the Earl endeavoured to diſplace him. This man reported for certain, that there was a practice in Cumnor, among 'the conſpirators, to have poiſoned this innocent lady 'a little before ſhe was killed, which was attempted 'after this manner. They ſeeing her ſad and heavy, 'as one that well knew by her other handling, that 'her death was not far off, began to perſwade her, 'that her preſent diſeaſe was melancholy and other 'humours, and would needs counſel her to take ſome 'potion, which ſhe abſolutely refuſing to do, as ſuſpecting the worſt; they ſent a meſſenger for Dr Bayley, and intreated him to perſwade her to take ſome 'little potion by his direction, and they would fetch 'the ſame at Oxford, meaning to have added ſome'thing of their own for her comfort, as the Doctor 'upon juſt cauſe and conſideration did ſuſpect, ſeeing 'their great importunity, and the ſmall need the lady 'had of phyſick, and therefore he peremptorily denied 'their requeſt, miſdoubting, as he afterwards reported, 'leaſt if they had poiſoned her under the name of his 'potion, he might after have been hanged for a co'lour of their ſin; and the Doctor remained ſtill well 'aſſured, that this way taking no effect, ſhe would not 'long eſcape their violence, which afterwards hap'pened thus. Sir Richard Varney, who by the Earl's 'order, remained that day of her death alone with 'her, with one man only; and Forſter, who had that 'day forcibly ſent away all her ſervants from her to 'Abingdon fair, about three miles diſtant from this 'place; they firſt ſtifling her, or elſe ſtrangling her, 'afterwards flung her down a pair of ſtairs and broke 'her neck, uſing much violence upon her; but how'ever, tho' it was reported, that ſhe by chance fell down 'ſtairs, but ſtill, without hurting her hood that was 'upon her head; yet the inhabitants will tell you 'there, that ſhe was conveyed from her uſual chamber 'where ſhe lay to another, where the beds head of the 'chamber

(10) Annal. Eliz. p. 102.

(11) Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. I. p. 149—154.

the 28th of September 1564, the Queen created him Baron of Denbigh (*y*), and the next day Earl of Leiceſter, with all the ceremony imaginable, which, in the preamble of the patent, is ſaid to be in conſideration of his noble blood, great loyalty, eminent valour, diſtinguiſhed prudence, and other numerous virtues; as alſo on account of his being lawfully deſcended from the illuſtrious and antient Earls of Warwick (*z*). He received, before the cloſe of the year, a very conſiderable addition to his new honours, by being elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford (*a*). His great influence in the Court of England was not only known at home but abroad, which induced the French King, Charles IX. to ſend him, as well as the Duke of Norfolk, the Order of St Michael, then the moſt honourable in France; and both theſe great Peers were inſtalled with the greateſt ſolemnity poſſible January 24th, 1565 (*b*), and a very particular relation of the whole ceremony has been carefully preſerved to poſterity (*c*). If we may truſt the reports of Camden, and other Hiſtorians, he was the principal mover in the affair of the Duke of Norfolk's ſuit to the Queen of Scots, which proved ſo fatal to them both (*d*). The Duke wanted not friends to diſſwade him from that dangerous enterprize, or to ſhew him how much hazard he might run, by exciting the hate of one Queen, thro' his diſcovering ſo much affection for the other; but Leiceſter infuſed bolder counſels, and made him believe, that Queen Elizabeth ſhould not have power to hinder or reſent his marriage if ſhe would (*e*). But he was fatally deceived, and, as the Lord Burleigh long before hinted to him, the purſuit of that match coſt him his head, the Earl of Leiceſter being one of thoſe Peers that ſat in judgment upon him in 1572, and condemned him to death (*f*). About this time it is ſuppoſed, and ſome writers pretend that it has been legally proved, that the Earl married Douglas, Baroneſs-Dowager of Sheffield (*g*); which, however, was carried with ſuch privacy, that it did not come to the Queen's ears, though a great deal of ſecret hiſtory was publiſhed, even in thoſe days, concerning the adventures of this unfortunate Lady [*E*]. One might be tempted to ſuppoſe, notwithſtanding the confidence with

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 658.

(*z*) Pat. 6 Eliz. p. xii. m. 18.

(*a*) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. L. i. p. 286.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, p. 659.

(*c*) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 369, 370.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 171.

(*e*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(*f*) See the arraignment of that Duke in the State-Trials.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 222.

'chamber, ſtood cloſe to a privy poſtern door, where 'they in the night came and ſtifled her in her bed, 'bruiſed her head very much, broke her neck, and at 'length flung her down ſtairs, thereby believing the 'world would have thought it a miſchance, and ſo 'have blinded their villainy. But behold the mercy and 'juſtice of God in diſcovering this lady's murther; for 'one of the two perſons that was a coadjutor in this 'murder, was afterwards taken for felony in the Marches of Wales, and offering to publiſh the manner of 'the aforeſaid murder, was privately made away in 'the priſon, by the Earl's appointment; and Sir 'Richard Verney, the other, dying about the ſame 'time in London, cried miſerably, and ſaid to a per'ſon of note not long before his death, that all the 'Devils in Hell did tear him in pieces. Forſter, like'wiſe after this fact, being a man formerly addicted to 'hoſpitality, company, mirth, and muſick, was af'terwards obſerved to forſake all this with much me'lancholy and penſiveneſs; ſome ſay with madneſs, 'pined and drooped away. The wife alſo of Bald 'Butler, kinſman to the Earl, gave out the whole fact 'a little before her death, Neither are the following 'paſſages to be forgotten, that as ſoon as ſhe was mur'dered, they made great haſte to bury her before the 'Coroner had given in his inqueſt; which the Earl 'himſelf condemned, as not done adviſedly, and her 'father, Sir John Robertſett, hearing, came with all 'ſpeed hither, cauſed her corps to be taken up, the 'Coroner to ſit upon her, and further enquiry to be 'made concerning this buſineſs to the full; but it was 'generally thought, that the Earl ſtopped his mouth; 'and to make plain to the world, the great love he 'bare to her while alive, and what a grief the loſs of 'ſo virtuous a lady was to his tender heart, cauſed her 'body to be re-buried in St Mary's church in Oxford, 'with great pomp and ſolemnity. It is alſo remark'able, that Dr Babington, the Earl's chaplain, 'preaching the funeral ſermon, tript once or twice in 'his ſpeech, by recommending to their memories, that 'virtuous lady ſo pitifully murdered, inſtead of ſaying, 'pitifully ſlain.' There are ſome things in this account not very conſiſtent, which in ſo dark an affair, is not at all ſtrange, but with reſpect to the leaſt intelligible paſſage of all, which is her father's being ſo ſilent about a matter which opened the mouths of all the world beſides; a very probable account may be given, which is this, the Inquiſition taken after the death of this Lady, was to determine who were her heirs, for her father was long before dead, and this was the reaſon that inquiſition produced no other effect, than preſerving the family eſtate, which was very conſiderable, to John Walpole, Eſq; anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Orford. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Lord Robert Robſart, came over from the Low-Countries with King Edward III, and that he left behind him three ſons, John, Lewis, and Theodorick; or, as we wrote it in thoſe days, Tyrrey; Lewis, the ſecond brother became Lord Bourchier by his marriage, and was a Knight of the Order of the Garter, but dying in the life-time of his elder brother, he became his heir (12). This Sir John Robſart, was alſo a Knight of the Garter, and dying in 1450, left his eſtate to Sir John Robſart his ſon, who had iſſue, Sir Theodorick, or Sir Tyrrey Robſart, who married the daughter and heireſs of Sir Thomas Syderſton, in the County of Norfolk, by whom he had iſſue, Sir John Robſart, and a daughter Lucy, who married Edward Walpole, Eſq; of Houghton (13). Sir John Robſart left behind him an only daughter, Amy, who was the wife of Lord Robert Dudley, and by the Inquiſition before mentioned, John Walpole, Eſq; in right of his mother Lucy Robſart, aunt to this unfortunate Lady, was found to be her next heir, and came into poſſeſſion of her lands (14).

(12) Eſc. 9 H. VI. n. 52.

(13) Carta, 27 H. VIII.

(14) Viſit. de Com. Norf. in offic. Arm.

[*E*] *Concerning the adventures of this unfortunate Lady.*] It may ſeem a little ſtrange, to inſert in the notes to a Stateſman's life, the memoirs of ſeveral Ladies, and of many of his intrigues; but the misfortune is, that we have no remedy; the learned Camden, and the judicious Sir William Dugdale, have been forced to take the ſame method, which, as it is a proof of the neceſſity, ſo it amounts to a vindication of the practice. This Lady Douglas Howard, was the grand-daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the daughter of William Howard, the firſt Baron of Effingham, and Knight of the Garter, and the widow of John, Lord Sheffield of Butterwick, who died ſudenly of an extream rheum in his head, which the malicious people of thoſe times, called *a Leiceſter cold* (15). It is beyond all doubt, that the Earl of Leiceſter had by her a ſon, Sir Robert Dudley, of whom we ſhall ſpeak of hereafter, and to whom, by the name of his baſe ſon, he left the bulk of his fortune, as alſo a daughter. It likewiſe appeared by depoſitions taken long after in the Star-Chamber, upon the oath of Lady Douglas Sheffield herſelf, and of ſeveral other perſons, that ſhe having been firſt contracted in Cannon-Row (16), within the liberties of Weſtminſter, about two years before, was ſolemnly wedded to him at Aſher, in the County of Surry, by a lawful Miniſter, according to the form of matrimony by Law eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, in the preſence of Sir Edward Horſey, Knt. who gave her in marriage, as alſo of Robert Sheffield, Eſq; Dr Julio, Henry Frodſham, and five other perſons, whoſe

(15) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(16) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 222.

with which theſe ſtories are told, that they muſt be exaggerated at leaſt, if not falſe, ſince the Earl, at this juncture, obtained an act of Parliament to enable him to erect an Hoſpital at Warwick; which he afterwards did, and plentifully endowed it, that it might bear his name, and preſerve his memory as a moſt religious perſon, the character which of all others he moſt affected, to ſucceeding times (*b*) [*F*]. Yet very great doubts have been moved upon this ſubject, ſome affirming, that, in the former part of his life, he inclined to favour the Papiſts, but, at the perſwaſion of his friend the Lord North, altered his conduct, and became the patron of the Puritans (*i*). In the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth he procured, from the Earl of Arundel, an aſſignment of the Wardenſhip of New Foreſt, which had been granted to his anceſtors in the ſixth of Edward III (*k*). He is reported to have had much of his father's temper, which appeared in nothing more than the pains he took to adorn his Caſtle of Kenilworth, and to render it, as his father had done Dudley-Caſtle, one of the faireſt, as well as one of the ſtrongeſt, places in England,

(*b*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(*i*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 10.

(*k*) Grants to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, amongſt the Sidney MSS.

whoſe names are there ſpecified, and that the ring wherewith they were ſo married, was ſet with five pointed diamonds, and a table diamond, which had been given to him by the then Earl of Pembroke's grandfather, upon condition, that he ſhould not beſtow it upon any but whom he did make his wife. Likewiſe, that the Duke of Norfolk was the principal mover of that marriage; but that this Earl, pretending a fear of the Queen's indignation, in caſe it ſhould come to her knowledge, made her to vow not to reveal it till he gave leave, whereupon all her ſervants were commanded ſecrecy therein. And it was alſo farther depoſed, that within two days after the birth of this Sir Robert Dudley, which happened at Sheen, where he was chriſtened by a miniſter ſent from Sir Henry Lea, having to his godfathers, the Earl of Warwick his uncle, and the ſame Sir Henry, and to his godmother, the Lady Dacres of the South, by their deputies; the ſaid Lady Douglas, received a letter from this Earl, which one Mrs Eriſa (then Lady Parker) read, wherein his Lordſhip did thank God for the birth of this his ſon, who might be their comfort and ſtaff of their old age, as are the words of the letter, and ſubſcribed your loving huſband, Robert Leiceſter. Likewiſe, that the ſaid Lady Douglas, was after this ſerved in her chamber as a Counteſs, until he commanded the contrary, for fear the marriage ſhould be diſcloſed. Some of the Wits in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, after the Earl's publick marriage with the Counteſs Dowager of Eſſex, ſtiled theſe two Ladies, Leiceſter's two Teſtaments, calling Lady Douglas the old, and Lady Lettice the new (17). In order to ſtifle this affair, however, as much as poſſible, the Earl made ſeveral propoſitions to Lady Douglas Sheffield, to deſiſt from her pretenſions, particularly, as ſhe herſelf depoſed, in the cloſe arbour in the Queen's gardens at Greenwich, where, in the preſence of Sir John Hubbard and George Digby, he offered her ſeven hundred pounds a year, adding at the ſame time threats, that if ſhe would not comply, he would never come near her, nor ſhould ſhe receive from him one penny of money. Being able to do nothing, either by fair means or foul, he went ſomewhat farther, ſo that the poor Lady, to ſhelter herſelf from his reſentment, was conſtrained to marry Sir Edward Stafford, a perſon of high birth, great honour, and the Queen's Embaſſador in France (18), which being, as ſhe herſelf confeſſed, an act which did the greateſt wrong poſſible to her own pretenſions, and to thoſe of her ſon; ſhe upon her oath declared, that her motive thereto was this, that having had ſome ill potions given her, which occaſioned the loſs of her hair and nails, ſhe knew no other way to preſerve her life (19). Such is the hiſtory of the Lady Douglas, whom ſome reckon the ſecond wife of this potent Earl.

(17) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(18) Camden. Annal. p. 320.

(19) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 222.

[*F*] *Which of all others he moſt affected, to ſucceeding times.*] The ſtatute mentioned in the text, to have been paſſed in the 13th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, gave power and authority to him, his heirs, executors, and aſſigns, to eſtabliſh an Hoſpital, either in Warwick, or in Kenilworth, to have continuance for ever, with a perpetual ſucceſſion, and to be ruled, governed, and directed in all things as they ſhould appoint (20). The Earl long after, by deed-poll under his hand and ſeal, November 1ſt, 1585, reciting (21), 'That ſince the ſaid act, he had appointed a houſe in 'the town of Warwick, for the ſaid Hoſpital, and had 'placed therein one maſter, *viz.* Ralph Griffin, Profeſſor of Divinity, and twelve poor brethren, who 'ever ſince the making of the ſaid act, had their 'abode and relief there, at the Earl's charge. Now 'the ſaid Earl calling to remembrance, that the good 'and charitable deeds and works of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and others his anceſtors, 'being provided and intended for the relief of the 'poor within the ſaid town of Warwick, but inſtituted 'and ordained according to the error and ſuperſtitious 'ignorance of thoſe former times, are abrogated 'and taken away. And withal, being continually 'mindful of the great mercy and goodneſs of Almighty 'God, freely beſtowed upon him many ways, and eſpecially by the ſingular bounty and favour of his moſt 'gracious ſovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth. And in 'reſpect thereof, by the authority of the ſaid ſtatute, 'ordains, eſtabliſhes, and appoints an Hoſpital in the 'ſaid town of Warwick, to have continuance for 'ever; for the finding, ſuſtentation, and relief of poor 'needy and impotent men, and eſpecially of ſuch as 'ſhould be hereafter wounded, maimed, or hurt in the 'wars, in the ſervice of her Majeſty, her heirs and 'ſucceſſors; and did found and eſtabliſh the ſaid Hoſpital, to conſiſt of one maſter, and twelve poor brethren, to be called the Hoſpital of Robert, Earl of 'Leiceſter, in Warwick. And the ſaid Ralph Griffin, having lately been preferred by her Majeſty, at 'the earneſt ſuit of the ſaid Earl, to the Deanry of 'Lincoln, in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, he 'thereupon ordained, that Thomas Cartwright ſhould 'be, during his life, maſter of the ſaid Hoſpital, unleſs 'removed, or reſigning, and in that caſe, ſuch perſons as the Earl, or his heirs, ſhould appoint, ſhould 'be maſter. And did further ordain, that the twelve 'perſons there named, then dwelling and abiding in 'the ſaid Hoſpital, ſhould be the then preſent twelve 'brethren of the ſaid Hoſpital. And that upon the 'death, reſignation, deprivation, or other lawful removing of any of them, ſuch perſon or perſons, as 'by the ſaid Earl, or his heir or heirs after his death, 'ſhould be named or appointed a brother, or brethren of the ſaid Hoſpital, ſhould be the brethren of 'the ſaid Hoſpital for ever. And if the ſaid Earl, or his 'heir or heirs, did not from time to time, within three 'months next after the ſaid twelve brethren, or any of 'them ſhould die, reſign, be deprived, or otherwiſe 'lawfully removed from the ſaid Hoſpital; then 'ſuch perſon and perſons, as from time to time, upon 'the default of the ſaid Earl, and his heirs, in form 'aforeſaid, ſhould be appointed, and preferred to be a 'brother, or brethren, by the Biſhop of Worceſter for 'the time being, and the Recorders of Coventry and 'Warwick for the time being, or any two of them, 'under hands and ſeals, ſhould be a brother, and brethren of the ſaid Hoſpital for ever. And he appointed 'the ſaid maſter and brethren, a Body Corporate and Politick, *&c.* and the lands, tenements, *&c.* thereof, 'ſhould be for ever thereafter, ruled, governed, ordered, 'and directed, according to ſuch rules, ſtatutes, and ordinances, as were thereto annexed, or at any time 'thereafter ſhould be ſet forth, made, deviſed, and eſtabliſhed by the ſaid Earl, by writing, or writings under 'his hand and ſeal; which writing, containing a compleat body of Statutes, the Earl executed on the 26th 'of the ſame month.' It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that Thomas Cartwright beforementioned, was the great chieftain of the Puritans, by which, having obtained this preferment for himſelf, he condeſcended for ſome time to leave the Church undisturbed (22).

(20) D'Ewes's Journal of the Parliaments in the Reign of Q. Eliz. p. 147.

(21) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(22) Fuller's Worthies in Hertfordſhire, p. [illegible].

At

land, which, if Sir William Dugdale was well informed, was a project that coſt him about ſixty thouſand pounds (*l*). There, in the month of July 1575, he entertained the Queen his Miſtreſs for ten days, with the greateſt elegance as well as magnificence, at a boundleſs expence (*m*). Of this, none of the leaſt remarkable tranſactions of his life, ſome farther account is given at the bottom of the page [*G*]. In 1576 happened the death of Walter, Earl of Eſſex, which, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, drew upon this noble Peer many ſuſpicions, more eſpecially after his marriage with the Counteſs of Eſſex was declared (*n*); as to which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee, in the notes, ſome particulars that were reſerved for this place [*H*]. In 1578, the Duke of Anjou preſſing the match that had been propoſed between him and Queen Elizabeth, and ſending over Monſieur Simier, a very gallant Gentleman, attended by a large train of French Nobility, the Earl of Leiceſter was doubtful whether the marriage might not take effect. The Earl, as it is ſaid by our Hiſtorians, had, ſome time before, ſounded the Queen's diſpoſition in chooſing him for a huſband, and not receiving a favourable anſwer (*o*), he abandoned all thoughts thereof, and privately married the Counteſs of Eſſex, as before related. This marriage Simier diſcovered to the Queen, apprehending his Lordſhip to be the greateſt bar to the Duke's pretenſions; and Camden relates, that ſhe was ſo enraged thereat, that ſhe commanded him not to ſtir from the Caſtle of Greenwich, deſigning to have committed him to the Tower, but was diſſwaded from it by the Earl of Suſſex (*p*): this he reſented ſo far, as it was thought he had ſome intention to cauſe him to be murthered; and one day Simier waiting on her Majeſty in her barge, not far from Greenwich, a gun was diſcharged from a neighbouring boat, and one of the Queen's bargemen wounded through both his arms; this was ſuggeſted to be intended to diſpatch Simier, but, on enquiry, it appeared to have been wholly accidental, and the man, who had been apprehended, was ſet at liberty (*q*) [*I*]. The Duke of Anjou ſending an embaſſy, compoſed

(*l*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 249.

(*m*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1299.

(*n*) See the article of DEVEREUX (WALTER) Earl of Eſſex.

(*o*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 37.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. p. 329.

(*q*) Hollinſhed, Stowe, Speed.

[*G*] *At the bottom of the page.*] There was a large relation of the Queen's entertainment at this palace, written by George Gaſcoign, Eſq; out of which, Sir William Dugdale tells us (23), that the Queen was ſurprized at her entrance, with the ſight of a floating iſland on the large pool there, bright blazing with torches, on which were clad in ſilks, the Lady of the Lake, and two nymphs waiting on her, who made a ſpeech to the Queen in metre, of the antiquity and owners of that caſtle, which was cloſed with cornets and other muſick. Within the baſe court, was a noble bridge ſet up of twenty feet wide, and ſeventy feet long, over which the Queen paſſed; on each ſide whereof, on poſts erected, were preſents on them to her by the Gods, *viz.* a cage of wild fowl, by Sylvanus; divers ſorts of fruits, by Pomona; of corn, by Ceres; of wine, by Bacchus; of ſea-fiſh, by Neptune; of all habiliments of war, by Mars; and of muſical inſtruments, by Phœbus. Alſo, during the ſeveral days of her ſtay, various rare ſhews and ſports were exerciſed, *viz.* In the chaſe, a Savage man with ſatyrs, bear-baitings, fire-works, Italian tumblers, a country bride-ale, with running at the Quinting, and morrice dancing; and that nothing might be wanting which thoſe parts could afford, the Coventry men came and acted the ancient Play, long ſince uſed in that City, called Hock's Tueſday, ſetting forth the deſtruction of the Danes in King Ethelred's time, which pleaſed the Queen ſo much, that ſhe gave them a brace of bucks, and five marks in money, to bear the charges of a feaſt. Likewiſe, on the pool, there was a Triton riding on a Mermaid eighteen foot long, as alſo Arion on a Dolphin, with rare muſick. The coſts and expences of theſe entertainments, may be gueſſed at by the quantity of beer then drank, which amounted to three-hundred and twenty hogſheads of the ordinary ſort; and for the greater honour thereof, Sir Thomas Cecil, ſon and heir to the Lord Burghley, Lord Treaſurer; Sir Henry Cobham, brother to the Lord Cobham; Sir Thomas Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Treſham, were then knighted, and the next enſuing year, the Earl obtained a grant of the Queen for a weekly market at Kenelworth, on the wedneſday, with a fair yearly on Midſummer-day (24). There is alſo in Strype (25), a long and very circumſtantial narrative of all that paſſed at this royal viſit, by one who was preſent, and is very well worth the reading, as it ſhews the temper of the Queen, and manners of thoſe times.

(23) Warwickſhire, p. 249.

(24) Pat. 18 Eliz. p. 6.

(25) Annals, P. 391—394.

[*H*] *Some particulars that were reſerved for this place.*] In that famous book of Perſons the Jeſuit, or whoever elſe was the author of this favourite's ſecret hiſtory, beſides the account quoted in another place, there is a ſhort detail of this iniquitous tranſaction, which follows an hint of Lord Sheffield's being taken off in the ſame manner, and for the ſame reaſon, that is, becauſe this great man had a mind to his wife. This relation runs thus (26). 'The like good chance had 'he in the death of my Lord of Eſſex, as I have ſaid 'before, and that at a time moſt fortunate for his pur- 'poſe; for when he was coming home from Ireland, 'with intent to revenge himſelf upon my Lord of Lei- 'ceſter, for begetting his wife with child in his abſence '(the child was a daughter, and brought up by the 'Lady Shandois, W. Knolles's wife) my Lord of Lei- 'ceſter hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to 'accompany the Deputy, as among other, a couple 'of the Earl's own Servants; Crompton, if I miſs 'not his name, yeoman of his bottles; and Lloyd, 'his Secretary, entertained afterward by my Lord of 'Leiceſter, and ſo he died in the way of an extreme 'flux, cauſed by an Italian recipe, as all his friends 'are well aſſured; the maker whereof was a Surgeon, 'as is believed, that then was newly come to my Lord 'from Italy, a cunning man, and ſure in operation.' The judicious Mr Camden, in treating expreſsly upon this ſubject, leaves it doubtful and open, but glancing occaſionally at it elſewhere, he ſhews plainly his own belief, that this imputation was not falſe. Sir Robert Naunton goes farther, and having in all probability the very book, we have firſt cited, in his eye, proceeds thus (27). 'I am not bound to give credit to all vul- 'gar relations, or to the libels of the times, which are 'commonly forced and falſified, ſuitable to the moods 'and humours of men in paſſion and diſcontent; but 'that which leads me to think him no good man, 'is, amongſt others of known truth, that of my Lord 'of Eſſex's death in Ireland, and the marriage of 'his Lady, yet living, which I forbear to preſs, in 'regard that he is long ſince dead, and others living, 'whom it may concern.'

(26) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, P. 23.

(27) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iii.

[*I*] *Was ſet at liberty.*] It may not be amiſs, for a reaſon which will be hereafter given, to exhibit two accounts that are yet extant of this great peer's malice to this French gentleman, which aroſe, as the writer of his ſecret hiſtory ſays, from his having had the boldneſs to tell the Queen of the Earl's marriage, with the widow of Eſſex, which though celebrated at Wanſtead, in the preſence of the Earl of Warwick, the Lord North, Sir Francis Knolles, and others; at Mr Stoner's houſe, by one Dr Culpeper, a clergyman, yet the Queen heard nothing of it in ſeveral days. This it was that provoked Leiceſter firſt to attempt taking him off by poiſon (28). 'And when that failed (ſays 'this author) he appointed, that Robin Tider, his man, 'as after, upon his ale-bench he confeſſed, ſhould 'have ſlain him at the Black-Friars at Greenwich, as 'he

(28) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, P. 37.

poſed of ſome perſons of the firſt diſtinction in France, into England in 1581, they were received by the Queen with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, and the Earl of Leiceſter was one of the Noblemen appointed to confer with them, and that engaged for their diverſion, in juſtings, barriers, and turney; but the people in general ſhewing great diſcontent at the propoſed marriage, it induced the Queen to iſſue her proclamation, under a ſevere penalty, that none of her ſubjects ſhould either ſtrike, or draw weapon, within four miles of London, or the Court (*r*). And the Duke thinking his preſence might contribute to his point more than the oratory of his Embaſſadors, who ſignified to him the Queen's declining the marriage, he came in perſon to prefer his ſuit; but having remained in England the ſpace of three months, and finding his application to be ineffectual, he ſet out on the ſixth of February for Sandwich (*s*); the Earl of Leiceſter, with a train of one hundred Gentlemen, and three hundred others of inferior ſort, attending him to Antwerp, as did alſo the Lord Hunſdon, and the Lord Charles Howard, who had each of them one hundred and fifty followers (*t*). The Confederates of the Low-Countries, believing it might pleaſe the Queen, had ſent over their agents to the Duke in England, to deſire he would be their protector againſt the Spaniards, and the Queen promiſing him aid, he accepted of their offer, and, on his arrival at Antwerp, was, with the Earl of Leiceſter, who accompanied him, entertained with great ſtate and ſolemnity; and, having ſeen him inveſted in the government of the ſaid Provinces, the Earl, on the 19th of February, together with the Engliſh Nobility, and their trains, returned to England (*u*). In 1584 he prevailed on the chief of the Nobility and Gentry in the kingdom to ſubſcribe an aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves to purſue unto death, whoſoever ſhould attempt any thing againſt Queen Elizabeth; and this, by ſome authors, is ſaid to be in hatred to the Queen of Scots, and that a plot being formed to ſet her at liberty, he was for making her privately away (*w*). His averſion againſt that unhappy Princeſs is ſuppoſed to have roſe from a private view, of conveying the Crown into the family of the Dudleys, as a certain author informs us (*x*), by advancing the Earl of Huntington to the Throne, who had a claim to the Crown as being deſcended, in a direct line, from George, Duke of Clarence (*y*), who had married the ſiſter of the Earl (*z*), and was ever after cloſely attached to his intereſts [*K*]. As he was now in the very height of power and influence,

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 689.

(*s*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1130.

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 690.

(*u*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1344.

(*w*) Camden. Annal. p. 418.

(*x*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians.

(*y*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(*z*) Obſervations on the Reign of Q. Elizabeth.

' he went forth at the garden gate; but miſſing alſo ' that purpoſe, for that he found the gentleman better ' provided and guarded than he expected; he dealt ' with certain Fluſhiners, and other pirates, to ſink ' him at ſea, with the Engliſh gentlemen his [illegible], ' that accompanied him at his return into France. ' And though they miſſed of this practice alſo (as not ' daring to ſet upon him, for fear of ſome of her Ma' jeſty's ſhips, who to break of this deſignment, at' tended by ſpecial commandment, to waft him over in ' ſafety) yet the aforeſaid Engliſh gentlemen, were ' holden four hours in chace at their coming back, as ' Maſter Rowley well knoweth, being then preſent; ' and two of the chacers, named Clark and Harris, ' confeſſed afterward the whole deſignment.' Mr Camden (29), much to the ſame purpoſe, ' That in ' the mean while, Simier continued amorouſly to ſol' licit Queen Elizabeth in Anjou's behalf. And altho' ' ſhe excuſed herſelf a long time, yet he brought her ' to that paſs, that Leiceſter, who from his heart was ' againſt the marriage, and others, ſpread rumours ' abroad, that by love potions, and unlawful arts, he ' had inſinuated into the Queen's affection, and induced ' her to the love of Anjou. M. Simier on the other ' ſide, left no means uneſſayed to remove Leiceſter out ' of his place and favour with the Queen, revealing to ' her his marriage with Eſſex's widow; the Queen ' thereupon grew into ſuch a paſſion, that ſhe com' manded Leiceſter not to ſtir out of the Caſtle of ' Greenwich, and intended to have committed him to ' the Tower of London, which his enemies much de' ſired. But Suſſex, though his greateſt adverſary, ' and one that earneſtly endeavoured to promote the ' marriage, diſſuaded her, as out of a ſolid judgment, ' and the innate generoſity of his noble mind, he was ' of opinion, that no man ought to be troubled for ' his lawful marriage, which hath ever been had in ' honour and eſteem. Yet glad he was, that by this ' marriage, he was now put beſide all hopes of mar' rying with the Queen. Nevertheleſs, Leiceſter was ' ſo incenſed thereat, that he bent himſelf to revenge ' the wrong he had received. And there wanted not ' ſome, who accuſed him, as if he had ſuborned one ' Teudor, of the Queen's guard, a bravo, to take ' away Simier's life. This is certain, the Queen com' manded by publick proclamation, that no man ſhould ' offer any affront to Simier, his attendants, or ſer' vants, either by word or deed. About this time it ' happened, that while the Queen for her pleaſure, ' was rowed in her barge upon the Thames, near ' Greenwhich, attended by Simier, the Earl of Lin' coln, and Hatton, her Vice-Chamberlain, a young ' man diſcharged a piece out of a boat, and ſhot one ' of the bargemen in the Queen's barge, through both ' his arms. who was preſently apprehended and led to ' the gallows, for a terror to him; but he ſolemnly ' proteſting, that he did it unwittingly, and thought ' no harm, was ſoon diſcharged. Neither would the ' Queen believe what ſome buzzed in her ears, that he ' was purpoſely ſet on to miſchief, either her or Simier. ' So far was ſhe from giving way to any ſuſpicion ' againſt her ſubjects, that ſhe was wont to ſay, *ſhe ' could believe nothing of her* people, *which* parents ' *would not believe of their* children.' The reader will plainly diſcern, that whatever we may think of ſuch things now, they were looked upon, even by wiſe men, as very credible at the time in which they are ſaid to have happened.

(29) Annal. Eliz. p. 329.

[*K*] *And was ever after cloſely attached to his intereſts.*] In this note, it is intended to diſcuſs the ſeveral ſuſpicions that were entertained of Leiceſter's views upon the Crown, ſome of which are thought to have been as early as the cloſe of King Edward's reign, and that the great Duke of Northumberland meant not to deprive, or to depreſs the two princeſſes farther, than to bring them to certain matches which he had propoſed, and which, having once brought to bear, he would have put down his daughter-in-law, Queen Jane, with the ſame facility that he ſet her up (30). This ſcheme is ſo fine ſpun, that one can hardly believe there is ſo much in it as a thread of truth; and yet his proclaiming Queen Mary at Cambridge, his deſiring to confer with the Queen's Counſellors, his compliance with the old religion at his death, the ſudden reſtitution of his family in the next reign, and the early favour of his ſon Robert in this, in which none of his wives had any ſhare, are circumſtances not eaſily accounted for; indeed ſo far from it, that Mr Camden has more than once recourſe to the ſtars (31). The firſt ſcheme in this reign, was with reſpect to the Queen of Scots, whoſe title Leiceſter openly abetted, and, in conjunction with the Earl of Murray, drove on the marriage between that Queen and the Duke of Norfolk, which he is afterwards ſaid to have [illegible]

(30) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 85.

(31) Annal. Eliz. p. 70—583.

to

influence, ſo he ſtood expoſed, as might be naturally expected, to the ſhafts of envy, and as, except his father, who had the rule in a minority, there never was any ſubject in England greater than himſelf, ſo the attempt made upon his character ſurpaſſes any thing that is to be met with in antient or modern ſtory (*a*). This piece, which is commonly called LEICESTER'S COMMONWEALTH, was publiſhed at leaſt, if not written, beyond the ſeas, but imported hither in great quantities; and from the books having leaves edged with green, and the ſuppoſed author's name, it was ſtiled *Father* Perſons's *Green Coat* (*b*). The drift of this book was to repreſent to the people, that the Engliſh Conſtitution was ſubverted, and a new form imperceptibly introduced, to which no name could be ſo properly given as that of a *Leiceſtrian Commonwealth*; and, in order to render this notion plauſible, the Earl of Leiceſter was not only repreſented as an Atheiſt in point of Religion, a ſecret traytor to the Queen, an oppreſſor of her people, an inveterate enemy to the Nobility, a compleat monſter with regard to ambition, cruelty, and luſt; but it was alſo ſuggeſted that, purſuing his father's plan, he had thrown all offices of truſt and profit into the hands of his creatures and dependants; ſo that the Court, the Fortreſſes, the Navy, the Kingdom of Ireland, the Northern and Welſh Marches, the Iſle of Wight, and, in ſhort, every thing was in his power, and the Queen had ſcarce any thing left her but a titular ſovereignty (*c*). It is no wonder that a libel like this ſhould make a very great noiſe, or that the Queen and her Miniſters ſhould take the alarm as they did; but it is really ſomewhat ſurprizing, that her Majeſty thought the propereſt method for removing the impreſſion this bitter performance was ſure to make upon the vulgar, ſhould be iſſuing letters from the Privy-Council, in which all the facts contained therein were declared to be abſolutely falſe, not only to their knowledge who ſigned ethem, but alſo of the Queen herſelf (*d*); which however ſhe did, as appears from ſome of thoſe letters yet extant (*e*) [*L*]. His nephew, the learned and ingenious Sir Philip Sidney, undertook to refute

(*a*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iii.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

(*c*) This, in few words, is the ſcope of that treatiſe.

(*d*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 359.

(*e*) See a copy of ſuch a letter in the notes.

to Queen Elizabeth for his own ſecurity, that is to ſay, himſelf ſaid it by way of excuſe; for that he firſt promoted, then revealed, and at length proſecuted it as a crime, are undeniable facts (32). His enemies gave this turn to the whole, that by theſe practices, he meant to remove the Duke of Norfolk, the moſt powerful and popular nobleman in England, out of his own way, and Mary's title out of the way of the Queen. This being effectually done, there followed an Act of Parliament, in 1571, of a very ſtrange nature, of which, as it is almoſt the only thing the Hiſtorian ſpeaks of, as from his own knowledge, Camden (33) ſhall give an account to the reader. 'The iniquity 'of theſe times, and the love which the Parliament of 'England (now met at Weſtminſter) bare to their prince 'and country, was the occaſion of a law, for preventing the practices of ſeditious perſons; whereby, according to the tenor of former laws, it was provided, 'that if any man ſhould attempt the death, or perſonal hurt, of the Queen, or raiſe war, or excite 'others to war againſt her; or if any one ſhould give 'out, that ſhe is not the lawful Queen of this realm; 'but that any other can claim a juſter title thereto, or 'ſhould pronounce her to be an Heretick, Schiſmatick, 'or Infidel, or ſhould uſurp the right and title of the 'kingdom during her life, or ſhould affirm, that any 'other has a right to the Crown, or that the laws and 'ſtatutes cannot limit and determine the right of the 'Crown, and the ſucceſſion thereof, every ſuch perſon 'ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon. That if any one 'during the Queen's life, ſhould, by any book, written or printed, expreſsly maintain, that any perſon 'is, or ought to be the Queen's heir and ſucceſſor, except the *natural iſſue* of her body, or ſhould publiſh, 'print, or diſperſe any books or writings to that 'effect, he, and his abettors, ſhould for the firſt offence be impriſoned for a whole year, and forfeit the 'one-half of his goods. If any ſhould offend a ſecond 'time, he ſhould incur the penalty of a Premunire, 'that is, loſs of all his goods, and perpetual impriſonment. Some looked upon this as too ſevere, who 'thought it would tend to the eſtabliſhing the quiet 'of the nation, if an heir apparent were declared. 'But it is incredible, what jeſts thoſe that lewdly catch 'at words, made upon that clauſe, except the *natural* 'iſſue of her body, ſince the Lawyers term thoſe children *natural*, which are begotten out of wedlock, 'whom nature alone, without the intervention of honeſt matrimony, hath begotten, and thoſe they call 'lawful, according to the tenor of the Common-Law 'of England, who are in lawful matrimony begotten 'of ſuch a one's body.' So that I myſelf, being then a [redacted] man, have often heard people ſay, that this word 'was inſerted in the act by Leiceſter, with a deſign, 'that one time or other he might impoſe ſome *baſtard* 'ſon of his upon the Engliſh, for the Queen's natural 'iſſue.' We have the ſame thing confirmed to us by various authors, but whatever view there might be from this act, it was held, that the Earl of Leiceſter entertained a good opinion of his brother Huntington's pretenſions, which produced a very cloſe correſpondence between thoſe two Lords, who had not been always upon ſuch friendly terms (34). The nature of this title was very plauſible, and could not but ſound pleaſing enough in the ears of the people, more eſpecially, ſuch as were inclined to Puritaniſm, of whom that Peer was a declared protector. In reſpect to his pretenſions, they were very clear and ſhort; Henry Haſtings, Earl of Huntingdon, who had married Lady Katherine Dudley, daughter to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was the ſon of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, by Katherine his wife, one of the daughters, and heirs of Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, who was ſon and heir to Sir Richard Pole, Knight of the Garter, by Margaret Plantagenet, Counteſs of Saliſbury, who was the daughter and heireſs of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward IV (35). It is ſaid, that this title was commonly diſcourſed of by ſuch as favoured it, or would be thought to favour it, becauſe the power of the Earl of Leiceſter was ſuch, that no-body durſt complain of their diſcourſes; and, on the other hand, few or none thought it their buſineſs to queſtion it, for fear of being drawn within the ſtatute abovementioned, made on purpoſe to tie peoples tongues upon that ſubject; in which, upon the whole, it proved of ſervice to the true heir. Some however there were, who inſinuated, that the Earl of Leiceſter meant to ſet up his brother-in-law, as his father, the Duke of Northumberland, had done his daughter-in-law; that is, till ſuch time as he could make a better title in his own family, by the marriage of his ſon to the Lady Arabella (36); and it is highly probable, that theſe crooked ſchemes of his, after the death of Mary Queen of Scots, induced the Cecils to reconcile themſelves to her ſon; and thus there was a compleat turn made by Queen Elizabeth's Miniſters, ſince, in the beginning of her reign, Leiceſter was the avowed Champion of the Queen of Scots title, and was very near ruining Lord Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Cecil (37), for being ſecret favourers of the houſe of Suffolk.

(32) Stowe, Strype.

(33) Annal. Eliz. p. 241.

(34) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 87.

(35) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 277. Brook's Cat. of Nobility, p. 269.

(36) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 86, 87.

(37) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. ix.

[*L*] *As appears from ſome of thoſe letters yet extant.*] Amongſt the papers of Dr William Chaderton, Biſhop of Cheſter, who had been formerly the Earl of Leiceſter's Chaplain, there was found one of theſe circular letters directed to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange,

refute this invective, and actually compoſed an anſwer, which is ſtill preſerved, but, either from the multiplicity of his affairs, or from other reaſons with which we are not acquainted, was never finiſhed, ot at leaſt never publiſhed (*f*). Yet, notwithſtanding all the pains that were then and afterwards taken to ſuppreſs and diſcredit it, this ſecret hiſtory gained a moſt unaccountable currency; nor was the myſtery of the writing, printing, and publiſhing, any more than the name of it's real author, ever certainly diſcovered, which, with other concurrent circumſtances, has induced a ſuſpicion, that not only the Popiſh exiles abroad, but ſome abler heads, who were jealous of Leiceſter's power and influence at home (*g*), had a great hand therein, or, at leaſt, furniſhed the materials [*M*]. In 1585 the aſſociation, contrived by the Earl of Leiceſter, was approved in Parliament, and a law paſſed to carry it into execution (*h*); which, with many other penal ſtatutes, affrighted many of the Nobility; ſo that Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and ſon to the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, endeavoured to retire out of the kingdom, which brought him into great troubles; the Earl of Northumberland, being ſent priſoner to the Tower, deſtroyed himſelf with his own hands, and the Lord Paget ſought ſhelter beyond the ſeas; all of whom pretended to charge their misfortunes on the ſeverities with which they were proſecuted at home (*i*). At this time the affairs of the Proteſtant Low-Countries were in a perplexed ſituation, and the States thought that nothing could contribute ſo much to their recovery, as prevailing upon Queen Elizabeth to ſend over ſome perſon of great diſtinction, whom they might ſet at the head of their concerns, civil and military (*k*); which propoſition, Camden ſays, ſo much flattered the ambition of this potent Earl, that he willingly conſented to paſs the ſeas upon this occaſion, being well aſſured of having

(*f*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

(*h*) D'Ewes Journal of the Parliaments of Q. Eliz. p. 324.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 411.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 352.

the Biſhop himſelf, and the reſt of the Juſtices of Peace in the counties of Lancaſter and Cheſter (38); in which, after taking notice of the induſtry with which libels were ſpread, and deſcribing the nature of this infamous one againſt the Earl of Leiceſter, one of her Majeſty's principal Noblemen, and one of her Chief Counſellors of State, which had moved her Majeſty, by letters under her own hand to the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London, to declare and teſtify his innocence; they thought it their duty to follow her Majeſty's example, which induced them to write this letter to inform them, firſt, that her Majeſty had noted in them ſome ſlackneſs in the proſecution and ſuppreſſion of former libels, therefore ſhe expected upon this ſecond notice, that they would uſe greater diligence in ſearching out and preventing the circulation of this miſchievous book; after which they proceed, firſt in the Queen's name, and then in their own, in the following terms:

(38) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. I. Lib. iv. p. 46.

'That ſhe (the Queen) verily looketh for the moſt 'ſtrict and preciſe obſervation thereof, in the ſharpeſt 'manner that may be deviſed, teſtifying in her con'ſcience before God unto you, that her Highneſs not 'only knoweth in aſſured certainty, the books and 'libels againſt the ſaid Earl to be moſt malicious, 'falſe, and ſcandalous, and ſuch as none but an in'carnate devil himſelf could dream to be true, but 'alſo thinkethe to be of the fulneſs of malice, ſubtilie 'contrived to the note and diſcredit of her princelie 'government of this realm, as though her Majeſty 'ſhould have failed in good judgment and diſcretion in 'the choice of ſo principal a Counſellor about her, 'or be without taſte, or care of all juſtice and con'ſcience, in ſuffrynge ſuche heynous and monſterous 'crimes, as, by the ſaid books and libels, be infa'mouſlie imputed to paſs unpuniſhed, or finally, at the 'leaſt, to want either good will, ability, or courage, 'if ſhe knew theſe enormities were true, to call any 'ſubject of her's whatſoever to render ſharp account of 'them, according to the force and effect of her laws. 'All which defects (God be thanked) we, and all good 'ſubjects, to our unſpeakable comforts, do know, 'and have found to be far off from the nature and 'vertue of her moſt excellent Majeſty. As of the 'other ſide, both her Highneſs, of her certain know'ledge, and we, to do his Lordſhip but right, of our 'ſynceare conſciences muſt needs affirm, theſe ſtrange 'and abominable crimes to be raiſed of a wicked and 'venomous malice againſt the ſaid Earl, of whoſe good 'ſervice, ſincerity of religion, and all other faithful 'dealings towards her Majeſty and the realm, we 'have had long and true experience. Which things 'conſidered, and withal knowing it to be an uſual 'trade of traiterous minds, when they would render 'the Prince's government odious, to detract, and bring 'out of credit the principal perſons about them, her 'Highneſs, taking the abuſe to be offered to her own 'ſelf, hath commanded us to notify the ſame unto you; 'to the end, that, knowing her good pleaſure, you 'may proceed therein as in a matter highly touching 'her own eſtate and honour. And therefore we wiſh 'and require you, to have regard thereof accordingly, 'that the former negligence and remiſſneſs ſhewed in 'the execution of her Majeſty's commandment, may 'be amended by the diligence and ſeverity that ſhall 'be hereafter uſed. Which amendment and careful'neſs in this cauſe chiefly, her Majeſty aſſuredly looketh 'for, and will call for account at all your hands.

'And ſo we bid you heartily farewel. From the 'Court at Greenwich this 20th day of June, 1585.

'Your very loving friends,

'T. Bromley, Canc.	'J. Hunſden,
'W. Burghley,	'F. Knollys,
'Geo. Shrewſbury,	'H. Sydney,
'H. Derby,	'Chr. Hatton,
'F. Bedford,	'Fr. Walſingham.
'C. Haward,	'Wal. Myldmay.'

[*M*] *Or at leaſt furniſhed the materials.*] We are at a loſs for the original title of this book, for it has gone by many; it is very probable however, that it was at firſt called A Dialogue between a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Lawyer (39). but in the body of the book the author plainly declaring, that the old Engliſh Monarchy was now changed into a Leiceſtrian Commonwealth, the book was again printed with the title of *Leiceſter's Commonwealth*, &c (40). Both theſe editions were printed beyond the ſeas, without any name of author or Printer, or ſo much as the place of the impreſſion, or the year; yet that it was in 1584, is plain enough from the facts mentioned in it (41). Dr Thomas James (42), who was a very learned and knowing man, aſcribed it to Robert Perſons the Jeſuit. Anthony Wood ſays (43), that it was commonly ſuppoſed to be written by him, and adds, in a parentheſis, that he had moſt of his materials for the compoſition thereof, from Sir William Cecil Lord Burleigh. Upon what foundation this report ſtands it is not eaſy to ſay, but this is certain, that Perſons himſelf denied that he was the author of it, neither is it reckoned amongſt his works either by Pits or Rybadeneira. Yet whoever conſiders and compares the conference about the ſucceſſion which Perſons publiſhed under the name of Doleman, will not eaſily believe that he was not the author of this book alſo, though perhaps he might not call it Leiceſter's Commonwealth, and therefore might think himſelf at liberty to deny his writing a book under that title. As to Lord Burleigh's furniſhing the materials, when we conſider the paper ſigned by him, which the reader has ſeen in the foregoing note, it muſt appear very improbable, It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that it is on all hands agreed, our

(39) So I collect from an old MS. of it.

(40) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 358.

(41) Such as the death of Thomas, Earl of Suſſex, and the ſickneſs of the Lord Denbigh, who was the Earl of Leiceſter's ſon.

(42) In the life of Father Perſons, printed at the end of the Jeſuits Downfal, 1612. p. 55, 56.

(43) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

having ample powers granted him, and ſome ſort of authority, over the Lord High-Admiral of England (*l*), which, as it was without example, could not but be highly grateful to one of his high temper, who loved command; more eſpecially over ſuch as might, in other reſpects, eſteem themſelves his equals. Accordingly, October 22d, in the ſame year, he was conſtituted Captain-General of all ſuch forces as ſerved, or thereafter ſhould ſerve, in the Low-Countries, for the relief of the inhabitants there: and was empowered to levy in England, or the dominion of Wales, five hundred able and ſufficient men, of his tenants and ſervants, to attend his perſon beyond the ſeas; and in his paſſage thither, and returning from thence, them, and every of them, to employ in his ſervice, as he ſhall think convenient; which retainers and followers, under his hand and ſeal ſignifying the ſame, were, during the time ſo employed in his ſervice, to have the Queen's protection for their bodies, lands, and goods; any law, ſtatute, or reſtraint, to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe, notwithſtanding: With a mandate to all Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, *&c.* and all other officers, to be obedient thereto (*m*). Before his departure the Queen admoniſhed him to have a ſpecial regard to her honour, and to attempt nothing which ſhould be inconſiſtent with the employment to which he was advanced; and particularly ſhe required him to ſearch into the method of the States raiſing and falling the value of money, that ſo the ſoldiers might not receive their pay at one rate, and give it out at another; and very affectionately recommended to his care the young Noblemen of the country, and more eſpecially the ſons of the late Prince of Orange (*n*). On the eighth of December, 1585, he embarked, having with him fifty ſail of ſhips; and thoſe that accompanied, or ſoon after followed him, were the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Eſſex, the Lord Audley, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Sheffield, the Lord North, and the Lord Borroughs, Sir William Ruſſell, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Henry Stanley, Sir Gervaſe Clifton (*o*), Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir William Pelham, Lord Marſhal of the Field, Sir Arthur Baſſet, Sir Walter Walter, with many other perſons of diſtinction (*p*). On the 10th he arrived at Fluſhing, with his whole train, his perſon being guarded by fifty archers, bearing bows and arrows, fifty halberds, and fifty muſqueteers, were magnificently entertained by Sir Philip Sidney, Governor of the town for her Majeſty, by Grave Maurice, ſecond ſon to the late Prince of Orange, by the Queen's Embaſſador and the States, and all ſorts of people, expreſſed the greateſt joy on his arrival (*q*). This was carried to a very extraordinary height on both ſides, great feaſts given, and nothing to be ſeen during the remaining part of that month but mirth and diverſions; on the fifteenth of January following all the points of ceremonial were ſettled, for the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an adminiſtration as might be for the common benefit, and prevent all diſputes; accordingly, on the 26th of the ſame month, the Earl was ſworn to the States, and the States to the Queen, and to obey the Earl as her Lieutenant (*r*). On the ſixth of February following they publiſhed their placard concerning his authority, which was very ample; his Excellency then entered upon the diſcharge of his office, and ſome exploits were performed againſt the Spaniards, which highly raiſed the reputation of the Engliſh troops, and the characters of the officers who commanded them (*s*). On the 23d of April, 1586, being at Utrecht, his Lordſhip kept the feaſt of St George with prodigious magnificence, in which, as one of our Hiſtorians ſays, he appeared moſt Prince-like, inveſted in his robes of the Order, guarded by the principal Burghers in the town, and his own guard of fifty halberdiers, in ſcarlet cloaks, edged with purple and white velvet (*t*). It ſeems the Queen was not at all pleaſed with theſe proceedings of the States, or of her Lieutenant, and therefore ſent over her Vice-Chamberlain (*u*), with letters written in ſo ſharp a ſtile, as made both the States and the Earl very uneaſy [*N*]. Upon explanations from the one, and very deep ſubmiſſions from the other,

(*l*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 799.

(*n*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 711.

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*q*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1424.

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 712.

(*s*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1432.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 1433.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 459.

our famous Hiſtorian Mr Camden had his materials for the firſt part of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth, from that noble perſon, and many are of opinion that he actually wrote them; now, upon examination it will be found, that a great many of the facts in Leiceſter's Commonwealth are likewiſe related, though in a ſofter and leſs peremptory ſtile, in thoſe Annals, of which we have given in this work ſeveral inſtances; from whence it may be concluded, that whoever was the author of this book was well ſupplied with intelligence, and that, notwithſtanding the declaration of the Privy Counſellors, it was not univerſally believed to be a heap of falſhoods, though undoubtedly there are abundance of falſhoods in it, and many things repreſented as indubitable facts, that are no more than exaggerated ſuggeſtions. No pains were ſpared in circulating it abroad as well as at home, for in the year after it's original publication, it was tranſlated into French under the title of *La Vie Abominable, Ruſes, Trahiſons, Murtres, Impoſtures, Empoiſonements, Paillardiſes, Atheiſmes, & autres tres Iniques Converſations, duquel ia uſe & uſe Journellement, le my Lord de Leceſtre Machiaveliſte, [illegible] l'Honneur de Dieu, la Majeſte de la Royne d'Angleterre ſa Princeſſe, &c.* not mentioning where printed, but in 8*vo*, 1585. It has been ſeveral times reprinted in Engliſh, particularly in 1600 in 8*vo*, in 1631 in the ſame ſize, the running-title in this edition being a letter of State of a Scholar of Cambridge; in 1641 in 4*to* and in 12*mo*, with the addition of Leiceſter's Ghoſt; and again reprinted in 1706 in 8*vo*, under the title of ſecret Memoirs of Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter, with a preface by Dr Drake, who pretended it was printed from an old manuſcript. The deſign of reprinting it in 1641 was to give an ill impreſſion of the government of Charles I, and the like was ſuppoſed to be the deſign of Dr Drake in his publication; to ſay the truth, it may be conſidered as a ſtanding libel upon all overgrown Miniſters and governments by faction.

[*N*] *As made both the States and the Earl very uneaſy.*] In order to apprehend this matter clearly, it will be neceſſary to ſee, firſt the power granted by the States, which over and above the powers granted him by the Queen's commiſſion and their own, were expreſſed to be in their placard of the 6th of February, 1586 (44). 'The higheſt and ſupreme commandment 'and abſolute authority above, and in all matters of 'warfare

(44) Annal. Eliz. p. 459. Strad. de Belgo Belg. Lib. vii. p. 477.

other, the Queen was pacified, and his Excellency left to profecute the duties of his charge (*w*). His expedition for the relief of Grave, a place of great importance, befieged by the Prince of Parma, was, at firft, attended with great appearance of fuccefs; but, after he had taken the forts that impeded his paffage to the place, the Dutch Governor very unexpectedly furrendered, at the perfwafion, as was reported, of his miftrefs; for which, notwithftanding he obtained an honourable capitulation, his Excellency caufed him, and two other officers of note, to be put to an ignominious death (*x*). The Engliſh forces continued to render great ſervice, the Lord Lieutenant himſelf driving the Spaniards out of the whole iſland of Betawe (*y*). The Lord Willoughby, at Bergen-op-Zoom, beat a convoy going to Antwerp, which was a thing of great conſequence; and Count Maurice, aſſiſted by Sir Philip Sidney, took Axel by ſurprize (*z*). His Excellency had to deal with one of the beſt officers that age, or indeed any other, had produced, the Prince of Parma, who is ſaid to have projected the taking of Utrecht when the Lord Lieutenant was there in perſon, and, with that view, intended to have ſent in a conſiderable number of men, in various diſguiſes; but it ſeems his plot was diſcovered, and diſappointed (*a*). The Prince of Parma then inveſted Reinberch, in which there was a garriſon of twelve hundred Engliſh troops, under the command of Colonel Morgan; his Excellency thought himſelf obliged to diſengage that place, and yet was unwilling to hazard a battle, and therefore beſieged Zutphen, which had the deſired effect, for the Duke of Parma marched immediately to engage the allied army; accordingly, on the 22d of September, the vanguards came to action, in which the Engliſh diſtinguiſhed themſelves, though with ſome loſs; and there it was that the famous Sir Philip Sidney received a mortal wound (*b*). The Spaniards, however, had been certainly beaten, if the Duke of Parma, with his whole army, had not advanced to their aſſiſtance. The ſiege of Zutphen was notwithſtanding continued, and ſome very brave actions performed before it; but, however, they were not able to reduce the place (*c*) [*O*]. Upon his Excellency's return to the Hague he found the States uneaſy and diſcontented;

(*w*) Hiſtory of the Wars of Flanders, P. ii. p. 240.

(*x*) Strada de Bello Belgic. Lib. vii. p. 488.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 718.

(*z*) Camden. Annal. p. 461.

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 733.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. p. 462.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 736.

'warfare both by ſea and land, to execute and adminiſtrate the ſame to the reſiſtance of the enemy, even as his Excellency ſhould think moſt commodious to the preſervation of thoſe countries, and ſo further, to do all ſuch things as appertain to the office of a general Captain. And furthermore, we commit the adminiſtration and uſe of policy and juſtice over the aforeſaid united Provinces and aſſociated cities, and members of the ſame, into his hands, to execute and adminiſtrate the ſame, with ſuch power and authority as have had in times paſt, all the other Governors of theſe Low-Countries before him, and eſpecially, as have been exerciſed, and lawfully adminiſtered in the time of Charles the fifth, &c. We therefore command all Governors of Provinces and Cities, all Admirals, Vice-Admirals, all Officers and Soldiers by ſea and land; and furthermore, all other Counſellors, Officers, Treaſurers, Receivers, Bailiffs, Burgomaſters, Magiſtrates, &c. of what quality or condition ſoever, to honour, reſpect, and obey him, as they ought to do, &c.' In the Queen's letter, among other expreſſions, were theſe. 'How contemptuouſly you have carried yourſelf towards us, you ſhall underſtand by this meſſenger, whom we ſend to you for that purpoſe. We little thought, that one, whom we had raiſed out of the duſt, and profecuted with ſuch ſingular favour above all others, would, with ſo great contempt, have ſlighted and broken our commands, in a matter of ſo great conſequence, and ſo highly concerning us and our honour. Whereof, though you have but ſmall regard, contrary to what you ought by your allegiance, yet think not that we are ſo careleſs of repairing it, that we can bury ſo great an injury in ſilence and oblivion. We therefore command you, that, all excuſe ſet apart, you do forthwith, upon your allegiance which you owe unto us, whatſoever Heneage our Vice-Chamberlain ſhall make known to you in our name, upon pain of further peril.' She alſo wrote to the States-General. 'That to her diſgrace, and without her knowledge, they had conferred the abſolute government of the confederate Provinces upon Leiceſter her ſubject, though ſhe had abſolutely refuſed it herſelf, &c. ſhe therefore adviſed them to turn Leiceſter out of that abſolute authority, whoſe commiſſion ſhe had limited, not that ſhe thought their cauſe unworthy to be favoured, but to provide for, and ſecure her own honour, which ſhe eſteemed more dear to her than life itſelf.' Bentivoglio (45), intimates as though this ſtep muſt have been before ſecretly made known to the Queen, or the Earl of Leiceſter would not have accepted the Government, without her private conſent. And Strada (46), more openly charges her Majeſty with an ambitious view of ſeeking to add the Low-Countries to her dominions, by permitting Leiceſter to take upon him the ſovereignty. But this is improbable. The Provinces had been twice offered her by a ſolemn embaſſy from the States, her Parliament had ſollicited the acceptance, and promiſed her ſupplies to ſupport it, and the univerſal inclination to ſubmit to her, in conjunction with the forces ſhe had ready to ſend over, muſt have rendered all oppoſitions impracticable. It has been obſerved, that Strada was an Italian Jeſuit in the pay of Spain, and conſequently the Engliſh could expect no fair repreſentation from him, who hated them as hereticks and as enemies. Yet he ſays, the Earl of Leiceſter was ſuch an abſolute maſter of his own temper, that he could as he pleaſed adapt it to any man's humours or deſigns. Agreeable to this, Mezeray calls him a ſubtle, dextrous courtier; and what other Hiſtorians cite, argues him to be a man of great abilities, though the general hatred and envy of many people ſuppreſſed his real virtues, or imputed them to artifice and deſign.

(45) Hiſt. of the Wars of Flanders, P. i. l. iv. p. 240.

(46) De Bello Belgic. Lib. vii. p. 477.

[*O*] *They were not able to reduce the place.*] While the Earl of Leiceſter continued the ſiege, *viz.* on the 4th of October, the great fort demanded a parley, which being granted, Count Hollock, or as we now write Hohenloe, ſtepped out to confer with them (47), but in the midſt of the conference, as the Count was ſpeaking, he was ſhot through the mouth, and the ball took off the jewel at his Ear. To revenge this treachery, the Engliſh repeated their attacks, and the ſame day made an aſſault on the leſſer fort ſword in hand. Captain Edward Stanley, was the firſt who mounted the breach, and perhaps truer courage was never ſhewn (48). He was oppoſed by the Captain of the fort, who ſtanding alone in the breach, aimed his pike at his breaſt as he was entring. On which, with great preſence of mind, laying hold of the pike, he ſtrove with all his force to pluck him from his poſt, if he refuſed to let go his hold. But finding his ſtrength inſufficient to effect his purpoſe, he ſuffered himſelf to be raiſed up by his competitor on the rampart, and his ſoldiers following, ſo terrified the garriſon with his unexpected preſence, that deſerting the defence, as many as were able, made their eſcape by a back gate, and fled to Zutphen, leaving their Captain priſoner. The Earl of Leiceſter knighted Stanley for his courage, preſented him with forty pounds ſterling, and ſettled a penſion on him for life. He likewiſe knighted Captain Reade, who alſo ſhewed great bravery on that occaſion. And the enemy, much terrified, abandoned the great fort the next night. But the Earl judged it not

(47) Stowe's Annals, p. 738.

(48) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 462. Stowe's Annals, p. 738, 739. Strada de Bello Belgic. p. 553.

diſcontented; they received him coldly, and, as their own writers ſay, with expoſtulations and complaints. He endeavoured to ſatisfy them, and, for that purpoſe, entered into a long detail of what had been effected, and of the cauſes why more was not effected, which, however, did not anſwer his purpoſe; he then attempted to diſſolve the Aſſembly, failing in that too, he declared in anger his reſolution of returning to England (*d*). However, being afterwards brought into a better temper, he gave them to underſtand, that though he ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of returning home, it ſhould be ſo far from being prejudicial to them, that he would make it turn to their advantage (*e*). Whatever exterior marks of ſatisfaction this might produce, it is very certain that the States retained their diſpleaſure, which proceeded from the ſuſpicions, that notwithſtanding the oath of fidelity he had taken, he practiſed upon the minds of the people, and laboured to poſſeſs them with an opinion, that he was better affected to the Proteſtant religion and the publick good than themſelves (*f*), the conſequences of which they clearly foreſaw, and very much feared [*P*]. His ſubſequent behaviour did not leſſen their apprehenſions, for when the day came for his departure, he, by a publick act, gave up the care of the Provinces into the hands of the Council of State, but privately, by an act of reſtriction of the ſame date, he reſerved to himſelf an authority over all Governors of provinces, cities, and forts, and not contented with that, deprived the Council of State, and thoſe who had the chief direction in the Provinces, of their accuſtomed juriſdiction (*g*). He experienced in his paſſage all the difficulties of the ſeaſon and the country, being obliged to embark and land ſeveral times, and to make uſe part of the way of a waggon. He arrived at the Court at Richmond on the 23d of November (*h*), where, notwithſtanding all that was paſt, he was very well received by the Queen. Her Majeſty was at that juncture more uneaſy than ever about the Queen of Scots, apprehending herſelf to be in great danger from the practices ſet on foot for obtaining the liberty of that Princeſs, whom ſhe had now taken a reſolution to remove, and was therefore glad of the Earl of *Leiceſter's* preſence, in whom ſhe had ever a great confidence (*i*). When the matter came to be debated in Council, which was before his return, he was conſulted by letter; and it is ſaid that the Earl

(*d*) Bentivoglio's Hiſtory of the Wars of Flanders, p. 224.

(*e*) Grotius de Reb. Belg. l. v.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 463.

(*g*) Brandt's Hiſt. of the Reformat. B. xiv.

(*h*) Stowe's Annals, p. 741.

(*i*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, c. iii.

venient for his army to continue any longer before Zutphen, till the rigour of the ſeaſon ſhould be abated, it being ſufficiently blocked up by the garriſons which lay in the towns round about it. Many perſons of eminent rank amongſt the Engliſh nation having highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, the Earl of Leiceſter (49), in reward of their merit and for his own honour, conferred in his camp, the dignity of a Knight Banneret on the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Audley, and the Lord North; and knighted Sir Henry Goodyere, Captain of the Guard, Sir Henry Norris, Sir John Borroughs, Sir John Winkfield, Sir Roger Williams, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Henry North, Sir Thomas Denis, Sir William Knolles, Sir George Farmer, Sir George Digby, Sir —— Steward, and Sir — Beauford. On the 15th of October, his Excellency, after ſecuring of Deventer, came to Arnheim to viſit his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, whom he found paſt all hopes of recovery, dying two days after to his infinite regret, and was bewailed by him with great ſorrow, ſhutting himſelf up for a whole day, as Stowe relates, who is very circumſtantial in whatever regards this noble perſon.

(49) Stowe's Annals, p. 739, 740.

[*P*] *And very much feared.*] But notwithſtanding theſe outward profeſſions of regard, they were jealous of him (50), and privately proceeded to ſtraiten his authority. And in other letters to the Queen, would have inſerted a clauſe to limit his command on his return to them, had not the Lord Buckhurſt interpoſed, and laid before them the miſchief it would have produced from his Lordſhip's power with her Majeſty. Theſe proceedings were not agreeable to the majority of the people, who were firm in the intereſt of the Earl of Leiceſter, and threatened to be revenged of the States, if the Queen ſhould take any offence at their alterations (51). In Frieſland, the Clergy offered her Majeſty the ſovereignty of the Low-Countries without any reſtriction, having held two Synods on the occaſion. The Synod at Sneek preſented a petition to the Lord Buckhurſt, in which they invited her Majeſty to come to the aſſiſtance of Chriſt, who threw himſelf and his children into her arms, and implored her protection (52), and ſeveral other towns proteſted they would depend only on her Majeſty; alſo the preachers at Amſterdam, openly inveighed againſt the magiſtrates from their pulpits, and libels were ſet up againſt the States. But as the people ſeemed determined to take up arms, the Lord Buckhurſt ſignified to them from her Majeſty, That it was her inclination to ſend back the Earl of Leiceſter, to compoſe their differences, by re-aſſuming the Government. And this expectation of his Lordſhip's preſence, gave a check to their violence, and put a further ſtop to the proceedings of the States, who had begun to introduce a new ſcheme of government. Prince Maurice was brought to profeſs all good will and amity to his Lordſhip, and Count Hollock promiſed to receive him with all honour and friendſhip; alſo the States-General, and Council of State, both publickly and privately aſſured the Lord Buckhurſt, of all duty and fidelity to him. But before the Queen was prevailed on to give conſent to his Lordſhip's return, ſhe required Lord Buckhurſt, by letter, to let the States know, ſhe expected they ſhould ſend an army into the field, on his arrival, of ten or twelve thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, and give aſſurances, that one hundred thouſand pounds, ariſing from the extraordinary contributions, ſhould be delivered at ſuch reaſonable times, as might ſerve to defray the charges of the ſaid army, into the hands of ſome perſon of the country, who ſhould be nominated by the Earl of Leiceſter, to be treaſurer of the army, and to be iſſued out by his Lordſhip's direction, with the privity of the Council of State. But this not being agreeable, the Lord Buckhurſt acquainted the Queen with their ſentiments; and that on their non-compliance he had declared to them, he had no commiſſion to promiſe his Lordſhip's return. On this, they reſolved to provide for their own ſecurity, and accordingly eſtabliſhed new ſuperintendants on their frontiers, which was oppoſed by Lord Buckhurſt, as contrary to the twenty-fourth article of their contract, by which the nomination of them was reſerved to her Majeſty's Lieutenant, yet his oppoſition produced no effect. However, as their perils increaſed continually on them, there ſeemed no other means left to prevent their entire ruin, but the ſettlement of a preſent Government, attended with a proportionable ſupply of men and money. The Lord Buckhurſt, out of a true ſenſe of thoſe difficulties which the States laboured under, and the uncertainty of his Lordſhip's return, drew up a new ſcheme for the eſtabliſhing ſuch a government in the United Provinces; which very highly offended the Earl of Leiceſter, and ſeems to be the principal motive of the averſion and hatred he ever after expreſſed towards him (53).

(50) Willis's Letters to the Earl of Leiceſter and Sec. Walſingham, in Cab. P. ii. p. 9, 32, *& ſeq.*

(51) Brandt's Hiſt. lib. xiv.

(52) Cabala, p. 9.

(53) Cabala, P. ii. p. 28—32, 33—36.

Earl gave it as his opinion, that it would be the safeſt and beſt expedient to make uſe of poiſon, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by Secretary Walſingham, to whom, though a Court Divine was ſent to ſettle his conſcience as to the lawfulneſs of this method, he remained fixed in his ſentiment, that it ought to be done by form of Law (*k*). Accordingly a commiſſion was drawn, grounded upon the late Act of Parliament, in which all the Members of the Privy-Council were appointed to be her Judges, and, amongſt others, the Earl of Leiceſter; but being abroad, he neither aſſiſted at the trial, nor at the judgment given in the Star-Chamber, neither was he preſent in Parliament; yet ſufficient care was taken to make all the world ſenſible that he approved theſe meaſures, by printing the applications to the Queen from both Houſes, in a letter directed to him, and in this very form, together with that letter, they are ſtill to be found in one of our old Chronicles (*l*). It is no wonder, therefore, that, laying aſide all thoughts of what had diſtaſted her in his miſconduct in the Low-Countries, the Queen was wonderfully pleaſed to have him near her again upon ſuch an occaſion, more eſpecially as the ſame point upon which he had been conſulted before, came again upon the carpet; for the trial had done little for the Queen's ſatisfaction if execution did not follow, and how that might be done with leaſt diſcredit to Queen Elizabeth, remained a point difficult to decide. The Earl of Leiceſter kept to his firſt notion, and propoſed making her away privately; another ſcheme was offered, as little honourable though more extravagant, which was, to ſend her back to Scotland and have her put to death upon the frontiers of both countries. The majority of the Council approved neither, but inclined rather to proſecute the legal method in the end as well as at the beginning (*m*). The Queen ſeems to have concurred with the Earl of Leiceſter, as appears from the letters written to Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, which not taking effect, the other way was at laſt reſolved on, and Daviſon, by a very artful piece of management, bore all the blame (*n*). About this time he was conſtituted Lord Chief-Juſtice in Eyre of all the foreſts ſouth of Trent (*o*), and, as appears from ſeveral letters in the Cabala, was highly favoured by Queen Elizabeth [Q]. During his abſence from the Low-Countries the Spaniards had bribed York and Stanley, two Engliſhmen whom the Earl had appointed, the firſt Governor of a fort near Zutphen, and the other of Deventer, to deliver thoſe places into their hands, which, by the treachery of York, ſo wrought on Stanley as he complied, and the loſs thereof gave occaſion to loud exclamations and complaints againſt the Earl of Leiceſter (*q*). Whereupon the States-General immediately aſſembling, agreed to inveſt Prince Maurice (*r*) with the full power and authority of Stadtholder and Captain-General of Holland, Zealand, and Friezeland, and to give him command over all the militia within the ſaid Provinces. And purſuant to this determination, they obliged all their officers to receive a new commiſſion from him, and to take a new oath to the States, and diſcharged all recuſants whatſoever from the ſervice. Queen Elizabeth was diſpleaſed with theſe alterations in their government, and reſented the diminution of the Earl of Leiceſter's authority as an injury offered to herſelf, and thereupon immediately directed the Lord Buckhurſt, her kinſman, to enquire into, and complain of, the innovations introduced in the abſence of the Earl, and to ſettle all differences between them; and the States, in return, aſſured her Majeſty, that their late proceedings were but proviſional, and enforced through fear of a general revolt on the loſs of Deventer; but that, at his Lordſhip's arrival, they would readily acknowledge both him and his authority, in as ample a manner as it had been granted to him at the firſt (*s*). Alſo in their letter to the Queen, March 1, they repreſented to her, that they were infinitely ſorry her Majeſty ſhould entertain any ſiniſter conceit of their actions and proceedings, which they attributed to the practice of their enemies, and concluded with deſiring the Earl might return to his government, which they alledged was highly neceſſary to their ſafety [R].

(*k*) Camden. Annal. p. 485.

(*l*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1580.

(*m*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 519.

(*n*) See the article of DAVISON in this Dictionary.

(*o*) 1. Pat. 28 Eliz. p. 1.

(*p*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 552, 553.

(*q*) Brandt's Hiſt. of the Reformation in the Low-Countries, p. 409.

(*r*) Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, lib. iv. p. 345.

(*s*) Cabala, P. ii. p. 14. Brandt's Hiſt. of the Reformat. B. xiv.

The

[Q] *Was highly favoured by Queen Elizabeth.*] It might have been expected, that, after the indignation expreſſed againſt him by his Sovereign, for exceeding his authority in the Low-Countries, could have little hopes of obtaining new marks of favour, conſidering more eſpecially how many places of honour and profit he held already. Yet the Earl was ſo compleat a Courtier, that he knew how to turn this diſagreeable accident in a little time to his ſervice. His conduct in the affair of the Queen of Scots, was very acceptable to the temper of Queen Elizabeth; his intelligence from Spain, which he never wanted, and was never truſted either to the eye or ear of a Secretary of State, gratified her Majeſty highly, who knew by experience that it deſerved entire credit; but what proved of the higheſt ſervice of all, was his opening her Majeſty's eyes in relation to the double-dealing of the Duke of Parma, who, while engaged in a treaty with England, was taking all the neceſſary meaſures to invade it. By theſe ſteps he regained the Queen's confidence entirely, and then it was ſuggeſted, that as he had been ſo unfortunate to incur her diſpleaſure, of which he had received very publick marks, as well by letters, as by the meſſage with which Vice-Chamberlain Heneage had been entruſted, it was neceſſary, for the ſatisfaction of the world in general, and of the States of Holland in particular, that this ſhould be cancelled by ſome extraordinary act of grace, by which it might be known both at home and abroad, that he was cleared from all imputations, and ſtood on as good terms with the Queen his Miſtreſs as ever. This affords us a pregnant inſtance of his art and addreſs, and many other like inſtances might be given ſufficient to ſhew, that whenever he met with cloudy weather at Court, he could never be brought to believe that it was fair again, unleſs he felt the warmth as well as ſplendor of ſunſhine; and thus every return to favour coſt her Majeſty a fine for her anger, and brought him an ample reward for the humility of his ſubmiſſions (54).

(54) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

[R] *Was highly neceſſary to their ſafety.*] While the negotiations mentioned in the text were carrying on between the Queen's Miniſter and the States, the creatures of the Lord Lieutenant in the Low-Countries were far enough from being inactive; on the contrary, they were ſo buſy, and took ſuch exceptions to every thing that was done by the States in the Earl's abſence, that at laſt they intimidated them to ſuch a degree, as to be almoſt afraid of acting at all, and even [illegible] ncerely

The Queen yielded to this, but with ſome difficulty, ſo that his Lordſhip did not go back to his charge, as was deſired and expected, in the beginning of the ſpring, which his friends in Holland gave out afforded great advantage to the enemy. The Duke of Parma began the campaign with the ſiege of Sluys, the moſt conſiderable town in Flanders, except Oſtend, that remained in poſſeſſion of the States. He firſt attacked the fort of Blanchenberg, commodious for the conveying ſuccours to the beſieged by land, which made little reſiſtance, as his com'ng thither was unexpected, and no proviſion made to oppoſe him (*t*). His next ſtep was to raiſe a fort in the iſland of Caſante to cut off all relief by ſea. But before he could execute his deſign, Sir Roger Williams, with five companies from Bruges, entered the town, and ſupplied it with proviſions and ammunition to hold out a conſiderable time againſt him. Whilſt this town was beſieged, the Earl of Leiceſter, on the 18th of June, was made Lord Steward of the Queen's Houſhold (*u*), and ſetting ſail from England on the 25th of the ſame month, landed in Zealand about the latter end of it. He brought with him a conſiderable ſupply both of horſe and foot. Prince Maurice and the Deputies of the States attended on him at Fluſhing, to congratulate his return, and left Count Hollock to watch the motions of the enemy. When they had conferred on raiſing the ſiege, it was determined to attempt it by ſea, to which end they ſhipped five thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, with all neceſſary proviſions for the relief of the town, and on the fleet's appearing in the channel, the Earl of Leiceſter made ſignals to the beſieged that he was come to their aſſiſtance (*w*). But on examination, finding the channel blocked up, and the paſſage ſecured, he ſaw it would be in vain to proceed that way. For three days he continued in ſuſpenſe what ſtep to take, and then weighing anchor he bent his courſe towards Oſtend, with a reſolution to ſuccour the beſieged by land. The Earl of Leiceſter had no ſooner landed his forces, but he prepared to attack the fort of Blanchenberg, and, joining the whole garriſon of Oſtend to his army, marched directly againſt it. The loſs was of no leſs conſequence to the Duke of Parma, than the gaining it would have been advantageous to the Earl, and therefore the Duke, leaving the ſiege every where well provided, led the remainder of his army to the defence of the fort againſt his Lordſhip (*x*). The Engliſh were ready to begin their batteries when the Duke of Parma came up, but on ſight of the army they deferred their hoſtilities, and after ſome conſultation retired to Oſtend, from whence they returned with the ſame fleet where they had before been at anchor, not far from Sluys, and the Duke of Parma again preſented himſelf to their view, whereby they found themſelves under a neceſſity to retire once again, and never more attempted to raiſe the ſiege. The loſs of Sluys renewed the miſunderſtanding between the Earl of Leiceſter and the States, whilſt the blame of the action was thrown by each party on the miſmanagement of the other. The Earl complained of the State's negligence, in not making ſufficient preparations, and not reſtraining the firſt attempts of the Spaniards againſt the town. And the States, in return, virulently inveighed againſt his Lordſhip, and imputed the whole misfortune to his ill conduct, and the delay of the Engliſh forces. And this diſſatisfaction increaſing, they refuſed to eſtabliſh him in that abſolute authority which had been conferred on him at his firſt arrival. This diminution of his power was ſo highly reſented by him, that he openly expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt the States, and the Dutch writers charge him with having entered into indirect practices to regain it, by forming parties in his progreſs through the country, and converſing chiefly with the Miniſters and private perſons (*y*), ſo that they, and the common people, were ſo tranſported with his appearances of piety, and his zeal for their intereſts, as to approve of all he did, and loudly exclaimed againſt the proceedings of the States [*S*]. The Queen, however, being well apprized by her Miniſters at home

(*t*) Cabala, P. ii. p. 42.

(*u*) Stowe's Annals, p. 743.

(*w*) Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, P. ii. l. iv. p. 246.

(*x*) Brandt's Hiſt. lib. xiv.

(*y*) Bentivoglio, and Brandt's Hiſt. p. 414, 416.

ſincerely for the return of the Lord Lieutenant, that ſome degree of weight might be reſtored to the government. In theſe practices the Earl's moſt indefatigable agents were the Clergy, and how very able he was to manage a ſet of men, who, of all others, delight themſelves moſt in managing the minds of the multitude, will appear from the following letter, which certainly is a maſter-piece in it's kind, though both in the matter and the ſtile, it differs not much from many of this noble perſon's epiſtles (55).

(55) Brandt's Hiſtory of the Reformation, B. xiv. p. 413.

GENTLEMEN,

'THAT I did not return ſuch an anſwer to ſeveral of your letters as you deſired and expected, was not for want of good will towards ſerving the cauſe of God, and defending the poor people, but it was becauſe I had not yet received her Majeſty's reſolutions, about what was farther neceſſary to be done for the ſervice of your country. But the Queen having given me full directions with regard to the forces ſhe will ſend to your aſſiſtance, and having laid her commands upon me to return, I therefore, poſtponing all private views and conſiderations, and abandoning all thoſe advantages which God has beſtowed on me in this kingdom, intend to haſten over, and ſatisfy the deſires of a people who have ſo often called for me, to which the zeal and good inclinations of ſome have more induced me than the demerits of others, that ſuffer themſelves to be made tools for keeping me back by ſlanders and detractions, which I ſhall nevertheleſs enter into my book of oblivion, that no harm may befal thoſe who ſeek to do me ſuch diſſervices. And I hope I ſhall never give the people any cauſe to diminiſh their good will and affection for me. In the mean time I intreat you to go on in your duty, and to admoniſh and excite thoſe under your care to peace and unity, to the end that they may more and more deſerve all the benefits they receive. For the reſt I refer myſelf to my arrival, and ſo I recommend you, Gentlemen, to the protection of the Almighty.

Given at London, Jan. 7, O. S.

Your good friend,

R. LEICESTER.

[*S*] *And loudly exclaimed againſt the proceedings of the States.*] At his ſecond departure from the Low-Countries.

home of the ſituation of affairs in the Low-Countries, thought proper to re-call him by an inſtrument dated November 9, 1587, and at the ſame time appointed Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, Captain-General of her forces (z). Camden relates, that the Earl of Leiceſter, on his return, finding an accuſation was preparing againſt him by the Lord Buckhurſt and ſome other of his enemies, for his miſconduct in the management of affairs in the Low-Countries, and that he was ſummoned to appear before the Council, privately implored the Queen's protection, and earneſtly beſought her, 'Not to receive 'him with diſgrace upon his return, whom, at his firſt departure, ſhe had ſent out with 'honour; nor bring down alive to the grave, whom her former goodneſs had raiſed from 'the duſt (a).' And that the Queen was ſo pacified with his expreſſions of humility and ſorrow, as to paſs by the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceived againſt him, and to admit him into her former grace and affection. The day when it was expected he ſhould have given in his anſwer, he took his place at the Council table, and when the Secretary had begun to read his accuſation, he roſe up and interrupted him, complaining of being injured, and declaring that his publick commiſſion was limited by private inſtructions, and making his appeal to the Queen, he evaded the accuſation, and came off in triumph; and by his power with her Majeſty, he ſo far prevailed, that a cenſure was paſſed upon the Lord Buckhurſt, who was confined thereupon to his houſe for ſeveral months. It is very certain, that how much ſoever this noble perſon's employment in the Low-Countries might gratify his ambition, or perhaps his vanity, it was very far from turning in any other manner to his advantage; ſince, at his laſt going over, he took up very large ſums of money at high intereſt upon his barony of Denbigh (b), which, after his return, he found it impoſſible to diſcharge, upon which the Merchants who had lent the money, moſt of whom had borrowed it upon their own private credit in order to ſupply him at that juncture, finding themſelves very much diſtreſſed by this diſappointment, applied for redreſs to the Lord Treaſurer as well as to the Lord Chancellor, but it does not appear that any thing was or could be done for their relief. Whether it was in regard to this affair, or ſome other relating to the tranſactions in the Low-Countries, certain it is, that the Earl had frequent differences with the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, which at length roſe ſo high, that his Lordſhip told the Earl plainly at Council, *that he found his Lordſhip very much inclined to croſs him upon all occaſions, and more eſpecially before the Queen; and that he liked it ſo ill, that he could and would find ways to anger him as well*; adding ſome other ſpeeches, which the Lord Treaſurer took as a charge againſt him for acting to the Queen's prejudice, upon which, the very ſame night, he reſolved to expoſtulate the matter freely with the Earl by letter, which he ſent him the next day, and received an anſwer in the evening (c). This as it ſerves to ſhew the temper of this noble Peer much better than any of the accounts we have of him extant, and as the reader may poſſibly think it a better vindication than any that

(z) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 13.

(a) Annal. Eliz. p. 556.

(b) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 498, 499.

(c) See this at large in the notes.

Countries, the Earl of Leiceſter left the free adminiſtration of publick affairs to the States, without making uſe of any ſuch precaution as he had taken when he was there before; notwithſtanding which we are poſitively told, and therefore it muſt reſt upon the Hiſtorian's (56) credit who ſays it, that he had it in his head to uſurp the government, and to ſend the Prince of Orange and the Penſionary Barnevelt, priſoners into England; ſo that he reckons it amongſt the many wonderful eſcapes of the inhabitants of theſe provinces, from the open tyranny of Philip II, and from the fox-like ſubtleties of William, Prince of Orange, that they were not ſubdued by the all-graſping ambition of our potent Earl of Leiceſter. It is indeed certain, that before he quitted that Government, the Earl diſtributed amongſt his particular friends, ſome gold medals, of which there are yet to be found in the cabinets of the curious; on the face (57), the Earl's effigies in buſt armed, with this inſcription, ROBERTUS DUDLEUS. COM. LEYC. BELG. GUBER, i. e. Robert Earl of Leiceſter, Governor of the Low-Countries; on the reverſe, a Shepherd's dog looking back upon the flock, from which he is going; and in the *exurgue*, under the dog's legs, INVITUS DESERO, i. e. unwillingly I abandon; about the circle, NON GREGEM SED INGRATOS, i.e. not the flock, but the ungrateful. Theſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect upon the minds of the people, that the whole nation was in confuſion, ſome Dutch garriſons affecting to adhere to the Engliſh; and on the other hand, Sir William Ruſſell taking ſuch ſteps, as gave no ſmall jealouſy to the State, which was augmented (58), by the coming of the Lord High-Admiral of England upon their coaſts, juſt at that juncture. Theſe jealous ſuſpicions, at laſt roſe ſo high, that the Dutch well affected to their own government, according to the genius of that people, to which the Earl of Leiceſter conformed in his medals, ſtruck others, upon which were the old alluſion of the two pots ſwimming at ſea, with this inſcription, *ſi collidimur, frangimur*; i. e. if we claſh we are undone. The Lord Admiral did all he could to ſettle the minds of the States, and of their ſubjects; which, however, was not effected till the Queen ſent her orders to the Lord Willoughby, to reduce by force, if that ſhould be neceſſary, ſuch places as refuſed to yield obedience to the States, which convinced them, that they had at leaſt done her Majeſty wrong, whatever foundation there might be for queſtioning the upright meaning of the Earl of Leiceſter, who in this command, ſays the Hiſtorian, was the firſt Engliſhman that bore the ſwelling title of *Excellency*; and therefore, many at home were very well pleaſed to ſee him forced to lay it down with ſo little honour (59). The nature of the ſubject, a juſt regard for truth, and a ſincere deſire the reader ſhould want no lights that is in our power to give, oblige us to obſerve, that the Earl of Leiceſter's medal, is far from being any concluſive evidence of his bad intentions, ſince the words, fairly conſtrued, mean no more than that he left with reluctance, thoſe whom he had conſidered in the light of a flock committed to his charge; and this, notwithſtanding ſome of them had repaid with ingratitude, all the care he had taken. We muſt alſo remark, that thoſe who diſliked the Earl in England, concurred with his enemies in Holland, to give a ſanction to all their jealouſies and ſurmiſes, which, whatever effects they might have in thoſe times, cannot paſs for unſuſpected teſtimonies in theſe. The Earl of Leiceſter had his faults, and thoſe very great faults too, but other miniſters might not be without them, or even without a propenſity of magnifying thoſe of the Earl of Leiceſter, in order to prejudice him with their ſovereign, in whoſe confidence, while he had ſo large a ſhare, it was impoſſible that he ſhould eſcape envy, or that ſuch as envied him, ſhould (contrary to the nature of that paſſion) always ſpeak truth

(56) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 555.

(57) Evelyn's Diſcourſe of Medals, p. 98.

(58) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 556.

(59) Camd nal. Eliz.

than have been offered of his proceedings, we have placed it at the bottom of the page [T]. It has before been obſerved, that the Duke of Parma, who was a great Politician as well as a great Captain, ſet on foot a negotiation with the Engliſh Court, as if it had been in his power to have concluded an abſolute peace; upon which, the Earl of Derby, and ſome other perſons of credit and diſtinction, and amongſt the reſt Sir James Crofts, Comptroller of the Queen's Houſhold, were ſent over with the title of Commiſſioners to negotiate with them, in the month of April 1588 (*d*). A great deal of time was ſpent to very little purpoſe, and notwithſtanding the Duke of Parma was earneſtly ſollicited, he could never be prevailed on to produce the commiſſion by which his Catholick Majeſty impowered him to treat and conclude, becauſe in reality, he had no ſuch commiſſion to produce. Sir James Crofts, who was a plain man, and heartily deſirous that a peace between England and Spain ſhould take effect, made a journey to Bruſſels, without having any authority ſo to do, in order to confer with the Duke (*e*); in which, though the reſt of the Commiſſioners allowed that he was too forward, yet they cleared him from any ill intention, as well as from doing any thing that was amiſs; yet, upon their being recalled in the month of Auguſt following, Sir James Crofts was accuſed by the Earl of Leiceſter, for his unadviſed journey to Bruſſels, and by an order of the Privy-Council, committed to priſon (*f*). The whole nation was by this time alarmed with the apprehenſions of the Spaniſh Armada, and amongſt other precautions that were taken, an army was aſſembled at Tilbury, conſiſting of between ſixteen and ſeventeen thouſand men, of which the Earl of Leiceſter was made Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Eſſex commanded the horſe (*g*). Queen Elizabeth, that ſhe might encourage her ſubjects by her preſence, went to review that army in perſon; and upon that occaſion, made a ſhort and memorable ſpeech, which as it contains a character of this nobleman, given by his Sovereign to her people, it is requiſite to inſert (*h*). 'I myſelf, ſaid ſhe, will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of every 'one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardneſs, you have 'deſerved rewards and crowns; and we do aſſure you, on the word of a Prince, they ſhall 'be duly paid you. In the mean time, my Lieutenant-General ſhall be in my ſtead, 'than whom, never Prince commanded a more noble, or worthy ſubject, not doubting, 'but by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the camp, and your valour 'in

(*d*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 567.

(*e*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 510.

(*f*) Tranſactions with Spain amongſt the MSS. of Lord Burleigh.

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Reign of Qu. Elizabeth, p. 395.

[T] *At the bottom of the page.*] We have the circumſtances mentioned in the text, from Mr Strype, who had taken notice of a former difference between theſe noblemen, and preſerved two excellent letters occaſioned thereby (60), but much too long to be inſerted here. As for the letter written by the Lord-Treaſurer, upon this laſt quarrel, that gentleman does not give us ſo much as a line of it, though he has preſerved the Earl of Leiceſter's anſwer entire, and a very extraordinary paper it is (61).

(60) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 131, in the Appendix.

(61) Ib. Vol. III. p. 205, in the Appendix.

My Lord,

'I Know not from whence my hap hath it, but it hath 'fallen out ſundry times, both contrary to my expectations, and much leſs by any deſert of mine, that 'I have found your Lordſhip more ready to thwart and 'croſs my endeavours than any other man's, eſpecially in the preſence of her Majeſty, and for ſuch 'cauſe as I have been the more earneſt in, when by 'your Lordſhip's own allowance and opinion, it had 'been ſo reſolved on by our conference before, as fit 'and meet advices to be given her Majeſty, for the 'beſt furtherances of her own ſervices. And theſe 'cauſes have lately been moſt in queſtion; in which, 'I myſelf, by her appointment, have been furtheſt 'employed, *viz.* about aſſiſtance of the Low-Countries. And therefore, did both at your Lordſhip's 'hands, and other my Lords, hope to be aſſiſted and 'comforted, ſo far as my opinion ſhould tend to the 'ſervice of her Majeſty, and ſo matters, being before, 'by your Lordſhip and others, debated, and agreed 'upon. Wherefore, finding it to fall out otherwiſe, 'and to draw difference in argument, where there was 'good aſſent before; what was it? but to leave me in 'her Majeſty's opinion, to be a man either affectionate 'or opinionative in mine own conceits; and withall, 'to ſee her Majeſty's ſervice hindred, and to take 'lack through ſuch needleſs and unprofitable controverſies among Counſellors. Albeit, I know and 'grant among Counſellors, there may, and muſt riſe, 'by way of argument, diviſions in opinion, which is 'both lawful and very convenient, and oft doth, 'without any cauſes of miſlike at all. And God forbid there ſhould be. But, my Lord, in theſe cauſes, 'we have been two or three times before her Majeſty, 'we had debated the matter before. And the courſe 'I took, was no other than your Lordſhip did beſt 'like and moſt adviſe. And to fall into contrary opinions before her Majeſty, cauſed me both to take it 'ill, and to ſhew it plainly to you as I did. And for 'the words which I added withal, which your Lordſhip doth ſet down in your letter, that I did charge 'you with ſome matters towards her Majeſty; aſſuredly, my Lord, I uſed no ſuch words. But finding 'myſelf grieved with ſuch croſs handling, as both at 'this and at other times I have done, I told your 'Lordſhip, I ſaw your Lordſhip very ready to croſs 'me now-a-days before her Majeſty. That I like it 'ſo ill, that I would and could find way to anger you 'as well. And that I had not dealt in this ſort either 'with you or any of your's, but much otherwiſe. 'And ſo my Lord I have done to my poor power, 'and with as much deſire to have you my aſſured 'friend, as any friend you have found in England. 'Which finding theſe occaſions more than once falling 'to my lot, I can hardly diſſemble or bear the unkind 'dealing of them, but rather to deal as I am dealt 'withal, when all kindneſs is not only ſo little regarded 'but hardly requited. In which conceit, my Lord, 'I pray you think I can be as others are to me. And 'to that end was my ſpeech and my meaning, and 'that I ſaid was to your Lordſhip's ſelf, and before 'none other, but moved, as your Lordſhip ſaid, in 'paſſion. And as I have been loth to have the occaſion that ſhould drive me to take ſuch hard or unkind courſes, as I ſee ſome do, and my ſelf very 'deeply felt. Thus much, my Lord, I have thought 'good to ſet down, which receiving your Lordſhip's 'letter, even as I came from the Court, had no time 'till late this night to anſwer. Wherein I will not 'hide the conceit I had upon the cauſes I have ſhewed, 'finding myſelf indeed heartily moved and grieved, 'but plainly and flatly to deliver my mind, rather 'than to diſſemble as many can. Leaving to your 'Lordſhip to conſider of my doings, how you have 'found them, if I be well uſed. And ſo in very haſte, 'leaving the reſt till I ſpeak with yourſelf, I commit 'you to the Lord. From my houſe, this Monday 'night.

'Your Lordſhip's very friend, if you ſo regard me,

'R. LEYCESTER.'

'in the field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous victory over thoſe enemies of my God, of 'my kingdom, and of my people.' At this time, there is nothing plainer than that he ſtood as well with Queen Elizabeth as ever; and it is highly probable, that the Earl of Leiceſter, than whom no man underſtood a court better, was perſwaded of this himſelf, otherwiſe he would never have ſought an employment ſtill greater than any he had, which was that of the Queen's Lieutenant in England and Ireland, nor would he have obtained it as he did, if the Queen's favour had not been as ſtrong towards him as ever; but a ſtop was put to the paſſing the letters-patents prepared for this purpoſe, by the Lord Chancellor Hatton, and the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, who are ſaid to have ſhewed the Queen in time, what hazards ſhe might run, by intruſting ſo large, or rather ſo exorbitant, a power in the hands of a ſingle perſon (*i*). It is not at all improbable, that the danger of the Spaniſh Invaſion being by this time over, made the Queen think ſo extenſive a command unneceſſary, which inclined her to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of thoſe two great Stateſmen upon this ſubject. Whether the Earl of Leiceſter conceived any diſlike at this, and thought of retiring from Court, as ſome have ſuggeſted, or whether, as it was uſual with him, he was deſirous of enjoying the pleaſures of privacy in the country at that ſeaſon; certain it is, that he ſet out about the end of Auguſt, for his Caſtle of Kenelworth (*k*), but making ſome ſtay at his houſe at Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, he there breathed his laſt, September the 4th 1588, when he was about the age of fifty-ſix (*l*). At the time of his demiſe, he was of the Queen's Privy-Council, Lord-Steward of the Houſhold, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, High-Steward of that of Cambridge, Chief Juſtice in Eyre in the Counties beyond Trent, the Queen's Lieutenant and Captain-General of the Forces in Holland, Governor and Captain-General of the United Provinces, and General of the forces raiſed in England againſt the Spaniards; Knight of the French King's Order of St Michael, and of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*m*). Some writers add, Earl-Marſhal of England (*n*), but without authority; for certainly, he never enjoyed that office (*o*). As to the manner of his death, there are very different opinions, and all countenanced by ſome authority. We are told by Camden, that he died of a fever (*p*). Sir Robert Naunton (*q*), who was well acquainted with the tranſactions of thoſe times, informs us, that though he ended not his days by ſo violent a death, or by the fatal ſentence of judicature, as his father and grandfather, yet (as is ſuggeſted) by that poiſon which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artiſt [*U*]. At Court an opinion prevailed, that he did not leave the world by a natural diſeaſe, but by ſome practices of a diabolical nature; concerning which, ſeveral examinations were taken before the Privy-Council (*r*), with which, perhaps it may not be amiſs to make the reader acquainted [*W*]. That he died under a cloud, which time and emulation,

(*i*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 593.

(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*m*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*n*) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*o*) See Camden, and Spelman's Accounts of Earl Marſhals.

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*q*) Fragm. Regal. cap. iii.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III.

[*U*] *Wherein they report him a rare artiſt.*] It appears from hence, that Sir Robert Naunton (62) did not entirely diſcredit the reports that ran upon this ſubject, which were indeed very publick, and the names of the perſons frequently mentioned who were employed in theſe pernicious practices, as well as thoſe who ſuffered by them. As to the former, there was one Salvadore, a domeſtick of the Earl's, who died himſelf very ſuddenly; and Dr Julio (63), who was very highly in his favour. As to the latter, beſides the Lord Sheffield and the Earl of Eſſex, who are thought to have been removed for the ſake of their wives, there are ſome others that have been publickly ſaid to travel the ſame road, by the ſame conveyance, though for other reaſons. As for inſtance, the Cardinal Chaſtillion, who died at Canterbury in 1570, as he was going out of England, and who is ſaid to have offended this great Earl, by informing the Queen of the arts which he uſed to diſguſt ſuch foreign Princes as ſought her Majeſty in marriage. That this Prelate was highly careſſed by the Queen is beyond all doubt, and that he was poiſoned is likewiſe certain, but by whoſe contrivance is by no means clear (64). The caſe of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton may be accounted, of all others, that which bears the hardeſt upon the Earl in point of circumſtances; he is ſaid to have been poiſoned in a ſallad at Leiceſter-Houſe, being taken ill at table, and dying before he could be removed: the latter part of this ſtory is acknowledged by the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf, in a letter to Secretary Walſingham; and as to the former, it depends upon a family tradition, that Sir Nicholas accuſed the Earl upon his death-bed. However, it was the report generally prevailed, and Camden does not ſpeak of it as a thing entirely groundleſs (65). The ſame ſtory is told of his great competitor the Earl of Suſſex, but with no great ſhew of probability or truth, much leſs of certainty, though ſaid to have been taken from his own mouth. He was indeed the Earl's enemy to the very laſt, for on his death-bed he is reported to have given this caution to his friends (66): 'I am paſſing into another world, 'and muſt now leave you to your fortunes, and to the 'Queen's grace and goodneſs, *but beware of the gip-* 'ſey (Leiceſter) for he will be too hard for you all, 'you know not the beaſt ſo well as I do.' All theſe tales would be abſolutely incredible, if the propoſal for taking off the Queen of Scots by a doſe was not poſitively vouched by Camden, and the Lady Sheffield's loſs of her hair and nails teſtified by herſelf upon oath. Hence it was a ſaying in thoſe days, That folks often fell without ſeeing the hand that puſhed them, and that many died who knew not their own diſeaſe.

(62) Fragmenta Regalia, c. iv.

(63) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(64) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 238, 239.

(65) Annal. Eliz. p. 221.

(66) Naunton's Fragm. Regalia, c. iv.

[*W*] *To make the reader acquainted.*] We have obſerved in the text, that, upon the return of Sir James Crofts, Comptroller of the Houſhold, who was one of the Commiſſioners in the Low-Countries, he was committed for acting imprudently in the diſcharge of his truſt. After the Earl of Leiceſter's death, among other reports that flew abroad, one was, that the ſon of this Gentleman had been inſtrumental in his Lordſhip's ſudden end (67). Upon this Mr Edward Crofts, and ſeveral other perſons, were brought before the Privy-Council, when the following facts came out, as they are tranſcribed from the original minutes; being examined concerning the Earl of Leiceſter's death, he (Edward Crofts) ſaith, that after his father Sir James Crofts was committed, this examinate came home to his own houſe at Charing-Croſs, and lamenting, ſaid unto Smith and Pille's wife, that he and all his were undone except he had help. And Smith ſaid he would do what he could; and willed this examinate to give him the names of all the Council, which he did. And Smith promiſed to tell him who were his father's enemies; and did after tell him that the Earl of Leiceſter was his great enemy. Within two or three days after, Smith, walking up and down with this examinate, made a flirt with his thumb, and bad him be of good comfort, for the bear is tied to the ſtake, or muzzled, whether he doth not remember and in what manner or ſort the Earl was dealt withal he

(67) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 594. Appendix, p. 269.

tion, the companions of great ones brought upon him, as a certain writer ſuggeſts (*s*), one would think a little improbable; ſince Camden aſſures us, that the Queen expreſſed a very deep concern for his death, but then, the force of this aſſertion is leſſened, by his adding, that ſhe ſuffered his goods to be ſold by publick auction, for the diſcharge of a debt due to the Crown, in purſuance of a maxim, from which ſhe rarely departed, of remitting to none the claims upon them from her Treaſury (*t*). Whatever the diſpoſition of his Sovereign might be to him, he left the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of duty and fidelity towards her, that words could poſſibly expreſs, in his laſt will, penned by his own hand, during his laſt reſidence in Holland; which is a piece ſo ſingular, that it cannot but afford pleaſure to ſee a part of it in the notes (*u*) [*X*]. In that inſtrument, which is written with amazing

(*s*) Fragm. Regal. c. iii.

(*t*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 584.

(*u*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State Papers.

he doth not know. That Smith told him, that his father ſhould not remain in priſon a full month. And that this examinate ſhould be the man that ſhould obtain the warrant for his delivery, and ſo he did. All the perſons abovementioned were examined as well as Mr Crofts, who confirmed every tittle of what he had ſaid, particularly Smith himſelf; but what puniſhment they ſuffered, or whether they ſuffered at all, is not mentioned. We learn alſo from the ſame author, that the Earl of Leiceſter was in good health on the 27th of Auguſt, when he wrote a letter to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh in behalf of a friend of his, excuſed his going out of town without taking leave of him, and declared his intention to return ſpeedily, which is a plain proof that he did not retire from any diſcontent.

[*X*] *In the notes.*] There is no need of any introduction to this piece, after what is ſaid of it in the text, it begins thus (68): 'This is the laſt Will and 'Teſtament of me Robert Earl of Leiceſter, her Ma'jeſty's Lieutenant-General of all her forces in the 'Low-Countries, and Governor and Captain-General 'of all the United Provinces, written with his own 'hand the firſt of Auguſt, in Middleborough, 1578. 'Firſt, I take it to be the part of every true Chriſtian, 'to make a true teſtimony of his faith at all times, 'and eſpecially in ſuch a caſe and ſuch a time as this 'is. And therefore I do mean here faithfully to make 'a ſhort declaration, to teſtify in what faith I do live 'and depart from this world, through the grace of my 'Lord and Saviour, to continue me in the ſame till the 'ſeparation of this life and body. And ſo I do ac'knowledge my creation and being to be had and con'tinued by the Providence of our Almighty God, the 'creator of all things both in Heaven and Earth, and 'do confeſs that above all deeds that his Divine Ma'jeſty hath done for mankind, is the gift of his bleſſed 'ſon Chriſt Jeſus to be the Redeemer and Saviour of 'his people that be faithful, by whoſe only merits and 'paſſion I verily believe, and am moſt aſſured of, the 'forgiveneſs of all my ſins, be they never ſo great or 'infinite, and that he only is the ſufficient ſacrifice that 'hath appeaſed the wrath of his father, and that bleſſed 'lamb which innocently ſuffered all torments, to bear 'the bitter burden due to us miſerable wretches, for 'his moſt tender compaſſion over all that have grace to 'believe on him. All which his grace's goodneſs and 'mercy I moſt faithfully take hold on, being ſo pro'miſed by himſelf, who is the only truth itſelf, that I 'am the child of ſalvation, and to be the inheritor of 'his everlaſting kingdom, and to meet with him at the 'joyful day of reſurrection with all the faithful children 'and ſaints of God. In this faith I now live, and in 'this faith I truſt to change this life, with continual 'prayer to the Throne of Grace, to grant me, during 'this pilgrimage of mine, a true, humble, and peni'tent heart, for the due recognition of all my offences, 'and the willing amendment of the ſame, and to fly 'inſtantly to the ſure anker-hold, my Lord and Sa'viour Chriſt Jeſus, to whom, with the Father and 'the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, and dominion, 'for ever, Amen. Thus being in perfect health and 'memory, and having ſet down my faith as a true 'Chriſtian, and being uncertain of the hour of death, 'I think it my part to ſettle my worldly matters in as 'good eſtate as I can, eſpecially being haſtily and ſud'denly ſent over, and likewiſe having very little leiſure 'ſince my arrival to get any time for my private bu'ſineſs. But firſt, my will is to commit this wretched 'body of mine, when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſeparate 'it from the ſoul, to the order of my dear friends that 'ſhall be living, as my executors, and my overſeers of 'this my laſt Will and Teſtament, and they to take 'ſuch order for the burial of my body as they ſhall 'think meet, always requiring that it may be done 'with as little pomp or vain expences of the world as 'may be, being perſuaded that there is no more vain 'expences than that is; a convenient tomb or monu'ment I wiſh there ſhould be. And for the place 'where my body ſhould lie it is hard to appoint, and 'I know not how convenient it is to deſire it, but 'I have always wiſhed, as my dear wife doth know, 'and ſome of my friends, that it might be at War'wick, where ſundry of my anceſtors do lie, either ſo, 'or elſe where the Queen's Majeſty ſhall command; 'for as it was, when it had life, a moſt faithful, true, 'loving ſervant unto her; ſo living, and ſo dead, let 'the body be at her gracious determination if it ſhall 'ſo pleaſe her. Touching my bequeſts, they cannot 'be great by reaſon my ability and power is little, for 'I have not diſſembled with the world my eſtate, but 'have lived always above any living I had (for which 'I am heartily ſorry) leſt that through my many debts 'from time to time, ſome men have taken loſs by me. 'My deſire therefore is, and I do charge my executors 'to have due conſideration, that if any perſon ſhall 'juſtly, after my deceaſe, make ſuch complaint, that 'they ſhall be ſatisfied as far as it ſhall be found in any 'equity it is due unto them, with advantage to them. 'Beſides I do here appoint my moſt dear well-beloved 'wife, the Counteſs of Leiceſter, to be my ſole exe'cutrix of this my laſt Will and Teſtament, and do re'quire her, for all love between us, that ſhe will not 'only be content to take it upon her, but alſo to ſee it 'faithfully and carefully performed. And albeit there 'may many imperfections be found with the making 'of this Will, for that I am no Lawyer, nor have any 'Counſel with me to place things in ſuch form as ſome 'are able, yet as my true meaning is, I truſt, to expreſs, 'that accordingly it may be interpreted, for I mean to 'make it as plain as I can. And firſt of all, before 'and above all perſons it is my duty to remember my 'moſt dear and moſt gracious Sovereign, whoſe crea'ture under God I have been, and who hath been a 'moſt bountiful and princely miſtreſs unto me, as well 'in advancing me to many honours, as in maintaining 'me many ways by her goodneſs and liberality. And 'as my beſt recompence to her moſt excellent Majeſty, 'can be from ſo mean a man chiefly in prayer to God, 'ſo, whilſt there was any breath in this body, I never 'failed it even as for mine own ſoul. And as it was 'my greateſt joy in my life-time to ſerve her to her 'contentation, ſo it is not unwelcome to me, being 'the will of God, to die and end this life for her ſer'vice. And yet, albeit I am not able to make any 'piece of recompence of her great goodneſs, yet will I 'preſume to preſent unto her a token of an humble and 'faithful heart, as the leaſt that ever I can ſend her, 'and with this prayer withal, that it may pleaſe the 'Almighty God, not only to make her the oldeſt 'Prince that ever he gave over England, but to make 'her the godlieſt, the virtuouſeſt, and the worthieſt in his 'ſight, that ever he gave over any nation. That ſhe 'may indeed be a bleſſed mother and nurſe to this 'people and Church of England, which the Almighty 'God grant for his Chriſt's ſake. The token I do be'queath unto her Majeſty, is the jewel with three 'great emeralds, with a fair large table-diamond in 'the midſt, without a foil, and ſet about with many 'diamonds without foil, and a rope of fair white pearl, 'to the number of ſix hundred, to hang the ſaid jewel 'at, which pearl and jewel was once purpoſed for her 'Majeſty, againſt a coming to Wanſtead, but it muſt now 'thus be diſpoſed, which I do pray you my dear wife 'ſee performed, and delivered to ſome of thoſe whom

(68) Ex. Regiſt. vocat. Leiceſter, qu. 1. in Cur. Prerog. Cantuar.

'I ſhall

amazing art, in as much, as the language thereof is ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from that of nature, he takes great care of his family, and ſhews wonderful condeſcenſions towards his wife; though after all, the bulk of his fortune is ſecured to his ſon Robert, whom he ſtiles conſtantly his baſe ſon, with what meaning muſt be left to conjecture. As he died before his brother Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, and that noble peer was univerſally beloved, he had intereſt enough to carry his brother's teſtament, or at leaſt, the moſt eſſential parts thereof into execution, which otherwiſe would have been attended, if we may gueſs from what happened in the next reign, with inſuperable difficulties (*w*). The corps of the Earl of Leiceſter was removed from Cornbury Park to Warwick, where it was interred in our Lady's Chapel, adjoining to the Quire of the Collegiate Church, and a very noble monument is erected to his memory, with his effigies in armour lying on his back, with his Earl's Coronet on his head, and the effigy of his Counteſs lying by him, with an inſcription in capitals, the ſubſtance of which, the reader has already ſeen, as it contains little more than a recapitulation of his employments (*x*). The character beſtowed upon him by Camden (*y*), is to this effect. He was looked upon as a finiſhed courtier in every reſpect; elegant in his dreſs, liberal in his way of living, bountiful to ſoldiers and men of letters; very adroit in chuſing his time and carrying his point; complaiſant in his temper, but inſidious towards rivals; amorous in the former part of his life, and in the latter, uxorious to a ſtrange degree. As for the reſt, as he preferred an envied height of power to ſolid virtue; he furniſhed matter for a multitude of malicious detractors to deſcant upon, who, even in the zenith of his glory, failed not to proſecute him with their libels, which were mixed with abundance of untruths. To ſum up all, what was ſaid of him in publick, had the air of praiſe and panegyrick; but in private, and where people durſt be free, he was repreſented in quite a different light. This without doubt, conſidering it's brevity, is an admirable deſcription, and by far ſuperior to the diffuſe accounts that are to be met with in other writers; but as it is perfectly adapted to the Hiſtorian's ſubject, it may be poſſibly thought too ſuccinct, to cloſe a particular article compoſed of ſuch a variety of matter, and therefore we will endeavour with the utmoſt impartiality, to ſubjoin a more copious repreſentation of this great Stateſman and fortunate favourite in publick and in private life. He is ſaid to have inherited the parts, as his brother the Earl of Warwick was the heir of his father's virtues (*z*). His ambition was great, but his abilities were greater. His dexterity as a courtier, appeared as ſoon as he entered the Court; for he obtained under King Edward, more than any of his brethren, in point of places and donations (*a*), and this addreſs continued through all his different ſituations; he complimented Queen Mary upon her acceſſion (*b*), though he went a priſoner out of her preſence; and notwithſtanding he met, as might be expected, with a bad reception, yet he perſevered till he obtained, not only a pardon, but a place. He ſecured however, ſo good an intereſt with her ſucceſſor, that he was declared a favourite, as ſoon as ſhe was declared a Queen, and maintained the firſt place in her confidence as long as he lived; as he was deſirous of the graces of his Sovereign, ſo he ſtudied that the world ſhould take notice of his ſucceſs, which appeared early in the magnificence beyond example, with which he diſcharged the office of Conſtable, or Prince of the Revels, in the Temple (*c*), and in this he perſiſted through his whole life, introducing creatures of his own, to elbow out any of whom the Queen took notice, without his participation, and thereby kept himſelf always ſupreme (*d*). But though he loved the ſtation of a Favourite, he affected alſo that of a Miniſter (*e*). He would be firſt in all things, and he was ſo; in the Court, in the Camp, and in the Cabinet, at the ſame time; he changed his parties often, but never his views. He affected in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, a great reſpect for the Spaniſh and Popiſh intereſt; adviſing her to give good words to King Philip, that ſhe might have leiſure to ſettle the affairs of religion, and of her kingdom, upon a ſolid foundation; and thus he made his court at home, and preſerved his intereſt and intelligence abroad, which he uſed to the laſt, and is ſaid to have bequeathed it as a legacy to his ſon-in-law, Eſſex (*f*). The Papiſts and the Puritans ſeparating from the Church about the ſame time, he went over to the latter, the former having chiefs of their own, not to be removed but by proſecutions, which therefore was the way that he took (*g*). He profeſſed a kindneſs for Mary Queen of Scots, but it was to pleaſe Queen Elizabeth, and when he propoſed the Aſſociation afterwards, which proved the ruin of that Princeſs, it was ſtill to pleaſe, as well as to preſerve Elizabeth (*h*). His religious zeal was intirely governed by, or at leaſt had a conſtant connection with, his temporal intereſts, which induced him ſometimes to take meaſures that were not at all agreeable to thoſe Prelates that were at the head of the Church, who could never be brought to conſider him as a friend to themſelves, or a well-wiſher to it (*i*) [*Y*]. As great a Politician as he was, he never choſe a back game, tho' no-body knew

(*w*) See the next article.

(*x*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 450.

(*y*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583, 584.

(*z*) Fuller's Worthies, Staffordſh.

(*a*) See Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. c. xxviii.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, Burnet, &c.

(*c*) Dugdale's Orig. Juridicial.

(*d*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(*e*) Scrinia Reclusa, p. 315.

(*f*) Character of the Earl of Eſſex, p. 35.

(*g*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 339.

(*h*) Camden, Naunton, Strype.

(*i*) Fragmenta Regalia, ch. iii.

'I ſhall hereafter nominate and appoint to be my 'overſeers for her Majeſty.'

[*Y*] *Or a well-wiſher to it.*] In this note, it is propoſed to give ſome account of the diſputes this potent Earl had with the Clergy, which have been tranſmitted to poſterity, with circumſtances not much to his honour. He exerciſed his office of Chancellor of Oxford with a very high hand, and by preferring his dependants, ſecured himſelf a great influence there, attended, as might be expected, with much clamour (69). He differed with Archbiſhop Grindal, and though he was much in the confidence of the Queen, brought him at firſt into diſcredit with her, and then into diſgrace; nay, to ſuch a degree was this perſecution carried, that the

(69) See Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Strype in his Annals, life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, &c. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.

knew better how to play it, when no other road to ſucceſs was left (*h*). It was this deſire of ſeeming as well as being powerful, that made him induſtrious to prevent any from being called to Council, before he knew what road they would take, and what length they would run. He ſought and loved men of abilities, but took care to keep them at a diſtance from Court, and in ſtations where he might be uſeful to them, and they to him; thus he ſent Sir Henry Sydney, his brother-in-law, over to Ireland, placed the Earl of Pembroke in Wales; Lord Hunſdon at Berwick, and the Earl of Huntington at York, with the title of Preſident of the North (*l*); in a word, he reduced the management of domeſtick affairs into a regular ſyſtem, ſo that there was no part of the kingdom, in which he had not an influence, and in the counties round his caſtle of Kenelworth, almoſt every thing was dependent upon him, either through hope or fear (*m*) [Z]. When we conſider this

(*h*) Scrinia Reclusa, p. 315.

(*l*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(*m*) Strype, Naunton, &c.

the poor prelate deſired to lay down his archiepiſcopal dignity, and actually cauſed the inſtrument of his reſignation to be drawn; but his enemies believing he was near his end, did not preſs the perfecting of it, and ſo he died with his mitre on his head, of a broken heart (71). He kept his houſe long, and was reported to be blind; a certain author, no great friend to Biſhops, and whoſe teſtimony is the more credible when he ſpeaks kindly of them, ſhall give the hiſtory of this Archbiſhop's fall, and of the ſhare the Earl had in it, his words are theſe (72). 'There was an Italian Doctor (one Julio Bargarucei) that having a known wife alive, yet bearing himſelf on the countenance of ſome great Lord, did marry another gentlewoman. This good Archbiſhop not winking at ſo publick a ſcandal, convened him for that, and proceeded by eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt him; letters were preſently written from this great Lord to the Archbiſhop to ſtop the proceeding, to tolerate, to diſpenſe, or to mitigate the cenſure, but the Biſhop remained ſtill unmoved and unmoveable; when no ſubjects intreaty could be found to prevail, they intreat the Sovereign to write in the Doctor's behalf, but this John Baptiſt, not only perſiſted in his *non licet habere eam*, but alſo, in a reverend faſhion, required an account of her Majeſty's faith, in that ſhe would ſeem to write in a matter, that if ſhe were truly informed, was expreſsly againſt the word of God. The Queen, in a gracious diſpoſition, was purpoſed to have yielded an account in writing, but the great Lord not only diſſwaded her from that, as too great an indignity, but incenſed her exceedingly againſt him; whereupon he was privately commanded to keep his houſe, where, becauſe he was ſometimes troubled with ſore eyes, his friends gave out he was blind. In which if he reſembled Tireſias the Soothſayer, he might alſo have been like him in another reſpect, by foretelling the fate of his perſecutor. For that Lord, that ſo perſecuted this prelate about his phyſician's two wives, dying twenty years ſince, left two wives behind him, that can hardly be yet agreed, which was his lawful wife.' A certain Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian acquaints us, that Dr Julio's divorce, was not the ſingle fault of this Archbiſhop, it ſeems he would not part with Lambeth Houſe (73), to which the Earl had a mind; but the moſt remarkable circumſtance in this buſineſs, is, that the Archbiſhop's want of vigilance in ſuppreſſing Puritans, was the cauſe aſſigned for oppreſſing him by that very nobleman, who was known to be their principal protector, and to whom conſequently this could not give any real offence (74). Dr Whitgift ſucceeding in the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, ſucceeded alſo in a ſhort time to the diſlike of the Earl of Leiceſter, who having provided for Mr Cartwright, the father and chief of the Puritans, not only by making him maſter of his Hoſpital at Warwick, but alſo by granting him an annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his own eſtate, recommended him alſo to the Archbiſhop, with whom he had had many controverſies (75). Mr Cartwright on his ſide behaved very reſpectfully, and his Grace not civilly only, but kindly, for which the Earl thanked him, as if the favour had been done to himſelf, by letter, intimating at the ſame time, what good things might be expected in caſe Mr Cartwright was again allowed to preach; but the Archbiſhop would not be drawn into that, and gave his Lordſhip his reaſons in a long epiſtle (76). The Earl was then ſilent upon this ſubject, but ſoon after addreſſed himſelf to the Archbiſhop upon another, which was to demand his opinion as to the lawfulneſs of aſſiſting the Dutch, on the ſcore of religion againſt their Sovereign the King of Spain, which he knew, could not fail of bringing him into great difficulties. The Archbiſhop in his anſwer, declined giving any ſuch opinion, for which conduct of his, he advanced many reaſons; but theſe would not ſatisfy, and he was at laſt obliged to pen a reſolution of what was ſtiled the Queen's caſe of conſcience in that matter, which he did ſo wiſely, that no exceptions could be taken (71). The Archbiſhop, and the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, being Viſitors of St John's College in Cambridge, the Earl of Leiceſter interpoſed, by his letters, to ſtay their proceedings, which occaſioned much trouble (78). In the mean time Mr Cartwright broke out again, and the conduct of the Puritans gave the Queen ſo much trouble, that the Earl of Leiceſter to preſerve the Queen's favour, thought fit to leave them. Dr Heylin gives us this account of the matter (79). 'It is worth obſerving, that the Puritans were then moſt buſy, as well in ſetting up their diſcipline, as in publiſhing their railing and ſeditious pamphlets, when the Spaniards were hovering on the ſeas with their terrible navy. At what time they conceived, and that not improbably, that the Queen and Council would be otherwiſe buſied than to take notice of their practices, or ſuppreſs their doings, or rather, that they durſt not call them into queſtion for their words and actions, for fear of alienating the affections of ſo ſtrong a party as they had raiſed to themſelves; the ſerious apprehenſions of which miſchievous Counſels prevailed ſo far on Leiceſter and Walſingham, that they did abſolutely renounce any further interceſſion for them, profeſſing that they had been horribly abuſed with their hypocriſy, which poſſibly might happen better for themſelves than it did for the Church, the Earl of Leiceſter going to his own place before the end of this year, and Walſingham being gathered to his fathers within two years after.'

(71) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 580.

(72) Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 5, 6.

(73) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. xvi. B. ix. p. 163.

(74) See Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindall.

(75) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. xvi. B. ix. p. 102.

(76) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

(77) That anſwer is extant in Strype.

(78) Strype's Annals, and Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

(79) Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, lib. viii. p. 284, 285.

[Z] *Either through hope or fear.*] In the foregoing note, we have ſhewn what a ſtroke he had in the Church, and how little able the firſt ſubject of the Queen was to bear up againſt his diſpleaſure, though conceived upon none of the juſteſt motives. As to his power paramount in the ſtate, we may form ſome idea of that, from the obſervance that was ſhewn to him, when he viſited Buxton Wells, by the Earl of Shrewſbury, one of the ancienteſt peers in the kingdom, and the ſenſe which Queen Elizabeth expreſſed of that Earl's behaviour in the following letter (80), written in her own hand, which contains, perhaps, as high a teſtimony of favour, as ever was expreſſed by a Sovereign to a ſubject.

(80) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 501.

ELIZABETH.

'OUR very good couſin: being given to underſtand from our couſin of Leiceſter, how honourably he was, not only lately, received by you our couſin, and the Counteſs, at Chatſworth, and his diet, by you both diſcharged at Buxton's, but alſo preſented with a very rare preſent; we ſhould do him great wrong, holding him in that place of favour we do, in caſe we ſhould not let you underſtand, in how thankful ſort we accept the ſame at both your hands, not as done unto him, but unto our ownſelf: reputing him as another ourſelf. And therefore, you may aſſure yourſelf, that we taking upon us the debt, not as his, but our own, will take care accordingly to diſcharge in ſuch honourable ſort, as ſo well deſerving creditors as ye are, ſhall never have cauſe to think ye have met with an unthankful debtor, &c.'

this attentively, we ſhall be the leſs ſurprized at his great weight in Parliament, where he had always a ſtrong party in the Houſe of Commons at his devotion; and in the Houſe of Peers, he directed things at his will, having ſometimes ſix, eight, or even ten proxies in his own hands (*n*), there being at that time no order to reſtrain ſo exorbitant a privilege. If in any thing he overſhot himſelf, it was in accepting the command in the Low-Countries, to which thoſe who were leaſt inclined to him, were moſt ready in giving their approbation (*o*), and in his abſence, brought Sir Chriſtopher Hatton into high credit, with which he was much offended (*p*). It is certain his dignity did not anſwer his expectation, but ſerved rather to hurt his fortune and to impair his power, both which however he would have recovered if he had lived, for he perfectly underſtood the Queen's temper, and had a great aſcendancy over it. In his private life he affected a wonderful regularity, was very circumſpect in his ſpeeches, and wrote as well as any man of his time (*q*). It was a ſaying of his, that a great man ought to know every thing, and be able to do every thing by himſelf, or by his inſtruments; which he made good in his practice. But with reſpect to men of ordinary rank, whom he employed and admitted to great familiarities, their favour was ſeldom of any long date, but he found ways and means to diſpoſe of them, either in diſtant employments, or otherwiſe, ſo that when he thought proper to diſpenſe with their ſervices, they might be able to do him no hurt (*r*). He carried his pretences to piety very high, though to gratify his paſſions, he fell into vices that could not be concealed; and though no man talked more of moderation and juſtice, yet he was guilty of ſome acts of oppreſſion that were both violent and mean [*AA*]. It is wonderful, that, with theſe great inequalities in his behaviour, he ſhould be able to maintain himſelf, and under ſuch a reign, in the poſſeſſion of abſolute power, for ſuch a number of years as he did, and that too in ſpite both of open and ſecret oppoſition; which fully juſtifies an obſervation that has been made upon his conduct, *viz. That his depth was not fathomable in thoſe days, or his policy to be reached in theſe* (*s*). In a word, the family of Dudley, in three deſcents, furniſhed men of ſuch capacities, as our Hiſtories ſcarce record the like; the grandfather, the father, and the ſon, were all great men, but the laſt the greateſt and moſt fortunate of the three, if any man can be ſo reputed whom flattery itſelf would be aſhamed to ſtile good. This Earl had by his laſt Counteſs, Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, Knight of the Garter, and widow of Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, an only ſon Robert, Baron of Denbigh, who died in his childhood, July 15, 1584, for whom an altar-monument was erected by that of his father at Warwick, with his effigies thereon, and a very pompous inſcription to his memory (*t*). As for Lettice, Counteſs of Leiceſter, ſhe ſurvived near forty-ſix years after the deceaſe of the Earl, by whom an ample

(*n*) D'Ewes's Journals of Parliament, p. 314.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. p. 583.

(*q*) Many of theſe are preſerved in the Cabala, Strype's Annals, Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa.

(*r*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 519.

(*s*) Scrinia Reclusa, p. 317.

(*t*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 450.

It was but an ill return that he made to this nobleman, if it be true as ſome have ſuggeſted, that he countenanced the ſtories told to his prejudice out of female jealouſy by his Counteſs, and thereby brought him into ſuſpicion with the Queen his miſtreſs (81), who had confided in him formerly, as much as in any man of his quality, the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf excepted, and had been ever faithfully ſerved.

(81) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

On what account this exorbitant indulgence was ſhewn to the Lord Leiceſter by the Queen, is not for us to decide, which even in thoſe days was but indifferently underſtood. However, that her Majeſty was ſuppoſed to have had thoughts of marrying him, not libels and ſecret hiſtories, but even the graveſt and moſt authentick writers affirm; and therefore we may attribute to this, the ſingular condeſcenſion of the Queen on one ſide, and the lofty behaviour of the Earl on the other. Oſborne (69), who lived near her time, and was a paſſionate admirer of this Princeſs, makes no manner of doubt of it, and having mentioned ſome of the reaſons ſaid to be uſed to give a colour to this marriage, he proceeds thus.

(69) Traditional Memoirs on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, §. 19.

'Nor could Leiceſter render his bed vacant to a more 'thriving end, as he is rumoured to have done, than 'to make room for the greateſt and moſt fortunate 'Princeſs the ſun ever looked upon without bluſhing, 'in relation to oppreſſion or blood: this may be allowed upon the ſcore of probability, that his Lordſhip would hardly have been ſo rampant and uncivil, 'without ſome extraordinary invitation, as to draw a 'blow in her preſence, from another Privy-Counſellor 'more zealous poſſibly than diſcreet; to whom, when 'the Queen ſaid, *He had forfeited his hand*, his reply 'was, *He hoped ſhe would ſuſpend that judgment, till 'the traytor had loſt his head, who did better deſerve 'it:* but this accident bordering ſo near the confines 'of her honour, did admit no further debate, it being 'no other than ſhe, in a leſs ſprightly humour might 'have given him herſelf, none being more flexible to 'all kind of jollities than the minds of Princes, when 'unbent from publick affairs.'

In all public Commiſſions, the Earl of Leiceſter's name was ſure to be inſerted, and in moſt of them he took care to act, for he was an excellent patron, and ſeldom failed any body that was attached to him; he miſſed no opportunity of gratifying himſelf and his followers, and frequently obtained grants of great value, ſuch as of timber, waſte lands, encroachments upon foreſts, and licences for importing and exporting certain goods, all of which he ſold for large ſums of money (82). He valued himſelf not a little upon the court paid him by the nobility; and ſuch as held themſelves of too high rank to make ſuch kind of ſubmiſſions, he frequently found means to reach, when they leaſt expected it. Such were his deeds at Court, in quality of the Queen's favourite and chief miniſter, which he thought title ſufficient to command obedience from men of all ranks, as appears from his behaviour to the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, as we have ſhewn in another place (83). For all this, his Lordſhip was not always a courtier, he could ſometimes act the patriot too, and that with equal life and ſpirit, as when he declared in Parliament, that a huſband ſhould be impoſed upon the Queen, or that ſhe ſhould be obliged to nominate a ſucceſſor for the ſecurity of the State (84). But it has been doubted whether he was in earneſt in that bold declaration, or whether he made it with a view to diſcover what other great peers were of this ſentiment, and then to lead them, under colour of zeal for their country, into practices which might render them obnoxious to the reſentment of the crown (85).

(82) Of theſe many inſtances might be given if we had room.

(83) See the article ANDERSON (Sir EDMOND).

(84) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 123, 124.

(85) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

[*AA*] *That were both violent and mean.*] We are informed by Camden (86), that when the Lord Paget retired beyond the ſeas, he complained that he was forced to take this ſtep for his own preſervation, becauſe, through the arts of Leiceſter and Walſingham, he found the Queen's favour entirely eſtranged from him, which might poſſibly paſs for a calumny, if ſoon after, upon his being attainted in Parliament, the Earl of Leiceſter had not procured a grant to himſelf of Paget, afterwards ſtiled Eſſex-Houſe. We are told by Sir Robert Atkyns (87), that this Earl cauſed ſome of his agents

(86) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 411.

(87) Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, p. 268.

ample proviſion was made for her, with the higheſt teſtimony of affection, in his Will, of which ſhe was appointed executrix, and that ſhe loſt no time in proving it, appears by the date, September 6, 1588, when her Lord had not been two days dead (*u*). Her Ladyſhip was likewiſe very expeditious in a third marriage with Sir Chriſtopher Blount, a gentleman who had great dependance upon her ſon the Earl of Eſſex, and whoſe tender friendſhip for him afterwards coſt him his life (*w*). It does not appear, that, during the remaining part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Counteſs-Dowager of Eſſex had any great intereſt, though her ſon ſucceeded her huſband in the Queen's favour. On the contrary we are told, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the Earl of Eſſex prevailed upon the Queen to admit the Counteſs his mother to her royal preſence, and this too after repeated diſappointments; neither could he afterwards prevail in the ſame ſuit, though he urged it with much warmth (*x*). We need not wonder therefore, that her ſollicitations could avail him little in his laſt misfortunes, though it is very certain that ſhe did for him all that was in her power. But in the reign of King James ſhe had great credit at Court, at leaſt for ſome time, as will be ſeen elſewhere. The laſt years of her life were ſpent in retirement in the country, where ſhe lived hoſpitably and charitably till her deceaſe, which happened December the 25th, 1634 (*y*). She was buried with great funeral pomp in the ſame tomb with her ſecond huſband, in the church at Warwick, and on the right hand of his monument there is a large copy of verſes, in two columns, on a tablet, to her Honour, ſubſcribed Gervaſe Clifton (*z*).

(*u*) Ex. Regiſt. vocat. Leiceſter, qu. 1, in Cur. Prerog. Cantuar.

(*w*) See the article DEVEREUX (ROBERT) Earl of Eſſex.

(*x*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 93.

(*y*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 448.

(*z*) Memoirs prefixed to Sidney Papers.

agents to apply themſelves to the Lord Berkeley, for a ſight of his family evidences, that the Earl might be the better able to ſhew his alliance to that noble houſe, ſome of which they took away, and then a title being ſet up by the Earl of Leiceſter, to part of Lord Berkeley's lands, he loſt them for want of thoſe evidences to ſupport his right. We have mentioned in another part of this work, the caſe of Mr Arden, of Park-Hall in Warwickſhire (88), who was brought to an untimely end, for deſpiſing that low method of making court to this great man, to which ſome of his neighbours condeſcended, which was by wearing his livery. Sir William Dugdale acquaints us with the injury done to one Mr Robinſon of Warwickſhire, who by ſome ſtrange methods loſt his eſtate, which was afterwards found in this great Earl's poſſeſſion (89). But in another place we are informed, that this Robinſon, was the ſon of a gentleman killed in the Queen's ſervice at Newhaven, under the Earl of Warwick, that he was bred up in Leiceſter's ſervice, in which he ſpent a great deal of money, and thereby entangled his eſtate; that upon this, ſuits grew between him and the uſurers, who at the bottom were but this Lord's inſtruments, and in an attempt of theirs to get poſſeſſion, a man was killed by Robinſon, or ſome of his party in their own defence, for which he was impriſoned, tried, and convicted, but loſt only his *eſtate* (90); which with other lands, was afterwards conveyed to the Queen in exchange, and ſo all farther diſputes prevented. But the Earl's power and influence, great as they were, met now and then with a check, and particularly in the caſe of Sir John Packington, to whom having wrote to know the titles to the Biſhop and Dean of Worceſter of certain lands, the honeſt Knight fairly ſent him word, that if he meant to make any uſe of him to the prejudice of the Church, he had miſtaken his man (91). We have carried theſe memoirs to an unuſual length, for which the nature of them muſt be our excuſe, ſince the article is certainly of great importance, and would have afforded matter for many more ſheets, if we had not ſtudied brevity, as far as was conſiſtent with perſpicuity. E

(88) See the article ARDEN (EDWARD).

(89) Warwickſhire, p. 1129.

(90) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(91) Life and Actions of Sir John Packington, MS.

DUDLEY (Sir ROBERT) as he was called here, and, as he was ſtiled abroad, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland. He was ſon of Robert Earl of Leiceſter by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, and was born at Sheen in Surrey in 1573, where, for reaſons that we have ſeen in the former article, he was very carefully concealed, as well to prevent the Queen's knowledge of the Earl's engagements with his mother, as to hide it from the Counteſs of Eſſex, to whom he was then contracted, if not married (*a*). At the time of his birth, however, and ſome time after, he was conſidered as the Earl of Leiceſter's lawful ſon by Ambroſe Earl of Warwick, and others of his neareſt relations, particularly by Sir Thomas Butler and his ſon, who, as the Earl affirms in his Will, intended to leave his ſon Robert their eſtate. When he was about five years of age, his father, the Earl of Leiceſter, married Lettice, Counteſs-Dowager of Eſſex, openly, and thereupon his ſon Robert was no longer treated as his lawful child, but as his natural iſſue by the Lady Douglas Sheffield. Out of her hands the Earl was very deſirous of getting him, in order to put him under the care of Sir Edward Horſey, Knt. Governor of the Iſle of Wight (*b*), which ſome have imagined was with a ſiniſter view, not againſt the boy, for whom Leiceſter had ever the greateſt tenderneſs, but with a thought of bringing him upon the ſtage at ſome proper time, as his natural ſon by another Lady. At that time, however, he failed of his purpoſe, but not long after it ſeems he prevailed, and got the child into his hands; he ſent him then to ſchool at Offington in Suſſex in 1583, where he was under the care of one Owen Jones, to whom, upon a certain occaſion, the Earl expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe (*c*): 'Owen, thou knoweſt that Robin my boy is my 'lawful ſon, and as I do, and have charged thee, to keep it ſecret, ſo I charge thee not 'to forget it; and therefore ſee thou be careful of him.' There he received the firſt rudiments of literature, and gave very extraordinary proofs of the wonderful pregnancy of his parts, which were not only equal, but even ſuperior to thoſe of any of his family. After remaining four years in this private ſchool, he was removed, in 1587, to the Univerſity of Oxford, and there entered of Chriſt-Church by the ſtile of *Comitis filius*, i. e. an Earl's ſon, and placed under the care of Mr Thomas Chaloner, afterwards Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Tutor to Prince Henry (*d*). In about a year after he came to the univerſity, and when he was about the age of fifteen, his father died, leaving him, after the deceaſe of

(*a*) See the article DEVEREUX (WALTER, Earl of Eſſex.

(*b*) From the depoſitions taken in the Star-Chamber.

(*c*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 223.

(*d*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 275.

of his uncle Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, his noble caſtle of Kenelworth, the lordſhips of Denbigh and Chirk, and the bulk of his eſtate, which, before he was of age, he in a great meaſure enjoyed, notwithſtanding the enmity borne him by the Counteſs-Dowager of Leiceſter. He was at this time looked upon, and very deſervedly, as one of the fineſt Gentlemen in England; in his perſon tall, well ſhaped, having a freſh and fine complexion, but red haired; learned beyond his age, more eſpecially in the Mathematicks; and very expert in his exerciſes, and particularly in riding the great horſe, in which he was allowed to excel any man of his time (*e*). With theſe accompliſhments and a great fortune, it is no wonder that he was every where well received, and particularly at Court, more eſpecially as he was of a frank and open diſpoſition, very generous and friendly, and though few were ſo well verſed in books, much addicted to an active life. His genius prompted him to great exploits, and having a particular turn to Navigation and diſcoveries, he reſolved, ſoon after he was of age, to make a voyage into the South Seas at his own expence, in hopes of acquiring as great fame thereby as the famous Thomas Cavendiſh of Trimley, Eſq; his dear and intimate acquaintance, whoſe ſiſter he married. But after a great deal of pains taken, and much money ſpent, the government would not ſuffer him to proceed, looking upon it as a dangerous voyage, in which they thought it not fit to hazard the lives of the Queen's ſubjects (*f*). Mr Dudley was not to be cured of his deſire of going to ſea, even by this diſappointment, and therefore fitted out a ſmall ſquadron for the river Oroonoque, and the coaſts adjacent, of which he took the command in perſon; he ſailed from Southampton road November 6, 1594, and returned to St Ives in Cornwall about the end of May 1595, having performed all, and indeed more, than could be expected from him, conſidering his ſmall ſtrength, taking, ſinking, and otherwiſe deſtroying, nine ſail of Spaniſh ſhips, one of which was a man of war of ſix hundred tons, which he fought board and board for two days, till he had no powder left, and ſhe afterwards ſunk at ſea (*g*). He wrote a particular account of this voyage at the requeſt of the Reverend Mr Hakluyt, which he afterwards publiſhed in his large and valuable Collection [*A*]. In the ſucceeding year he fitted out two ſhips and two pinnaces, for the South-Seas, under Capt. Benjamin Wood, at his ſole expence, and attending the Earl of Eſſex and the Lord High-Admiral of England in their glorious expedition againſt the Spaniards, he, for his gallant behaviour at the taking of Cadiz, received the honour of knighthood from the firſt of thoſe noble Peers (*h*). In the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Dudley being then a widower, married Alice, daughter to Sir Thomas Leigh (*i*), and ſettled upon her in jointure great part of his eſtate, and gaining by this marriage ſome powerful friends, he began to entertain hopes of reviving the honours of his family. He conſidered with himſelf that it was not yet too late to make proof of the legitimacy of his birth, by which he would become clearly entitled to the honour of Lord L'Iſle and Earl of Leiceſter, as heir to his father, as alſo to the earldom of Warwick, by virtue of the limitations in his uncle's patent, as alſo to the caſtle of Warwick, and ſeveral fair manors in that county and elſewhere, by force of the entail; full of theſe hopes, in the year 1605, he commenced a ſuit in the Court of Audience of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the plague being then at London, obtained a Commiſſion directed to Dr Zachary Babington, Chancellor of the dioceſe of Lichfield, to examine witneſſes on that head, which

(*e*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 225.

(*f*) So it appears from his own account of it in Hakluyt.

(*g*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 574.

(*h*) Camden Annal.

(*i*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 250.

[*A*] *In his valuable Collection.*] It was certainly a mark of true courage, as well as of publick ſpirit, that as ſoon as he became of age, and entered into the poſſeſſion of his fortune, Mr Dudley, inſtead of indulging himſelf in the pleaſures of a Court, ſhould undertake ſo long and hazardous a voyage, as even the laſt of the two was, which he projected. The ſhips that he fitted out, were the Bear, of two-hundred tons, in which he commanded himſelf; the Bear's Whelp, Captain Monk, and two Pinnaces, the one called the Friſking, and the other the Earwig. Captain Monk returned with his veſſel and two prizes, before the end of the year; of which, Mr Dudley having no knowledge, waited for him near the Azores; but hearing no news, and finding many of his men ſick, he thought it better to proceed in his undertaking, as ſoon as it was in his power to do it conveniently. Accordingly having taken two prizes, he put Captain Benjamin Wood into the one, which he called the Intent, and Captain Wentworth into the other; ſo that having now three ſail under his command, he made the beſt of his way for the iſland of Trinidad, in the Weſt-Indies. Upon his arrival there, he detached the ſhip called the Intent, and her conſort, to the Leeward-Iſlands, and with his own veſſel, laboured to make what diſcovery he could of the great Empire of Guiana; the writings and example of Sir Walter Raleigh, having been no ſmall motives to this enterprize. All the account he gives us of the countries, the rivers, and the people, as alſo of the reports that prevailed amongſt them of very rich countries that lay farther within land, agree perfectly well with the relations of that learned Knight and ſhew plainly, that he did not magnify any thing beyond the informations that he received. Mr Dudley heard, as well as he, of ſilver and gold mines, particularly, one of the latter at Wakkaru, and alſo obtained ſome ſpecimens of gold from another place. It ſeems, he was in expectation of Sir Walter's coming thither, and was in great hopes of their making very conſiderable diſcoveries together, which induced him to ſtay as long as it was ſafe for him to do, and then he returned to Europe, as is related in the text, having barely as much proviſion left as would ſerve for his voyage (1). After gaining, by this expedition, experience ſufficient to qualify him for a ſea commander; he went with the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lord High-Admiral Howard, to Cadiz, in quality of Captain of the Nonpariel (2), and in that warm ſervice, ſhewed all the courage of an adventurous young man, and all the coolneſs and conduct of an old officer, as was reported of him at his return. It is probable, that the reader will be deſirous of knowing what became of Captain Wood's enterprize in the South-Seas, whither he was ſent with a good ſhip, and a pinnace fitted out in 1595, at the expence of ſome thouſand pounds; but the misfortune is, that no information on that ſubject can be had, no news being ever heard, either of the ſhips or men (3), which was much regretted in thoſe days, becauſe Mr Benjamin Wood, was looked upon as a man of ſteady courage, great integrity, and of uncommon abilities as a ſeaman, which recommended him to the favour and friendſhip of this great genius.

(1) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. P. 575, 576, 577.

(2) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 148.

(3) Remarks on the ſeveral Attempts made to paſs the Streights of Magellan.

[*B*] *As*

which was accordingly done (*k*). But no ſooner had Lettice, Counteſs of Leiceſter, notice of theſe proceedings, than ſhe procured an information to be filed, by Sir Edward Coke, the King's Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber, againſt Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Leigh, Dr Babington, and others, for a conſpiracy; and, upon the petition of Lord Sidney, an order iſſued out of that Court for bringing in all the depoſitions that had been taken by virtue of the Archbiſhop's commiſſion, ſealing them up and depoſiting them in the Council cheſt (*l*). In order, however, to keep up ſome appearance of impartiality, Sir Robert Dudley was allowed to examine witneſſes, as to the proof of his legitimacy, in that court, which when he had done in as full a manner as in ſuch a caſe could be expected, a ſudden order was made for ſtaying all proceedings, and locking up the examinations, of which no copies were to be taken but by the King's licence (*m*). This was ſuch a blow to all the hopes of Sir Robert Dudley, and made it ſo evident that he had no favour to expect where his enemies had influence enough to preclude him from juſtice, that he reſolved to retire abroad, in hopes that time might either leſſen his misfortune, or at leaſt mitigate the ſharp ſenſe he had of it; in order to this he applied for a licence to travel for three years, which was very readily granted him, there being many who choſe to have him out of their way, and others, who bore him good will, thought that at this juncture his withdrawing for a time might be of uſe to him. But in the manner of his leaving the kingdom there was ſomething that ſhewed, he inherited ſome of the vices as well as moſt of the great qualities of his family (*n*) [*B*]. He had not been long abroad, before ſuch as meant him no good procured, notwithſtanding his licence, a privy-ſeal, commanding his return into England, being very ſenſible that he would not obey it. The pretence for this was, that he had aſſumed in foreign countries the title of Earl of Warwick, which irritated ſome at Court extreamly (*o*). It ſeems they formed a true notion of his circumſtances and diſpoſition, for Sir Robert, finding himſelf well received at the Court of Florence, reſolved to continue there notwithſtanding the letter of re-call, and this gave a handle for ſeizing his whole eſtate, which was veſted in the Crown, during his natural life, by the ſtatute of fugitives.

He

(*k*) From the proceedings in the Star-Chamber.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 224; 18 Octob. 1603.

(*m*) Proceedings in the Star-Chamber.

(*n*) See this explained in the note.

(*o*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col 127.

[*B*] *As well as moſt of the great qualities of his family.*] When Sir Robert Dudley had once ſettled his reſolution of quitting England, he reſolved to make the place of his retreat as agreeable to him as it was poſſible, and therefore prevailed upon a young lady, at that time eſteemed one of the fineſt women in England, and of a family diſtinguiſhed for their beauty, to bear him company in the habit of his page (4). This Lady was Mrs Elizabeth Southwell, the daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodriſing in the county of Norfolk (5), who, as the reader will find in the text, he afterwards eſpouſed, in virtue of a diſpenſation from the Pope; whence a certain writer, who bore him no good will, has taken occaſion to ſay, that he left England, becauſe he could not be allowed to have two wives (6); in which, there would have been more truth, if Sir Robert Dudley had married that Lady here, as it is very certain he did not. How much ſoever ſhe might be blamed in following him as ſhe did, yet her conduct afterwards was without exception, and as ſhe lived in honour and eſteem, and had all the reſpect paid her, that her title of a Ducheſs could demand; ſo it is reported, that Sir Robert never altered his affections, but to ſhew his high regard for her memory, cauſed a noble tomb to be erected to her memory in the church of St Pancratius in Florence (7), where her body lies interred, and where he deſired that he might be buried with her. As to his iſſue by this Lady, they will be taken notice of hereafter. It is very probable, that this marriage might prove a great bar to his return into England, and might be alſo a motive to the paſſing ſo extraordinary a law as that was, by which Lady Alice Dudley, was enabled to diſpoſe of her jointure during his life. But before we cloſe this note, it may not be amiſs to examine what the reaſons were, which induced the Lords in the Star-Chamber to treat Sir Robert Dudley's cauſe as they did. It ſeems that Sir William Leighton, upon whoſe advice he chiefly depended, when he found what evidence might be produced to prove the marriage of Lady Douglas Sheffield, with Robert Earl of Leiceſter, gave him advice, which though wiſe and well laid in itſelf, yet gave an opportunity to Sir Robert's enemies, to caſt out ſuch inſinuations as threw an odium upon his whole proceedings. For when the commiſſion mentioned in the text was brought down, and a Notary came afterwards to ſpeed it, Sir William reſolved to commence a ſuit in the courts at Lichfield, in the name of Sir Robert Dudley, in which one John Buſhell was raiſed up as the adverſary upon a charge, that he ſhould have called Sir Robert, a Baſtard three years before; upon this, one Goffe cites him to the court, in *cauſa probri & convitii*, and Goffe earneſtly preſt him to appear thereto. It was never intended by this ſuit to puniſh Buſhell, but only to prove the marriage and legitimation. Buſhell appeared, and made ſuch anſwer as ſuited beſt for their purpoſe. The thirty-ſix articles were exhibited, thirty whereof tended to prove the marriage and legitimation, and ſome of the reſt the defamation. And Dr Babington, then ſitting in judgment in the court, and knowing the matter to be there proſecuted, unduly, againſt a raiſed adverſary, upon colour of defamation, admitted a very unlawful proſecution of the libel, and ordered the defendant to make preſent anſwer, and then Frodſham, Saliſbury, and Jones, were again examined as witneſſes. And after their examinations, carried back to Clarges, Goffe, and Leigh's houſes, and had diet and apparel given them by directions of Sir Robert Dudley, and Sir William Leighton. For theſe offences and undue proceedings, which tended to call in queſtion the Lord of Leiceſter, and his then Lady's marriage, and her jointure, and the eſtates of many of the King's ſubjects, they were all committed; Sir William Leighton fined three-hundred pounds, Babington, one-hundred marks, Goffe, forty pounds, Saliſbury, and Frodſham, one-hundred pounds a piece, and Jones, forty pounds. All the examinations and depoſitions taken in the Court of Audience by the Commiſſioners, and at Lichfield, ſuppreſſed and damned. The examinations and depoſitions in the Court, that concern the marriage between the Earl of Leiceſter, and the Lady Douglas Sheffield, to be ſealed up by the Clerk of the Court, and never to be ſeen or publiſhed; Jones, Saliſbury, and Frodſham, to be ever after held ſuſpected in their teſtimonies touching the marriage and legitimation of Sir Robert Dudley, and the reſt were acquitted (8). But this ſentence takes no notice of the depoſitions of Lady Douglas, Sir Robert Dudley's mother; of Lady Parker, and many other perſons, who depoſed to his legitimacy; and yet this gave a colour for ſealing and locking theſe up, which was what the friends of Lettice Counteſs of Leiceſter ſought, and ſhews how dangerous a thing it was to leave matters of ſo high a nature to be determined in that Court, without the aſſiſtance of a jury, and without appeal (9). An inconvenience, which by degrees was ſo much felt, and ſo generally underſtood, that it was by Act of Parliament diſſolved, at the common prayer of the whole nation.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 225.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

(6) Engliſh Spaniſh Pilgrim. 4*to*, 1630, p. 64.

(7) So his ſon Charles D. of N. informed Anthony Wood.

(8) E Regiſt. Cammer. Stellat. Paſch. A. iii. Jac. fol. 107.

(9) Compare this with the patent to Ducheſs Dudley.

He left behind him Lady Alice Dudley his wife, and four daughters, for whom ſufficient proviſion was made. In this ſituation things continued for ſome years, till ſome perſons about Henry Prince of Wales ſuggeſted to him, that Kenelworth Caſtle was one of the fineſt and moſt magnificent places in the inland parts of the kingdom, and very fit for his Royal Highneſs's reſidence, upon which ſome overtures were made to Sir Robert Dudley abroad, as well as to Lady Alice at home, the Prince deſiring to have it by way of purchaſe. Theſe propoſals were very readily accepted, on account, as it is ſaid, of ſome promiſes that were made of having regard to his claims when a proper opportunity offered (*p*). In the mean time a commiſſion iſſued for enquiring into the value of this eſtate, and the return thereto being very curious, the reader will find it in the notes [*C*]. The treaty beforementioned came at laſt to a concluſion, and deeds were executed bearing date November 21, 1611, by which, in conſideration of fourteen thouſand five hundred pounds, to be paid in one year to the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley or his aſſigns, the ſaid caſtle of Kenelworth, together with the manor and lands bearing the ſame name, the manors of Rudſen, Balſhall, and Long Itchington, were ſettled upon the ſaid Prince and his heirs, with condition that Sir Robert ſhould hold the Conſtableſhip of the ſaid caſtle for the term of his natural life, by patent from his Royal Highneſs: of this purchaſe-money, which was but a very inconſiderable ſum in compariſon of the value of the eſtate, but three thouſand pounds was ever paid, and that to a Merchant who broke ſoon after, not one penny coming to the hands of Sir Robert Dudley (*q*). Prince Henry likewiſe dying, his title to the caſtle and lands deſcended to his brother Charles Prince of Wales, who, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King James I, procured an Act of Parliament to enable Alice Lady Dudley, who had a jointure therein, to alienate it, notwithſtanding her coverture, in conſideration of the ſum of four thouſand pounds, to be paid her out of the Exchequer, and a yearly penſion (*r*); which ſaid ſum was accordingly paid, as the penſion likewiſe was for ſome time, but grew afterwards into arrear, through the diſtreſs of that Prince's affairs after he came to the throne (*s*). But though Sir Robert Dudley lived in exile, and without receiving any conſiderable ſupplies from England, he ſtill cheriſhed ſome hope of his return; to facilitate which, and to ingratiate himſelf with King James, he drew up a ſcheme for improving the royal revenue (*t*), which ſcheme falling into the hands of ſome perſons of great diſtinction, and being by them made publick, this was conſidered as a thing of a pernicious nature, for which they were impriſoned, but upon a diſcovery of the true author, they were ſhortly after releaſed [*D*]. The place which Sir Robert Dudley choſe

(*p*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 224.

(*q*) See the preamble to Ducheſs Dudley's patent.

(*r*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 251.

(*s*) So acknowledged in the preamble.

(*t*) Hamond L'Eſtrange's Life and Reign of King Charles I. p. 111.

[*C*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] The credit of this paper, will ſufficiently appear from the ſubject of it, and the facts that are contained therein; all that is farther requiſite, is to acquaint the reader, that the original is ſtill preſerved in that great treaſury of Britiſh Antiquities, the Cotton Library.

The Caſtle of KENILWORTH, ſituate upon a rock.

The circuit thereof, within the walls, containeth ſeven acres, upon which the walks are ſo ſpacious and fair, that two or three perſons together may walk upon moſt places thereof.

The caſtle, with the four gate-houſes, all built of free-ſtone hewn and cut, the walls in many places, of fifteen and ten foot thickneſs, ſome more, ſome leſs, the leaſt four foot in thickneſs ſquare.

The caſtle and four gate-houſes, all covered with lead, whereby it is ſubject to no other decay than the glaſs, through the extremity of the weather.

The rooms of great ſtate within the ſame, and ſuch as are able to receive his Majeſty, the Queen, and Prince at one time, built with as much uniformity and conveniency, as any houſes of later time, and with ſuch ſtately cellars, all carried upon pillars and architecture of free-ſtone, carved and wrought, as the like are not within this kingdom, and alſo all other houſes for offices anſwerable.

There lyeth about the ſame in chaſes and parks, twelve hundred pounds *per annum*, nine hundred pounds whereof are grounds for pleaſure, the reſt in meadow and paſture thereto adjoining tenants and freeholders.

There joyneth upon this ground, a park-like ground, called the King's Wood, with fifteen coppices lying all together, containing ſeven-hundred eighty-nine acres within the ſame, which in the Earl of Leiceſter's time were ſtored with red deer, ſince which, the deer ſtrayed, but the ground in no ſort blemiſhed, having great ſtore of timber, and other trees of much value upon the ſame.

There runneth through the ſaid grounds, by the walls of the caſtle, a fair pool, containing one-hundred and eleven acres well ſtored with fiſh and fowl, which at pleaſure is to be let round about the caſtle.

In timber and woods upon this ground, to the value as hath been offered, of twenty thouſand pounds, having a convenient time to remove them, which to his Majeſty, in the ſurvey, are but valued at eleven-thouſand ſeven-hundred twenty-two pounds, which proportion, in a like meaſure, is held in all the reſt upon the other values to his Majeſty.

The circuit of the caſtle, manors, parks, and chaſes lying round together, contain at leaſt, nineteen or twenty miles in a pleaſant country, the like both for ſtrength, ſtate, and pleaſure, not being within the realm of England.

Theſe lands have been ſurvey'd by Commiſſioners from the King and the Lord Privy-Seal, with directions from his Lordſhip, to find all things under the true worth; and upon oath of jurors, as well freeholders as cuſtomary tenants, which courſe being held by them, are notwithſtanding ſurveyed and returned at thirty-eight-thouſand five-hundred fifty-four pounds and fifteen ſhillings; out of which, for Sir Robert Dudley's contempt, there is to be deducted ten-thouſand pounds; and for the Lady Dudley's jointure, which is without impeachment of waſte, whereby ſhe may fell all the woods, which by the ſurvey, amount unto eleven-thouſand ſeven-hundred twenty-two pounds.

		l.	*s.*
The total of the ſurvey ariſeth as followeth.	In land	16431	9
	In Woods	11722	2
	The Caſtle	10401	4

His Majeſty hath herein, the mean profits of the caſtle and premiſſes, through Sir Robert Dudley's contempt, during his life, or his Majeſty's pardon, the reverſion in fee, being in the Lord Privy-Seal.

[*D*] *They were ſhortly after releaſed.*] I have taken notice of this matter altogether, though there was fourteen years difference between the framing of of this propoſal of Sir Robert Dudley's, and the commitment of the noble perſons who publiſhed it. It was written about the year 1613, and ſent to King James, being

choſe for his retreat, upon his leaving his native country, was Florence, where he was very kindly received by Coſmo II, Great Duke of Tuſcany, and, in proceſs of time, was made Great Chamberlain to his Serene Highneſs's Conſort, the Arch-Ducheſs Magdalen of Auſtria, ſiſter to the Emperor Ferdinand II, with whom he was a great favourite (*u*). He diſcovered in that Court thoſe great abilities for which he had been ſo much admired in England, contrived ſeveral methods of improving ſhipping, introduced new manufactures, excited the Merchants to extend their foreign commerce, and by other ſervices of ſtill greater importance, obtained ſo high a reputation, that, at the deſire of the Archducheſs, the Emperor Ferdinand beforementioned, by his letters-patents, dated at Vienna, March the 9th, 1620, created him a Duke of the Holy Roman Empire (*w*), upon which he aſſumed his grand-father's title of Northumberland, and ten years after got himſelf enrolled by Pope Urban VIII, amongſt the Roman nobility (*x*). Under the reign of the Grand Duke Ferdinand II, he became ſtill more famous, on account of that great project which he formed, of draining a vaſt tract of moraſs between Piſa and the ſea, and raiſing Livorno, or Leghorn, which was then, though an ancient, yet a mean and pitiful place, into a large and beautiful town, improving the haven by a mole, which rendered it both ſafe and commodious; and having engaged his Serene Highneſs to declare it *ſcala franca*, or a free port, he, by his influence and correſpondencies, drew many Engliſh merchants to ſettle and ſet up houſes there (*y*), which was a thing of great importance to our Italian trade, and, conſidered in that light, was of very great ſervice to his native country. It was not only in the Courts of Princes, that Sir Robert Dudley, by a happy application of his great talents, made himſelf admired, but alſo among the learned, to whom he was a generous patron and conſtant friend, and at the ſame time held a very high place himſelf in the republick of letters, as well on account of his ſkill in Philoſophy, Chemiſtry, and Phyſick, as his perfect acquaintance with all the branches of the Mathematicks, and the means of applying them for the ſervice and benefit of mankind; of all which, he has left abundant evidence in his excellent writings (*z*) [*E*]. In gratitude to his merit, and for

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, Surrey, p. 84.

(*w*) So recited in the preamble of the Ducheſs's patent.

(*x*) Il Ceremoniale del Rome, Anno 1630.

(*y*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(*z*) See this explained in the notes.

being in all reſpects, as ſingular and as dangerous a paper as ever fell from the pen of man, for which reaſon, I ſhall not tranſcribe any part of it here, but refer the reader in the margin, to the paper itſelf (10), which Wood ſuppoſes to have remained a manuſcript; and which, conſidering the miſchief it has done, one would have wiſhed might have been the caſe. His great-grandfather's book, was a very unlucky precedent, and this, which I take to have been a copy of it (11), ſuited to the times, was a paper to the full as unlucky; for though neither King James I, nor King Charles I, or their Miniſters, made uſe of it, or intended to make uſe of it, yet it was turned to their prejudice, and the people were excited to abhor Stateſmen, as the author of this project, who might very probably abhor it as much as they. I will give the hiſtory of it from a very able and authentick writer, the brother of that learned and worthy gentleman (12), who detected the real author of it, when it was firſt made the ſubject of public clamour. His words are theſe. 'It is not unworthy 'the notice, by what artifices they, that is the patriots 'in 1628, did really endeavour to make the King 'odious to his ſubjects, of which I ſhall only touch 'upon one grand impoſture fobbed about by many 'of theſe chief ring-leading members. And this was 'of a paper by them carefully and plentifully ſpread 'abroad, to diſcover the impertinence of Parliaments, 'and how by the ſubjects purſes, to keep the nation in 'a good defence againſt the King's enemies. And 'this was ſuggeſted, that the King had not only 'ſuch a deſign on foot, but by him, or his means, this 'plot firſt took birth; whereas it was diſcovered by 'Sir David Foulis, one not ignorant of ſtate-affairs, 'being thereunto ſeveral times employed by King 'James of bleſſed memory, that this paper was contrived 'ſeveral years before, *viz.* about 1613, by Sir Robert 'Dudley, then living at Florence, under the title of Duke 'of Northumberland. By which means, it ſeems 'ſome men would not leave any ſtone unturned, rather 'than fail of their intended ends; nor can I quit him 'from the ſame ignorance and malice, who long after-'wards publiſhed it under the name of, "Strafford's "Plot diſcovered, *&c.*" endeavouring thereby to 'make him odious to the ſimple people, as if he had 'been the compoſer of it, and this only, becauſe a 'copy of it was found in his ſtudy.'

(10) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. in the Appendix, p. 12.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

(12) Foulis's Hiſt. of Plots, B. i. p. 68.

In order to render theſe facts completely clear, we muſt not omit telling the reader who the perſons were, that Whitlocke, ſays, were committed for the firſt offence (13), and againſt whom another writer aſſerts, that informations were filed by Sir Robert Heath, then Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber (14), *viz.* the Earls of Bedford, Somerſet, and Clare; Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet; John Selden, and Oliver St John, Eſquires; it will be likewiſe proper to mention, that the contrivance of faſtening it upon the Earl of Strafford, was immediately after his deceaſe, as appears from the title of the treatiſe expreſſed more at large; it ran thus, 'Strafford's Plot diſcovered, and 'the Parliament vindicated in their Juſtice executed 'upon him by the late diſcovery of certain propoſitions 'delivered to his Majeſty by the Earl of Strafford a 'little before his tryal; with this inſcription, Propo-'ſitions for the bridling of Parliaments, and for the 'increaſing of his Majeſty's revenue, *&c.*'

(13) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 14.

(14) Advertiſements on Mr Saunderſon's Hiſt. of King Charles I, p. 94.

[*E*] *Abundant evidence in his excellent writings.*] We have already ſpoken of the account of his voyage to the iſland of Trinidad, and the mouth of the river Oroonoque, to one of the iſlands in which it is ſaid he gave his own name. We have alſo ſpoken of the propoſition made by him in reſpect to Parliaments, and the increaſe of the revenue, either of which might ſufficiently prove him a man of quick parts and ſolid abilities; but the work by which he is chiefly known to the learned world, and which in truth is moſt worthy of his general learning and great compaſs of knowledge, is that which follows, *viz.*

Del Arcano del Mare, &c. *Firenze*, 1630, 1646, in two volumes in folio. This work has been always ſo ſcarce, as ſeldom to have found a place even in the catalogues that have been publiſhed of rare books. It is full of ſchemes, charts, plans, and other marks of it's author's mathematical learning, but is chiefly valuable on the ſcore of the projects that are contained therein, for the improvement of navigation and the extending of commerce. If we conſider what has been ſince done, the work will appear leſs valuable; but capable judges will allow for the time in which it was wrote, and in that point of view it will appear truly admirable, as the author hints at many things that were in thoſe days totally unknown, and of which, notwithſtanding, he appears to have judged very right. There are alſo many things that have not as yet been executed, which might turn to the advantage of any maritime power that would be at the expence to proſecute his deſigns. In ſhort, it is a ſingular treaſury of curious and important ſchemes, which manifeſtly prove the author's high capacity for the advancement of uſeful knowledge, no man having ever had a ſtronger propenſity to reduce ſpeculations to practice than he, and the ſucceſs that attended his labours in this reſpect, ought to derive an extraordinary degree

for the ſupport of his dignity, the Grand Duke beſtowed upon him a penſion of two thouſand ſequins *per annum*; which, however, went but a little way in his expences, for he affected magnificence in all things, built a noble palace for himſelf and his family at Florence (*a*), and much adorned the caſtle of Carbello, three miles from that capital, which the Grand Duke gave him for a country retreat, and where he breathed his laſt, in the month of September, 1649 (*b*), in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age; leaving behind him, by Elizabeth his Ducheſs, to whom, by the Pope's diſpenſation he was married, a very numerous poſterity, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*F*]. As for Alice, Lady Dudley, his ſecond wife, whom he left in England; ſhe, by the aſſiſtance of her friends and relations, ſecured to herſelf, and her daughters, the remains of that great fortune, which devolved to him in conſequence of the Earl of Leiceſter's will, and other conveyances; and being herſelf a Lady of great parts, as well as diſtinguiſhed piety, ſhe had a great ſhare in the favour of King Charles I, inſomuch, that upon her humble application to him at Oxford, ſetting forth the ſituation and ſtate of her huſband abroad, and the great loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained by reſigning her jointure, upon expectancies which had been very indifferently fulfilled; that Prince was graciouſly pleaſed, by letters patents under the Great Seal of England, to give her the rank, ſtile, and title of a Ducheſs (*c*), during the term of her natural life; as alſo, the like privileges and precedences to her daughters, as if they had been Duke's daughters, with other ſignal teſtimonies of his gracious condeſcenſion and eſteem. The preamble of this patent, as it is in itſelf a thing very extraordinary, and contains many points of hiſtory relative to this family, under the ſanction of ſo high an authority, is placed at the bottom of the page [*G*]. This prudent and pious Lady

(*a*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(*b*) As appears from his ſon's letter.

(*c*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 225.

degree of credit, to whatever he ſuggeſts as practicable; though beyond all doubt, ſomething of the like genius muſt be required, in ſuch as attempt to make uſe of any of his projects, which are delivered in a manner not very intelligible to vulgar underſtandings.

We are told by Mr Wood (15), that our author wrote a phyſical treatiſe, entitled Catholicon, which was well eſteemed by the Faculty, but as he had never ſeen it, he could ſay no more of it, and the very ſame reaſon muſt excuſe us. He was the the author of a very famous powder, called *Pulvis Comitis Warwicenſis*, or, *the Earl of* Warwick's *Powder*, which ſhews that Dr Heylin was miſtaken in affirming, that he never took that title (16), by which however it is certain he was known in Italy, before the Emperor created him a Duke. This celebrated powder is thus made, *Take of Scammony, prepared with the fumes of Sulphur, two ounces; of diaphoretic Antimony, an ounce; of the Cryſtals of Tartar, half an ounce; make them all together into a powder.* It is directed to be made different ways, both by Schroder and Zwelfer, but this is much the readieſt, and what the ſhops are now accuſtomed to uſe; it was not at firſt received by the College, but is now become common in extemporaneous preſcriptions, eſpecially as a purge for children, to whom it is convenient to give, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of the quantity requiſite for a doſe; it is a ſmart purge, and frequently given to children againſt worms, from five to fifteen grains; and to grown perſons, from fifteen grains to half a dram. Dr Marcus Cornachinus (17) varied this medicine a little in the proportions of the ingredients, and then publiſhed a treatiſe upon it, in which he recommended it as a kind of univerſal remedy; but notwithſtanding all his pains, the original receipt has been preferred. It may not perhaps be amiſs to add, ſince we are ſpeaking of his inventions, that he is believed to have been the firſt perſon who broke ſetting-dogs (18). One might inſiſt upon many other particulars, if the nature of this collection did not reſtrain us.

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(16) Advertiſements on Saunderſon's Hiſt. of Charles I, p. 94.

(17) He dedicated his treatiſe with very high complements to our author.

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

[*F*] *In the notes.*] This Duke of Northumberland, as he was ſtiled in Italy, had by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, a ſon, Charles, who aſſumed the title of Earl of Warwick (19), and four daughters, all honourably married in that country, *viz.* the eldeſt to the Prince of Piombino, of the Houſe of Arragona Appiano; the ſecond to the Marquis of Clivola, of the Houſe of Maleſpina; the third to the Duke of Caſtillion del Lago, of the Houſe of La Cloregnia; and the fourth to the Earl of Carpegna, brother to the Cardinal of that name. Charles, titular Duke of Northumberland, married in France, Mary Magdalen Gouffier, a relation of the Duke of Rohanet, by whom he had ſeveral children; the eldeſt, Robert, ſtiled Earl of Warwick, was page to the Elector of Bavaria; another ſon, was an eccleſiaſtick in France (20); one of his daughters, who was of the Bed-Chamber to the Ducheſs of Savoy, married for her ſecond huſband, the Marquis Palliotti, of Bologna, by whom ſhe had a daughter, whoſe name was Adelhida (21), married to Charles, Duke of Shrewſbury, who died not many years ago, and a ſon who died likewiſe in England, in a manner ſuitable to his crime, but unworthy of his birth (22). Theſe are indeed but very imperfect notices of the deſcents in this noble line, but they are the beſt that we have been able to obtain, and will ſerve to inform the reader of the ſtrange viciſſitudes that have happened to this great family, of which, for any thing that we know, there remains not any heir male, that is to ſay, deſcending from Edmund Dudley, father to the Duke of Northumberland; for as to the ancient houſe of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, though the eldeſt branch of it be likewiſe extinct as to heirs male, yet many of the younger branches ſtill flouriſh, by the ſirname of Dudley, for Edmund Sutton, Lord Dudley, who was brother to John Dudley, had by his ſecond wife, the widow of Sir Thomas Harrington, a ſon Thomas, who left behind him three ſons, and as many daughters; and Richard Dudley, the eldeſt of theſe, left likewiſe a numerous poſterity (23); Sir William Dudley, of Clapton in Northamptonſhire, is from the ſame ſtock, deriving himſelf from Sir John Sutton (24), the firſt Baron of Dudley of that name.

(19) So Mr Wood was informed by his ſon.

(20) Sir Philip Skippon's Travels, p. 673.

(21) Collins's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 66.

(22) Life of Marquis Palliotti.

(23) Baronagium Angliæ. MS. fol. 21.

(24) Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 124.

[*G*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The following copy of the preamble to the Letters-Patent, by which Alice, Lady Dudley, was created a Ducheſs, was tranſcribed from the original, in 1670, then in the hands of Lady Katherine Leveſon, and collated and compared by Sir William Dugdale, Garter King at Arms; ſo that it affords the moſt authentick evidence, as well as a larger account of the principal circumſtances that are briefly mentioned in the text (25).

(25) Pat. Car. I. 20. M. ii. 23.

'Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, 'Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the 'Faith, &c. To all Archbiſhops, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, Biſhops, Barons, Knights, and 'all other our loving ſubjects, to whom theſe our 'letters ſhall come, greeting. Whereas, in or about 'the beginning of the reign of our dear father, King 'James of famous memory, there was a ſuit commenced in our High-Court of Star-Chamber, againſt 'Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, and others, for pretending himſelf to be lawful heir to the honours and lands 'of the Earldoms of Warwick and Leiceſter, as ſon 'and heir of the body of Robert, late Earl of Leiceſter, lawfully begotten upon the Lady Douglas, 'his mother, wife to the ſaid late Earl of Leiceſter, 'and all proceedings ſtayed in the Eccleſiaſtical-Courts, 'in which the ſaid ſuit depended for proof of his legitimation. Yet nevertheleſs, did the ſaid Court 'vouchſafe liberty to the ſaid Sir Robert, to examine 'witneſſes in the ſaid Court of Star-Chamber, in order 'to the making good of his legitimacy, and divers witneſſes were examined there accordingly. Whereupon,

Lady Alice Ducheſs Dudley lived after this honour was conferred upon her many years, admired for her many amiable qualities, and very juſtly revered for that ſingular zeal which ſhe expreſſed in doing good, a diſpoſition, which, by extraordinary care in their education, as well as by the force of her own excellent example, ſhe ſo infuſed into her five daughters, that, if all their works of piety and bounty were collected together, and properly ſet forth, they would make a very conſiderable volume, independent of any panegyrick they might be thought to deſerve; which is a reaſon ſufficient, that, excepting a ſingle inſtance, we ſhall not mention thoſe prodigious works of charity in this article, but content ourſelves with referring the reader to authors that will in ſome meaſure ſatisfy his curioſity *(d)*. Of theſe daughters, Lady Alezia Dudley dying a maiden, bequeathed her fortune of three thouſand pounds to be diſpoſed of to charitable uſes, at the diſcretion of her mother who ſurvived her, which Will of her's was punctually fulfilled, and many feel the effects of it at this day *(e)*. Lady Douglas Dudley died alſo a maid. Lady Katherine Dudley eſpouſed Sir Richard Leveſon, Knight of the Bath. Lady Frances Dudley was the wife of Sir Gilbert Kniveton, Knight; and Lady Anne Dudley married Robert Holborn, Eſq; afterwards Sir Robert Holborn, Knt. and Sollicitor-General to King Charles I *(f)*. Alice, Ducheſs Duddeley, as ſhe herſelf ſpells it, departed this life January 22, 1668-9, in the ninetieth year of her age, and lies buried in the church of Stoneley

(d) Narrative of the Life and Death of Alice Ducheſs Dudley, prefixed to her Funeral Sermon. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, and Baronettage.

(e) In the augmentation of ſmall vicarages.

(f) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 225.

'upon, by full teſtimony upon oath, partly made by 'the ſaid Lady Douglas herſelf, and partly by di-'vers other perſons of quality and credit, who were 'preſent at the marriage with the ſaid late Earl of 'Leiceſter, by a lawful miniſter, according to the 'form of matrimony then by law eſtabliſhed in the 'Church of England, and the ſaid Sir Robert and his 'mother, owned by the ſaid late Earl of Leiceſter, as 'his lawful wife and ſon, as by many of the ſaid depo-'ſitions remaining upon record in our ſaid Court, ſtill 'appear, which we have cauſed to be peruſed for our 'better ſatisfaction herein. But a ſpecial order being 'made, that the ſaid depoſitions ſhould be ſealed up, 'and no copies thereof taken, without leave, did 'cauſe him the ſaid Sir Robert, to leave this our king-'dom. Whereof his adverſaries taking advantage, 'procured a ſpecial Privy-Seal to be ſent unto him, 'commanding his return into England. Which he not 'obeying, becauſe his honour and lands were denied 'unto him, all his lands were therefore ſeized on to 'the King our father's uſe. And not long afterwards, 'Prince Henry, our dear brother deceaſed, made 'overture to the ſaid Sir Robert, by ſpecial inſtru-'ments, to obtain his title by purchaſe of and in 'Kenilworth Caſtle in our county of Warwick, and 'his manors, parks, and chaſes, belonging to the 'ſame, which upon a great under-value amounted 'as we are credibly informed, to about fifty-thouſand 'pounds, but were bought by the ſaid Prince our bro-'ther in conſideration of fourteen-thouſand five-hun-'dred pounds; and upon his faithful engagement, and 'promiſe of his princely favour unto the ſaid Sir Ro-'bert, in the ſaid cauſe, to reſtore him both in ho-'nours and fortunes. And thereupon, certain deeds 'were ſealed in the ninth year of the reign of 'our ſaid father, and fines alſo then were levyed, ſet-'tling the inheritance thereof, in the ſaid Prince our 'brother, and his heirs. But the ſaid Prince our bro-'ther departing this life, there was not above three 'thouſand pounds, of the ſaid ſum of fourteen-thou-'ſand five-hundred pounds ever paid, if any at all, 'to the ſaid Sir Robert's hands; and we ourſelves, as 'heir to the ſaid Prince our brother, came to the poſ-'ſeſſion thereof. And it appearing to our ſaid Coun-'cil, that the ſaid Alice, Lady Dudley, wife of the 'ſaid Sir Robert, had an eſtate of inheritance of and 'in the ſame, deſcendable unto her poſterity, in the 'nineteenth year of our ſaid dear father's reign, an 'Act of Parliament was paſſed, to enable the ſaid 'Lady Alice, wife to the ſaid Sir Robert, to aliene 'her eſtate which ſhe had by the ſaid Sir Robert there-'in, from her children by the ſaid Sir Robert, as 'if ſhe had been a feme-ſole, which accordingly ſhe 'did, in the nineteenth year of our ſaid father's reign, 'in conſideration of four-thouſand pounds, and further 'payments yearly to be made by us to her, out of 'our Exchequer, and out of the ſaid caſtle and lands, 'which have not been accordingly paid unto her by us 'for many years, to the damage of the ſaid Lady 'Alice and her children, to a very great value. Which 'Sir Robert, ſettling himſelf in Italy, within the ter-'ritories of the Great Duke of Tuſcany, from whom 'he had extraordinary eſteem, he was ſo much fa-'voured by the Emperor Ferdinand the ſecond, as 'that being a perſon not only eminent for his great 'learning and blood, but for ſundry rare endowments, 'as was well known, he had, by letters-patents from 'his Imperial Majeſty, the title of Duke given unto 'him, to be uſed by himſelf and his heirs for ever, 'throughout all the dominions of the ſacred Empire. 'Which letters-patents have been peruſed by our late 'Earl Marſhal and Heralds. And whereas our dear 'father not knowing the truth of the lawful birth of 'the ſaid Sir Robert, as we piouſly believe, granted 'away the titles of the ſaid Earldoms to others, which 'we now hold not fit to call in queſtion, nor ravel into 'our deceaſed father's actions, eſpecially they having 'been ſo long enjoyed by thoſe families, to whom the 'ſaid honours were granted, which we do not intend 'to alter; and yet, as we having a very deep ſenſe of 'the great injuries done to the ſaid Sir Robert Dud-'ley, and the Lady Alice Dudley, and their children; 'and that we are of opinion, that, in juſtice and equity, 'the poſſeſſion ſo taken from them, do rightly belong 'unto them, or full ſatisfaction for the ſame And 'holding ourſelves in honour and conſcience obliged 'to make them reparation now, as far as our preſent 'ability will enable us. And alſo, taking into our 'conſideration, the ſaid great eſtate, which ſhe the 'ſaid Lady Alice Dudley had in Kenilworth, and ſold 'at our deſire to us, and at a very great under value, 'and yet not performed, or ſatisfied, to many thou-'ſand pounds damage. And we alſo caſting our 'princely eye upon the faithful ſervice done unto us, 'by Sir Richard Leveſon, Knight of the Bath, who 'hath married the Lady Catherine, one of the daugh-'thers of the ſaid Duke, by his ſaid wife, by the ſaid 'Lady Alice Dudley; and alſo, the great ſervices 'which Robert Holbourne, Eſq; hath done to us by 'his learned pen, and otherwiſe; which ſaid Robert 'Holbourne hath married the Lady Anne, one other of 'the daughters of the ſaid Duke, by his ſaid wife, 'the Lady Alice Dudley: We have conceived our 'ſelves bound in honour and conſcience, to give the 'ſaid Lady Alice, and her children, ſuch honour and 'precedencies as is or are due to them in marriage or 'blood. And therefore, we do not only give and 'grant unto the ſaid Lady Alice Dudley, the title of 'Ducheſs Dudley for her life in England, and other 'our realms and dominions, with ſuch precedencies as 'ſhe might have had, if ſhe had lived in the dominions 'of the ſacred Empire, as a mark of our favour unto 'her, and out of our prerogative royal, which we will 'not have drawn into diſpute. But we do alſo far-'ther grant unto the ſaid Lady Katherine and Lady 'Anne, her daughters, the places, titles, and prece-'dencies of the ſaid Duke's daughters, as from the 'time of their ſaid father's creation, during their re-'ſpective lives, not only in England, but in all other 'our kingdoms and dominions, as a teſtimony of our 'princely favour and grace unto them, conceiving our-'ſelves obliged to do much more for them, if it were 'in our power, in theſe unhappy times of diſtrac-'tion, &c.'

Stoneley in Warwickſhire, where a noble monument is erected to her memory (g) [H], yet the effects of her wiſdom, piety, and charity, have eſtabliſhed one more laſting and better. Her only child that ſurvived her was Lady Katherine Leveſon, relict of Sir Richard Leveſon, who died in the month of February 1673, at Trentham in the county of Salop, and was buried in the pariſh-church of Lilſhull (b); of whoſe extenſive charities ſome notice muſt neceſſarily be taken at the bottom of the page [I], becauſe it will ſerve to

(g) Memorials and Characters of eminent Perſons, in the Appendix, No. xxx.

(b) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 228.

[H] *To her memory.*] This ſtately monument at Stonely, ſtanding on the north ſide of the chapel, was built by Alice, Ducheſs Dudley herſelf, in her life-time, with one below it, for her daughter Lady Alezia, who died May 23, 1621 (26). It may not be amiſs in this note, to give ſome account of the Ducheſs's deſcent; her grandfather was Sir Thomas Leigh, Knt. Lord-Mayor of London, at the time of Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, who married Alice Barker, the neice of Sir Rowland Hill, a very rich merchant, who left her the greateſt part of her fortune; their eldeſt ſon Sir Rowland Leigh, ſettled at Longborough in Glouceſterſhire, and inherited a great fortune from his godfather (27). Thomas, the ſecond ſon, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and created Baronet by King James, he eſpouſed Catherine, daughter to Sir John Spencer, of Wormleighton, Knt, anceſtor to the Earls of Sunderland, and to his preſent Grace of Marlborough (28). Alice, Ducheſs Dudley, was the third daughter of this marriage; and her nephew Sir Thomas Leigh, for his ſteady adherence to King Charles I, in all his troubles, was created a peer of England, by the ſtile and title of Baron Leigh of Stonely in the county of Warwick (29), which honours are ſtill enjoyed by his deſcendant, and it may, without ſuſpicion of flattery, be ſaid, that the virtues of this noble family, their piety, probity, and charity, have conſtantly accompanied the title.

(26) Taken from the monumental inſcription in Stonely church.

(27) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 463.

(28) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 216.

(29) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 465.

[I] *At the bottom of the page.*] What we have to deliver in this note, may be fully and at the ſame time ſuccinctly ſet forth from the caſe of this Lady, with reſpect to the manor of Balſhall in Warwickſhire, which belonging formerly to the Knights Templars, was aſſigned by King Henry VIII, for the dowry of Katherine his laſt Queen, and the reverſion granted by his ſon Edward VI, to his uncle the Lord-Protector Somerſet; upon his attainder, the inheritance was granted by the Crown, to John, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, and upon his attainder, Queen Mary gave it to Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, but afterwards propoſing to revive the order of the Knights of St John of Jeruſalem, that Lord reconveyed this manor to the Crown, which put it in the power of Queen Elizabeth to grant it, as ſhe did, by letters-patent to Sir Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter and his heirs (30); who by his deed, dated in the twenty-firſt year of the ſame Queen's reign, ſettled this manor and Itchington after his deceaſe, upon Ambroſe Dudley his brother, then Earl of Warwick, and the iſſue of his body, and for want of ſuch iſſue, upon the Lady Mary Sidney, daughter to John, Duke of Northumberland, ſiſter to both the aforeſaid Earls, and wife to Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Preſident of Wales, for her life, and after her deceaſe, upon Sir Philip Sidney her firſt ſon, and the iſſue male of his body; and for want of ſuch, upon Sir Robert Sidney, ſecond ſon to the ſaid Lady Mary. and his iſſue male (31). From this entail, Robert Sidney, Earl of Leiceſter, made his claim, he being ſon to Sir Robert Sidney, whoſe elder brother Sir Philip, died without iſſue, and after the death of Ambroſe Dudley, Earl of Warwick, without iſſue, he got into preſent poſſeſſion of all the great eſtate of Robert Dudley, the old Earl of Leiceſter, except only what his Counteſs Dowager had for her jointure, of which Balſhal and Itchington were part; and ſhe favouring his title, granted him a leaſe of both during her life, and, he, held both after her deceaſe, by virtue of his pretended title, by the ſaid entail; during which he cut all the timber of Balſhall heath and the demeſnes, to the value of many thouſand pounds. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, revoked this deed of entail; and by his laſt will and teſtament, dated at Middleburgh in Zealand, the firſt of Auguſt, 1587, the year before he died, he gave this eſtate to Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick for life, and the inheritance to Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, who obtained a decree in Chancery for the whole; but upon his retiring, the ſuit ceaſed till his death, when the Lady Katherine Leveſon, and the Lady Anne Holbourn, after a long ſuit in Chancery, obtained Balſhall and Itchington, but could not get into quiet poſſeſſion thereof, till a little before the reſtoration of Charles II, at which time the Lady Anne Holborn, had three parts of the eſtate, and the Lady Katherine Leveſon a fourth part, the ſaid Lady Holborn, having purchaſed her ſiſter the Lady Douglas's fourth part, for the ſum of one-thouſand pounds; and the Lady Frances Kniveton her other ſiſter, dying without iſſue, it was agreed ſhe ſhould have her fourth part alſo, in conſideration of the great ſums of money ſhe had expended in the law ſuits, the Lady Katherine Leveſon having been at no charge. Which Lady Anne Holbourn in her life-time greatly repaired the church, which was in a very ruinous condition, and by her will endowed it with one-hundred pounds *per annum*, for the maintenance of a preaching miniſter for ever; but the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, having a legacy of fifteen-hundred pounds, and doubting her eſtate would not hold out to pay her debts, charitable gifts, and legacies, 'tis ſuppoſed he perſwaded her by a codicil annexed to her will, to reduce the ſalary from one-hundred pounds, to fifty pounds *per annum*. She gave alſo by her will, five-hundred pounds to finiſh the repairs of the church; and alſo, fifty pounds *per ann*, to be paid out of the rents at Itchington, for the augmentation of the church there, and many other great legacies; for the payment of which, and of her debts, her three parts of Itchington were by decree in Chancery ſold to Serjeant Newdigate, and her three parts of Balſhall, to the Lady Katherine Leveſon, who, being thereby poſſeſſed of the whole, except what was given to the two churches, out of her pious care and charity, to the poor of Balſhall, did by a codicil annexed to her will, bearing date, on or about the twenty-firſt of February, 1670, give and deviſe all the manor and lordſhip of Balſhall, and all the rents and iſſues of her eſtate there, for the founding an hoſpital as near the church as conveniently might be, for twenty poor perſons, being widows, and poor women not married, of good lives and converſations, to be choſen out of the poor inhabitants of the pariſh of Balſhall; and if there ſhould not be ſo many poor widows and poor women unmarried in the ſaid pariſh, to be placed in the ſaid houſe, that then ſuch as ſhould be wanting, for the time only, of ſuch want, and no longer, ſhould be choſen out of the poor inhabitants of Itchington, in the county of Warwick; of Trentham, in the county of Stafford, and Lilleſhull, in the county of Salop, there to remain for their reſpective lives, except for their miſcarriages they ſhould be removed, and to have the yearly ſum of eight pounds *per annum*, and alſo yearly one gown of grey cloth, with the letters K. L. in blue cloth, to be ſet upon the breaſt thereof, to be worn continually by them; and if they, or any of them, ſhould refuſe to wear the ſaid gowns, with the letters aforeſaid, then to be put out, and others elected in their rooms. That immediately after the erecting and finiſhing of the ſaid houſe, there ſhould be a Miniſter of God's word provided, who ſhould twice every day read the ſcripture, and pray, either in the church of Balſhall, or houſe, hoſpital, or alm-houſe, with the ſaid poor perſons, and inſtruct them for the good of their ſouls; for which, he ſhould be allowed twenty pounds *per annum*, and that he ſhould alſo teach and inſtruct twenty of the pooreſt boys of the inhabitants of Balſhall and pariſh, until they ſhall be fit to be apprentices, not taking any thing from their parents. According to this deviſe, an hoſpital was built, and in the firſt of Queen Anne (32), it was enacted, that the ſaid houſe ſhould be made an hoſpital, and incorporated, and named, and called the Hoſpital of the Lady Katherine Leveſon; that there ſhould be for ever thereafter, eleven Governors, which ſhould be incorporated and made one body politick, to have perpetual ſucceſſion, and a common-ſeal, to be capable

(30) Pat. 8 Eliz. p. 8.

(31) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 968.

(32) Account of Modern Charities, p. 95.

to compleat the hiſtory of this illuſtrious family. A family, at leaſt as remarkable as any that have flouriſhed in this kingdom; which has produced as great men, and as good women, as any that are mentioned in our Hiſtories, and of which hitherto we have had but very imperfect accounts, which it is preſumed will appear a ſufficient reaſon to juſtify the care that has been taken of them in this work, a care, that, though it has rendered theſe articles very extenſive, might have carried them to a far greater length, if we had not uſed all the precaution poſſible to avoid prolixity, without prejudice to that perſpicuity, the want of which would have been deſtructive to our original deſign.

capable of purchaſing lands, of ſuing and being ſued; of making leaſes, of chooſing officers and ſervants, and to have the power to enlarge the number of the almswomen, and the buildings, as to them ſhall ſeem meet and convenient. As alſo, that they ſhould take care conſtantly to have the ſum of one-thouſand pounds out at intereſt, to anſwer and ſatisfy for any accident of fire, or otherwiſe relating to the ſaid hoſpital; and, that in all meetings relating to the good government thereof, there ſhould not be leſs than ſix Governors, and the majority of thoſe preſent to be binding. Since which Act of Parliament, their ſtock increaſing, they have enlarged the ſaid hoſpital, and placed therein twenty-ſeven old women; and in the year 1721, made an order, that the ſame ſhould be further enlarged, at which ſeaſon it was expected, that in due time a new pile of building might be erected, and the number of perſons enlarged to thirty-four, with an allowance of twelve pounds *per annum*. This pious and charitable lady, has an inſcription erected to her memory, in the chapel of our Lady at Warwick, with which, in reſpect to the hiſtorical particulars contained therein, we will conclude this article (33). 'To the memory 'of Lady Katherine, late wife of Sir Richard Leveſon 'of Trentham, in the county of Stafford, Knight of 'the Bath, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir 'Robert Dudley, Knight, which honourable Lady 'taking notice that theſe tombs of her noble anceſtors 'being much blemiſhed by conſuming time, but more 'by the rude hands of impious people, were in danger 'of utter ruin, by the decay of this chapel, if not 'timely prevented, did in her life-time give fifty 'pounds for it's ſpeedy repair: and by her laſt will and 'teſtament, bearing date the 18th of December 1673, 'bequeath forty pounds *per annum*, iſſuing out of her 'manor of Foxley, in the county of Northampton, for 'it's perpetual ſupport, and preſervation of theſe mo'numents in their proper ſtate, the ſurpluſage to be 'for the poor brethren of her grandfather's hoſpital in 'this borough, appointing William Dugdale, of Blythe-'Hall in this county, Eſquire, who repreſented to her 'the neceſſity of this good work, and his heirs, to'gether, with the Mayor of Warwick for the time be'ing, to be her truſtees therein.' E

(33) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 441.

DUGARD (WILLIAM) a very eminent Schoolmaſter in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Henry Dugard a Clergyman, and born at Bromſgrave in Worceſterſhire in the year 1606. He had his education chiefly under Mr Henry Bright, Maſter of the royal ſchool adjoining to Worceſter cathedral, and Prebendary of that church, by whoſe good inſtructions he made a great progreſs in all kind of claſſical learning. At the age of ſixteen, on the 13th of September 1622, he was admitted into Sidney-college in Cambridge, and put under the tuition of his uncle, Richard Dugard Bachelor of Divinity (*a*). In the year 1626 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Maſter in 1630 (*b*). Soon after, he was appointed Maſter of Stamford ſchool in Lincolnſhire; from whence, on the 27th of July 1637, he was elected, 'with one mutual conſent and agreement,' Maſter of the free-ſchool in Colcheſter (*c*): which he very much improved, not only in number of ſcholars, but alſo in divers uſeful and neceſſary repairs and amendments about the houſe (*d*). He reſigned it the 17th of January 1642-3 (*e*), and on the 10th of May 1644, was choſen Head-Maſter of Merchant-Taylors ſchool in London. As he was a very diligent, exact, and excellently learned man in all grammatical learning, that ſchool greatly flouriſhed under his care and influence (*f*). But for ſhewing, as was thought, too great an affection to the Royal Cauſe [*A*], and eſpecially for being concerned in printing Cl. Salmaſius's Defence of King Charles I [*B*], he was deprived of his ſchool on the 20th of

(*a*) This account is taken from the Admiſſion-book of Sidney-Coll. and was communicated by the late Maſter Dr J. Adams.

(*b*) From the Grace-book of that college.

(*c*) From the Aſſembly Books of that town.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. and Hiſt. of Colch.

(*f*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 170, 203.

[*A*] *But for ſhewing, as was thought, too great an affection to the Royal Cauſe.*] That he was very well affected to King Charles I. and to the Royal Intereſt, appears from a curious regiſter he kept of his ſchool (1), wherein the following verſes of his are entered.

(1) Now extant in Sion-College Library.

On the beheading of King Charles I.

Μάρτυς ὑπὲρ θείων πατρικώντε νόμων ὄχ' ἅριστος
Σκηπτ]ύχων ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μεν ἀλειτέων χερσὶν
ἔπιπ]εν.

i. e. 'Charles, the beſt of Kings, is fallen by the 'hands of cruel, or wicked, men: a martyr for the 'laws of God, and thoſe of his country,'

And on the burial of Oliver Cromwell's mother in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

Μήτηρ τῶ τέκνῳ καταράτῳ ἔνθαδε κεῖται,
Ὃς δύο μὲν βασιλεῖς τε ἀπώλεσε τρεῖς βασιλείας.

i. e. 'Here lieth the mother of a curſed ſon, who has 'been the ruin of two Kings, and of three kingdoms.' However, it was not for theſe verſes as Mr Strype at firſt imagined (2), that he was diſmiſſed the ſchool, but

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 170.

for being concerned in printing the book mentioned above; and alſo Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ (*).

(*) Wagſtaffe's Vindicat. p. 51.

[*B*] *Eſpecially for being concerned in printing Claudius Salmaſius's Defence of King Charles* I.] Of this, Mr Dugard has left the following memorandum in the Regiſter-book above-mentioned. *Ad Februarii* 20, 1649. *Atque hæc ſunt nomina diſcipulorum quos ego* Gulielmus Dugard, *in Scholam liberam digniſſimæ Societatis* Mercatorum Sciſſorum *admiſi a Maij*, 10, 1644, *ad Februarij* 20, 1649. *Quo tempore a Concilio Novi Status ab Achididaſcalatus officio ſummotus, & in carcerem* Novæ Portæ *conjectus ſum; ob hanc præcipue cauſam, quod* Claudii Salmaſii *librum (qui inſcribitur* Defenſio Regia pro Carolo primo ad ſereniſſimum Regem Carolum ſecundum legitimum Hæredem & Succeſſorem) *typis mandandum curaveram: Typographeo inſuper integro ſpoliatus, ad valorem mille Librarum minimum; Nihil jam reliquum habens, unde victum quæram uxori & ſex liberis. Quos Dei miſericordis, & benigniſſimi Patris Providentiæ alendos committo & commendo, per Jeſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum.*

GULIELMUS DUGARD.

E carcere Novæ Portæ,
Martis 7. *Anno Dom.* 1649.

Then

of February 1649-50, and impriſoned in Newgate; his wife, and ſix children, turned out of doors; and a printing-preſs of his, which he valued at a thouſand pounds, ſeized (*g*). Being ſoon after releaſed, he opened, on the 15th of April 1650, a private ſchool on Peters hill, London. But on the 25th of September, the ſame year, he was reſtored to his former ſtation, by means of the ſame Council of State, who had cauſed him to be removed (*b*). There he continued with great ſucceſs and credit till about the middle of the year 1661, when he was diſmiſſed, for breaking ſome orders of the Company of Merchant-Taylors, having been publickly warned and admoniſhed of it before (*i*). He preſented a remonſtrance to them upon that occaſion, but to no purpoſe (*k*). Whereupon he opened a private ſchool in Coleman-ſtreet, July 4, 1661, and by the 25th of March following, had gathered an hundred and ninety-three ſcholars; ſo great was his reputation, and the fame of his abilities (*l*). But he lived a very little while after; for he died in the year 1662. He gave by Will ſeveral books to Sion-College Library (*m*). Beſides the qualifications of his mind, which made him be highly valued and eſteemed; he was alſo an excellent Scholar, and particularly a good Orator and Poet (*n*). He publiſhed ſome few books for the uſe of his ſchools [*C*].

(*g*) Ibid. p. 203. This was done by the then Council of State.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 170.

(*k*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, *&c.* Lond. 1728, p. 447.

(*l*) Stow and Strype, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) C Hiſtor. Sionenſ. per Gul. Reading, fol. Lond. 1724, p. 41.

(*n*) Stow and Strype, ubi ſupra. He writ a very neat and beautiful hand.

Then follows immediately.

Nomina Diſcipulorum; quos ego Gulielmus Dugard *admiſi in privatam Scholam, quam aperui in vico vulgo dicto* Peters-Hill, *in ædibus conductitiis ab Aprilis* 15, *ad Septembris* 25, 1650. *Quo tempore a digniſſima Societate* Mercatorum Sciſſorum, *hortatu tamen Concilii Status, ad antiquam provinciam Scholæ* Mercatorum Sciſſorum *reſtitutus ſum* (3).

(3) Stow and Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 203.

[*C*] *He publiſhed ſome few books for the uſe of his ſchools.*] Namely, 1. A ſhort Rhetoric. *Rhetorices Compendium*, Lond. 8*vo*. 2. Some ſelect Dialogues of Lucian. *Luciani Samoſatenſis Dialogorum Selectorum Libri duo. A* Gulielmo Dugardo *recogniti, & (variis collatis exemplaribus) multo caſtigatius quam ante editi. Cum Interpretatione Latina, multis in locis emendata, & ad calcem adjecta.* Lond. 8*vo*. In the preface to this book, he obſerves the danger and hurt of putting books into the hands of children indiſcriminately, without ſelecting what is beſt in them, and leaving out the bad. And aſcribes the corruption of manners, then too much prevailing, to the injudicious and careleſs uſe of books of all ſorts. Then he affirms, that the chief regard is to be had to the morals of youth, which are not to be endangered even under pretence of the greateſt learning. *Quantum enim detrimentum adoleſcentium animis afferant ii, qui vel hunc, vel alios id genus Authores ſine rerum delectu in lucem edunt, aut legendos proponunt, noſtorum temporum perquam corrupti mores, quorum incauta lectio parens eſt, ſatis declarant. Habenda igitur potior virtutis ratio, neque committendum unquam, ut illius jacturam, vel maximæ eruditionis prætextu, Juventus faciat.* 3. Our Author alſo publiſhed *a Greek Grammar*, &c.

C

DUGDALE (WILLIAM) a moſt induſtrious and excellent Antiquary and Hiſtorian, in the XVIIth century, was the only ſon of John Dugdale [*A*] of Shuſtoke, near Coles-Hill in Warwickſhire, Gent. by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Arthur Swynfen, a younger ſon of William Swynfen of Swynfen in Staffordſhire (*a*). He was born at Shuſtoke the 12th of September 1605; and had his firſt education in grammar-learning under Mr Tho. Sibley, Curate at Nether Whitacre near his native place, till he arrived to the age of ten years and upwards; and afterwards under Mr James Cranford, in the free-ſchool at Coventry, till he was near fifteen years old. Then returning home to his father, he received further inſtructions from him, eſpecially in Law (*b*), and Hiſtory; in all which he became ſoon after well verſed by his own indefatigable induſtry. Mean time, his father being aged, and grown very infirm with a dead palſy, and deſiring to ſee him matched in his life-time, he married, on the 17th of March 1622-3, Margery, ſecond daughter to John Huntbach of Seawall in the pariſh of Biſhbury in Staffordſhire, Gent. As he was then but in the eighteenth year of his age, he boarded with his wife's father till the death of his own father, which happened on the 4th of July 1624. But, ſoon after that, he went and kept houſe at Fillongley in Warwickſhire, where he had an eſtate formerly purchaſed by his father. In 1625 he bought the manor of Blythe in Shuſtoke aforementioned; and, the year following, ſold his eſtate at Fillongley, and came to reſide at Blythe-Hall. His natural inclination leading him to the ſtudy of Antiquities and Hiſtory (*c*), he was greatly encouraged thereto by that great Antiquarian Samuel Roper, Eſq; a Derbyſhire Gentleman, and Barriſter at Law, with whom he became acquainted about the year 1615. And having alſo, after his ſettling at Blythe-hall, read Mr William Burton's Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, and being made known to him (*d*), he was by that learned perſon introduced (*e*) to Sir Simon Archer of Tamworth, Knt. a great lover of Antiquities; who delivered to him collections he had made out of divers ancient writings, and brought him acquainted with Sir Simon Archer of Brome-Court, and moſt other

(*a*) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, written by himſelf, and prefixed to his Hiſt. of St Paul's Cathedral, 2d edit. 1716. See alſo the end of the Preface to his Antiquities of Warwickſhire.

(*b*) His father read firſt to him Littleton's Tenures, and afterwards ſeveral other Law books. Life, *&c.* as above. p. v.

(*c*) Life, *&c.* as above. and Wood, Faſt. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 7. *&c.*

(*d*) Blythe-hall was but eight miles from Lindley, where Mr W. Burton reſided.

(*e*) About the year 1630. Life, *&c.* as above, p. v.

[*A*] *Was the only ſon of* John Dugdale.] This John Dugdale was the only child of James Dugdale, of Cletherow in Lancaſhire, Gent. (which name and family had been of long continuance in thoſe parts) and had his chief education in St John's College, Oxon. Where applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil-Law, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; and continuing there the ſpace of fourteen years, was for ſome time Clerk of the Accompts for that College, and Steward of their Courts. During ſome years of his ſtay in that college, he was tutor to William Paulet, only ſon to the Lord Giles Paulet, younger ſon to William, the firſt Marquis of Wincheſter, of that noble family. When he left the Univerſity, reſolving to ſettle in the country, he took liking to the woodland part of Warwickſhire, where Mr Paulet had a fair eſtate. Selling therefore his lands in Lancaſhire, he gave him a large fine for a leaſe of the impropriate Rectory of Shuſtoke, during the term of ſixty years, where finding the houſe ruinous he all new built it. Fixing himſelf there, and marrying his wife Elizabeth abovementioned, he had by her our author, William; and one daughter, named Mary, which became the wife of Richard Seawall, ſon of Henry Seawall, Alderman of Coventry (1).

(1) Life, *&c.* as above; and Mr John Dugdale's epitaph in our author's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, edit. 1730, Vol. II. p. 1046.

[*B*] *He*

other Gentlemen in Warwickſhire. By their advice and encouragement he undertook a Deſcription of that County, of which we ſhall give an account below. In 1638 he accompanied Sir Simon Archer to London, who introduced him to the learned Sir Henry Spelman: and, during his reſidence in that place, he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the moſt eminent Antiquarians in the nation [*B*]. Among the reſt, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton took great liking to him, and joined with Sir Henry Spelman in recommending him to Thomas Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marſhal of England; who, on the 24th of September 1638, created him a Purſuivant at Arms Extraordinary, by the name of Blanch-Lyon, having obtained the King's warrant for that purpoſe. Afterwards, he was made Rouge-Croix-Purſuivant in Ordinary, by virtue of his Majeſty's Letters-Patent dated March 18, 1639-40, in the room of Mr Edward Walker, removed to the office of Cheſter-Herald. By which means, having a lodging in the Heralds-Office, with

[*B*] *He had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the moſt eminent Antiquarians in the nation*] Take a full account of all this in Mr Dugdale's own words. 'After he ſettled at Blythe-hall, having read 'the deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, publiſhed by Mr 'William Burton of Lindley in that county, (about 'eight miles diſtant from Blythe-hall) he was intro-'duced into his acquaintance by Mr Fiſher Dilke of 'Shuſtoke, a kinſman to Mr Burton, and by the ſaid 'Mr Burton, into the acquaintance of Sir Simon Ar-'cher, of Tamworth in the county of Warwick, Knt. 'Who being much affected to Antiquities, and having 'made ſome collections out of divers ancient writings, 'did freely communicate to him what he had ſo ga-'thered, and brought him acquainted with moſt of 'the gentlemen of note in the county; who being de-'ſirous, through his incitation, to preſerve the honour 'of their families by ſome ſuch publick work, as Mr 'Burton had done by thoſe in Leiceſterſhire, did freely 'communicate unto him the ſight of their ancient evi-'dences. Amongſt the which he found none more 'knowing, and forward to encourage ſuch a work, 'than Sir Simon Clarke of Brome-Court, in the pariſh 'of Salford, who imparted to him divers things of con-'ſequence, eſpecially the Leiger-book of the Priory of 'Kenilworth. Sir Simon Archer going to London 'with his Lady in Eaſter-Term, Anno 1638, much 'importuned Mr Dugdale to accompany him in 'that journey; whereunto he aſſenting, Sir Simon be-'ing acquainted with the learned Sir Henry Spelman, 'Knt. (a perſon famous for his knowledge in Antiqui-'ties) and then near eighty years of age, brought Mr 'Dugdale to him: who receiving him with great hu-'manity, and finding, upon diſcourſe with him, and 'the ſight of divers Collections relating to the Anti-'quities of Warwickſhire, (which he then ſhewed him) 'that he had made ſome good progreſs in thoſe ſtudies, 'told him, That being a perſon ſo well inclined to that 'learning, and ſo good a proficient therein, he eſteem-'ed him very fit to ſerve the King in the Office of 'Arms; and that the moſt noble Thomas Earl of 'Arundel, then Earl Marſhal of England, having by 'virtue of that office, the nomination of all ſuch as 'were admitted into that ſociety, would think it a 'good ſervice to the publick, to prefer ſuch thereunto 'as were thus naturally qualified, and found ſedulous 'in thoſe ſtudies, offering to recommend him, the ſaid 'Mr Dugdale, to his Lordſhip for that purpoſe: 'which he did accordingly. Whereupon he was in-'troduced unto that honourable perſon, firſt, by Sir 'George Greſteley of Drakelow, in the county of 'Derby, Bart. (who was then in London,) and well 'known to his Lordſhip. Waiting ſome time upon Sir 'Henry Spelman, Sir Henry told him, That there was 'a Yorkſhire Gentleman, one Mr Roger Dodſworth, 'who had taken much pains in ſearch of Records, and 'other ancient memorials, relating to the Antiquities 'of that country, but eſpecially as to the Monaſtery-'foundations in the Northern parts of this realm, 'which work he did not a little recommend to the 'pains and care of ſome induſtrious and diligent ſear-'chers into Antiquities: affirming, that out of his own 'great affection thereto, he had in his younger years 'got together the tranſcripts of the foundation-charters 'of divers Monaſteries in Norfolk and Suffolk (himſelf 'being a Norfolk man) much importuning Mr Dug-'dale to join with Mr Dodſworth in that commend-'able work, which by reaſon of his youth, and incli-'nation to proſecute thoſe ſtudies, might in time be 'brought to ſome perfection. Unto which propoſal 'Mr Dugdale readily aſſented, and, within few days 'after, caſually meeting with Mr Dodſworth, at 'Mr Samuel Roper's chamber in Lincoln's-Inn, and 'communicating what they were in hand with, as to 'their farther progreſs in thoſe ſtudies, readily enga-'ged themſelves to each other, to endeavour the gain-'ing of what tranſcripts they could obtain from any 'ancient Leiger-books, publick Records, original 'Charters, or other manuſcripts of note, in order 'thereto; but ſtill with this reſervation, that Mr Dug-'dale ſhould not neglect his collections touching the 'Antiquities of Warwickſhire, wherein he had made 'a conſiderable progreſs. Being thus in London, and 'deſirous to gain acquaintance with all perſons of note, 'there, who ſtood affected to Antiquities, Mr Roper 'brought him to Mr Henry Lillye, an arms painter in 'Little-Britain, who according to that meaſure of 'learning he had gained, was not a little verſed in 'thoſe ſtudies, having been imployed by divers per-'ſons of honour and quality in framing their pedigrees, 'out of original evidences, and other warrantable au-'thorities. Hereupon converſing ſome time with Mr 'Lillye, he there accidentally met with one Mr Ri-'chard Gaſcoigne, a Yorkſhire Gentleman, who alſo 'ſtood much affected to thoſe ſtudies, eſpecially as to 'matters of pedigree, wherein he had taken ſome 'pains for divers northern families; who having great 'acquaintance with Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, of Kirby 'in the county of Northampton, afterwards created 'Lord Hatton, a perſon highly affected to thoſe ſtu-'dies, and who had not ſpared for coſt in gaining 'ſundry tranſcripts from publick Records, Leiger-'Books, ancient Charters, and many choice MSS. 'brought Mr Dugdale to that moſt worthy perſon, by 'whom he was made welcome, with all expreſſions of 'kindneſs, and readineſs to further him in thoſe his la-'bours. In order thereunto Sir Chriſtopher made him 'ſoon acquainted with Sir Thomas Fanſhaw, his near 'kinſman, at that time the King's Remembrancer in 'the Exchequer (afterwards Lord Viſcount Fanſhaw) 'by means of which great office he had the cuſtody of 'divers Leiger-books, and other manuſcripts of great 'antiquity; ſpecially that notable Record called the 'Red Book, as alſo Teſta de Nevill, Kirby's Queſt. 'Nomina Villarum, and others, to all which by his 'favour he had free acceſs. Nor was he leſs careful to 'obtain the like acceſs for him to the Records in the 'Tower of London, through his intereſt with old 'Mr Collet, the chief clerk at that time there under 'Sir John Burroughs, whom he amply rewarded with 'ſundry gratuities, for his kindneſs and pains in further-'ing Mr Dugdale, as to his Collections from thoſe ra-'rities there repoſed. During his ſtay alſo at London 'at that time, he was by the ſaid Mr Samuel Roper, 'brought into the acquaintance of Sir Thomas Cotton, 'Bart. ſon to the moſt worthy Sir Robert Cotton, foun-'der of that incomparable library in his houſe at Weſt-'minſter, of moſt rare and choice manuſcripts, where-'by he had alſo free acceſs thereto, and made ſuch Col-'lections as were of ſingular uſe to him in ſeveral 'volumes, which have been ſince made publick. By 'the ſaid Mr Roper, he was alſo introduced into the 'acquaintance of Mr Scipio Squire, then one of the 'Vice-Chamberlains of the Exchequer, through whoſe 'kindneſs and favour he had acceſs to that venerable 'Record, called Doomſday-Book, as alſo to the Fines, 'Plea-Rolls, and ſundry other things of Antiquity re-'maining in the Treaſury (2).'

(2) Life, &c. p. v, vi, vii.

with a yearly ſalary of twenty pounds out of the Exchequer, and perquiſites, for his ſupport; he ſpent that, and part of the year following, in augmenting his collections out of the records in the Tower, and other places. In ſummer 1641, through Sir Chriſtopher Hatton's encouragement, he employed himſelf, with one Mr William Sedgwick a ſkilful arms-painter, in taking exact draughts of all the monuments in the Abbey Church at Weſtminſter, St Paul's Cathedral London, and in many other Cathedral, Collegiate, Conventual, and Parochial Churches [C], wherein any tombs or monuments were to be found; to the end that the memory of them, in caſe of that deſtruction then imminent, might be preſerved for future and better times. In 1642 he received orders, by warrant under the Royal Signet Manual dated June 1, to repair to his Majeſty at York, according to the duty of his place. Which he accordingly did, and continued there till about the middle of July, when he received the King's command to attend Spencer Earl of Northampton Lord Lieutenant of Warwickſhire (f), who was then endeavouring to ſecure the chief places in and near that county, and to diſperſe the forces aſſembled by the Lord Brook for the Parliament's ſervice (g). During his attendance upon that Lord, he ſummoned the caſtle of Banbury which ſurrendered to his Majeſty, but Warwick and Coventry refuſing ſo to do, the perſons by whom they were held, were proclaimed traytors by Mr Dugdale. He attended the King at Edge-hill battle, the 23d of October 1642 [D], and afterwards to Oxford (where on the firſt of November he was created Maſter of Arts (h)), and thence to Reading and Brentford; his Majeſty intending to proceed to London. But being forced to return back to Oxford, our author continued there (i) by his Majeſty's command, till the ſurrender of that garriſon to the Parliament, June 26, 1646. And, in the mean time, was, on the 16th of April 1644, created Cheſter-Herald, in the room of Edward Walker, Eſq; advanced to the office of Norroy. In this ſame year he took a journey to Worceſter, and extracted out of the Regiſters of the Biſhop, and Dean and Chapter, the like materials for his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, as he had done at Litchfield. Likewiſe, during his long reſidence at Oxford, he applied himſelf to the ſearch of ſuch Antiquities, in the Bodleian and other Libraries, as he thought might any way conduce towards the furtherance of the *Monaſticon*, deſigned by Mr Roger Dodſworth and himſelf; as alſo of whatſoever might relate to matter of Hiſtory, touching the antient Nobility of this realm, of which he made good uſe in his Baronage. After the ſurrender of Oxford garriſon, upon articles, in May 1646, Mr Dugdale having the benefit of them, repaired to London, and, for the ſum of a hundred and ſixty-eight pounds, compounded for his eſtate which had been ſequeſtered. Then he, and Mr Dodſworth, vigorouſly proceeded to compleat their collections for the *Monaſticon*, out of the Tower Records, and Cottonian Library: in which latter, Mr Dugdale ſorted many bundles of original letters, and choice memorials, and cauſed them to be bound in eighty volumes [E]. In May 1648 he waited on the Lady Hatton to Calais, who was to meet there the Lord Hatton her huſband: and when his Lordſhip returned to Paris, Mr Dugdale accompanied him thither, and ſtayed near three months in that city; where, through the favour of Mr Francis Du Cheſne, he had the peruſal of the collections of his learned father Andrew du Cheſne (k), out of which he copied many curious things, relating to the Priories-alien in England, which were cells to great abbies in France, &c. He returned to England in Auguſt, having a ſafe conduct from Queen Henrietta-Maria. After which, he and Mr Dodſworth, went on compleating their collections for the *Monaſticon*, and preparing them for the preſs. When they were ready, the bookſellers not caring to venture upon ſo large and hazardous a work, Mr Dodſworth and Mr Dugdale hired ſums of money, and printed at their own charge the firſt volume, which was publiſhed in the year 1655 [F], in folio, as were the ſecond and third volumes afterwards.

In

(f) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, &c. as above.

(g) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 10.

(h) Ibid. col. 7.

(i) Reſiding moſtly in Hart-hall. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 7.

(k) Author of a Hiſtory of England in French, and ſeveral other curious books.

[C] *And in many other Cathedral, Collegiate, Conventual, and Parochial Churches.*] Particularly, thoſe at Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark upon Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingſton upon Hull, York, Selby, Cheſter, Litchfield, Tamworth, Warwick, &c. The draughts were taken by Mr Sedgwick, then ſervant to Sir Chriſtopher Hatton; but 'tis probable the inſcriptions were copied by Mr Dugdale's exact pen. They were depoſited in Sir Chriſtopher Hatton's library (3).

(3) Life, &c. p. ix.

[D] *He attended the King at Edge-hill battle, on the 23d of October* 1642.] And about that time, committed to writing the moſt memorable paſſages in that battle, of which he had been a ſpectator. That the relation of all particulars relating thereto might be the better underſtood, he took with him, in the February following, ſome Gentlemen of note and a ſkilful ſurveyor, and rode to Banbury, (the Caſtle whereof was then his Majeſty's garriſon) and thence to the field of battle, which he exactly ſurveyed; noting where each army was drawn up, how and where the cannon on each part were placed, as alſo the particular graves wherein all the ſlain were buried: obſerving, from the relation of the neighbouring inhabitants, the certain number of bodies which lay interred in every grave, which in the whole did not amount to quite one-thouſand, though the general report of the vulgar made them no leſs than five-thouſand (4).

(4) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 103 and Life, ubi ſupra, p. xii.

[E] *In which latter (the Cottonian) Mr Dugdale ſorted many bundles of original letters, and choice memorials, and cauſed them to be bound in eighty volumes.*] They were bundles of moſt valuable papers of ſtate, which Sir Robert Cotton had obtained from ſeveral hands: containing the tranſactions between Cardinal Wolſey, and others, with ſeveral of his letters; as alſo of T. Cromwell afterwards Earl of Eſſex, Secretary Paget, Cecil Lord Burleigh, Secretary Walſingham, and others, relating as well to foreign as domeſtic affairs; and likewiſe the letters and papers of Mary Queen of Scots, John Duke of Norfolk, and other eminent perſons in thoſe times. Mr Dugdale having ſorted them, cauſed them to be bound up with claſps, with the arms of Sir Thomas Cotton on each ſide of every book (5).

(5) Life, &c. p. xv.

[F] *The firſt volume which was publiſhed in the year* 1655.] Under this title. *Monaſticon Anglicanum; ſive Pandectæ Coenobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacenſium, Ciſtercenſium, Carthuſianorum. A primordiis ad eorum uſque diſſolutionem. Ex MSS. ad Monaſteria olim*

In the mean time, our induſtrious author having finiſhed 'The Antiquities of Warwick-ſhire, illuſtrated [G],' he printed that valuable work at his own charge: and for near a year and a half, whilſt it was printing, continued in London, in order to correct the preſs himſelf, becauſe the ordinary correctors were not ſkilled in the pedigrees. During his reſidence in which place, he had an opportunity of collecting materials for The Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral in London [*H*], which he publiſhed in 1658, fol. Upon the reſtoration of King Charles II, he was, through Lord Chancellor Hyde's recommendation, advanced to the office of Norroy King of Arms, then vacant by the promotion of Sir

olim pertinentibus, Archivis Turrium Lond. Ebor. Curiarum Scaccarii, Augmentationum; Bibliothecis, Bodleiana, Arundelliana, Cottoniana, Seldeniana, Hattoniana, aliiſque, digeſtum. Adorned with the proſpects of Abbeys, Churches, &c. After the publication of this, the printing of the ſecond volume was put off for above five years, till the greateſt part of the impreſſion of the firſt was ſold, in order to raiſe money for going on with that expenſive work (6). This is the reaſon why the ſecond volume was not publiſhed till the year 1661; The title of it was, *Monaſtici Anglicani Volumen alterum. De Canonicis Regularibus, Auguſtinianis, Scilicet, Hoſpitalariis, Templariis, Gilbertinis, Præmonſtratenſibus, & Maturinis ſive Trinitarianis. Cum Appendice ad Volumen primum de Coenobiis aliquot Gallicanis, Hibernicis, & Scoticis. Nec non quibuſdam Anglicanis antea omiſſis*, &c. Theſe two volumes were collected, and totally written by Mr Dodſworth; but Mr Dugdale took great pains, in methodizing and diſpoſing the materials, in making ſeveral indexes to the two volumes, and in correcting them at the preſs: for Mr Dodſworth died in Auguſt 1654, before the tenth part of the firſt volume was printed off (7). The third volume was publiſhed in 1673, under this tittle. *Monaſtici Anglicani volumen tertium & ultimum. Additamenta quædam in volumen primum, ac volumen ſecundum, jampridem edita; Nec non fundationes, ſive dotationes, diverſarum Eccleſiarum Cathedralium ac Collegiatarum, continens. Ex Archivis regiis, ipſis autographis, ac diverſis Codic. Manuſcriptis decerpta.* Several curious things in this volume were communicated by Mr Ant. Wood, and Sir Tho. Herbert, Baronet (8). Theſe three volumes contain chiefly the *Foundation*-Charters of the Monaſteries at their firſt erection, the *Donation*-Charters in after-times being purpoſely omitted; which are ſo numerous, that twenty ſuch volumes would not contain them.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 14.

(8) Wood, ibid. col. 15.

[*G*] *The Antiquities of Warwickſhire illuſtrated.*] The whole title of the book is, 'The Antiquities of Warwickſhire illuſtrated; from Records, Leiger-Books, Manuſcripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes, and Arms: beautified with Maps, Proſpects, and Portraictures, Lond. 1656 fol.' The Author gives us this account of it.—'As for the work itſelf, it is an *Illuſtration of the Antiquities* with which my native country (Warwickſhire) hath been honoured; in accompliſhing whereof, I have ſpent the chiefeſt of my time for much more than twenty years, diligently ſearching into the vaſt treaſuries of publique Records, beſides a multitude of Manuſcripts, original Charters, and Evidences in private hands, as the margents where they are cited do manifeſt (9).'——A ſecond edition of this curious and uſeful book was publiſhed in 1730 —— 'in two volumes, printed from a copy corrected by the author himſelf, and with the original copper-plates. The whole reviſed, augmented, and continued down to this preſent time; by William Thomas, D. D. ſometime Rector of Exhall, in the ſame county. With the addition of ſeveral proſpects of gentlemens ſeats, churches, tombs, and new and correct maps of the county, and of the ſeveral hundreds, from an actual ſurvey made by Henry Beighton, F. R. S. Alſo compleat liſts of the Members of Parliament and Sheriffs taken from the original Records; and an alphabetical index and blazonry of the arms upon the ſeveral plates.' One fault there is in the method of this book; namely, That the pariſhes are not diſtinguiſhed from the villages by any particular mark. The titles at the beginning of the ſeveral diviſions, ſhould therefore have been printed in different characters: as for inſtance, the pariſhes in old Engliſh letter, or in capitals; and the villages in Italic, as they are now. The name of each pariſh ſhould likewiſe have been put at the top of the page, or pages, which contain an account of the ſame.—— However, this is our author's maſter-piece (10), and allowed to be the beſt methodized and moſt accurate account that ever was wrote of this nature (11).

(9) Preface, p. 1.

(10) Wood, as above, col. 15.

[*H*] *During his reſidence in which place, he had an opportunity of collecting materials for The Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral in London.*] Of which he gives us himſelf the following account. 'Meeting caſually there with Mr John Reading, a Nottinghamſhire Gentleman, who had formerly been Clerk of the Niſi Prius for the Midland-Circuit, and with whom before the Rebellion he was acquainted, he friendly invited Mr Dugdale to his houſe at Scriveners-hall, with promiſe to ſhew him ſome old manuſcript books, original charters, and other ancient writings. Coming thither accordingly, Mr Reading brought forth five ancient manuſcript books in folio, which were Leiger-books of the lands anciently given to the Cathedral of St Paul in London; and freely lent them to him, to carry into the country until the next enſuing Michaelmas Term, intimating that he ſhould have the uſe of many more upon his next return to London. But in Michaelmas Term, when Mr Dugdale came to reſtore thoſe books ſo lent, he found that Mr Reading was dead, and had conſtituted one Mr Williams, a Barriſter at Law of the Temple, his executor. Addreſſing himſelf therefore to the ſaid Mr Williams, and deſiring a ſight of the reſt, he very civilly brought him to Scriveners-Hall, and there ſhewing him many other old manuſcript-books, original charters, and very ancient writings in bags and hampers, all relating to that great Cathedral, he freely lent them to him, to carry to his own lodging, they amounting to no leſs than ten porters burdens.' Having them therefore thus in his private cuſtody, and beſtowing pains to ſort them into order, he made extracts from them, of what he found hiſtorical in reference to that church. And to the end the memory of thoſe noble and ancient monuments might be preſerved (which were afterwards deſtroyed, the church being made an horſe-garriſon by the late rebellious uſurpers) did by the help and favour of ſundry worthy perſons who voluntarily offered to be at the charge of thoſe plates, in which the repreſentations of them were cut in braſs, as alſo the lively proſpects of the whole fabrick (inſide and out), accompliſh the ſame; and having ſuccinctly framed an hiſtorical narrative of the foundation and endowment thereof, likewiſe of all the chantries, and what elſe was moſt memorable therein, publiſhed it, under this title, 'The Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral in London from its Foundation till theſe Times: Extracted out of original Charters, Records, Leiger-books, and other Manuſcripts. Beautified with ſundry Proſpects of the Church, figures of Tombs and Monuments, &c.' Lond. 1658. fol. There was a 'Second Edition' of this curious book 'corrected and enlarged by the author's own hand. To which is prefixed his life written by himſelf. Publiſhed by *Edward Maynard*, D. D. Rector of Boddington in Northamptonſhire.' London, 1716, fol. Five of the original plates being loſt, five new ones were engraved for this ſecond edition. There are in it great additions, which were not in the former edition: particularly, a new introduction, and many additions in ſeveral places, to the quantity of ſome ſheets in all; beſides an account of the new-building of St Paul's from year to year to 1685; with a catalogue of the ſeveral benefactors, and the ſums they gave towards the building of it, our author being one of the Commiſſioners appointed for that work: and, which is more than all the reſt together, 'An Hiſtorical account of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of York, Rippon, South-well, Beverley, Durham, and Carliſle.'

(11) See The Engliſh Topographer, &c. Lond. 1720, 8vo, p. 233.

[*I*] *He*

Sir Edward Walker to that of Garter; and his patent paſſed the Great-Seal on the 18th of June 1660 (*m*). In 1662 he publiſhed 'The Hiſtory of Imbanking and Draining of 'divers Fens and Marſhes, both in Foreign Parts and in this Kingdom, and of the Im-'provement thereby. Extracted from Records, Manuſcripts, and other authentick Te-'ſtimonies. Adorned with ſeveral Maps, *&c.*' fol. Written at the deſire of the Lord Gorges, Sir John Marſham, Bart. and others who were adventurers in that coſtly and laudable work, for draining the great Level, which extends itſelf into a conſiderable part of the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Norfolk, and Suffolk. About the ſame time, he compleated the ſecond volume of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, and publiſhed it in 1664 [*I*]. As alſo the ſecond part of that learned Knight's Gloſſary [*K*]. Likewiſe, having in his many years ſearch into Records, *&c.* taken notes, as occaſion offered, of the names of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers, Lord Treaſurers, Juſtices itinerant, Juſtices of the King's-Bench and Common-Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer, Maſters of the Rolls, King's Attorneys and Sollicitors, and Serjeants at Law; he compiled out of them a book entituled *Origines Juridiciales*, &c [*L*]. which he publiſhed in 1666, fol. His next work, was, *The Baronage of England* [*M*], of which the firſt

(*m*) Life, *&c.* as above, p. xvii.

[*I*] *He compleated the ſecond volume of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, and publiſhed it in* 1664.] Under this title, *Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Conſtitutiones in re Eccleſiarum Orbis Britannici*; viz. *Pan-Anglica, Scotica, Hibernica, Provincialia, Dioceſana: Ab introitu Normannorum, An. Dom.* MLXVI. *ad exutum Papam, ſive ad An. Dom.* MDXXXI. *Acceſſerunt etiam alia ad rem Eccleſiaſticam ſpectantia; uti reperiuntur in eorundem Actis, Canonibus Eccleſiaſticis, Principum reſcriptis, Libris impreſſis, antiquis Manuſcriptis, Chartis, Schedis, & Monumentis veteribus.* Sir Henry Spelman's name only appears in the title. And the Book is dedicated, by Charles Spelman, Sir Henry's grandſon, to Gilbert Sheldon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; who, with the Earl of Clarendon, had been the chief promoters of this work, and put Mr Dugdale upon it. 'Twas printed in a very incorrect manner; but Mr William Somner took a great deal of pains, in noting all the faults, in the margin of a copy belonging to him, which was depoſited in the Library of the Church of Canterbury. What great ſhare Mr Dugdale had in this work, will beſt appear from hence: That, out of *two-hundred and ninety-four* articles whereof that volume conſiſts, *a hundred and ninety-one* are of his collecting, being thoſe that are marked with an * in the liſt of the contents, at the beginning of the volume (12). The materials for it (beſides thoſe left by Sir Henry Spelman) were gathered by Mr Dugdale, out of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops Regiſters, the Cottonian and other Libraries, and our ancient Engliſh Hiſtorians (13).

(12) See the Preface.

(13) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *As alſo the ſecond part of that learned Knight's Gloſſary*] The firſt part was publiſhed in 1626, fol. and afterwards conſiderably augmented and corrected by Sir Henry. He did not live to finiſh the ſecond part, but left much of it looſely written; with obſervations, and ſundry bills of paper, pinned thereto. Theſe Mr. Dugdale took the pains to diſpoſe into proper order, tranſcribing many of thoſe looſe papers, &c. And having reviewed the firſt part, cauſed both to be printed together in 1664, (14) under this title, *Gloſſarium Archaiologicum, continens Latino-barbara, peregrina, obſoleta, & novæ ſignificationis vocabula.* There was another Edition of it in 1687. The ſecond part, digeſted by Mr Dugdale, began at the letter M. But Mr Wood obſerves (15), that it 'comes 'far ſhort of the firſt.' Nay, ſome have aſſerted (16), 'that he or they who put out the ſecond part 'of Sir Henry Spelman's Gloſſary, did not do right 'to his memory.' In anſwer to which, Dr R. Brady gives us the following account (17). 'The firſt part '[of the Gloſſary] to the letter N. was publiſhed in 'the year 1626, the whole being then finiſhed, and 'offered by Sir Henry Spelman, to Mr Bill the King's 'Printer, for the value of five pounds in books only: 'But he refuſing to give him that ſmall rate for the 'Copy, he ventured to print the firſt part of it at his 'own charge, and moſt of the books lay upon his 'hands till the latter end of the year 1637, when two 'Bookſellers in St Paul's Churchyard took them off. 'The next year, Mr Dugdale being with Sir Henry 'Spelman, and telling him, that many learned men 'were very deſirous to ſee the remaining part of that 'work, Sir Henry then told him what is here related, 'and *produced both parts of the Gloſſary*, the firſt 'whereof was printed, and interleaved with blank 'leaves, as alſo was the ſecond, which was in manu-'ſcript, wherein he had added and altered much. 'After King Charles IId's Reſtoration, the Earl of 'Clarendon then Lord Chancellor, and Dr Sheldon 'then Biſhop of London, inquired of Mr Dugdale 'what was become of the remaining part of the Gloſ-'ſary, or whether it was ever finiſhed? He told them 'it was finiſhed, and in the hands of Mr Charles Spel-'man, grandchild to Sir Henry, and youngeſt Son to 'Sir John. Whereupon they deſired Mr Dugdale to 'move him to print it; which he did: but finding 'that the Bookſellers would give nothing for the Copy, 'and that he was not able to print it at his own charge, 'and returning this Anſwer to the Lord Chancellor, 'and Biſhop of London, they contributed liberally 'themſelves, and procuring many Subſcriptions to that 'purpoſe, deſired Mr Dugdale to receive the money, 'and deal with a Printer to perform the work: which 'he did, and cauſed it to be printed as he received 'it, all under the proper hand-writing of Sir Henry 'Spelman, without alteration or addition.' This account the Reader will be pleaſed to compare with the beginning of this Note, which is taken out of Sir William Dugdale's Life, written by himſelf. But that learned Author aſſures us, in the ſame Life (18), that the ſecond part of the Gloſſary was publiſhed, 'without any alteration from Sir Henry's Copy, as 'by ſome hath been ignorantly ſurmiſed.'

(14) Life, *&c.* as above.

(15) Ubi ſupra, col. 13.

(16) Atwood, *Jani Anglorum Facies nova*, edit. p. 265.

(17) Animadverſions upon a book called *Jani Anglorum Facies nova*. edit. 1684, fol. p. 229, 230.

(18) Page xix.

[*L*] *Origines Juridiciales, &c.*] The whole title, is, 'Origines Juridiciales: or Hiſtorical Memorials 'of the Engliſh Laws, Courts of Juſtice, Forms of 'Tryal, Puniſhment in Caſes criminal, Law-writers, 'Law-books, Grants and Settlements of Eſtates, De-'gree of Serjeants, Inns of Court and Chancery. Alſo 'a Chronologie of the Lord Chancellors, and Keepers 'of the Great Seal, Lord Treaſurers, Juſtices Itine-'rant, Juſtices of the King's Bench and Common 'Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer, Maſters of the Rolls, 'King's Attorneys and Sollicitors, and Serjeants at 'Law.' The Hiſtorical Part, which was deſigned as an Introduction to the Chronological Tables, is divided into ſeventy-eight chapters. And the book is adorned with the heads of Sir John Clench, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Randolph Crew, Sir Robert Heath, Edward Earl of Clarendon to whom the Book is dedicated, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir John Vaughan, and Mr Selden. There are alſo plates of the Arms, in the windows of the Temple-Hall, and other Inns of Court, &c. The firſt Edition, as is ſaid above, was in 1666; and the ſecond in 1671. having the three laſt Plates more than the firſt, but being very full of faults. There was a pretended third Edition in 1680. but it is only the ſecond, with a new Title-page; and a Continuation, in three leaves at the end, of the Chronology and Catalogues aforeſaid. Biſhop Nicolſon recommends this Book, as a proper Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Laws of this Kingdom (19).

(19) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library; under the title of that book.

[*M*] *The Baronage of England.*] The whole title of Tome 1. is thus, 'The Baronage of England, or 'an Hiſtorical Account of the Lives and moſt memo-'rable actions of our Engliſh Nobility in the Saxons 'Time, to the Norman Conqueſt; and from thence,

'of

first tome appeared in print, in 1675, and the second and third in 1676, fol. The first treating of such of the Earls, and their descendants, as had their first advancements before the end of King Henry IIId's reign; and of all others, who held their honours or baronies *by tenure*, as antiently. The second, of those, whose original hath been (*viz.* of Earls *by creation*, and Barons *by summons* to Parliament) before the 11th year of King Richard IId's reign. And the third of those and their posterity, who have had their *creations by patent*, as most Barons had, or by writ of summons from that time (11 Rich. II.) till the year 1636; the Dukes, Marquisses, and Viscounts, being therein likewise included, and reserved to their proper times and places (*n*). Upon the death of Sir Edward Walker, which happened on the 20th of February 1676-7, our author was appointed in his

(*n*) See Preface to Tome I, p. 2, col. 1.

'of those who had their rise before the end of King 'Henry the Third's Reign. Deduced from publick 'Records, antient Historians, and other Authori-'ties.'——That of the second is the same, with this difference—— 'Which had their rise, after the end 'of King Henry the Third's reign, and before the ele-'venth year of King Richard the Second.'——And of the third—— 'As had their rise, from the tenth 'year of King Richard the Second, until this present 'year 1676.' These two last Volumes are generally bound together. What induced our Author to undertake this work, he tells us in the following words. 'I must ingenuously acknowledge, that I had not any 'thoughts of attempting this work here made publick, 'until (by God Almighties disposal) attending the late 'King Charles the First, of blessed memory, in his 'garrison at Oxford, according to the duty of my 'place; and continuing in his service there, from the 'beginning of November An. 1642. until the end of 'June, 1646, I had both leisure and opportunity of 'perusing many excellent Historical Manuscripts, choice-'ly preserved in the famous Bodleian Library, and 'sundry Colleges there; whence having gathered a large 'stock of fit materials in order to such a work, I grew 'encouraged to proceed farther; and thereupon, be-'took myself to a diligent search into those old Re-'cords in the Tower of London, Office of the Rolls, 'Exchequer, and sundry other publick places. Next 'into that incomparable Treasury of most antient and 'choice Manuscripts; which the late worthy Sir Ro-'bert Cotton Bart. had, in his time, happily got to-'gether: and after that, into divers other, no less 'estimable; which, with much charge, had been 'gained by the Right Honourable, the late Lord 'Hatton; and by his especial favour communicated 'to me; likewise into that elaborate collection from 'the Pipe-Rolls, made by Mr Roger Dodsworth, my 'late deceased friend, and into sundry other, where-'unto my Quotations do refer: amongst which, those 'of Robert Glover, formerly Somerset-Herald, (most 'opportunely acquired from several hands, wherein 'they lay obscured) were not the least (20).' The collecting of the materials for this work, cost the industrious Author a great part of thirty years labour (21). But, notwithstanding his great care and pains, there are many faults in it: so that the Gentlemen at the Heralds Office, dare not depend upon the generality of matter relating to pedigree therein (22). However, this most useful work did not deserve the severe censure, which a sour and ill-natured pedant (23), hath passed upon it, in his 'Three letters, con-'taining remarks on some of the numberless errors 'and defects in Dugdale's Baronage (24).' For, therein he is charged, with inaccuracy (25), want of capacity, and judgment (26), much negligence and ignorance (27), master-piece of stupidity (28), with gross and complicated blunders (29); who, as often as he has opportunities, falls into mistakes (30), and has fagotted his collections together (31). That, a very great number of inconsistencies, and contradictions are plentifully strewed through his whole book (32) &c. He owns indeed, that 'Dugdale is esteemed by much 'the best writer, who has, yet made a general trea-'tise on this subject [of the Peerage] for which he 'seemed aptly qualified, being very laborious and in-'dustrious, and having been furnished with a vast 'number of excellent materials, and favoured with 'opportunities of access to public Offices and Libra-'ries, from whence a structure truly noble, and wor-'thy of the subject, might have been raised; but 'having more regard to his profit than his honour, 'and the work being very large and tedious, he did 'not allow himself time to examine and compare his 'vouchers, nor the tasks of his several *Ammanuenses* '(33).——He had (says he elsewhere) a greedy 'appetite to Antiquities, but, like the Ostrich, he swal-'lowed whatever came in his way, unchewed, and it 'passed thro' him undigested. He seems to have had 'little Judgment in collecting, and less care and under-'standing in transcribing; and his manner of composing 'is still less excusable, as it more affects other men. His 'Avarice made him undertake burdens too heavy for 'his shoulders, and pushed him beyond his speed. His 'eye was so fixed on his chief end, that he overlooked 'the means of deserving either praise or profit. His 'works (I speak as to that before me) seem to have 'been patched up by the help of Alphabets, and from 'whatever occurred, which, either by himself or his 'illiterate *Ammanuenses*, was thought to the present 'purpose; extracts were crudely huddled together, 'without any regard to truth or probability, or the 'consistence of one part with another; which is the 'reason that in any fact, wherein any plurality of per-'sons is concerned, whereby it comes to be related in 'several places, it is very rare if such relations are 'not materially different, and sometimes none true. 'The margin of his book, I own, I have found use-'ful, as it directs the nearest way to better informa-'tion; but his authorities there, are in general so er-'roneously vouched, that they give no evidence to 'the purposes for which they are produced; so that 'there is no depending upon him, without examining 'his witnesses. In fine, his disagreeing fragments of 'unhewed materials are so unartfully disposed, and so 'coarsely laid together, that the whole heap seems to 'me no better than *rudis indigestaque moles* (34).' i. e. a rude and undigested heap.——Such is the harsh and unmannerly attack of the anonymous letter-writer, upon Mr Dugdale's book now before us.——It must be owned, that there are many mistakes in the Baronage (and mistakes are indeed hardly avoidable in a work of that nature). But the industrious and learned Author, instead of being reviled, or treated with contempt, ought to be corrected with mildness, and duly esteemed, for having proceeded, at once, so far in a work, wherein very little progress had been made before he took it in hand: all other accounts of the Nobility, by Milles, Brooke, &c. being little more than bare catalogues, or at best very lean performances. ——If the letter-writer had pointed out Mr Dugdale's faults and mistakes (which he had great opportunities of discovering, by his place in the Exchequer) he should at least have treated him with decency and good manners. 'Twas the least that was due to the memory of a man, who had published so many useful books: a man whose name will be remembered with veneration and honour, while that of snarling Ch. Hornby will be buried in everlasting oblivion.—— It were greatly to be wished, that Gentlemen of skill and leisure, would make a thorough review of so useful a book as the Baronage; and, after having compared it with the Records and our antient Historians, &c. give a new Edition of it. No greater service could be done to the curious and inquisitive Reader, or to any one who is a lover of the English History.—— Mr Wood informs us (35), that Mr Dugdale sent to him Copies of all the Tomes of this work, with an earnest desire that he would peruse, correct and add to them what he could obtain from record or other authorities: whereupon spending a whole long vacation in that matter, he drew up at least sixteen sheets of corrections, but more additions; which being sent to the Author, he remitted a good part of them into the margin of a Copy of large paper of his Baronage.

(20) Preface to Vol. I. p. 1, 2.

(21) Life, &c. as above, p. xix.

(22) Wood, ubi supra, col. 16.

(23) Supposed to be Charles Hornby, Esq; late Secondary of the Pipe-Office.

(24) Lond. 1738, 8vo.

(25) Page 4.

(26) Page 20.

(27) Page 18.

(28) Page 31.

(29) Ibid. & p. 44.

(30) Page 58.

(31) Page 47.

(32) Page 10.

(33) Page 4.

(34) Page 62, 63.

(35) Ubi supra, col. 16.

his room Garter Principal King of Arms (o). His patent for that office paſſed the Great-Seal April 26, 1677; and he was ſolemnly created Garter, the 24th of May following, at the College of Arms. The next day he received from his Majeſty the honour of knighthood, much againſt his will by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of his eſtate (p). But, to return to his works. In 1681 he publiſhed 'A Short View of the late Troubles in England; 'briefly ſetting forth, Their Riſe, Growth, and tragical Concluſion. As alſo, ſome 'Parallel thereof with the Barons-Wars in the Time of King Henry III. But chiefly with 'that in France, called the Holy League, in the Reigns of Henry III and Henry IV, 'late Kings of that Realm. To which is added, A perfect Narrative of the Treaty at 'Uxbridge in *ann.* 1644.' Oxford, fol. And, 'The antient Uſage in bearing of ſuch 'Enſigns of Honour as are commonly called Arms (q).' With 'A true and perfect 'Catalogue of the Nobility of England. A true and perfect Liſt of all the preſent Knights 'of the Garter, &c. as they now ſtand in St George's Chapel in Windſor-Caſtle, Sept. '10, 1681.' And, 'A Catalogue of the Baronets of England, from the firſt erection of 'that dignity, until the 4th of July 1681 inclusive.' Oxf. 1681, 8*vo* [*N*]. There was a ſecond edition of it in the beginning of the year following, wherein the Catalogue of Baronets was continued to the 6th of December. The laſt thing he publiſhed was, 'A 'perfect Copy of all Summons of the Nobility to the Great Councils and Parliaments of 'this Realm, from the XLIX. of King Henry the IIId until theſe preſent Times. 'With Catalogues of ſuch Noblemen as have been ſummoned to Parliament in right of 'their Wives, and of ſuch other Noblemen as derive their Titles of Honour from the 'Heirs-Female from whom they are deſcended; and of ſuch Noblemens eldeſt ſons as 'have been ſummoned to Parliament by ſome of their Fathers Titles. Extracted from 'publick Records.' Lond. 1685, fol. He writ ſome other things, which were never publiſhed [*O*]. His Collections of Materials for his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, and Baronage of England, all written with his own hand, being twenty-ſeven volumes in folio, he gave by Will to the univerſity of Oxford; together with ſixteen other volumes, ſome of his own handwriting; and they are now preſerved in Aſhmole's Muſæum. He gave likewiſe ſeveral books to the Office of Heralds in London, and procured many more for the ſame (r) [*P*]. At length this moſt induſtrious perſon contracting a great cold at Blythe-Hall, died of it in his chair, about one o'clock in the afternoon, Feb. 10, 1685-6, in the eighty-firſt year of his age. His body being conveyed to the parochial church of Shuſtoke abovementioned, was, on the 12th day of the ſame month, depoſited in a ſtone coffin, lying in a little vault, which he had cauſed to be made under the north ſide of the chancel of the church there. Over that vault he had erected in his life-time an altar-tomb of free-ſtone; and had cauſed to be fixed in the wall above it, a tablet of white marble, whereon was engraved an epitaph made by himſelf [*Q*]. He had ſeveral children

(o) There was a great diſpute then between the King and the Earl-Marſhal, about the Right of Nomination to that office. See our author's Life, p. xix. *&c.*

(p) Life, *&c.* as above, p. xxi.

(q) This is moſtly taken from W. Wyrley's book entituled, *The true Uſe of Armory*, &c. Lond. 1592, 4*to*. See Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 16; and Vol. I. col. 427.

(r) Life, *&c.* p. xxii, xxiii.

[*N*] *The antient uſage in bearing of ſuch enſigns of honour as are called arms, &c.*] To both the editions of this book are added, '1. An exact Alphabetical 'Catalogue of all the Shires, Cities, Burrough-towns, 'Cinque-ports in England; ſpecifying the number of 'the Knights of the Shires, *&c.* 2. A true and per-'fect Catalogue of the Nobility of Scotland, *&c.* 3. 'A true and perfect Catalogue of the Nobility of Ire-'land, with a liſt of all the Shires, Cities, and Bur-'roughs of Ireland, which make returns of Parlia-'ment, *&c.*' All three compiled by Charles Hatton, Eſq; ſon of Chriſtopher Lord Hatton (36).

(36) Wood, ib.

[*O*] *He writ ſome other things, which were never publiſhed.*] Particularly, 'Hiſtorical accounts of the 'ancient Families of Haſtings Earl of Huntingdon, and 'Maners Duke of Rutland. And, Genealogical Tables 'of the Kings and ancient Nobility of England; of the 'Kings and principal Nobility of Scotland; and of 'the other Kings of Chriſtendom, and great Families 'of Germany.' He made, for his own uſe, *Indexes* to moſt of our Engliſh Hiſtorians, *viz.* Matthew Paris, Matthew of Weſtminſter, Roger de Hoveden, Henry of Huntingdon, Ethelward, Ingulphus, Thomas of Walſingham, *&c.* And alſo, in twenty-ſix thin folio's, Indexes to the ſixty volumes of Collections from Records by Sir John Kniveton, in the Library of the late Lord Hatton: beſides thoſe to Leland's Itinerary, and Collectanea. ——— Our author was likewiſe the chief promoter of the Saxon Dictionary by Mr William Somner, printed at Oxford in 1659 (37).

(37) Life, *&c.* p. xxiv.

[*P*] *He gave likewiſe ſeveral books to the Office of Heralds in London, and procured many more for the ſame.*] Beſides his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, and the reſt of his printed books, he gave thereto, One large volume MS. of the Arms and Monuments in the Cathedral of York, and divers other churches in that county, lively pricked with a pen (by Mr Gregory King then his Clerk, ſince Rouge-Dragon Purſevant of Arms) and the epitaphs tranſcribed according to the very letter of each: another MS. containing a tranſcript of three old viſitations, which were not in the Heralds Office, *viz.* of Lancaſhire, in King Henry the VIIIth's time; Staffordſhire in Queen Elizabeth's time; and Northumberland in the time of King James I. Another MS. marked L. 12. containing divers arms in colours of foreign Kings and Princes, Britiſh Kings, ancient Engliſh, Scottiſh, and Iriſh Nobility. *&c.* ——— By his procurement alſo it was, that Tho. Povey, Eſq; then one of the Maſters of the Requeſts, gave to the ſaid office, thoſe MSS. containing copies and extracts from divers publick Records: and that the late Duke of Norfolk beſtowed upon it, in 1678, ſeveral manuſcript, as well as printed, books relating to Hiſtory and Genealogy (38).

(38) Life, *&c.* as above.

[*Q*] *Whereon was engraved an Epitaph made by himſelf.*] Which is as follows.

M. S.
WILLIELMI DUGDALE Equ.
aur. Antiquitatum WARWIC. Comitatus
Illuſtratoris;
Qui per omnes
Curiæ Heraldicæ gradus aſcendens,
in principalem Regem
Armorum Anglicorum titulo GARTER
tandem evectus eſt.
UXOREM MARGERIAM
IOH. HUNTBACH de SEWAL in Com. Staff.
filiam duxit:
e qua filios plures, ab hac luce
in tenera ætate ſublatos,
IOHANNEM vero ſuperſtitem,
filiaſq; diverſas ſuſcepit.
Diem obiit 10 Febr. Ao MDCLXXXV (39).

(39) See his Antiq. of Warwickſhire, 2d edit. Vol. II. p. 1046.

[*R*] *He*

dren [*R*] by his wife mentioned above, which died the 18th of December 1681, aged seventy-five, after they had been married almoſt fifty-nine years (*s*). Sir William Dugdale's character is ſufficiently manifeſt from what hath been ſaid of him in this article. However, we ſhall add the character given of him by Mr Wood (*t*). 'Had this indefatigable perſon ſequeſtered himſelf from worldly troubles, and totally addicted himſelf to his ſtudies, and had minded the publick more than his private concerns, the world might have juſtly enjoyed more of his lucubrations, and thoſe more true and accurate than ſuch as are already publiſhed, eſpecially thoſe in his latter days: Yet however what he hath done is prodigious, conſidering the great troubles that he had endured for his loyalty, and the cumbrances of this world that he had run through; and therefore his memory ought to be venerated, and had in everlaſting remembrance, for thoſe things which he hath already publiſhed, which otherwiſe might have periſhed and been eternally buried in oblivion.'

(s) She was buried in the ſame vault with him. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 16.

(t) Ubi ſupra, col. 17.

[*R*] *He had ſeveral children.*] Both ſons, and daughters. One of his daughters, named *Elizabeth*, was married to the famous Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; All his ſons died young, except JOHN, who was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, on the 9th of September 1661, being then chief Gentleman in the chamber of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England (40). October 26, 1675, he was appointed Windſor-Herald upon the reſignation of his brother-in-law Elias Aſhmole, Eſq (41); and Norroy King of Arms in the beginning of March 1685-6, about which time he was knighted by K. James II. He publiſhed 'A Catalogue of the Nobility of England, according 'to their reſpective Precedencies, as it was preſented 'to his Majeſty on New-years-day An. 1684.' To which is added 'The Blazon of their paternal Coats of 'Arms, and a Liſt of the preſent Biſhops.' Printed at London on a broad ſide of a large ſheet of paper in 1685; and again, with additions, in 1690 (42). This Sir John Dugdale died Aug. 31, 1700. C.

(40) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 143, 144.

(41) Memoirs of the Life of Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; &c. publiſhed by Ch. Burman. Lond. 1717, 12mo, p. 54.

(42) Wood, ibid.

DUPPA (*a*) (BRIAN) ſucceſſively Biſhop of Chicheſter, Saliſbury, and Winchester, in the XVIIth century, was born at Lewiſham in Kent [*A*] March 10, 1588-9 (*b*). He was educated in Weſtminſter ſchool in the quality of a King's ſcholar; and learned Hebrew of Dr Lancelot Andrews, then Dean of that church. From thence he was elected ſtudent of Chriſt-Church Oxon. in May 1605 (*c*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 6, 1609 (*d*). In 1612 he was elected Fellow of All-Souls-college (*e*); and the 28th of May 1614, took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*f*). Afterwards he went into Holy Orders; and travelled abroad, particularly into France and Spain (*g*). In 1619 he was unanimouſly choſen one of the Proctors of the univerſity; in which office he acquitted himſelf well, being an excellent Scholar, and a genteel and diſcreet perſon (*h*). On the 1ſt of July 1625, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*i*); at which time he was Chaplain to the Prince Palatine. He was alſo Chaplain to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Dorſet, by whoſe intereſt and recommendation to the King, he was appointed Dean of Chriſt's-Church in Oxford, June 30, 1629, and inſtalled the 28th of November following (*k*). To this church and college he was a great benefactor [*B*]. In 1632 and 1633, he was Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford (*l*), which office he diſcharged with great moderation and prudence. Being conſtituted, in 1634, Chancellor of the church of Sarum, he was collated thereto the 19th of June (*m*). Soon after, he was made Chaplain to King Charles I, and appointed, in 1638 (*n*), Tutor to Charles Prince of Wales, and afterwards to his brother the Duke of York (*o*): which proved his future happineſs, being then accounted by all a moſt excellent man. On the 19th of May 1638, he was preſented to the rectory of Petworth in Suſſex (*p*); and, about the ſame time, nominated to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter. He had reſtitution of the temporalities the 12th of June (*q*), and was conſecrated the 17th of the ſame month (*r*). In the year 1641, he was tranſlated to the See of Saliſbury, but received no benefit from it, on account of the enſuing confuſions (*s*). Upon the ſuppreſſion of Epiſcopacy, he went and waited on the King and Prince at Oxford, where he continued ſome time. After the ſurrendering of that city, he attended his Majeſty (to whom he was a great favourite) in other places; particularly during his impriſonment in the Iſle of Wight (*) [*C*]: and is ſaid by ſome, to have aſſiſted him in compoſing his *Pourtraicture* (*t*) [*D*]. 'Tis certain, the King intruſted him with matters of the greateſt moment

(*a*) Or *de Uphaugh*. Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 269.

(*b*) *Anno Domini* 1588 *exeunte* as it is in his epitaph.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 183.

(*e*) Id. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Id. Faſti, col. 196.

(*g*) Athen. ubi ſupra. & Cl. Gul. Richardſoni Continuatio Fr. Godwini de Præſulibus. Cant. 1742, p. 243.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 232.

(*k*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 256.

(*l*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 254, 256.

(*m*) J. Le Neve, Faſti, &c. Lond. 1716, fol. p. 269.

(*n*) Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings of England, &c. by F. Sandford and Stebbing, Lond. 1707, p. 612.

(*o*) W. Richardſon, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 270. He ſuppoſes that Dr Duppa kept it for ſome time *in commendam* with his See.

(*q*) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 59. Pat. 14 Car. I. p. 19.

(*r*) G. Richardſon, ubi ſupra, p. 515.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 358.

(*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) See Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 652, 774.

[*A*] *Was born at Lewiſham in Kent.*] Moſt authors affirm, that he was born at Greenwich; and ſo it is in his epitaph, which may have occaſioned this general miſtake. But the Biſhop himſelf ſays in his Will, that *he was born at Lewiſham*; of which place his father, Jeffry Duppa, was then vicar (1). Mr Wood, in his *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univ. Oxon.* rightly affirms, that it was at Lewiſham; (though he ſays otherwiſe in his Athenæ:) And ſo doth likewiſe David Lloyd, in his *Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, &c. of thoſe noble, reverend, and excellent perſonages that ſuffered by death, ſequeſtration, &c. in our late inteſtine wars* (2).

(1) See Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 269, 271. & Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 183.

(2) Page 598.

[*B*] *To this church and college he was a great benefactor.*] He began wainſcotting the choir, and paving the cathedral, and glazing the windows with painted glaſs: All which were finiſhed by his ſucceſſor, Dr Samuel Fell (3). He alſo bequeathed thereto, at his death, a handſome legacy, as will be ſhown afterwards.

(3) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 408, 441.

[*C*] *Particularly during his impriſonment in the Iſle of Wight.*] The diſtreſſed King uſed to ſay, That his confinement was much relieved by the good Biſhop's converſation (4).

(4) Hiſtory of the Church of Weſtminſter, &c. by Mr Dart, fol. Vol. II. p. 10.

[*D*] *And is ſaid by ſome to have aſſiſted him in compoſing his Pourtraicture.*] That is, 'Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ. The Pourtraicture of his Sacred Majeſtie, in his ſolitudes and ſufferings.' One author ſuppoſes (5), that Dr Gauden, the publiſher of that book, 'prevailed with Biſhop Duppa to give him one chapter:' but is not poſitive in that point. However, the Biſhop is 'thought by many to have been privy to the compoſing of it (6).'

(5) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. as above, p. 774.

(6) See Dr J. Barwick's Life, Engl. edit. 8vo, 1724, Appendix, p. 366.

[*E*] *He*

moment and concern, especially in supplying the vacant bishopricks; and he was continued in the same trust under King Charles II, during the Usurpation (*u*). After the barbarous death of his gracious Master, our worthy Bishop retired to Richmond in Surrey, where he spent most of his time in great devotion and solitude till the Restoration of his royal pupil King Charles II. Then his past services and sufferings were not forgotten. For he was translated to the rich bishopric of Winchester [*E*], to which he was elected September 10, 1660, and confirmed the 4th of October following. He was also made Lord Almoner (*w*). In the beginning of the same year, before his translation, he was appointed one of the Visitors of the university of Oxford, to put out those, who had been thrust into the places of the ejected Masters and Fellows, during the times of confusion (*x*). About the year 1661, he began an hospital at Richmond, which he tolerably well endowed [*F*]. He had designed some other works of piety and charity, but was prevented by death: for he enjoyed his new dignity little more than a year and a half. He died at Richmond March 26, 1662, aged 73 years and sixteen days (*y*). A few hours before he expired, King Charles II honoured him with a visit, and kneeling down by the bed side begged his blessing, which the Bishop, with one hand on his Majesty's head, and the other lifted up to Heaven, gave with a most passionate zeal (*z*). After his body had lain some time in state at York-House in the Strand, it was decently conveyed thence, the 24th of April following, to the abbey-church of Westminster, where it was buried on the north side of King Edward the Confessor's chapel (*a*). Soon after a large marble-stone was laid over his grave; and a monument, with an inscription, erected to his memory [*G*]. By his Will, he bequeathed several sums to charitable uses [*H*]. He died as he lived, honoured and beloved of all that knew him, being a person of such exemplary piety, eminent candor, humility and meekness; and of so clear a character, that he left not the least spot upon his life or function (*b*). Moreover, he was a man of excellent parts, a very good Preacher, and an ornament to his profession, not only by the qualifications of his mind, but also by the comeliness of his person, and gracefulness of his deportment, which rendered him worthy the service of a Court, and every way fit to stand before Princes (*c*). He wrote a few things, of which we shall give an account in the note [*I*].

(*u*) Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, Lond. 1714, P. ii. p. 62.

(*w*) G. Richardson, ut supra, p. 243. Wood, as above, and J. Le Neve, ubi supra, p. 288. He was then in the 72d year of his age.

(*x*) Bishop Kennet, as above, p. 220.

(*y*) Wood, as above, col. 270, 271.

(*z*) Bishop King's Sermon at the Funeral of Bishop Duppa, Lond. 1662, 4to.

(*a*) Wood, ubi supra; and The Antiquities of St Peter's Westminster, &c. by J. Crull, edit. 1715, 8vo, p. 201, &c.

(*b*) Wood, ubi supra. See also Bishop King's Funeral Sermon on Bishop Duppa.

(*c*) Ibid.

[*E*] *He was translated to the rich bishopric of Winchester.*] 'To the great joy and comfort, as Mr Wood 'observes (7), of many Lords and Gentlemen, as well 'as the clergy, who all had a deep sense and memory 'of his prudence and piety, owing to him a lasting tribute, for his great example of virtue and godliness, &c.'

(7) Athenæ, col. 270.

[*F*] *About the year* 1661, *he began an hospital at Richmond, which he tolerably well endowed.*] For the endowment of it, he purchased land in Sheperton in Middlesex, of Dr Bates, for *fifteen hundred and forty pounds*, which he settled for the maintenance of the poor people placed in that hospital, or almshouse; but the ground whereon that almshouse was built, not being settled at the time of his decease, by reason of the death of the person intrusted, he directed his executors, in his will, to purchase that ground, and cause it to be settled for ever according to his intent (8). This almshouse is of brick, and stands on the hill above Richmond; being the effect of a vow made by the founder, in the time of King Charles the Second's exile.——On the gate is this inscription.

(8) From a copy of his Will, now before us.

'I will pay the vows which I made to God in my 'trouble.'

In memoriam auspicatissimi
Reditus
Caroli *secundi ad suos*
Hoc Ptochotrophium
Ad honorem Dei & Levamen Pauperum,
Extrui curavit
B. D. E. Winton
Regi
Ab Eleemosynis
Anno Domini
1661:

In it are ten poor widows, who are allowed twenty-pence a week a-piece, and twenty shillings to buy coals, and a gown once in two years. The minister and churchwardens are overseers of it. But the poor widows, being alms-women, are not to have any benefit from the parish, and so live in a very mean condition (9). The Bishop had a more than ordinary affection for Richmond, because he had privately resided there several years during the times of confusion, and especially because he had educated the Prince in that place (10).

(9) The Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey, by J. Aubrey, Esq; Vol. I. p. 59, 60.

(10) Wood, ubi supra, col. 271.

[G] *A large marble stone was laid over his grave; and a monument*, &c.] The stone over his grave, is of black marble, nine foot nine inches in length, and five foot two inches in breadth; on which are engraved only these Latin words: *Hic jacet Brianus Winton.*

[*H*] *By his Will he bequeathed several sums to charitable uses.*] Particularly, lands in Pembridge in Herefordshire, which cost 250l. settled upon an almshouse there begun by his father. *Five hundred pounds* directed to be paid to the Bishop of Sarum, to be bestowed upon an organ in that church, or such other use as the Bishop shall think fittest. *Five hundred pounds* to the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church in Oxford, towards the new buildings. *Two hundred pounds* to be bestowed on the cathedral church of Chichester, as the Bishop, and Dean and Chapter shall think fit. And to the cathedral church at Winchester, *two hundred pounds*. To the poor of Lewisham in Kent, where he was born, *forty pounds*. To the poor of Greenwich in Kent, *forty pounds*. To the poor of Westram in Sussex, *twenty pounds*; and *twenty pounds* more to provide communion-plate for that parish, *if they want it*, otherwise that 20l. also to the poor. To the poor of Witham in Sussex, *twenty pounds*. *Ten pounds* per ann. for ten years, to William Watts, to encourage him to continue in his studies. To ten widows of clergymen 500l. i. e. *fifty pounds* a-piece. To ten loyal officers that were not yet provided for, 500l. i. e. *fifty pounds* a-piece. To All Souls College, Oxon. *two hundred pounds*. By a codicil he gave *three hundred pounds* to the repair of St Paul's cathedral in London, and, in several sums, to private friends and servants, above *three thousand pounds*, — &c. (11). So that the character given of him by Bishop Burnet (12), is neither kind, nor just. 'He had been, says he, the King's 'tutor, though no way fit for that post, but he was a 'meek and humble man, and much loved for the 'sweetness of his temper; and would have been more 'esteemed, if he had died before the Restauration, *for* '*he made not the use of the great wealth that flowed* '*in upon him, that was expected.*' It must be remembred, that Bishop Burnet seldom or never speaks well of any of his order.

(11) From his Will.

(12) Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. p. 177.

[*I*] *He wrote a few things*, &c.] Namely, 1. 'The 'Soul's Soliloquie, and Conference with Conscience.' A Sermon before King Charles I, at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, on the 25th of October, being the monthly fast, on Psalm xlii. 5. Lond. 1648, 4to. 2. 'Angels rejoicing for Sinners repenting,' a sermon on Luke xv. 10. Lond. 1648. 4to. 3. 'A Guide

'for

' for the Penitent: Or, a model drawn up for the help ' of a devout ſoul wounded with ſin.' Lond. 1660, 8vo. and 12mo. 4. ' Holy Rules and Helps to Devo- ' tion, both in prayer and practice, in two parts.' Lond. 1674, 12mo. with the author's picture in the beginning. Publiſhed by Benj. Parry of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxon. (15). The *life of Archbiſhop Spotſwood* is likewiſe ſaid by ſome to have been written by our author: but Mr Wood juſtly obſerves, that could not be, becauſe it was written by a native of Scotland. C

(15) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 270.

DUREL (JOHN) a learned Divine in the XVIIth century, who wrote ſeveral pieces in vindication of the Church of England, was born at St Helier's [*A*] in the Iſle of Jerſey, in the year 1625 (*a*). About the end of the year 1640, he was entered a Student of Merton-college in Oxford; but when that city came to be garriſoned for King Charles I, and the ſeat of the Muſes was turned into a ſeat of war, Mr Durel, after a ſtay of two years there, retired into France: and having ſtudied for ſome time at Caen in Normandy, took the degree of Maſter of Arts, in the Sylvanian college of that place, on the 8th of July 1644 (*b*). Then he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, and aſſiduouſly purſued it above two years, at Saumur, under the famous Moſes Amyrault (*c*) Divinity Reader in that Proteſtant univerſity. In the year 1647 he returned into his native country, and continued there for ſome time among his relations (*d*). But after the reduction of that iſland by the Parliament-forces in 1651, having been concerned in the defence of it for the King (*e*), he was forced to withdraw, or rather expelled, from thence. Whereupon he withdrew to Paris, and received Epiſcopal Ordination in the chapel of Sir Richard Browne, Knt. then his Majeſty's (*f*) Reſident in France, from the hands of Thomas Biſhop of Galloway, tranſlated after the King's Reſtoration to Orkney [*B*]. Not finding any employment in or about Paris, he came to St Malo's; and had no ſooner acquainted his friends with the condition he was in, but the Reformed Church of Caen invited him very kindly, by an expreſs, to come and be one of their Miniſters, in the abſence of the moſt learned Samuel Bochart [*C*], who was going into Sweden. Not long after, the Landgrave of Heſſe having written to the Miniſters of Paris, to ſend him a Miniſter to preach in French at his Highneſs's Court, he was by them recommended to that Prince, of whom likewiſe he received a very kind invitation by ſeveral letters (*g*). But not thinking fit to accept of either of thoſe places [*D*], he choſe to be Chaplain to the Duke De la Force, father to the Princeſs of Turenne; in which ſtation he continued above eight years (*b*). Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II he came over to England, and was very inſtrumental in ſetting up the new Epiſcopal French church at the Savoy in London [*E*], wherein he officiated firſt on Sunday 14 July 1661, and continued

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 731.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Or *Amyraldus*, as his name is latinized. He was a learned Divine, and author of ſeveral good books. See our author's *View of the Government, &c. in the Reformed Churches*, p. 149.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) See *Cæſarea*, or Account of Jerſey, &c. by P. Falle, 2d edit. 1734, 8vo, p. 119.

(*f*) K. Charles II.

(*g*) See A View of the Government and Publick Worſhip of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, &c. by our author, J. Durel. Lond. 1662, 4to, p. 93, 94.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 17, 94, 77.

[*A*] *Was born at St Helier's.*] The chief town in the iſland; ſo named from Helerius, a pious hermit, martyred there: and not from Hilary, Biſhop of Poictiers, who never was in the iſland, or had any relation thereto (1). Therefore, the right name of that town is not St Hilary, as it is called by A. Wood, Camden, and many other writers, but St Helier.

(1) Account of Jerſey, &c. as above, p. 9, 10.

[*B*] *And received Epiſcopal Ordination ——— from the hands of Thomas Biſhop of Galloway*, &c.] Being a native of Jerſey, ordained in France, and by a Scotch Biſhop, that made a certain writer (2) doubt, whether he was *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbyter*, a Preſbyter of the Church of England, as he ſtiles himſelf in his *Vindication*, &c. But that author ſhowed therein both his ignorance and malice: for the inhabitants of Jerſey being true and faithful members of the Church of England, any one of them that had received epiſcopal ordination, might juſtly call himſelf a Preſbyter of the Church of England.

(2) The author of *The Nonconformiſts vindicated from the abuſe put upon them by* Mr Durel *and* Mr Scrivener. Supposed to be H. Hickman, Lond. 1679, 8vo.

[*C*] *The moſt learned Samuel Bochart.*] Author of *Canaan*, *Phaleg*, *Hierozoicon*, and other excellent books, intended for the explanation of the holy Scriptures; wherein he ſhews a prodigious ſkill in the Oriental, and other languages; and a fund of good ſenſe and exquiſite judgment. He was invited about the year 1651 to Sweden, by Queen Chriſtina.

[*D*] *But not thinking fit to accept of either of thoſe places.*] He tells us, That ' the providence of God ' did not permit him to go to either of theſe places ' whither he was invited (3),' but aſſigns no other particular reaſon.

(3) View of the Government and Publick Worſhip of God, &c. as above, p. 94.

[*E*] *And was very inſtrumental in ſetting up the new Epiſcopal French church at the Savoy in London.*] We have a full account, in one of his books (4), of the origin and foundation of that epiſcopal church, which we ſhall give in his own words. ' About twenty years ' ſince (5) the Duke of Soubize, living near the Court, ' and finding it troubleſome, and ſometimes impoſſible ' for him, by reaſon of his infirmities, to go to church ' as far as Threadneedle-ſtreet, where the Walloons ' have their church, he had commonly a French ſer- ' mon preached before him in his own houſe every ' Sunday. Thither the French, who live in thoſe ' parts, did uſually reſort, to ſave themſelves the la- ' bour and toil of going up ſo great a way into the ci- ' ty. This they found ſo commodious, that after the ' Duke was dead, they reſolved to ſet up a French ' church about the Strand, and wholly to leave going ' to that of the city, except ſuch men as continued to ' pay their uſual ſtipend (as ſome there were that did) ' towards the maintenance of their miniſters, and others ' ſometimes upon occaſion. But this notwithſtanding, ' thoſe of London ſo highly reſented the erecting of ' that new church, that ever ſince they endeavoured ' by all means poſſible to pull it down. Their laſt ' aſſault againſt it, was after the Reſtoration of King ' Charles II, — when they made their addreſſes to his ' Majeſty, to have the French congregation at Weſt- ' minſter (for ſo it was called, as being within the li- ' berties thereof) broken, and forbidden ever to aſ- ' ſemble any more; giving for reaſon of this their ' humble petition, That the ſaid congregation was not ' eſtabliſhed by any lawful authority, and that by their ' privilege, all thoſe of the French language, whereſo- ' ever they lived, in either of the cities of London or ' Weſtminſter, have but one only place, where they ' are permitted to aſſemble for the publick worſhip of ' God in their own tongue. They of Weſtminſter, ' to keep up their congregation, preſented their hum- ' ble ſuit to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to ' conſider, what trouble and toil it would be for them, ' eſpecially ſuch as had great families and young chil- ' dren, to go every Sunday to church at ſuch a di- ' ſtance. The King, all things conſidered, found out ' a way to grant them both their requeſts; by break- ' ing the French congregation of Weſtminſter, accord- ' ing to the deſire of thoſe of the Walloons congrega- ' tion of London, as being eſtabliſhed indeed without ' any lawful authority; and by ſetting up a new ' church under the immediate juriſdiction of the Biſhop ' of London, wherein divine ſervice ſhould be per- ' formed in French, according to the book of Com- ' mon-prayer; his Majeſty being pleaſed to provide ' for the maintenance of a miniſter, to be therein a ' conſtant preacher; and leaving it to every one's li- ' berty to join with thoſe of the old Walloons congre- ' gation

(4) Ibid. p. 73.

(5) *i. e.* about the year 1640.

nued to officiate there for some years after, with great liking and applause (*i*). In April 1663, he was made Prebendary of North Aulton in the cathedral church of Salisbury, being then Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty (*k*); and, the 11th of February following, succeeded Dr Hawles in a canonry of Windsor (*l*). On the 1st of July 1668, he was installed into the fourth prebend of Durham (*m*), and had a rich donative conferred on him (*n*). The 28th of February 1669-70, he was actually created Doctor in Divinity (*o*), by virtue of the Chancellor's letters [*F*]. In 1677 King Charles II gave him the deanery of Windsor, vacant by the death of Dr Bruno Ryves, into which he was installed July 27 (*p*). He had also the great living of Witney-in Oxfordshire conferred on him (*q*). All which preferments he obtained, partly through his own qualifications, being not only a good Scholar, but also 'a perfect Courtier, skilful in the arts of getting into the favour of great men;' and partly through his great interest with King Charles II, to whom he was personally known both in Jersey and France (*r*). Mr Wood thinks (*s*), that had he lived some years longer, he would undoubtedly have beeen promoted to a bishopric. He published several things [*G*]; and among the rest, '1. The Liturgy of the Church of England asserted, in a 'Sermon, preached [in French] at the Chappel of the Savoy, before the *French Congre-* '*gation*, which usually assembles in that place, upon the first day that divine service was 'there celebrated according to the Liturgy of the Church of England.' Translated into English by G. B. Doctor in Physick. Lond. 1662, 4*to*. II. 'A View of the Govern-'ment and publick Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas. 'Wherein is shewed their Conformity and Agreement with the Church of England, as it 'is established by the Act of Uniformity.' Lond. 1662, 4*to* [*H*]. Exceptions having been made to this book by the Nonconformists [*I*], our author published, III. *A Vindication of the Church of England against the unjust and impudent accusations of the Schismatics*, Lond. 1669, 4*to* [*K*]. He died June 8, 1683, and was buried, the 12th day of the same month

(*i*) Ibid. p. 73, & Wood, ubi supra, col. 732.

(*k*) Wood, ibid.

(*l*) Antiquit. of Berkshire, by El. Ashmole, Esq; Vol. III. edit. 1718, p. 276.

(*m*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. edit. 1727, p. 267.

(*n*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*o*) Wood, Fasti. Vol. II. col. 180.

(*p*) Antiquit. of Berkshire, ubi supra, p. 242.

(*q*) From private information of a friend who knew him.

(*r*) From the same information.

(*s*) Ubi supra.

'gation of London, or to become members of the 'new French church of Westminster, which was like-'wise permitted by his Majesty's letter, to add to 'that Minister, for whom his Majesty was to provide, 'as many others, as by them should be thought conve-'nient, provided the said ministers be presented to the 'Bishop of London for the time being, to be by him 'instituted.'

[*F*] *By virtue of the Chancellor's Letters*] Wherein, among other commendations of him, his Lordship (6), said; 'his fame was so well known to them '[i. e. the University] especially for the great pains 'he had taken in the Church, that he could hardly 'propose to them any thing in his behalf, in which 'they would not be willing to prevent him.——— Adding——that 'of his parts and learning they were 'better judges than himself, but had not so much ex-'perience of his loyalty, fidelity and service to his 'Majesty as himself, &c (7).'

(6) James Duke of Ormond.

(7) Wood, ubi supra.

[*G*] *He published several things.*] Namely, besides those mentioned above, these few following. 1. *Theoremata Philosophiæ rationalis, moralis, naturalis, & supernaturalis, quorum veritatem tueri conabitur in Coll. Sylvano Acad. Cadomensis, &c.* 8 *Jul.* 1644. *Cadom.* 1644. 4to. They were the Theses he maintained in the University of Caen, when he took his Master of Arts degree. 2. He published, a French, and Latin, Translation of the Common-prayer-book, upon the review of it at the Restoration: 3. The whole Duty of Man, translated into French; said to be by the Doctor's Lady, but very probably with his assistance (8). 4. He intended to publish a collection of the several Liturgies of all the Protestant Churches; but never did (9).

(8) Wood, ubi supra; and from private information. See also our author's *View of the Government and Publick Worship of God*, &c. as above, p. 187.

(9) View of the Government, &c. p. 14.

[*H*] *A view of the Government and publick worship of God in the Reformed Churches, &c.*] In this book, the learned Author puts the Controversy between the established Church of England and the Dissenters upon its right foot. For, the Presbyterians having given out, 'That the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, 'were as much averse to the Government and publick 'Worship of God in the Church of England as them-'selves,' He shews, in Sect 1, the conformity of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas with the Reformed Church of England, in these particulars. Because, those Churches that follow the Confession of Augsburg, have the same Ceremonies with the Church of England; have subordination of Pastors, and in some Bishops and Archbishops, both name and thing; set Forms of Prayers; Holy-days, and Fast-days; magnificent Churches, Organs, Surplice, Church-Ornaments, Cross in Baptism, receiving the Communion kneeling, &c. All which he confirms by quotations from authentick writers, and by letters sent to him by the Ministers of most of the Reformed Congregations in the several parts of France. In Sect II. He maintains, that in those things, in which some Reformed Churches beyond the Seas differ from the Reformed Church of England, they do not pretend she should rather conform to them, than they to her, and that they never desired the abolition of our Church-government, or of our Book of Common-prayer, but that they approve of both, and wish we may ever enjoy the benefit of both in peace and quietness.——At the end, there is an Appendix, containing, among other things, the Preface to the *Agenda*, or Form of Prayer used in the Churches of Poland and Lithuania. And a letter of Dr Peter Du Moulin, wherein he informs our Author, that in 1651, Archbishop Usher told him, David Blondel had concluded his *Apologia pro Hieronymi sententia*, (i. e. his book in favour of Presbytery) with words to this purpose. 'By all that we have said to 'assert the rights of the Presbytery, we do not intend 'to invalidate the antient and Apostolical Constitution 'of Episcopal Preeminence. But we believe that 'whersoever it is established conformably to the an-'tient Canons it must be carefully preserved, and 'whersoever, by some heat of contention or other-'wise, it hath been put down or violated, it ought to 'be reverently restored.' But that book having been written at the earnest request of the Assembly of Westminster, of the Scots especially, who had their Agents at Paris to strengthen their party by misinforming the Protestants of France, and winning them to their side: when these Agents saw this conclusion of Mr Blondel's manuscript, they expostulated with him very loud for marring all the good he had done in his book, and never left importuning him, till they had prevailed upon him to put out that conclusion.

[*I*] *Exceptions having been made to this by the Nonconformists.*] Particularly in a book entituled, *Apologia pro Ministris in Anglia (vulgò) Nonconformistis. Anno* 1662. *Aug.* 24. *Die Bartholomæo dicto, ejectis. Adversus argutiolas, putidasque calumnias, Durelli, Ellisi, aliorumque. Per Irenæum Eleutherium A. M. ex Acad. Cantab.* i. e. 'An Apology for the Non-'conformist Ministers in England, ejected Aug 24. '1662. against the little subtilties and stinking calum-'nies of Durell, Ellis, &c.' In which Mr Durell is treated with great contempt, and called many hard names. The Author of it was Henry Hickman (10); and it was visibly printed beyond Sea.

(10) Wood, ubi supra, col. 733, 895.

[*K*] *A Vindication of the Church of England, &c.*] The Apology having been written in Latin, our Author published this his vindication in the same language, under this title, *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversus*

month, about the middle of the north isle joining to the choir of the collegiate chapel at Windsor, in a small brick vault: over which, a flat black marble stone was soon after laid (*t*), with a short inscription [*L*]. Mr Wood gives the following character of him: (*t*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 735.
'He was a person of unbiassed and fixed principles, untainted and steady loyalty, as constantly adhering to the sinking cause and interest of his Sovereign in the worst of times; who dared with an unshaken and undaunted resolution to stand up and maintain the honour and dignity of the English Church, when she was in her lowest and deplorable condition. He was very well versed also in all the controversies on foot between the Church and the Disciplinarian party; the justness and reasonableness of the established constitutions of the former, no one of late years hath more plainly manifested, or with greater learning more successfully defended against its most zealous modern oppugners than he hath done, as by his works is manifest (*u*).' The same author calls him elsewhere (*w*), 'the judicious and laborious advocate for the Church of England, both in word and in deed.' Other writers have also spoken in his praise, and even his antagonist Dr Lewis Du Moulin, commends him for his civility and candour, and the smoothness and beauty of his language (*x*).

(*u*) Ib. col. 732.

(*w*) Fasti, Vol. II. col. 180.

(*x*) In familiari progressu vir civilis ingenio, ore probo, pectore niveo, oratione profluente, & lenocinante. *Patronus bonæ fidei*, &c. p. 1.

versus iniquas atque inverecundas Schismaticorum Criminationes, Vindiciæ. The Presbyterians taking great offence at it, published these answers, '1° *Bonasus* (11) *Vapulans:* or some castigations given to Mr John Durell for fowling himself and others in his English and Latin book.' Lond. 1672. 8vo. reprinted in 1679 under this title, 'The Nonconformists vindicated from the abuses put upon them by Mr Durell and Mr Scrivner.' 2. Dr Lewis Du Moulin published also this answer thereto, *Patronus bonæ fidei, in causa Puritanorum, contra Hierarchas Anglos: ut disceptatur in specimine confutationis vindiciarum clariss. Viri Joh. Durelli, cujus periculum fit, cum passim in ejus opere, tum maxime in capite primo, in quo agitur de authoribus nuperorum motuum in Anglia.* Lond. 1672. 8vo.

(11) A wild beast like a bull, which when pursued by the hunters, lets fly his ordure plentifully in their faces.

[*L*] *With a short inscription.*] As follows,

Johannes Durell S. Th. D.
Windsorienſis Sacelli Decanus, hic
jacet, beatam expectans Resurrectionem,
obiit Ann. Ætatis 58. *A. Chr. Nat.* 1683.
8 *Id. Jun.*

i. e. Here lieth John Durell, D. D. Dean of Windsor, waiting for a happy Resurrection, he died June 8. 1683. in the 58th year of his age. C

DYER (Sir JAMES) an eminent Lawyer, a worthy Patriot, and Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the second son of Richard Dyer, of Wymaulton in Somersetshire, Esq; in which county this worthy person was born, at his father's seat of Roundhill (*a*), in the beginning of the XVIth century, as there is good reason to believe, in 1511 (*b*). He received part of his education at Broadgate-Hall, in the university of Oxford (*c*), where he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner; and removed from thence without taking a degree, as being intended for the study of the Law, to the Middle-Temple, London. In that learned society he very soon became remarkable, as well for the quickness of his parts, as for his extream diligence in his profession; and after having continued for some time in the degree of Barrister, he was elected summer reader of that house, in the sixth year of the reign of King Edward VI (*d*). He was by the King's writ, bearing date 19th of May, 1552, called to the degree of a Serjeant at Law (*e*), and was also Speaker of the House of Commons, in the parliament which met the first of March the same year (*f*). On the 19th of October, 1553, he was, together with William Standford, made one of the Queen's Serjeants at Law (*g*). In this station, he assisted with the gentleman beforementioned, at the trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Knt. at the Guild-hall of London, for high-treason, April 17, 1554 (*h*), at which time his collegue, Serjeant Standford, behaved with great warmth and bitterness against the prisoner; but Serjeant Dyer took very little or no share in that prosecution, which certainly does honour to his memory, as that prosecution did none at all to the Crown, or to those who managed it (*i*). On the 8th of May, 1556, being then a Knight and Recorder of Cambridge, as well as one of the Queen's Serjeants, he was constituted one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas (*k*), and must therefore be the person mentioned by the Reverend Mr Strype (*l*), though he is strangely mistaken as to his title [*A*]. April the 23d, 1557, he was removed to the King's-Bench (*m*), and sat as a Puisne Judge there, during the remainder of Queen Mary's reign. In the beginning of that of Queen Elizabeth, *viz.* November the 18th, 1559, he was again made one of

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, Somersetshire, p. 25.

(*b*) From an original picture.

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Tom. I. col. 210.

(*d*) E Regist. Hospic. med. Templ.

(*e*) Chron. Jurid. p. 163.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 210.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 351.

(*h*) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II.

(*i*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 63.

(*k*) Spelman. Glossar. p. 344.

(*l*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 390.

(*m*) Chron. Jurid. p. 165.

[*A*] *Is strangely mistaken as to his title.*] It may be easily conceived, that so wise a man, and so great a lawyer, as Sir James Dyer, should perfectly understand the constitution of the Church; and without entering at all into the violences of parties, be willing to lay hold of any opportunity of doing a thing which he thought right in itself, whatever turn things might take, or which Church soever prevailed. We are therefore, obliged to Mr Strype, for setting down, and thereby preserving, the memorial of the just and pious act done, by this learned and upright lawyer, though he seems, through some mistake, to be willing to attribute it to another of the same name; but as there was no such person, and all the circumstances of this fact perfectly agree with our Chief Justice's character and situation, there can be no doubt that he was the man. The story, as related by Mr Strype, runs thus (1). 'I shall insert into this history one particular matter, which how little soever it may be thought, yet because of the strangeness and rarity of it may deserve to be recorded. It was the deappropriation of an impropriation, in the diocese of Bath and Wells; which was restored back to the Church, by Dyer, Lord Chief Justice, in the reign of King Philip and Queen Mary; and by James Dyer, and his heirs for ever, made presentative, or presentable lawfully, and by royal authority. It was the church of Staplegrove juxta Taunton. And James Dyer, Knight, and Capital Justiciar of the Bench, presented Chr. Dyrling thereunto, Sept. 17, 1575, void by the death of Walter Gardiner.'

(1) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 390.

[*B*] *In*

of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, but he did not long continue in that ſtation, for Sir Anthony Brown, who preſided in that court, in the reign of Queen Mary, and who had remained in that poſt in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, being inflexible in his adherence to the Romiſh Communion, it was not thought proper to leave him any longer in ſo high an office (*n*), though in all other reſpects, he was a moſt worthy perſon; neither indeed did himſelf deſire it, but rather choſe to ſerve in a leſs diſtinguiſhed place; and therefore, on the 22d of January following, the Queen was pleaſed to conſtitute and appoint Sir James Dyer, Knt. Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas (*o*); and the very ſame day, Sir Anthony Brown was made one of the Judges of the ſame court, in the room of Sir James Dyer (*p*). In this high office, few have ſerved with greater reputation during their lives, or left a greater character behind them, either in point of probity or ſufficiency (*q*). In 1572, he aſſiſted at the trial of Thomas Duke of Norfolk; and upon the Duke's deſiring to have counſel allowed him, alledging it was no more than had been granted to Humphry Stafford, in the reign of Henry VII; Sir James Dyer anſwered, that it was true, but that it was to a point of Law, *viz.* whether he was legally taken out of ſanctuary or not; but that as to point of fact, he neither had, nor could have, counſel, as the law ſtood (*r*). He continued in his office without the leaſt diminution, either of his own reputation, or the Queen's favour, twenty-four years, which is longer than any who ſat, either before or after (*s*). At length, full of years, and in the juſt eſteem of all good men, he paid his laſt debt to nature, at Stowton in Huntingdonſhire, where he had purchaſed an eſtate, March 24, 1581, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and was buried in the pariſh church there, on the ninth of April following (*t*). Of his family we ſhall give the reader ſome account in the notes [*B*]. He was the author of a large book of reports, printed about twenty years after his deceaſe, and which have been highly eſteemed for their ſuccinctneſs and ſolidity. He left behind him alſo, ſome other writings, relative to his profeſſion, of all which, the reader will meet with a more full account, at the bottom of the page [*C*]. By theſe, in conjunction with the ſervices he rendered his country

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 152.

(*o*) Spelman Gloſſ. p. 344.

(*p*) Chron. Jurid. p. 167.

(*q*) Tanner, Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 242.

(*r*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 86.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, Somerſetſh. p. 25.

(*t*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

c

[*B*] *In the notes.*] This worthy Judge married Margaret, daughter of Sir Maurice Abarrow, of Hampſhire, Knt. which Lady, at the time of his marriage with her, was the widow of Sir Thomas Elliot, of Carlton in Cambridgeſhire, Knt. and deceaſed Auguſt 25, 1569, without having any iſſue by her ſecond huſband (2); ſo that a large eſtate, which our Sir James Dyer purchaſed in Huntingdonſhire, came after his deceaſe, to his nephew, Richard Dyer, ſon to his brother, Lawrence Dyer, whoſe deſcendant was raiſed to the degree of a Baronet (3), by letters patent, dated June 8, 1627, and is therein ſtiled of Stowton in Huntingdonſhire, but that honour is now extinct.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

(3) Baronettage of England, Vol. V. p. 272.

[*C*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The firſt edition of our author's Reports was printed in 1601, again in 1606, in 4to. in 1621, in folio, in 1672, in folio; but the beſt edition is in 1688, and bears the following title, literally tranſlated from the French.

Reports of ſeveral ſelect matters and reſolutions, of the reverend judges and ſages of the law, touching and concerning many principal points, debated by them in the ſeveral reigns of the moſt high and potent Princes, the Kings Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, and the Queens Mary and Elizabeth, collected and reported by that moſt reverend Judge, Sir James Dyer, Knt. heretofore Chief Juſtice *of the* Common-Pleas, *in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; to which are now added, many thouſand references to other books of the Common Law, as well antient as modern, beſides a great number of caſes that were never before printed, with three, Tables, the firſt, containing the principal matters in the ſaid book; the ſecond, the names of all the caſes reported therein; and the third, the names of the new caſes added in the margin.*

That learned and worthy Judge, Sir Edward Coke, gives us the following ſhort and clear account, of the progreſs of Reports, and of the characters of their authors, to his own time (4). 'Right profitable alſo, 'are the antient books of the Common Laws yet extant, as Glanvil, Bracton, Britton, Fleta, Ingham, 'and Nova Narrationes, and thoſe alſo of later times, 'as the old Tenures, old Natura Brevium, Littleton, 'Doctor and Student, Perkins, Fitzh. Nat. Br. and 'Stamford, of which the regiſter Littleton, Fitzherbert, and Stamford, are moſt neceſſary, and of greateſt authority and excellency; and yet the other alſo 'are not without their fruit. In reading of the 'caſes in the books at large, which ſometimes are 'obſcure, and miſprinted, if the reader, after the diligent reading of the caſe, ſhall obſerve how the 'caſe is abridged, in thoſe two great abridgements of 'Juſtice Fitzherbert, and Sir Robert Brooke, it will 'both illuſtrate the caſe, and delight the reader; and 'yet neither that of Statham, nor that of the book of 'aſſizes, is to be rejected: and for pleading, the great 'book of Entries is of ſingular uſe and utility. To 'the former Reports, you may add the exquiſite and 'elaborate commentaries at large of Maſter Plowden, 'a grave man, and ſingularly well learned; and the 'ſummary and fruitful obſervations of that famous 'and moſt reverend Judge and Sage of the Law, 'Sir James Dyer, Knt. late Chief Juſtice of the Court 'of Common-Pleas, and mine own ſimple labours: 'then have you fifteen books or treatiſes, and as many 'volumes of the Reports, beſides the Abridgments of 'the Common Laws, for I ſpeak not of the ſtatutes 'and acts of parliament, whereof there be divers 'great volumes. And for that, it is hard for a man 'to report any part or branch, of any art or ſcience, 'juſtly and truly, which he profeſſeth not; and impoſſible to make a juſt and true relation of any thing 'that he underſtands not; I pray thee beware of 'Chronicle Law, reported in our Annals, for that will 'undoubtedly lead thee to error: for example, they 'ſay, that William the Conqueror decreed, that there 'ſhould be Sheriffs in every ſhire, and Juſtices of Peace 'to keep the countries in quiet, and to ſee offenders 'puniſhed; whereas the learned know, that Sheriffs 'were great officers, and miniſters of juſtice, as now 'they are, long before the Conqueſt; and Juſtices of 'Peace had not their being until almoſt three hundred 'years after, viz. in the firſt year of Edward III.' The learned and loyal Judge Jenkins, in his preface to his Reports, ſpeaks alſo to this purpoſe (5). 'Sir 'Anthony Fitzherbert, Sir William Stamford, Lord 'Broke, Lord Dyer, Sir George Croke, and Mr Edmond Plowden, all remarkably great men, have illuſtrated our Law by their learned writings. They 'who would effectually read our laws, muſt again and 'again turn over whatever is to be found concerning 'them, whether in printed books, or among our 'written records: but before they beſtow their 'pains upon the more antient writings, becauſe many 'things in them are grown obſelete, and gone into 'diſuſe; and many other points are diſtracted by variety of opinions; it is of importance to gentlemen, 'that as ſoon as they have acquired the rudiments of 'the Law, they ſhould diligently collect and imprint 'on their minds, the ſolemn judgments and reſolutions 'of the Judges, that they may raiſe their ſuperſtruc-

(4) Preface to the third part of his Reports.

(5) Preface to Centuries.

'tures

country upon the bench, he came fully up to the character which Camden has given him, of being ever diſtinguiſhed by an equal and calm diſpoſition, which rendered him in all caſes, a moſt upright Judge, as his penetration made him a fit interpreter of the laws. 'Jacobus Dierus, in communi Placitorum Tribunali Juſtitiarus primarius, qui animo 'ſemper placido & ſereno, omnes Judicis æquiſſimi partes implevit, & Juris noſtri pru- 'dentiam commentariis illuſtravit (*u*).' (*u*) Annal. Eliz. p. 393.

'tures of knowledge upon well laid foundations, that 'they may not be forced to learn what they muſt un- 'learn again.'

Our author has alſo written. *A Reading upon the Statute of* 32 *Hen.* VIII, *cap.* 1. *of Wills*; and, *upon the* 34*th and* 35*th Hen.* VIII, *cap.* 5. *for the explanation of the Statute*, Lond. 1648, 4to.

His reports were abridged by Sir Thomas Ireland, and by another perſon.

E

EDMONDES (*a*), EDMONDS, or EDMUNDS, (Sir THOMAS) Knt. memorable for his embaſſies at ſeveral Courts, was born at Plymouth in Devonſhire (*b*), about the year 1563 (*c*). He was the fifth and youngeſt ſon of Thomas Edmondes, Head-cuſtomer of that port, and of Fowye in Cornwal, by Joan his wife, daughter of Antony Delabere, of Shirbourn in Dorſetſhire, Eſq; who was third ſon of Henry Edmondes, of New Sarum, Gent. [*A*], by Juliana his wife, daughter of William Brandon, of the ſame place (*d*). Where he had his education is not known. But we are informed, that he was introduced to Court by his name-ſake, Sir Thomas Edmonds [*B*], Comptroller of the Queen's Houſhold (*e*): and being initiated into public buſineſs, under that moſt accompliſhed Stateſman, Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State (*f*), he was, undoubtedly through his recommendation, employed by Queen Elizabeth in ſeveral embaſſies. In 1592, that wiſe and diſcerning Princeſs, appointed him her Reſident at the Court of France, or rather Agent for her affairs in relation to King Henry IV, with a ſalary of twenty ſhillings a day (*g*) [*C*]. And on the 17th of May, 1596, made him a grant of the office of Secretary to her Majeſty for the French tongue, 'in conſideration of his faithful and acceptable ſervice heretofore done (*h*).' Towards the end of that year he returned to England, when Sir Antony Mildmay was ſent Embaſſador to King Henry; but he went back again to France, in the beginning of May following, and in leſs than a month returned to London (*i*) [*D*]. In October 1597, he

(*a*) So he generally writ his name, as appears from ſeveral Orders of Council in the author's poſſeſſion.

(*b*) Mr Weſtcot, Deſcr. of Devon. in Pedig. Sir W. Pole, Stateſmen of Devon. See Prince's Worthies of Devon. edit. 1701, p. 287.

(*c*) Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between England, &c. from the State-Papers of Sir Tho. Edmondes, &c. by T. Birch, Lond. 1749, p. 12 of Introduct.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. and D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, 8*vo*, p. 962.

(*f*) Birch, ubi ſupra. Introd. p. 12, and Hiſtorical View, as above, p. 323.

(*g*) Introd. ibid. and View of the Negotiations as above, p. 1, 11, 18.

(*h*) Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 290.

(*i*) View of the Negotiations, &c. as above, p. 47, 49, 50.

[*A*] *Who was third ſon of Henry Edmondes, of New Sarum, Gent.*] Sir Thomas Edmondes, as the Rev. Mr Birch obſerves (1), was deſcended of a good family, different branches of which ſettled in ſeveral counties: but the books in the Heralds-office are ſo defective in his pedigree, that it is not to be traced higher than his grand-father, Henry Edmondes of New Sarum, abovementioned; who had three ſons, Laurence, *Henry*, and Thomas, and three daughters.

(1) Introduction, as above, p. xi.

[*B*] *By his name-ſake, Sir Thomas Edmonds.*] Ant. Wood takes Sir Thomas Edmondes, who is the ſubject of this article, to have been *the ſon* of this Sir Thomas Edmonds, and *brother* to Sir Clement Edmonds, tranſlator of Cæſar's Commentaries (2). But Mr Prince aſſures us (3), that they had different coats of arms, and conſequently were of two diſtinct families.

(2) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 472.

(3) Worthies, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *With a ſalary of twenty ſhillings a day.*] But this allowance was ſo ill paid, or ſo inſufficient for his ſubſiſtence, that he was obliged to repreſent, in moſt pathetic terms, his diſtreſs to the Lord-Treaſurer, in a letter dated 21 Dec. 1593. Wherein, after repreſenting how much he was indebted to one Mr Smyth's charity and pity, who had not only lent him, but alſo given him extraordinary credit for money; he adds, 'It is to many known the poor life I do here lead, 'under the burden of this heavy expence, far above 'my power to bear, proteſting to your Lordſhip, in 'the faith of a Chriſtian, ſuch to be my preſent miſery, 'as I have not the means, wherewith to put a good 'garment on my back, to appear in honeſt company; 'my horſes the moſt part ſpoiled and ſpent, what by 'accidents, and the length of time; and generally 'never ſuffered in my poor particular, the like ex- 'tremity of penury (5).' Mr Birch obſerves upon that occaſion, That complaints of Queen Elizabeth's parſimony were not at all unuſual among her Miniſters, both at home and abroad. And it is remarkable, that the Lord-Treaſurer himſelf, in a letter ſtill extant in the paper-office, written in the critical year 1588, while the Spaniſh Armada was expected againſt England, excuſes himſelf to Sir Edward Stafford, then Embaſſador in France, for not writing to him oftner, on account of her Majeſty's unwillingneſs to be at the expence of meſſengers (6).

(5) View of the Negotiat. &c. as above, p. 11, 12.

(6) Ibid. p. 21.

[*D*] *And in leſs than a month returned to London.*] The occaſion of theſe frequent and ſudden voyages, was, King Henry's requiring Queen Elizabeth, to ſend 4000 men to his aſſiſtance, according to treaty: and his refuſing to give up Boulogne for a caution (7).

(7) View of the Negotiat. &c. p. p. 50.

he was dispatched again as Agent for her Majesty to the King of France (*k*); and returned to England about the beginning of May 1598, where his stay was extremely short, for he was at Paris in the July following (*l*). But, upon Sir Henry Neville's being appointed Embassador to the French Court, he was recalled, to his great satisfaction, and arrived at London in June 1599 (*m*). Sir Henry Neville gave him a very great character (*n*), and recommended him to the Queen in the strongest terms [*E*]. Before the end of that year, namely, about December the 26th, he was sent to Archduke Albert, Governor of the Netherlands, with a letter of credence, and instructions to treat of a peace. The Archduke received him with great respect; but not being willing to send Commissioners to England, as the Queen desired, Mr Edmondes went to Paris, and having obtained of King Henry IV, *Boulogne* for the place of treaty, he returned to England, and arrived at Court on Sunday morning, February 17 (*o*). The 11th of March following, he embarked again for Brussels (*p*); and on the 22d, had an audience of the Archduke, whom having prevailed upon to treat with the Queen, he returned home, April 9, 1600, and was received by her Majesty with great favour, and highly commended for his sufficiency in this negotiation (*q*). Soon after, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the treaty of Boulogne, together with Sir Henry Neville, the Queen's Embassador in France, John Herbert, Esq; her Majesty's second Secretary, and Robert Beale, Esq; Secretary to the Council in the North; their commission being dated the 10th of May, 1600. The two last, with Mr Edmondes, left London the 12th of that Month, and arrived at Boulogne the 16th, as Sir Henry Neville did the same day from Paris. But after the Commissioners had been above three months upon the place, they parted, July the 28th, without ever assembling, by reason of a dispute about precedency between England and Spain (*r*). Mr Edmondes, not long after his return, was appointed one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council: and, in the end of June, 1601, was sent to the French King, to complain of the many acts of injustice committed by his subjects against the English merchants. He soon after returned to England; but, towards the end of August, went again, and waited upon King Henry IV, then at Calais; to whom he proposed some measures, both for the relief of Ostend, then besieged by the Spaniards, and for an offensive alliance against Spain (*s*). After his return to England, he was appointed one of the Commissioners, for settling with the two French Embassadors, the depredations between England and France, and preventing them for the future (*t*). The 20th of May, 1603, he was knighted by King James I; and, upon the conclusion of the peace with Spain, on the 18th of August, 1604, was appointed Embassador to the Archduke at Brussels (*u*). He set out for that place the 19th of April, 1605 (*w*); having first obtained a reversionary grant of the office of Clerk of the Crown (*x*). And, though absent, was chosen one of the Representatives for the Burgh of Wilton, in the parliament which was to have met at Westminster, Nov. 5, 1605, but was prevented by the discovery of the Gun-powder-plot (*y*) [*F*]. During his embassy, he promoted, to the utmost of his power, an accommodation between the King of Spain and the States-General of the United Provinces (*z*) [*G*]. He was recalled in 1609, and came back to England about the end of August, or the beginning of September (*a*). In April 1610, he was employed as one of the Assistant-Commissioners, to conclude a defensive league with the Crown of France (*b*). And having been designed, ever since the year 1608, to be sent Embassador into that kingdom [*H*], he was dispatched thither in all

(*k*) Ib. p. 52.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 176.

(*m*) Ib. p. 183, 189. and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. I. p. 44, 45, 46, 50.

(*n*) Memorials, &c. p. 44, 45.

(*o*) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 139; and Letters of the Sidney-family, Vol. II. p. 165, 166, 169.

(*p*) Letters of the Sidney-family, ibid. p. 178, 179.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 186.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 194; and Memorials, as above, p. 186, 187, 188, 192—224.

(*s*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 200, 201; and Memorials, &c. p. 346, 348.

(*t*) Memorials, &c. p. 394.

(*u*) Memorials, Vol. II. p. 26. View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 217, 218.

(*w*) Ib. p. 219.

(*x*) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 58.

(*y*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 235.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 263, &c.

(*a*) Ib. p. 301, 308.

(*b*) Ib. p. 310.

[*E*] *And recommended him to the Queen in the strongest terms.*] Namely, in these words. —— 'I should 'be very ungratefull, yf I should not yeald a true 'testimony unto this gentleman Mr Edmonds, and ac- 'knowledge the great light I have receaved, by his 'frendly and reall communicating with me his know- 'ledge of the affaires of this state; which I assure 'your Majestie to be very exquisite, and his judg- 'ment and sufficiency suche withall, as I hold him 'to have bin a worthy minister of your Majestie's 'here, and to be very able to do you good ser- 'vice, whereseever yt shall be your gracious plea- 'sure to make further use of him (8).

[*F*] *But was prevented by the discovery of the Gun-powder-plot.*] Sir Thomas sent to our Ministry several notices about that plot, which he learned at Brussels; and, among the rest, That the English regiment, in the service of the Archduke, was to be brought over to England, for seconding the enterprizes of the conspirators, after the execution of that hellish design (9).

(8) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. I. p. 44.

(9) See View of the Negotiat. &c. as above, p. 248—255, 257.

[*G*] *During his embassy, he promoted an accommodation between the King of Spain, and the States-General.*] It appears from some of his dispatches, that Prince Maurice was extremely averse to an accommodation; and used all the efforts imaginable, to persuade Henry IV, to prevent the success of the treaty about the truce. And, while it was negotiating, he was of a very *craving* humour: for, not satisfied with the large treatments granted by the States, nor contented with the restitution from the Archdukes of all the Prince of Orange's land in Burgundy, and the Netherlands; he further demanded satisfaction for certain pretensions, grounded upon grants to his father from the States of Brabant and Flanders, which carried with them no shew of equity (10). In his conduct he appeared to have been of a very warm temper; apt to fly out upon contradiction, and embrace hasty resolutions, from which he was afterwards obliged to recede, in a manner that did him no credit (11).

(10) Ibid. p. 286, 288, 289, 294.

(11) Ib. p. 286, 287.

[*H*] *And having been designed, ever since the year 1608, to be sent Embassador into that kingdom.*] His abilities, integrity, and faithfulness in his master's and country's service, were such a terror to the French Court, that they endeavoured to prevent his coming, and to have another appointed. For Mr de Puisieux, one of their Prime-Ministers, takes notice, in a letter to their Embassador in England, that they would get nothing, by having him in the room of Sir George Carew, since Sir Thomas Edmondes understood them too well. 'If he should be sent, adds Mr de Pui- 'sieux, it is only with a design to make a fuller dis- 'covery of our affairs. We cannot, nor ought to 'oppose openly, the appointment of him; but who- 'ever can underhand divert this stroke, would, in my 'opinion, do a good service.' And Secretary de Villeroy, in a letter to the abovementioned Embassador, has these words, 'Let me know, — whether 'there is a means of procuring Sir Thomas Edmondes

'to

all haſte, in May 1610, upon the news of the execrable murder of King Henry IV, in order to learn the ſtate of affairs there (*c*). He arrived at Paris, May the 24th, where he was very civilly received [*I*], and on the 27th of June, had his audience of Mary de Medicis, Queen Regent; the young King [Lewis XIII] being preſent (*d*). In November following, he cauſed an Italian to be apprehended at Paris, for having ill deſigns againſt his maſter, King James I (*e*) [*K*]. There being, in 1612, a competition between him and the Spaniſh Embaſſador, about precedency (*f*), we are told, that he went to Rome privately, and fetched a certificate out of the Pope's Ceremonial, ſhewing that the King of England is to precede the King of Caſtile (*g*). He was employed, the ſame year, in treating of a marriage between Henry Prince of Wales, and the Princeſs Chriſtine, ſiſter to Lewis XIII, King of France; but the death of that Prince, on the 6th of November, 1612, put an end to this negotiation (*h*). And yet, on the ninth day of the ſame month, orders were ſent him, to propoſe a marriage between the ſaid Princeſs and our Prince Charles: however, he had more diſcretion than to open ſuch an affair ſo ſoon after the brother's death (*i*) [*L*]. About the end of December 1613, Sir Thomas deſired leave to return to England, but was denied till he ſhould have received the final reſolution of the Court of France, about the treaty of marriage; which having obtained, he came to England towards the end of January, 1613-14. Though the Privy-Council ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this match, becauſe they had not ſooner been made acquainted with ſo important an affair; yet ſo zealous was the King for it, that he ſent Sir Thomas again to Paris, with inſtructions, dated July 20, 1614, for bringing it to a concluſion. But, after all, it appeared that the Court of France were not ſincere in this affair, and only propoſed it to amuſe the Proteſtants in general (*k*). In 1616, Sir Thomas aſſiſted at the conference at Loudun, between the Proteſtants and the oppoſite party; and, by his journey to Rochelle, diſpoſed the Proteſtants to accept of the terms offered them, and was of great uſe in ſettling the Pacification (*l*). About the end of October, in the ſame year, he was ordered to England; not to quit his charge, but after he ſhould have kiſſed the King's hand, and received ſuch honour as his Majeſty was reſolved to confer upon him, in acknowledgment of his long, painful, and faithful ſervices, then to go and reſume his charge; and continue in France, till the affairs of that kingdom, which then hung in a ſlippery and uncertain ſtate, ſhould be better eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, he came over to England in December; and on the 21ſt of that month, was made Comptroller of the King's Houſhold; and the next day ſworn a Privy-Counſellor. He returned to the Court of France in April 1617; but took his leave of it towards the latter end of the ſame year. And on the 19th of January, 1617-18, was advanced to the place of Treaſurer of the Houſhold (*m*): which was all the preferment he enjoyed, tho' he deſerved the poſt of Secretary of State, that he had been recommended for (*n*), and which none was better qualified to diſcharge. He was elected one of the Burgeſſes for the Univerſity of Oxford, in the firſt parliament of King Charles I, which met June 18, 1625, and was alſo returned for the ſame, in the next parliament, which aſſembled at Weſtminſter the 26th of February following; but his election being declared void (*o*), he was choſen for another place. Some of the Speeches he made in this parliament, are printed [*M*]. On the

(*c*) Ibid. p. 308, 312.

(*d*) Ib. p. 313.

(*e*) Memorials, as above, Vol. III. P. 234.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 350.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, as above, p. 963.

(*h*) View of the Negotiations, &c. P. 352—372.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 373.

(*k*) Ib. p. 375, 376. and Memorials as above, Vol. III. P. 488, 492, 497.

(*l*) View of the Negotiations, &c. P. 390.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 399, 400, 401, 405.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 373, 374, 379, 405.

(*o*) Wood, Hiſt. & Ant. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. P. 443.

' to be employed elſewhere; which would be a great ' relief to the Queen.——However, I am not ' of opinion that you ſhould make this propoſal; for, ' if it does not ſucceed, it will only ſerve to exaſpe- ' rate *this little man*, who has ſpirit and courage ' enough (12).'

(12) Lettres a Monſ. de la Boderie, edit. Amſterd. 1733, 8*vo*, Tom. I. p. 247, 251, 252. & Tom. II. p. 266.

[*I*] *Where he was very civilly received*] Tho' his perſon was not very agreeable to the French Court, as is manifeſt from the laſt note, yet his coming at that juncture was well taken. ' For, the next day after his arrival, he was viſited by the Maſter of the ' Ceremonies, from the young King and the Queen ' Regent, to bid him welcome, and to make their ' acknowledgements to King James for that kind office of ſending thither his Embaſſador. Sir Thomas ' was the firſt in the performance of his office to the ' new King, for which he received many congratulations, and was viſited with great affection by all the ' foreign Miniſters at Paris, eſpecially thoſe who were ' profeſſed friends to Great Britain (13).'

(13) View of the Negotiat. &c. p. 313.

[*K*] *He cauſed an Italian to be apprehended——for having ill deſigns againſt King James I.*] The fellow had maintained ſeveral times, that if he had killed the King of England, he would think himſelf abſolved of all his ſins: and added, that he had a purpoſe ſhortly to go into England (14).

(14) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 234.

[*L*] *However he had more diſcretion than to open ſuch an affair ſo ſoon.*] And when he excuſed himſelf to our Court for that omiſſion, King James approved of his conduct in that point; as appears from a letter of his Majeſty, dated December 11, to Sir Thomas: wherein are theſe words.—— ' Wee do ' very weall allow of your cariage thairin, as fully ' agreeing with our meaning in our former direction, ' thogh peradventure ſum words tharin might cauſe it ' to be miſtaken. For it had been a very blunt thing ' in us, that you, our Miniſter, ſhould, ſo ſoone after ' ſuch a irreparable loſſe receaved by us, have begunne to talk of mariage, the moſt contrary thing ' that could be to death and funeralls. But becauſe ' wee doubted not, that that motione would be renewed againe unto you, if not by Villeroy, at leaſt ' by the Duke of Buillon, our meaning was thairfor, ' that you ſhould intertayn the motione (15).'

(15) Ib. p. 373.

[*M*] *Some of the Speeches he made in this Parliament are printed.*] The firſt was on the 22d of March, 1627. when he ſpoke to this effect. ' The King congratulating this preſent Parliament, he prays for a ' bleſſed *ſupply*, he aſſures us of his gracious inclination towards us, and of the conſequence of this meeting, doth intimate how much the ſafety of ourſelves ' and confederates abroad depends upon the good ſucceſs thereof; and he wiſheth a general oblivion of ' things that are paſt, leaſt they cauſe diſtractions ' a-new, without a primary and free ſupply to his ' Majeſty (16).' The ſecond was January the 28th 1628. being as follows. ' I am ſorry this houſe hath ' given occaſion of ſo many meſſages about *tunnage and poundage*, after his Majeſty hath given us a full ' ſatisfaction. You may perceive his Majeſty is ſenſible of the neglect of his buſineſs; we that know ' this, ſhould not diſcharge our duties to you, if we ' ſhould not perſuade you to that courſe, which ſhould ' procure his Majeſties good opinion of you. Your- ' ſelves

(16) Ephemeris Parliamentaria, fol. Lond. 1654, p. 30.

the 11th of June, 1629, he was commiſſioned to go Embaſſador to the French Court, on purpoſe to carry King Charles's ratification, and to receive Lewis the Thirteenth's oath, for the performance of the treaty of peace, then newly concluded between England and France: which he did in September following (*p*). And with this honourable commiſſion, he concluded all his foreign employments. Having, after this, enjoyed a creditable and peaceful retreat for about ten years, he departed this life, Sept. 20, 1639 (*q*). His Lady was Magdalene, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir John Wood, Knt. Clerk of the Signet, by whom he had one ſon, and three daughters [*N*]. She died at Paris, December 31, 1614, with a character amiable and exemplary in all reſpects. Sir Thomas had with her the manor of Albins, in the pariſhes of Stapleford-Abbot, and Naveſtoke in Eſſex, where Inigo Jones built for him a manſion-houſe, delightfully ſituated in a park, now the ſeat of Sir John Abdy, Bart. (*r*). As to his perſon, Sir Thomas was ſmall of ſtature (*s*), but great in underſtanding. He was a man of uncommon ſagacity, and indefatigable induſtry, in his employments abroad; always attentive to the motions of the Courts where he reſided, and punctual and exact in reporting them to his own [*O*]: of a firm and unſhaken reſolution in the diſcharge of his duty, beyond the influence of terror, flattery, or corruption. The French Court, in particular, dreaded his experience and abilities, as hath been ſhewn above; and the Popiſh and Spaniſh party there could ſcarce diſguiſe their hatred of ſo zealous a ſupporter of the Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom. His letters and papers, in twelve volumes in folio, were once in the poſſeſſion of Secretary Thurloe, and afterwards of the Lord Chancellor Somers [*P*]. The ſtyle of them is clear, ſtrong, and maſculine, and entirely free from the pedantry and puerilities, which infected the moſt applauded writers of that age, namely, Lord Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton, Dr Donne, &c. (*t*).

(*p*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIX. p. 86. View of the Negotiat. &c. in the Introd. p. xv.

(*q*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. xiv. p. 18.

(*r*) View of the Negotiat. &c. in the Introd. p. xv.

(*s*) Ibid. in the body of the book, p. 64, 331, 333.

(*t*) Ibid. in the Introd. p. xv. xvi.

ſelves are witneſſes how induſtrious his Majeſty was ‘ to procure you gracious Laws in his Father's time, ‘ and, ſince that, what enlargement he hath made of ‘ our Liberties (*), and yet ſtill we give him cauſe to ‘ repent him of the good he hath done. Conſider ‘ how dangerous it is to alienate his Majeſties heart ‘ from Parliaments (17).' David Loyd tells us (18), alluding in all likelyhood to theſe ſpeeches, that Sir Thomas angered the faction againſt the Court, with his principles, that the King was to be truſted: that the revenue was to be ſettled: that the Proteſtant cauſe was to be maintained: that jealouſies were to be removed, and things paſt were to be forgotten.—— Beſides theſe two ſpeeches, there are ſeveral letters of his publiſhed, in the three Volumes of Memorials of Affairs of State (19).

(*) By granting the Petition of Right.

(17) Ib. p. 241.

(18) State Worthies, as above, p. 963.

(19) Publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; Lond. 1725.

[*N*] *By whom he had one Son; and three Daughters.*] The Son named Henry, was born in 1600, and died in 1635, being ſunk into the moſt inveterate and incorrigible habit of drunkenneſs (20). He was Knight of the Bath (21). The Daughters were, *Iſabella*, born at Bruſſels in November 1607. who had her name from the Archdutcheſs her Godmother, and was married about March 1624-5, to Henry Lord Delawar. 2. *Mary*, married to Robert Mildmay, Eſq; by whom ſhe had Benjamin Lord Fitz-walter, Father of the preſent Earl Fitz-walter. 3. *Louiſa*, born at Paris in 1611, and baptized the 15th of September, Lewis XIII. ſtanding Godfather, and the Queen-Regent Godmother, by their proxies the Princeſs of Orange and the Duke of Bouillon. In March 1635-6, ſhe married clandeſtinely one of her father's genteeler ſervants (22).

(20) Letters and Diſpatches of Thomas Earl of Strafford, Vol. I. p. 463.

(21) Weſtcot, Pedig. MS.

[*O*] *And punctual and exact in reporting them to his own.*] Sir Robert Cecill, in ſome letters of his, gives this character of Sir Thomas: ‘That he was very ‘ truſty and ſufficient (23): That her Majeſty was well ‘ pleaſed with his carriage in all things: and that his ‘ letters ſatisfied the Queen in every thing committed ‘ to his charge (24).'

(22) View of the Negotiations, as above, in the Introduct. p. xiv. xv.

(23) Ibid. in the body of the book, p. 134.

[*P*] *His Letters and Papers, &c.*] Several of them, together with abſtracts from the reſt, were publiſhed by the Rev Mr Thomas Birch F. R. S. in a book intituled, *An Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, from the year 1592 to 1617. Extracted chiefly from the MS. State-papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes Kt. Embaſſador in France, &c. and of Anthony Bacon, Eſq; Brother to the Lord Chancellor Bacon.* London 1749. 8vo.

(24) Ibid. p. 183, 184.

C

EDWARDS (THOMAS) a famous Preſbyterian writer in the XVIIth century, and a bitter enemy to the Independents, who then bore ſway in this kingdom, was educated in Trinity-college in Cambridge [*A*], where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year 1605, and that of Maſter in 1609 (*a*). He was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, July 14, 1623 (*b*). Where and what, his preferments were, we do not find: But we learn from himſelf (*c*), that, though he conformed, yet he was always a Puritan in his heart [*B*]. He exerciſed his Miniſtry, chiefly as a Lecturer, at Hertford, and

(*a*) From the Univerſity-Regiſt.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. Faſti, col. 226.

(*c*) Gangræna, Part. i. 2d edit. 1646, 4*to*, p. 75, 76.

[*A*] *Was educated in* Trinity-*College in* Cambridge.] He muſt have removed from ſome other College to Trinity; for he was not admitted there, according to their books, till 1605, the very year when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (1).——There was another Thomas Edwards, born at Huntingdon, educated there in Grammar-learning, and admitted into Sidney-college, October 16, 1614. But he did not take any degree in that College (2), nor, as it ſeems, in the Univerſity; and conſequently could not be the ſame with our Author. However, after all, tho' we have taken great care to inform ourſelves, which of theſe two was the perſon we are writing of, yet we could come at no certainty therein. Mr Wood aſſures us, that he was a Cambridge-man (3).

(1) From the College-books.

(2) From the Admiſſion, and other books of that college.

(3) Faſti, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *Yet he was always a Puritan in his heart.*] Of which take the following account in his own words. ‘I never had a canonicall coat, never gave a penny to ‘ the building of Pauls, took not the canonicall oath, ‘ declined ſubſcription for many years before the Parliament, (though I practiſed the old conformity) would ‘ not give *ne obulum quidem* to the contributions againſt ‘ the Scots, but diſſuaded other Miniſters; much leſſe ‘ did I yeeld to bow to the Altar, and at the name of ‘ Jeſus, or adminiſter the Lords Supper at a table ‘ turned Altarwiſe, or bring the people up to rails, or ‘ read the book of ſports, or highly flatter the Archbiſhop in an epiſtle dedicatory to him, or put articles into the High-Commiſſion-Court againſt any, ‘ but was myſelf put into the High-Commiſſion-Court, ‘ and purſevants with letters miſſive, and an attachment, ſent out to apprehend me, for preaching a Sermon at Mercers Chapel, on a Faſt-day in July 1640. ‘ againſt the Biſhops and their faction, ſuch a free Sermon as I believe never a ſectary in England durſt ‘ have preached in ſuch a place and at ſuch a time ‘ (4).'

(4) Gangræna, as above, P. i. p. 75, 76.

[*C*] *And*

and at ſeveral places in and about London *(d)*; and was ſometimes brought into trouble for oppoſing the received Doctrines, or not complying duly with the eſtabliſhed Church [*C*]. When the long Parliament declared againſt King Charles I, our author embarked himſelf, with wife, children, eſtate, and all that was dear to him, in the ſame ſhip with them [*D*], and by all his actions, ſermons, prayers, praiſes, and diſcourſes, earneſtly promoted their intereſt *(e)*. But when the Independent party began to appear, and eſpecially to be uppermoſt, he became as furious againſt them as he had been againſt the Royaliſts; and oppoſed them with great virulence, both by writing and acting. The ſeveral pieces he publiſhed againſt them, were as follows. I. 'Reaſons againſt the Independant Govern-'ment of particular Congregations, &c.' Lond. 1641, 4to *(f)*. II. *Antapologia:* Or, a Full Anſwer to the 'Apologeticall Narration of Mr Goodwin, Mr Nye, Mr Sympſon, 'Mr Burroughs, Mr Bridge, Members of the Aſſembly of Divines. Wherein is handled 'many of the Controverſies of theſe times: *viz.* 1. Of a particular viſible Church. 2. Of 'Claſſes and Synods. 3. Of the Scriptures, how farre a Rule for Church-Government. '4. Of Formes of Prayer. 5. Of the Qualifications of Church-members. 6. Of 'Submiſſion and Non-Communion. 7. Of Excommunication. 8. Of the Power of 'the Civill Magiſtrate in Eccleſiaſticals. 9. Of Separation and Schiſme. 10. Of To-'lerations, and particularly of the Toleration of Independencie. 11. Of Suſpenſion from 'the Lord's Supper. 12. Of Ordination of Miniſters by the people. 13. Of Church 'Covenant. 14. Of Non-reſidencie of Church-members [*E*].' Lond. 1644, 4to. *(g)*. III.

(d) Gangræna, P. iii. edit. 1646. in the Preface.

(e) See Gangræna, P. i. in the Epiſt. Dedic. p. 2, 3.

(f) This was anſwered the ſame year, by a woman named Catharine Chidley.

(g) This was publiſhed the laſt week in June or the firſt in July, 1644. See Preface to Gangræna. P. i. in the beginning.

[*C*] *And was ſometimes brought into trouble, &c.*] He gives us the following relation of it. 'Many years 'ago when I was perſecuted by ſome Prelates and 'their creatures, in no poſſibility nor capacity by my 'principles and practices of preferment, I preached 'againſt, and upon all occaſions declared myſelf againſt, 'the Browniſts, Separatiſts, Antinomians, and all er-'rors in that way, as well as againſt Popiſh Innova-'tions and Arminian Tenets. There are many who 'were my Auditors in thoſe times can and will wit-'neſs what I have preached *at London* and at *Hart-'ford* againſt thoſe errors, when I have in the ſame 'places preached ſuch ſermons againſt the prevailing 'opinions, innovations, and corruptions of the Pre-'lates, that many thought I ſhould never have preached 'again; and indeed was not without many ſufferings 'and troubles, being put out of places, ſtopped from 'coming into others, and at laſt letters miſſive with 'an attachment ſent out to bring me into the High-'Commiſſion-Court. About thirteen years ago at '*Magnus Church*, I preaching againſt forſaking the 'publick aſſemblies, had, on a Lecture night at the 'ſame Church, a bill given me up (among the bills 'to pray for the ſick) ſpeaking bitterly for ſo doing. 'At *Hartford* about ten years ago, when Indepen-'dency and the Church way began to be fallen too by 'ſome men of note, and ſome people to look after 'it, I preached againſt it early, and by all wayes la-'boured to preſerve the people. About eight yeares 'ago when errors on the right hand tooke with many, 'I did at a *Lecture* in the city, *at Aldermanbury*, and '*Coleman-Street*, preach againſt apoſtaſie and falling 'to errors on the right hand, and more particularly 'at Coleman-Street, (many in that pariſh being then 'leaning that way) gave ſome conſiderations againſt 'errors on the right hand.——I never yet ſought 'any great things for myſelf, great livings, or coming 'into publick places of honour and reſpect, to be of 'the Aſſembly, or to preach in any publicke places be-'fore the Magiſtrates either at Weſtminſter or Lon-'don, but have contented myſelfe with ſmall 'meanes, and to preach in private places in compa-'riſon, having refuſed many great livings and places, 'preaching here in London for a little, and that but 'badly paid (as many well know) minding the worke 'and ſervice, little the maintenance. I can ſpeak it 'truly that in theſe open times when many young 'men, raw preachers, men who never bore the heat 'of the day, have got great livings of two or three 'hundred a yeere well ſituated with houſes and all 'accommodations, I have for the publick good de-'clined all ſuch offers, ſpent *my owne temporall eſtate* 'to miniſter to my neceſſities, not having had for al-'moſt theſe two laſt years forty pounds *per annum*, 'notwithſtanding my conſtant preaching on Lords 'dayes, week-dayes, and all extraordinary occaſions 'of faſtings and thankeſgiving—— (5).

(5) Gangræna, P. iii. in the Pref. p. 14, 15, 16.

[*D*] *When the long Parliament declared againſt King* Charles I. *our Author embarked himſelf——in the ſame ſhip with them.*] He declares this himſelf, in the firſt part of his Gangræna, in the epiſtle dedicatory to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament (6). 'All my actions from the beginning 'of your ſitting, my Sermons, Prayers, Praiſes, Diſ-'courſes, Actings for you ſpeak otherwiſe. [i. e. than 'faucineſs and diſreſpect] I am one who out of 'choiſe and judgement have imbarked myſelfe, with 'wife, children, eſtate, and all thats dear to me, in 'the ſame ſhip with you, to ſinke and periſh or to 'come ſafe to land with you, and that in the moſt 'doubtfull and difficult times, not only early in the firſt 'beginning of the war and troubles, in a malignant 'place among Courtiers and thoſe who were ſervants 'and had relations to the King, Queen and their 'Children, pleading your cauſe, juſtifying your wars, 'ſatisfying many that ſcrupled: but when your af-'fairs were at loweſt, and the chance of war againſt 'you, and ſome of the grandees and favourites of 'theſe times were packing up and ready to be gone, 'I was then higheſt and moſt zealous for you, preach-'ing, praying, ſtirring up the people to ſtand for you, 'by going out in perſon, lending of money, in the 'later going before them by example; and as I have 'been your Honours moſt devoted ſervant, ſo am I 'ſtill yours, and you cannot eaſily loſe me.'——

(6) Page 2.

[*E*] *Antapologia, &c.*] This is 'Humbly ſub-'mitted (by the Author) 'to the Honourable Houſes 'of Parliament.' And, in the Preface, he ſays (7), 'That he had drawn up that anſwer, for *their* ſakes 'in ſpeciall who *were* apt to be troubled with many 'doubts and feares about the conſtitution and govern-'ment of the viſible Church, and the way of worſhip 'and Communion in it: and, as to undeceive *them* in 'the Apologiſts, the Apologie, and their Church-way, 'ſo to ſatisfie *his Readers* in *their* ſcruples and doubts 'about Presbyterie.'——A little after, he adds, ——'This *Antapologia* I here recommend to 'you for a true glaſſe to behold the faces of Presby-'terie and Independencie in, with the beauty, order, 'ſtrength of the one, and the deformity, diſorder and 'weakneſſe of the other: and good Reader, I have 'ſome reaſon to beleeve and hope, that if you will 'indeed reade and conſider, looke impartially and 'throughly into this glaſſe, you may be either changed 'into the image of it, or at leaſt ſo ſtumbled at Inde-'pendencie, as to be kept from falling into it.'——

(7) Page 1.

The book which this *Antapologia* anſwereth, was, 'An Apologeticall Narration of ſome Miniſters (8), 'formerly in exile, now members of the Aſſembly of 'Divines.' 'Tis inſerted in the *Antapologia*, and anſwered there paragraph by paragraph. In one place (9), our Author pleads ſtrongly for the *lawfulneſs of ſet-formes of Prayer* preſcribed. 'I muſt tell you, 'ſays he, this great controverſie upon it is raiſed only 'by yourſelves (10), and the Browniſts, there being 'no Divines, nor no Reformed Churches that I know 'of, but doe allow the lawful uſe of ſet-formes of 'prayer, compoſed and framed by others (as by ſy-'nods and aſſemblies) and doe make uſe of ſuch ſome-'times, as the Churches of France and Holland in the 'adminiſtration

(8) Namely, Goodwin, &c. as above, in the title of the book.

(9) Antapologia, p. 97, &c.

(10) *i. e.* the Independents.

III. 'Gangræna: or, a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in these four last years: as also a particular Narration of divers Stories, remarkable Passages, Letters; an Extract of many Letters, all concerning the present Sects; together with some Observations upon, and Corollaries from, all the forenamed premisses.' Lond. 1645, 4to. reprinted afterwards. IV. 'The second part of *Gangræna*, &c.' Lond. 1646, 4to. V. 'The third part of *Gangræna*. Or, A new and higher Discovery of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and insolent Proceedings of the Sectaries of these times; with some Animadversions by way of Confutation, upon many of the Errors and Heresies named [*F*].' In these three parts of Gangræna, he gives Catalogues of the Errors of the Independents, and other Sectaries of his time; and expresses himself against them with great sharpness [*G*]. He also published, VI. 'The casting down of the

'administration of Sacraments usually doe, and those 'who practise them not so much, yet at least hold 'them lawfull. And I challenge you in all your read- 'ing to name one Divine of note and orthodox that 'ever held set-formes of prayer prescribed unlawfull, 'excepting only Independents.' In another place (11) he lays down many cogent reasons against an universal Toleration. (11) Ib. p. 279, &c.

[*F*] *With some Animadversions by way of Confutation upon many of the Errors and Heresies named.*] The rest of the title, which is very long, is as follows. 'As also a particular relation of many remarkable 'stories, speciall passages, copies of letters written by 'Sectaries to Sectaries, copies of letters written from 'godly Ministers and others, to Parliament-men, Mi- 'nisters, and other well-affected persons; an extract 'and the substance of divers letters, all concerning the 'present Sects: together with ten corollaries from all 'the forenamed premises. Briefe animadversions on 'many of the Sectaries late pamphlets, as *Lilburnes* 'and Overtons books against the House of Peeres, Mr 'Peters his last report of the English Warres, The Lord 'Mayors farewell from his Office of Maioralty, M. 'Goodwins thirty eight Queres upon the Ordinance 'against Heresies and Blasphemies*, M. Burtons *Con- 'formities Deformity, M. Dells* Sermon before the 'House of Commons; wherein the legislative and ju- 'diciall power of the House of Peeres over Common- 'ers is maintained and fully proved against the Secta- 'ries, the power of the House of Commons clearely 'demonstrated to be overthrowne upon the mediums 'brought by the Sectaries against the Lords; the late 'Remonstrance of the City of London justified, the 'late Lord Mayor (12) and the City vindicated from 'unjust aspersions, our brethren of Scotland cleered 'from all the calumnies and reproaches cast upon 'them, and the Magistrates power in suppressing He- 'resies and Blasphemies asserted. As also some few 'hints and briefe observations on divers pamphlets 'written lately against me and some of my books, as 'M. *Goodwins* pretended reply to the Antapologie, 'M. *Burroughs* Vindication, *Lanseters* Lance, *Gan- 'græna* playes *Rex, Gangræna Chrestum*, M. *Salt- 'marshes* answer to the second part of *Gangræna*. A 'justification of the manner and way of writing these 'books called *Gangræna*, wherein not onely the law- 'fulnesse, but the necessity of writing after this man- 'ner is proved by Scripture, Fathers, the most emi- 'nent Reformed Divines, Casuists, the practice and 'custome of all ages.' Lond. 1646. 4to. (12) Sir Isaac Pennington.

[*G*] *In these ——— he gives Catalogues of the Errors of the Independents, and other Sectaries of his time; and expresses himself against them with great sharpness.*] The Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies he particularly takes notice of, are by him referred to these sixteen heads or sorts of Sectaries (13), viz. 1. Independents. 2. Brownists. 3. Chiliasts, or Millenaries. 4. Antinomians. 5. Anabaptists. 6. Manifestarians or Arminians. 7. Libertines. 8. Familists. 9. Enthusiasts. 10. Seekers, and Waiters. 11. Perfectists. 12. Socinians. 13. Arians. 14. Antitrinitarians. 15. Antiscripturists. 16. Scepticks and Questionists, who question every thing in matters of Religion; namely all the Articles of Faith, and first principles of Christian Religion, holding nothing positively nor certainly, saving the doctrine of pretended liberty of conscience for all, and liberty of prophesying.——Some of their errors, as set down by our Author, are as follows, 'That the 'Scriptures cannot be said to be the word of God; 'there is no word but Christ, the Scriptures are a dead 'letter, and no more to be credited than the writings 'of men, not divine but human inventions. That the 'Scriptures are unsufficient and uncertain, there is no 'certainty to build any Doctrine upon them, they are 'not an infallible foundation of faith (14). That the 'holy writings and sayings of Moses and the Prophets, 'of Christ and his Apostles, and the proper names, 'persons, and things contained therein, are Allegories, 'and these Allegories are the mystery and spiritual 'meaning of them. That the new Testament, nor 'no place of Scripture in it, binds any further than 'the Spirit for present reveals to us that such a place 'is the word of God (15). That God hath a hand 'in, and is the Author of the sinfulnesse of his people; 'that he is the Author not of those actions alone, in 'and with which sin is, but of the very pravity, ataxy, 'anomy, irregularity and sinfulnesse itself which is in 'them. That all lyes come forth from out of the 'mouth of God. That no man was cast into hell for 'any sin, but only because God would have it so. 'That the soul dies with the body. and all things 'shall have an end, but God only shall remaine for 'ever (16). Every creature in the first estate of crea- 'tion was God, and every creature is God, every 'creature that hath life and breath being an efflux 'from God, and shall return into God again, be swal- 'lowed up in him as a drop is in the ocean (17). 'That by Christs death, all the sins of all the men in 'the world, Turks, Pagans as well as Christians, com- 'mitted against the morall law and first covenant, are 'actually pardoned and forgiven, and this is the ever- 'lasting Gospel. That no man shall perish or go to 'hell for any sin, but unbelief only (18). That the 'least truth is of more worth than Jesus Christ him- 'self (19). That there is a perfect way in this life, 'not by Word, Sacraments, Prayer and other Ordi- 'nances, but by the experience of the Spirit in a mans 'self. That a man baptized with the Holy Ghost 'knows all things, even as God knows all things; 'which point is a deep mystery and great ocean, 'where there is no casting anchor, nor sounding the 'bottome. That if a man by the Spirit knew himself 'to be in the state of grace, though he did commit 'murther or drunkennesse, God did see no sin in him. 'There is no free-will in man either to good or evil, 'either in his naturall or glorified estate (20). That 'the morall law is of no use at all to believers, that 'tis no rule for believers to walk by, nor to examine 'their lives by, and that Christians are freed from the 'mandatory power of the law. Neither faith, nor 'repentance, nor humiliation, nor self-denial, nor use 'of ordinances, nor doing as one would be done to, 'are duties required of Christians, or such things as 'they must exercise themselves in, or they can have 'no part in Christ. That the doctrine of repentance 'is a soul-destroying doctrine. That 'tis as possible 'for Christ himselfe to sin, as for a Child of God to 'sin. That God doth not chastise any of his children 'for sin; and let believers sin as fast as they can, there 'is a fountain open for them to wash in (21). That 'God's Children are not to ask the pardon and for- 'giveness of their sins, they need not, they ought 'not, and 'tis no lesse than blasphemy for a childe of 'God to aske pardon of sins, 'tis infidelity to aske 'pardon of sins, and David's asking forgiveness of 'sin was his weakness. That the soul of a man is 'mortall as the soul of a beast, and dies with the body '(22). There is no resurrection at all of the bodies 'of men after this life, nor heaven nor hell, nor de- 'vils after this life (23). That in points of Religion, 'even (13) Gangræna, P. i. p. 16. (14) Ibid. p. 18, & 112. (15) Ibid. p. 19. (16) Ibid. p. 20 & 110. (17) Ib. p. 21. (18) Ib. p. 22. (19) Page 23. (20) Ib. p. 24. (21) Ib. p. 25. (22) Ib. p. 26. (23) Ib. p. 27.

'the laſt and ſtrongeſt hold of Satan; or, a Treatiſe againſt Toleration.' Part I. Lond. 1647.

'even in the Articles of Faith, and principles of Religion, there's nothing certainly to be believed and built on, only that all men ought to have liberty of conſcience, and liberty of propheſying (24). 'Tis as lawful to break any of the ten commandments, as to baptize an infant: yea, 'tis as lawful to commit adultery and murther, as to baptize a child. That the Church of England and the Miniſtry thereof is Antichriſtian, yea of the devill, and that 'tis abſolutely ſinfull and unlawfull to hear any of their Miniſters preach in their Aſſemblies (25). That all ſettled certain maintenance for Miniſters of the Goſpel, eſpecially that which is called Tithes, is unlawfull, Jewiſh, and Antichriſtian. That 'tis unlawfull to worſhip God in places conſecrated, and in places where Superſtition and Idolatry have been practiſed, as in our Churches. That there is no need of human learning, nor for reading Authors, for Preachers, but all books and learning muſt go down; it comes from the want of the Spirit, that men write ſuch great volumes, and make ſuch adoe of learning (26). 'Tis unlawfull for the Saints to joyn in prayer where wicked men are, or to pray with any of the wicked (27). That there are Revelations, and Viſions in theſe times; yea to ſome they are more ordinary, and ſhall be to the people of God generally within a while. That the gift of Miracles is not ceaſed in theſe times, but that ſome of the Sectaries have wrought miracles. 'Tis ordinary for Chriſtians now in theſe dayes, with Paul to be wrapt up to the third Heavens, and to hear words unutterable, and they cannot well have aſſurance of being Chriſtians, that have not found and had experience of this (28). All the Earth is the Saints, and there ought to be a community of goods, and the Saints ſhould ſhare in the lands and eſtates of Gentlemen and rich men. That 'tis lawfull for a man to put away his wife upon indiſpoſition, unfitneſſe, contrariety of mind, &c. 'Tis unlawful for Chriſtians to fight, and take up arms for their laws and civil liberties. That uſing of ſet formes of prayer preſcribed is Idolatry (29). That 'tis not lawful for a Chriſtian to be a Magiſtrate, but upon turning Chriſtian he ſhould lay down his Magiſtracy (30). That God hath a bodily ſhape and proportion (31). The Souls of the Saints departed now in Heaven, are on Earth every where preſent with their friends, and with all the affairs of this world, ſeeing and knowing them; and do now with Chriſt govern and rule the Kingdoms of the Earth, and all the affairs here below (32). That there is no need of Univerſities, that Univerſities are of the devill; that human learning is fleſh oppoſed to the ſpirit, and that if men be anointed with the ſpirit, and accepted amongſt the Saints, they are ſufficiently qualified (33). That all ſhall be ſaved at laſt, both all men and devils: and ſhall ſee, feel, and poſſeſs bleſſedneſs to their everlaſting ſalvation and comfort (34). That Chriſt ſhed his bloud for kine and horſes and all other creatures, as well as for men, &c (35).' Theſe, and many more, are ſome of the blaſphemies and horrid impieties, advanced and maintained in theſe unhappy Kingdoms, during thoſe lawleſs diſtracted times, when every one did what ſeemed right in his own eyes. And no wonder; if we do but obſerve, what ſort of creatures ſet up for the great Reformers of Religion, and Inſtructers of Mankind; namely (to uſe our Author's words) 'ſwarms of illiterate Mechanicks, as Smiths, Taylors, Shoomakers, Pedlars, Weavers, Women-preachers, &c. (36).' And, by name, 'one Heath the Collar-maker of Watton, one Rice the Tinker of Aſton, one Field the Bodies-maker of Hertford, one Crew the Taylor of Stevenage,' all in Hertfordſhire: and the like in other Counties (37).

He quotes his authorities and vouchers all along; and affirms, that the 'truth of the maine ſubſtance and matter of whatever he relates, both for opinions and matters of fact, is plainly demonſtrated; by his quoting Books knowne to hundreds, by naming perſons known for witneſſes, by relating things common in the times, and theſe ſet by the errors in the margents, or joyned to the matter, ſo manifeſt that he that runs may read it (38).' Nay, he makes this declaration. —— 'I can ſay of it, that of all the 'particulars in this kind that I have related in theſe 'three books [*of Gangræna,*] beſides many matters 'of fact in *Antapologia*, (which in all amount to ſome 'thouſands) I do not know of any one particular related by me, excepting one, that I have reaſon to 'ſuſpect was not true, and yet that was written me in 'a letter by a reverend and godly Miniſter, and was 'the voice of the Country (39).'

But it muſt be remembred, that among the errors above-mentioned, our Author places many Doctrines maintained by the Arminians, (and not taken notice of by me) which, tho' condemned by the Synod of Dort, time hath ſhewn to be moſt plain and unqueſtionable truths.

It is not only by ſuch Quotations out of the books of Independent writers, as are ſet down above, that Mr Edwards ſhews his great inveteracy againſt that whole party. But he doth it likewiſe by cenſuring their actions; and diſplaying, their inſolencies, pride, and arrogance; their covetouſneſs, and ambition: their ſubtilties, and hypocriſy; their tumults and riots even in the moſt ſacred places (40); their liberiniſm and atheiſm; their inceſts, and other uncleanneſſes; their looſeneſs, immorality, and drunkenneſs; their deceitfulneſs, lying, and ſlandering; their horrible affronts to authority (41); their contempt of all that is ſacred and ſerious, witneſs their baptizing of a horſe, &c. (42). ——He likewiſe endeavours to expoſe them to the utmoſt, by relating ſome of their abſurd and non-ſenſical ſayings: as for inſtance—— 'Chriſt judges not by the eye, or eare, he regards 'not mens prayers or duties; if they have Chriſt in 'their heart, though they do not read and pray, and '*trade in duties*, Chriſt judges them according to their 'heart (43).' —— 'I rejoyce that Chriſt is begining *to ſet up houſe-keeping*, and his Saints ſhall 'not want while Chriſt have one penny; come buy 'without money, gold tried and white raiment, and 'anoint thine eies with eie-ſalve that thou maieſt ſee' (44) —— One preaching on John 20. 17. 'Touch 'me not, *I am not yet aſcended*;' collected from thoſe 'words theſe three tranſcendent points. Firſt, That 'laymen, weavers, tinkers and coblers being gifted 'might be preachers. Secondly, Learning was not 'any means or help to underſtand the meaning of the 'Scriptures. Thirdly, That any chamber, barne or 'ſtable, or other place was as holy as the Church; 'and that there was no holineſs in the temple, for 'God deſtroyed it; nor in any Church (45).' —— But when he comes to ſpeak of a *Toleration*, (which the Independents were then making ſtrong intereſt for, in order to work themſelves into all places of truſt or profit,) he loſes all patience. 'This land, ſaith he, 'is become already in many places a chaos, a babel, 'another Amſterdam, yea worſe, we are beyond that, 'and in the highway to Munſter, but if a general Toleration ſhould be granted, ſo much written and 'ſtood for, England would quickly become a Sodom, 'an Egypt, Babylon, yea, worſe than all theſe (46). '—A Toleration is the grand deſigne of the devil, his 'maſter-peece, and chief engine he works by at this 'time to uphold his tottering kingdome; it is the 'moſt compendious, ready, ſure way to deſtroy all 'religion, lay all waſte, and bring in all evil; it is 'a moſt tranſcendent, catholique, and fundamentall 'evill for this kingdom of any that can be imagined. 'As originall ſin is the moſt fundamentall ſin, all ſin; 'having the ſeed and ſpawn of all in it: ſo a Toleration hath all errors in it, and all evils—— (47). 'Independency is become a compound of many errors, as Antinomianiſm, Browniſm, Anabaptiſm, Libertiniſm, and if Independency could once get a Toleration, we ſhould then ſee it ſpeak out to purpoſe. 'And as Independency is in this ſenſe all error, being 'the great cauſe of them, ſo many errors are for Independency, that is the love of errors cauſes many 'to become Independents—— (48)' ——One remarkable particular in theſe books, muſt not paſs without obſervation: and it is, that as early as the year 1646, the Independents had formed deſigns againſt the life of King Charles I. and reſolved to cauſe him to be beheaded (49).—— Finally, we learn from

(24) Page 28.
(25) Page 29.
(26) Page 30.
(27) Page 31.
(28) Page 32.
(29) Page 34.
(30) Page 35.
(31) Gangræna, P. iii. p. 2.
(32) Ib. p. 4, 6.
(33) Ibid. p. 9, 45, 80.
(34) Page 10, 11.
(35) Ibid. & p. 36.
(36) Gangræna, P. i. p. 116, and Epiſt. Dedicat. p. 8.
(37) Gangræna, P. iii. p. 81; as Paul Hobſon the Taylor, and Lieutenant-Col. Hewſon the one-ey'd Shoemaker. Ib. p. 45, 46.
(38) Ibid. Pref. p. 6.
(39) Ib. p. 9.
(40) Gangræna, P. i. Epiſt. Dedic. p. 3, 61, &c.
(41) Ib. P. iii. p. 185, 186, 187—240.
(42) Ib. p. 17, 18, &c.
(43) Ib. p. 45.
(44) Ib. p. 53.
(45) Ib. p. 62.
(46) Ib. p. 152.
(47) Ib. p. 153.
(48) Ib. p. 157.
(49) Gangræna, P. ii. p. 131; and P. iii. p. 97, 172, 183, 184, 195, 237.

1647, 4to. VII. 'Of the particular Visibility of the Church.' VIII. 'A Treatise of 'the Civil Power in Ecclesiasticals, and of Suspension from the Lord's Supper.' Lond. 1642, 1644 (*b*). He promised several other pieces [*H*], but it doth not appear he published them. The time and place of his death are to us unknown.

(*b*) Wood, ubi supra.

from thence, that at first 'the Independents would 'preach freely, asking nothing (50).' But they have since altered their minds; and maintain, as firmly as the Ministers of the established Church, that they who preach the Gospel must live of the Gospel.

(50) Ib. p. 121.

(51) See Gangræna, P. iii. p. 244, 249.

(52) Gangræna, P. i. p. 42.

(53) P. iii. p. 96, 97.

[*H*] *He promised several other pieces.*] Particularly, 1. A Fourth Part of his Gangræna (51). 2. An Historical Narration of all the proceedings and ways of the English Sectaries (52). 3. Catalogue of the Judgments of God upon the Sectaries within these four years last past (53). 4. Many Tractates against the Errors of the Times (54). 5. He promised, to be like that tree spoken of in the Revelation, to yield fruit every month; i. e. to be often setting forth one Tractate or other (55). But he was not as good as his word.——As for his character: he professes himself 'a plain, open-hearted man, who hated 'tricks, reserves and designs' (56): zealous for the Assembly of Divines, the Directory, the use of the Lord's Prayer, singing of Psalms, &c (57). and so earnest for what he took to be Truth, that he was usually called in Cambridge *young Luther* (58).

(54) Ibid. Pref. p. 16.

(55) Part. i. Pref. 2.

(56) Ibid. in the body of that book, p. 41.

(57) P. iii. p. 147.

(58) Ib. p. 41.

C

EGERTON (THOMAS) Lord High Chancellor of England, in the reign of King James I, was the son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley in Cheshire, descended from the antient family of the Egertons, in that county [*A*]. He was born in Cheshire, about the year 1540 (*a*), and admitted Commoner of Brasen-nose-College in Oxford, about 1556, in the seventeenth year of his age. Having continued there three years, and laid a good foundation of learning, he removed to Lincoln's-Inn, and applied himself with such success to the study of the Law; that he became a noted Counsellor (*b*). Being taken notice of by that good judge of merit, Queen Elizabeth, she constituted him on the 28th of June 1581, her Sollicitor-general (*c*). The year following, he was elected Lent-Reader of Lincoln's-Inn, a place conferred on none but persons of great learning. He became also one of the Governors of that Society, and continued so for twelve years successively (*d*). On the 2d of June, 1592, he was made Attorney-general (*e*), and knighted soon after. April 10, 1594, he was appointed Master of the Rolls (*f*): And, upon the death of Sir John Puckering, had the Great Seal of England delivered to him at Greenwich, May 6, 1596 (*g*), with the title of Lord-Keeper; being at the same time sworn of her Majesty's Privy-Council (*h*) [*B*]. He was permitted, notwithstanding, to hold the Mastership of the Rolls till May 18, 1603, when King James I, conferred it on Edward Bruce, created afterwards Baron of Kinlosse (*i*). In 1598, the Lord-Keeper was in commission for treating with the Dutch, in order to lessen our charge of the war with Spain; and, with the Lord Buckhurst, and others, signed a new treaty at London, with the Embassadors of the States, whereby the Queen was eased of no less than a hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year (*k*), besides other advantages (*l*). In 1600 he was again in Commission with the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, and the Earl of Essex, for negotiating affairs with the Senate of Denmark (*m*). This Earl, upon his disgrace, was committed to the Lord Keeper's custody, who did him many good offices, and endeavoured to keep him from those dangerous precipices [*C*], which proved afterwards his ruin.

(*a*) This I infer from A. Wood's words, mentioned in the text of this article.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 417.

(*c*) Pat. 23 Eliz. p. 1.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baron. Tom. III. p. 414; and A. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1735, Vol. I. p. 466.

(*e*) Pat. 34 Eliz. p. 7.

(*f*) Pat. 36 Eliz. p. 5.

(*g*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1596; and Chron. Jurid. 8vo. Ar. Collins, ubi supra.

(*b*) Collins, ibid.

(*i*) Pat. 1 Jac. p. 2. Newcourt's Repert. Eccles. &c. Vol. I. p. 341.

(*k*) And not *twelve thousand* as it is in the General Dictionary.

(*l*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1598.

(*m*) A. Collins, ubi supra.

[*A*] *Was the son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley in Cheshire, descended from the antient family of the Egertons in that county.*] Sir William Dugdale (1), and Mr Wood (2), say, he was a *natural* son of Sir Richard Egerton. And Robert Stephens, Esq; that he was descended, *though in an oblique line*, from an antient family in Cheshire (3). But Dr Fuller (4), Arthur Collins, Esq; (5), and others, do not mention his being illegitimate. The latter informs us, That his mother was Alice, daughter of —— Spark, of Bickerton in Cheshire.——The famous and knightly family of the Egertons took their surname from Egerton, in this county, the place of their habitation: and derive their descent from Philip, a younger son of David of Malpas (6). From him, in lineal descent, was Sir *John Egerton* of Egerton, Knt. who fighting valiantly for the House of Lancaster, under the Lord Audley, General for King Henry VI, was slain at the battle of Blore-heath in Staffordshire, Sept. 23, 1459. He was succeeded by *Philip* his eldest son, who had issue John Egerton of Egerton, Esq; and Sir RALPH EGERTON of RIDLEY in Cheshire, Knt. This Sir *Ralph* was one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber to King Henry VIII, and knighted by him for his valour and conduct at the sieges of Terouenne and Tournay, and the battle of Spurs. Also, in consideration of his good services, he was appointed Standard-Bearer of England for life, with a salary of 100 *l. per annum*. Dying about the year 1528, he was succeeded by his son and heir *Richard*, who was of age in the year 1531, and afterwards knighted; father of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, whom we are treating of in this article.

(1) Baronage, Tom. III. p. 414.

(2) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 417.

(3) Letters and Remains of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, Lond. 1734, 4to, Introd. p. 7.

(4) Worthies of Engl. in Cheshire, p. 176.

(5) Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. edit. 1735, p. 466.

(6) Camd. Britan. in Cheshire, edit. 1722, Vol. I. col. 667.

[*B*] *He had the great Seal of England delivered to him —— with the title of Lord-Keeper.*] And came into that place — *magna expectatione, & integritatis opinione*, i. e. with a great expectation, and opinion of integrity (7): which he fully answered.

(7) Camd. Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1596.

[*C*] *Who did him many good offices, and endeavoured to keep him from those dangerous precipices, which proved afterwards his ruin.*] For that purpose he writ a letter to him, wherein, among other things, he tells him.——'I will not presume to advise you; 'but shoot my bolt, and tell you what I think. The 'beginning, and long continuance, of this so unseasonable discontentment, you have seen and proved, 'by which you aim at the end: if you still hold this 'course, which hitherto you find to be worse and 'worse, (and the longer you go, the further you go 'out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood the 'end will be better. You are not yet gone so far, 'but that you may well return: the return is safe, but 'the progress is dangerous and desperate in this course 'you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for 'them, which they could never do for themselves.— 'This being your present state and condition, what is 'to be done? What is the remedy, my good Lord? 'I lack judgment and wisdom to advise you, but I 'will never want an honest true heart to wish you well; 'nor, being warranted by a good conscience, will fear 'to speak that I think. I have begun plainly, be not 'offended if I proceed so.——The medicine and 'remedy, is, not to contend and strive, but humbly 'to yield and submit. Have you given cause, and yet 'take a scandal unto you? then all you can be is too 'little to make satisfaction. Is cause of scandal given

'unto

ruin (*n*). When he was in actual rebellion, the Lord-Keeper, and others of the Nobility, were ſent to him, in order to perſuade him to return to his duty, wherein they expoſed themſelves to much danger (*o*) [*D*]. After that Earl's execution, the Lord-Keeper was in a ſpecial commiſſion for compounding with his accomplices: And in another, in 1602, for putting the Laws in execution againſt Jeſuits, and ſeminary Prieſts (*p*). Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, her ſucceſſor King James I. ſignified to the Privy-Council, April 5, 1603, by his ſign manual, That it was his will and pleaſure, Sir Thomas Egerton ſhould exerciſe the office of Lord-Keeper, till further orders. And he waiting upon his Majeſty at Broxbourn in Hertfordſhire, reſigned the Great Seal to the King, who delivered it again to him, ordering him to make uſe of it as he had done before. On the 19th of July following (*q*), King James cauſed the Great Seal to be broke, and put a new one into the hands of the Lord-Keeper Egerton, with a paper of his own ſigning, whereby he created him Baron of Elleſmere, for his good and faithful ſervices, not only in the adminiſtration of juſtice, but alſo in Council, both to the late Queen and himſelf: the Patent for which he cauſed to be diſpatched the 21ſt of the ſame month. And on the 24th, conſtituted him Lord High Chancellor of England (*r*). In 1609, he was commiſſioned to compound with all thoſe, who holding lands by Knight's ſervice, &c. were to pay the aid for making the King's eldeſt ſon (Prince Henry) a Knight (*s*). On the third of November, 1610, he was unanimouſly elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and inſtalled the 10th of the ſame month at London; in the room of Rich. Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*t*). In 1612, he was one of the Lords who ſigned the articles of marriage between the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of King James, and the Elector Palatine (*u*). His health declined ſome time before his deceaſe; particularly in the year 1615, when ſtrong application was made by Sir Francis Bacon for his office of High-Chancellor (*w*) [*E*]. And to add to his affliction, that arrogant perſon, the Lord Chief

(*n*) Camden, as above, under the years 1599, 1600, 1601.

(*o*) Ibid. See alſo Stowe's Annals, edit. 1631, p. 789.

(*p*) Collins, as above, p. 470.

(*q*) R. Brooke ſays, it was the 17th. Catal. of Kings, Princes, &c. fol. Lond. 1622, p. 389.

(*r*) Fœdera, Conventiones, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 495. Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Ar. Collins, p. 471.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra; & Faſti, Vol. I. col. 185.

(*u*) A. Collins, ubi ſupra.

(*w*) See Cabala, or Myſteries of State, &c. edit. 1663, p. 28, 29, 30; and The Works of Francis Lord Bacon, Vol. IV.

'unto you; yet policy, duty, and religion, enforce 'you to ſue, yield, and ſubmit to our Sovereign; be-'tween whom and you there can be no equal propor-'tion of duty, where God requires it as a principal 'duty and care to himſelf; and when it is evident, 'that great good may enſue of it to your friends, your-'ſelf, your country, and your Sovereign, and extreme 'harm by the contrary. There can be no diſhonour 'to yield; but in denying, diſhonour and impiety (8).'

(8) Cabala, p. 234, 235.

—— In another letter, he tells him,—— 'By way of 'caution, take this from me; There are ſharp eyes 'upon you, your actions, publick and private, are ob-'ſerved: It behooveth you, therefore, to carry your-'ſelf with all integrity and ſincerity, both of hands 'and heart, leſt you overthrow your own fortunes, 'and diſcredit your friends that are tender and careful 'of your reputation and well-doing (9).'

(9) Ib. p. 235.

[*D*] *Wherein they expoſed themſelves to much danger.*] The Queen hearing of the Earl of Eſſex's deſperate deſigns, ſent the Lord-Keeper, the Earl of Worceſter, Sir William Knolles, Comptroller of the Houſhold, and uncle to the Earl of Eſſex, and Lord Chief Juſtice Popham, to know the cauſe of their tumultuous meeting. The gates being ſhut, they were, after ſome ſtay, let in by the wicket, but all their ſervants kept out, except the Purſe-bearer with the Seal. The court-yard was full of company, and the Earl of Eſſex in the midſt of them; to whom the Lord-Keeper addreſſing himſelf, ſaid, 'That he was ſent, with the 'other Gentlemen, from the Queen, to know the 'cauſe of their aſſembling; and, if they had ſuffered 'any grievances, he promiſed them a fair and equita-'ble redreſs.' To that the Earl of Eſſex anſwered in a louder tone than ordinary, 'That his life was ſought; 'that he was in danger of being murthered in his bed; 'and had been perfidiouſly dealt withal; that letters 'had been counterfeited under his hand and ſeal, &c.' Chief Juſtice Popham anſwered, 'If any ſuch matter 'were attempted or intended, it were fit for him to 'declare it, and to be aſſured of their faithful relation; 'and he ſhould not fail of her Majeſty's princely in-'differency and juſtice.' The Earl of Southampton complained, of the aſſault upon him by the Lord Gray: to which Popham replied, 'That juſtice had 'been done, and the party in priſon.' Then the Lord-Keeper preſſed the Earl of Eſſex, 'to impart his 'grievances, if not openly, yet privately, and pro-'miſed ſatisfaction.' Upon which the multitude interrupted him, crying out, 'Away, my Lord, they 'abuſe you, they deſtroy you, they undo you, you 'loſe time.' The Lord-Keeper putting on his hat, 'commanded them all upon their allegiance, to lay 'down their weapons, and depart.' Whereupon the Earl of Eſſex, and all the reſt, put on their caps; and going into the houſe, the Lords followed him as to a private conference, fearing the multitude, which cried out, 'Kill them, ſhop them up, keep them for 'pledges, caſt the great ſeal out at window.' When they were come into the inner apartments, the Earl of Eſſex ordered the doors to be bolted upon them, bidding them, 'Have patience whilſt he ſhould go and 'take order with the Mayor and Sheriffs for the city, 'and that he would be with them again within an 'hour.' And ſo he left them in the cuſtody of Sir John Davis, Francis Treſham, and Owen Saliſbury, who guarded them with muſkets, primed, and cockt. But the Earl of Eſſex meeting with great oppoſition in London, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of his accomplices, perſuaded him to ſend him to his houſe, to diſcharge the Lord-Keeper, &c. and with them to intercede with the Queen for his pardon. The Earl conſented that the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham ſhould be releaſed, and none elſe; but he refuſing to accept of his liberty, except the Lord-Keeper might enjoy the ſame, Gorges diſcharged them all; at which the Earl was extremely angry (10).

(10) Camden's Annals as above, under the year 1601. The Life and Death of James the Sixth, King of Scotland, by Will. Sanderſon, Eſq; Lond. 1656, fol. p. 239, 240. Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 469.

[*E*] *Strong application was made by Sir Francis Bacon for his office of High-Chancellor.*] As appears by the following extracts of ſome of his letters: His dated Feb. 12, 1615, begins thus. 'It may please 'your moſt excellent Majeſty, Your worthy Chan-'cellor, I fear, goeth his laſt day. God hath hitherto 'uſed to weed out ſuch ſervants as grew not fit for 'your Majeſty, but now he hath gathered to him-'ſelf a true ſage, or *ſalvia*, out of your garden; but 'his Majeſties ſervice muſt not be mortal.'——Then he moves for his place; and uſes the following arguments, amongſt others,—Becauſe his father (Sir Nic. Bacon) had it: That great inconveniencies would follow, if it was conferred either on Sir Edward Coke, Henr. Hobert, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, or Geo. Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.——He likewiſe offers this to his Majeſty's conſideration, That the place of Attorney-General, which he ſhould reſign, was honeſtly worth ſix thouſand pounds a year; and his place of the Star-chamber was worth fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*.——In another Letter, dated Feb. 15, he acquainted the King with the Chancellor's recovery.——But, ſays he, 'whoever thinketh his 'diſeaſe is but melancholy, he maketh no true judg-'ment of it; for it is plainly a formed and deep 'cough, with a pectoral ſurcharge; ſo that, at times, 'he doth almoſt *animam agere* [i. e. expire, in a fit 'of coughing.']——In a letter to Sir George Villiers, of Feb. 21. 1615, he deſires, by his intereſt, to be ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, becauſe the Lord Chancellor's health was growing with the days, and his reſignation of uncertainty. Adding, that the Lord

Chief Juſtice Sir Edward Coke, ſued him, about the ſame time, in a præmunire [*F*], which gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs (*x*). However, recovering from his indiſpoſition, he was, on the 12th of May, 1616, conſtituted Lord High Steward, for the trial of Robert Earl of Somerſet, and Frances his wife (*y*). And he was ſo honeſt, as to refuſe to affix the Great Seal to the pardon granted them afterwards by King James I (*z*). But his infirmities returning more violently upon him, and finding himſelf unable to bear the fatigues of his laborious employment, he earneſtly intreated the King to be diſcharged from his office (*a*) [*G*]. His Majeſty parted with an old and faithful ſervant with all imaginable tenderneſs; and, as a mark of his favour, advanced him to the dignity of Viſcount Brackley, on the 7th of November, 1616 (*b*). He alſo let him keep the Seal till the beginning of Hilary-term following, when he ſent Secretary Winwood for it [*H*], with this meſſage, 'That himſelf would be his under-keeper, and not diſpoſe of it, 'whilſt he lived to bear the title of Chancellor.' Which was accordingly done (*c*). On the 24th of January 1616-17, he voluntary reſigned the office of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, wherein he was ſucceeded by William Earl of Penbroke (*d*). His Lordſhip's

(*x*) Ib. p. 31, &c.

(*y*) A. Collins, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) See Truth brought to Light, &c. or Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt XIV. years of King James, Lond. 1651, 4*to*, p. 63.

(*a*) Cabala, p. 235, 236.

(*b*) Pat. 14 Jac. p. 26; and Catalogue, &c. by R. Brooke, as above.

(*c*) *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, or Anſwer to the Court and Character of King James, &c. by W. Sanderſon or Dr Goodman, Lond. 1650, 12*mo*, p. 171.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti, as above, Vol. I. col. 201.

Chancellor told him the day before, 'If the King 'would aſk his opinion, touching the perſon he would 'recommend to ſucceed him, upon death, or diſabi-'lity, he would name him for the fitteſt man:' and aſks Villiers's advice, whether uſe may not be made of that offer (11).

(11) See Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV; and Cabala, p. 28, 29, 30.

[*F*] *Sir Edward Coke ſued him, about the ſame time, in a præmunire.*] He did not act as principal in that affair, but was at the bottom of it. The caſe was this; Sir Edward had heard and determined a cauſe at common law; but there was ſome jugling in the matter. For the witneſs that knew, and ſhould have related the truth, was prevailed upon to be abſent, if any man would undertake to excuſe his non-appearance: a pragmatical fellow of the party undertook it; went with the witneſs to a tavern, called for a gallon-pot full of ſack, bid him drink; and ſo leaving him, went into the Court. This witneſs is called for, as the prop of the cauſe; the undertaker anſwers upon oath, 'He left him in ſuch a condition, that if he 'continues in it but a quarter of an hour, he is a dead 'man.' This evidencing the man's incapacity to come, deaded the matter ſo, that it loſt the cauſe. The Plaintiffs that had the injury, bring the buſineſs about in Chancery. The Defendants, Richard Glanville, and William Allen, having had judgment at common law, refuſe to obey the orders of that Court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor, for contempt of the Court, commits them to priſon. They prefer two Indictments againſt his Lordſhip, in the Star-chamber, [illegible] Hilary-term; the Lord Chief Juſtice [illegible] joins with them, and foments the difference, [illegible] Lord Chancellor with a præmunire, up-[illegible] Edw. III. and 4 Hen. IV.—In Eaſter-[illegible] 16, the Lord Chancellor being recovered from [illegible] purſued the affair; and it being [illegible] hearing before King James I. who had [illegible] hand the moſt eminent Lawyers, he gave [illegible] at the Statutes of 27 Edw. III. cap. 1, 'and 4 Henr. IV. cap. 23, did not extend to the 'Court of Chancery;' for the firſt was ordained againſt thoſe that ſued to Rome, and the latter was deſigned to ſettle poſſeſſions againſt diſturbances, and not to take away remedy in equity (12). Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam, obſerves upon this occaſion—(13).— 'That the laſt day of the Terme '(and, that which all men did condemn, the ſuppoſed 'laſt day of my Lord Chancellor's life) theſe two In-'dictments were preferred.——But this I will ſay, 'if they were ſet on that preferred them, they were 'the worſt workmen that ever were that ſet them on; 'for there could not have been choſen two ſuch 'cauſes, to the honour and advantage of the Chan-'cery, for the juſtneſs of the decrees, and the foul-'neſs and ſcandall, both of fact, and perſon, in thoſe 'that impeached the decrees. The Grand-jury, con-'ſiſting (as it ſeemeth) of very ſubſtantiall and intel-'ligent perſons, would not finde the bills, notwith-'ſtanding they were much clamoured by the parties, 'and twice ſent back by the Court; and, in conclu-'ſion, reſolutely ſeventeen out of nineteen found an '*Ignoramus*.'——A little after, he calls 'this a 'great and publique affront, not only to the reverend 'and well deſerving perſon of the Chancellor, (and 'at a time when he was thought to lye a dying, 'which was barbarous) but to the high Court of 'Chancery;'——This foul affair greatly ſerved to haſten Sir Edward Coke's diſgrace

(12) Life of King James I. by Ar. Wilſon, as above, under the year 1616. Ar. Collins, as above, p. 473.

(13) See his Letters in Vol. IV, of his Works; and Cabala, p. 31, 32.

[*G*] *He earneſtly intreated the King to be diſcharged from his office.*] And writ this letter to his Majeſty for that purpoſe. 'Moſt gracious Sovereign, I find 'through my great age, accompanied with griefs and 'infirmities, my ſenſe and conceipt is become dull 'and heavy, my memory decayed, my judgment 'weak, my hearing imperfect, my voice and ſpeech 'failing and faltering, and in all the powers and fa-'culties of my mind and body great debility. Where-'fore, *conſcientia imbecillitatis*, [conſcious as I am of 'my weakneſs] my humble ſuit to your moſt ſacred 'Majeſty, is, to be diſcharged of this great place, 'wherein I have long ſerved; and to have ſome 'comfortable teſtimony under your royal hand, that 'I leave it at this humble ſuit, with your gracious 'favour: ſo ſhall I, with comfort, number and ſpend 'the few days I have to live, in meditation, and 'prayers to Almighty God, to preſerve your Majeſty, 'and all yours, in all heavenly and earthly felicity 'and happineſs. This ſuit I intended ſome years 'paſt (†) *ex dictamine rationis & conſcientiæ*; love 'and fear ſtayed it: now neceſſity conſtrains me to 'it; I am utterly unable to ſuſtain the burthen of 'this great ſervice; for I am come to St Paul's de-'ſire,' *Cupio diſſolvi, & eſſe cum Chriſto.*——In another letter he expreſſeth 'an earneſt deſire to ſerve 'ſtill: but, (ſaith he) when I remember St Paul's 'rule, *Let him that hath an office wait on his office*; 'and do conſider, withall, my great age, and many 'infirmities, I am dejected, and do utterly faint: for 'I ſee and feel ſenſibly, that I am not able to per-'form thoſe duties as I ought, and the place requires; 'and thereupon I do ſeriouſly examine myſelf, what 'excuſe or anſwer I ſhall make to the King of Kings, 'and Judge of all Judges, when he ſhall call me to 'accompt; and then my conſcience ſhall accuſe me, 'that I have preſumed ſo long to undergo and wield 'ſo mighty and great a charge and burthen.—— He concludes thus,—— 'ſo, I moſt humbly beſeech 'your ſacred Majeſty, graciouſly to regard the great 'age, infirmity, and impotency of your moſt devoted, 'obedient, loyal, and faithful ſervant; let me not be 'as Domitius after was, * *Maluit deficere quam deſi-'nere*; but, with your princely favour, give me leave 'to retire myſelf from the carefull ſervice of this great 'office, and from the troubles of this world, and to 'ſpend the ſmall remnant of my life in meditation 'and prayer—— (14).'

(†) From the dictates of reaſon and conſcience.

(*) He choſe rather to faint than to quit.

(14) Cabala, p. 235, 236.

[*H*] *He alſo let him keep the Seal till the beginning of Hilary-term following, when he ſent Secretary Winwood for it.*] This we are aſſured of by Mr W. Sanderſon, the publiſher of *Aulicus Coquinariæ*; by way of reply to Sir Ant. Weldon; who, in his *Court and Character of King James* (15), ſays, that the Lord Chancellor was removed by Villiers's means, for 'not 'giving way to his exorbitant deſires:——and, 'that to deſpight him the more, and to vex his very 'ſoule, in the laſt agony he ſent Bacon, his deſired 'ſucceſſor, (one he hated) for the ſeales, which the 'old man's ſpirit could not brook, but ſent them by 'his own ſervant to the King, and ſhortly after yeilded 'his ſoul to his Maker.' The Great Seal was delivered to Sir Francis Bacon, March 7. 1616-7 (16).

(15) Page 125, edit. Lond. 1650, 12*mo*.

(16) Chron. Juridicialia, p. 185.

[*I*] *And*

Lordſhip's illneſs increaſing, the King ſent the Earl of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Bacon, to ſignify to him, that he intended to give him the title of an Earl, and an annual penſion; but being at that time ſeventy-ſeven years of age, he did not live to enjoy either (*e*). For he died, at York-houſe in the Strand, March 15, 1616-17, in a good old age, and full of virtuous fame, and was buried privately at Dodleſton in Cheſhire (*f*). He was a perſon of a moſt venerable gravity, both in his countenance and behaviour, having been ſeldom ſeen to ſmile (*g*); ſo that many went to the Chancery, on purpoſe only to ſee his venerable garb; and happy they who had no other buſineſs there, as Dr Fuller well obſerves (*h*). As to his inward abilities; he had a quick wit and apprehenſion, profound judgment, and ready utterance (*i*). He was a prudent man, a good Lawyer, juſt and honeſt, ſo that none of the Bench in his time went beyond him: and after his death, all of the long robe lamented his loſs (*k*). He was attended by ſervants of moſt able parts, and was the firſt Chancellor ſince the Reformation, who had a *Chaplain*, namely John Williams, afterwards Lord-Keeper, and Archbiſhop of York. When he ſaw King James ſo profuſe to the Scots, with the grave fidelity of a Stateſman he ſcrupled not often to tell him, That as he held it neceſſary for his Majeſty amply to reward thoſe his countrymen, ſo he deſired him carefully to preſerve his Crown-lands for his own ſupport, ſeeing he or his ſucceſſors, might meet with Parliaments, which would not ſupply his occaſions, but on ſuch conditions as would not be very acceptable unto him. It was an ordinary ſpeech in his mouth, Froſt and Fraud both end in foul (*l*). By his firſt Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenſcroft, of Bretton in the county of Flint, Eſq; he had iſſue two ſons, Sir Thomas Egerton, Knt. who died in his life-time; and John, who ſucceeded him, and was created Earl of Bridgewater [*I*]. Alſo a daughter, Mary, married to Sir Francis Leigh, of Newnham-Regis, in the county of Warwick, Knight of the Bath. He had no iſſue by his ſecond, and third Lady (*m*). He writ a few things, but only one piece was publiſhed in his life-time [*K*].

(*e*) Camdeni regni Jacobi I. Annalium Apparatus, ad ann. 1617.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, ubi ſupra; and Life and Death of King James I. by Ar. Wilſon, Eſq; Lond. 1653, fol. p. 97.

(*g*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Worthies, in Cheſhire, p. 176.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 418.

(*l*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 177.

(*m*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra; and Ar. Collins, p. 475, 476.

[*I*] *And John, who ſucceeded him, and was created Earl of Bridgewater.*] The Lord Chancellor Egerton's noble deſcendents, and inheritors of his honours and eſtates, to this preſent time, have been. 1. *John*, his ſecond ſon, created Earl of Bridgewater, May 27. 1617. He died Decemb. 4. 1649. 2. *John*, who died Octob. 26. 1686. 3. *John*, born Nov. 9. 1646, who died March 19. 1700-1. 4. *Scroop*, born Auguſt 11. 1681, died in January 1744-5. 5. *John*, born 29 April 1727. died in February 1747-8. 6. [illegible] a minor, is the preſent Duke of Bridgewater, (17).

(17) Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 476—485.

[*K*] *He writ a few things, but only one piece was publiſhed in his life-time*] That piece was, 'Speech 'in the Exechequer-chamber, touching the *Poſt-nati*. 'Lond. 1609. 4to. in ſixteen ſheets.' But in the year 1651, there was publiſhed, a little book entituled, 'Certaine Obſervations concerning the Office 'of the Lord Chancellor. Compoſed by the Right 'Honorable, and moſt learned, Thomas Lord Elleſ-'mere, late Lord Chancellor of England.' Small octavo. extracted chiefly from records. He alſo left behind him at his death four MSS. of choice collections fit to be printed, concerning (1). The Prerogative Royal. (2). Privileges of Parliament. (3). Proceedings in Chancery. (4). The power of the Star-chamber (18).

(18) Wood's Ath. as above, col. 418.

C

ELSYNGE (HENRY) Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, in the reign of King Charles I, was born at Batterſey in Surrey in the year 1598; being the eldeſt ſon of Henry Elſynge, Eſq; (*a*) [*A*]. After a ſuitable education in Weſtminſter-ſchool, he was admitted, in 1621 (*b*), into Chriſt's-Church-College in Oxford; and took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, June 22, 1625 (*c*). But, without taking any further degrees, he went and travelled abroad; and ſpent, at ſeveral times, above ſeven years in foreign countries. By which he became ſo accompliſhed a gentleman, that his company and converſation was deſired by perſons of the higheſt quality and beſt judgment. He was in particular ſo highly valued by Archbiſhop Laud, that his Grace procured him the place of Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, to which he proved of infinite uſe, as well as a ſingular ornament (*d*). For he was the moſt excellent Clerk, both to take and expreſs the ſenſe of the Houſe, that ever ſat there: and alſo ſo great a help to the Speaker, and to the Houſe, in ſtating the Queſtions, and drawing up the Orders free from exceptions, that it much conduced to the diſpatch of buſineſs, and the ſervice of the Parliament (*e*). His diſcretion alſo and prudence was ſuch, that though the Long Parliament was by faction kept in continual diſorder, yet his fair and temperate carriage made him commended and eſteemed by all parties, how furious and oppoſite ſoever they were among themſelves. And therefore, for theſe his abilities and good conduct, more reverence was paid to his ſtool than to the Speaker Lenthall's chair, who being obnoxious, timorous, and intereſted, was often much confuſed in collecting the ſenſe of the Houſe, and drawing the debates into a fair queſtion; in which Mr Elſynge was always obſerved to be ſo ready and juſt, that generally the Houſe acquieſced in what he did of that nature (*f*). At length, when he ſaw that the greater part of the Houſe were impriſoned and ſecluded; and that the remainder would bring the King to a trial for his life; he deſired, on the 26th of December 1648, to quit his place, by reaſon, as he alledged, of his bad ſtate of health: but moſt people underſtood his reaſon to be (and he acknowledged it to Mr Whitelock and

(*a*) Wood's Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 177.

(*b*) Mr Wood ſays it was in 1622, but by the time of taking his degree, it muſt have been in Michaelmas term 1621.

(*c*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 231.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit 1732, p. 364.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Being the eldeſt Son of* Henry Elſynge *Eſq.*] Who was Clerk of the Houſe of Lords, and a perſon of great abilities. His father was Henry Elſynge Citizen of London, Son of John Elſynge of Daxworth in Cambridgeſhire (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He*

and others of his friends) becauſe he would have no hand in the buſineſs againſt the King (*g*). After having quitted his advantageous employment, he retired to his houſe at Hounſlow in Middleſex; where contracting many infirmities of body, by his ſedentarineſs, ſome diſtreſſes in his family, and by a deep melancholy for the ſufferings and loſs of his Sovereign, he departed this life, about the middle of Auguſt in the year 1654, and in the fifty-ſixth of his age. He was buried in his private chapel at Hounſlow, which is the burying place of his family (*b*). He was a man of very great parts, and ingenuous education; was very learned, eſpecially in the Latin, French, and Italian languages; a great Student, and a very juſt and honeſt man: one, in a word, of whom the great Mr Selden was very fond (*i*). He was author of a few good things, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*B*].

(*g*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He was Author of a few good things, &c.*] Namely, 1. 'The ancient method and manner of 'holding Parliaments in England.' Lond. 1663. reprinted ſince in 12°. the third edition being in 1675. Mr Wood ſuppoſes (2), that it is moſtly taken from a MS. entituled, *Modus tenendi Parliamentum apud Anglos:* 'Of the form and manner of holding a Parliament in England, and all things incident thereunto, 'digeſted and divided into ſeveral chapters and titles,' an. 1626, 'written by our Author's Father, who died 'while his Son was in his travels.' This curious little book, which ſeems to have been a collection made by the Author for his own uſe, is divided into eight Chapters. Ch. 1. Of ſummons. Ch. 2. Of appearance. Ch. 3. Of the place of meeting, and form of ſitting. Ch. 4. Of Parliament days. Ch. 5. Of Proxies. Ch. 6. Of the cauſe of Summons. Ch. 7. Of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. Ch. 8. Receivers and Tryers of Petitions.——In Chap. 1. He ſhows, among other curious particulars, 'who were antiently 'ſummoned to Parliament.' And they were 'Archbi-'ſhops, and Biſhops,' on account of their dignity and tenure. 'All Abbots and Priors, which held 'by an Earldom or a Barony,' by reaſon of their tenure. 'All Earls and Barons by reaſon of their 'inheritable Nobility and tenure, and their Peers al-'ſo,' by reaſon of their tenure. 'The Judges, and 'Barons of the Exchequer, the King's Privy Council, 'and his learned Counſel,' were alſo ſummoned; but had no vote, nor were ſummoned on account of their tenure.—'The Knights of the Shires, and the 'Barons of the Cinque Ports' were alſo ſummoned: and, 'The Citizens and Burgeſſes were ever elected 'and ſent to the Parliament.' Next he enquires, 'whether the ſummons were antiently by one general 'writ or particular writs:' and affirms, that 'before 'the Conqueſt, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and 'the Peers were ſummoned to Parliament by one ge-'neral Summons; and, that the others who were 'neither Lords nor Peers had particular writs.' He alſo gives, the firſt writ of Summons extant upon record, namely that of 49 Hen. iii; the titles of the parties ſummoned; the form of the antient writ for the election of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, &c. In Chap. III. he examines, 'Whether the Lords 'and Commons did antiently ſit in one room toge-'ther. And, whether the Commons did antiently 'ſit at conference with the Lords.' In Chap. IV. he enquires, 'On what days the Parliament may not 'ſit:' and ſhows by ſome inſtances, that they formerly uſed to ſit on Sundays.——II. Mr Elſynge likewiſe wrote 'A Tract concerning Proceed-, ings in Parliament;' never publiſhed. It was ſome time in manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Sir Matth. Hale, who bequeathed it in his Will to Lincoln's-Inn Library. III. Our Author left alſo behind him ſome Tracts and Memorials of his own writing, but ſo imperfect, that his executor would not publiſh them, leſt they ſhould prove injurious to his memory. IV. Ant. Wood aſcribes moreover to Mr Elſynge, 'A declara-'tion or remonſtrance of the ſtate of the kingdom, 'agreed on by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in 'Parliament, 19 May 1642. *Lond.* 1642. in ſix ſheets 4to. [illegible] is too virulent to be conſiſtent with Mr Elſynge's character as given above. The reader may ſee it in Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. Vol. 4. and in Edw. Huſbands's Collection of Remonſtrances, &c. Lond. 1643. 4to. p. 195. C

(2) Athen. ubi ſupra.

ELYOT (Sir THOMAS) a Gentleman of eminent learning in the reign of King Henry VIII, and author of ſeveral works [*A*], was ſon of Sir Richard Elyot, of the county of Suffolk; and educated in academical learning at St Mary's Hall in Oxford [*B*], where he made a conſiderable progreſs in Logick and Philoſophy (*a*). After ſome time ſpent at the univerſity, he travelled into foreign countries, and, upon his return, was introduced to the Court of King Henry, who, being a great patron of learned men, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and employed him in ſeveral embaſſies, particularly to Rome in 1532, about the affair of the divorce of Queen Catherine, and afterwards, about the year 1536, to the Emperor Charles V (*b*). Sir Thomas was an excellent Grammarian, Poet, Rhetorician, Philoſopher, Phyſician, Coſmographer, and Hiſtorian; and no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his candour, and the innocence and integrity of his

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. n. 77; and Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 67.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

[*A*] *Author of ſeveral Works.*] I. *The Caſtle of Health*, London, 1541, 1572, 1580, 1595, &c. in 8vo. II. *The Governor*, in three books. London, 1544, 1547, 1580, &c. in 8vo. III. *Of the Education of Children.* London, in 4to. IV. *The Banquet of Sapience.* London, in 8vo. V. *De Rebus Memorabilibus Angliæ:* for the compleating of which he had peruſed many old Engliſh Monuments (*). V. *A Defence or Apology for good women.* VI. *Bibliotheca Eliotæ: Elyot's Library, or Dictionary.* London, 1541, &c. fol. Which work *Cooper* augmented, and enriched with *thirty three thouſand* words and phraſes, beſides a fuller account of the true ſignification of words. He tranſlated likewiſe, from Greek into Engliſh, *The Image of Governaunce, compiled of the Acts and Sentences by the Emperor* Alexander Severus. London, 1556, 1594, &c. in 8vo. And from Latin into Engliſh, 1. *St Cyprian's Sermon of the mortality of man.* London, 1534, in 8vo. 2. *The Rule of a Chriſtian Life*, written by Picus Earl of Mirandola. London 1534, in 8vo (1).

(*) See Roger Aſcham's *Toxophilus*, p. 28.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 67.

[*B*] *Educated in Academical learning at St Mary's Hall in Oxford.*] The year of his admiſſion, thro' the defect of the record, cannot eaſily be determined; unleſs it was about the year 1514: for, four years after, *viz.* in 1518, one Thomas Elyot was admitted *ad lecturam alicujus libri facultatis Artium Logices Ariſtotelis*, which is the admiſſion to the degree of bachelor of arts; and in Lent the ſame year he completed that degree by determination in School-Street. It appears likewiſe, that the ſaid Thomas Elyot was, in the beginning of Auguſt 1524, admitted *ad lecturam alicujus libri inſtitutionum*, that is, to the degree of bachelor of the Civil Law. Now if it could be made appear, that Sir Thomas Elyot died at about fifty years of age, we might certainly conclude him to be the ſame with Elyot the bachelor of arts and of the Civil Law; otherwiſe not (2). Parker (3) makes our Author to have been bred in Jeſus College in Cambridge.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) In his Σκελέτος. Cantabr.

[*C*] *Leland*

his life (*c*). He was courted and celebrated by all the learned men of his time, particularly the famous Antiquary Leland, who addreſſed a copy of Latin verſes to him [*C*]. A ſimilitude of manners, and ſameneſs of ſtudies, recommended him to the intimacy and friendſhip of Sir Thomas More (*d*). He died in 1546, and was buried, the 25th of March, in the church of Carleton in Cambridgeſhire, of which county he had been Sheriff (*e*).

(*c*) Pitſeus, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. ann. 1546, n. 969.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Leland addreſſed a copy of Latin verſes to him*] We ſhall tranſcribe them for the entertainment of the learned reader. They are extant in his *Encomia illuſtrium virorum* (4).

(4) *Apud* Jo. Leandi de reb. Britan. Collectanea, Oxon. 1715, 8*vo*. In Append. P. i. p. 144.

Ad Thomam Eliotam, Equitem ornatiſſimum.

Forſitan expectas, Eliota diſerte, venuſtum
Ut tranſmittam aliquod munus ab urbe tibi.
Ut non exſpectes, mentis tamen intimus in me
Promeruit candor munus at omne tuæ.
At ne quid temere mittam, vel quod ſit ineptum,
Reſtat in officiis unica cura meis.
Non aurum mittam, longo nam temporis uſu
Fulgidus eſt auri deperiturus honor.
Non in Erythræis creſcentia munera conchis;
Margaritarum gratia fluxa, brevis.
Sed neque gemmarum radiantia ſidera mittam:
Tantum oculos paſcunt, cætera nuda quidem.
Excutienda mihi quare ſunt munera, quæ non
Corrumpant ullo ſæcula longa modo.
Talia ſed magno quæruntur dona labore,
Et poſcunt animi fertilioris opem.
Quum mea nil aliud poſſit præſtare Camœna,
Præter Caſtaliis carmina miſta modis:
Carmina fac igitur capias hæc fronte remiſſa,
Munera, ſed meritis inferiora tuis.
Queis modo ſi annuerint ſtabilem fata optima vitam,
Longè auro & gemmis ſplendidiora dedi.
Sic te perpetuo victuros ſcribere libros,
Edere me juvet & carmina digna cedro.

T

ETHEREGE (GEORGE), a celebrated Wit in the reigns of King Charles and King James II, and eminent for his poetical genius, eſpecially in Comedy. He is ſaid to have been deſcended of an antient family in Oxfordſhire [*A*], or allied to it (*a*), and born about the year 1636, but not very diſtant from London 'tis believed, as ſome of his neareſt relations appear to have been ſettled not far from this metropolis, in the county of Middleſex. 'Tis thought he had ſome education at the univerſity of Cambridge, but it ſeems he travelled into France, and perhaps Flanders alſo, in his younger years; and at his return, ſtudied, for a while, the Municipal Laws, at one of the Inns of Court in London (*b*). But the polite company he kept, and his own natural talents, inclining him rather to court the favour of the Muſes, and cultivate the *Belles Lettres*, he purſued the ſame ſo effectually, that the town was obliged with his firſt dramatick performance in the year 1664 (*c*); intituled *The Comical Revenge: or, Love in a Tub* [*B*]; the writing whereof brought him acquainted, as he himſelf informed us, with Charles, afterwards Earl of Dorſet; to whom it is, by the author, dedicated. And the fame of this play, with his lively humour, engaging converſation, and refined taſte in the faſhionable gallantries of the town, ſoon eſtabliſhed him in the ſocieties, and rendered him the delight of thoſe leading Wits among the Quality and Gentry of chief rank and diſtinction, who made their pleaſure the chief buſineſs of their lives, in that reign; ſuch as George Villiers Duke of Bucks, John Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter, Sir Car. Scroop, Sir Charles Sidley, Henry Savile, *&c.* Encouraged hereby to proceed, he brought another comedy upon the Stage; but it was four years after, in the year 1668 (*d*), intituled, *She would if ſhe could*; which alſo gained him no leſs applauſe [*C*]. And it was expected that he would, by the continuance

(*a*) MS. notes on the Lives of the Engliſh Poets, by Tho. Coxeter, Eſq;

(*b*) Idem. Alſo C. Gildon's Lives and Characters of the Engl. Dramatick Poets, 8*vo*, p. 53.

(*c*) So Mr Coxeter in his Notes above cited; tho' neither Langbaine, nor any of his followers, ever ſaw that firſt edition.

(*d*) In both the Catalogues of the Bodleian Library; that by Dr Tho. Hyde, fol. 1674; and the laſt, by Mr Robert Fyſher, fol. 1738, this firſt edition of that Play is dated in 1668; though the ſecond is only cited, after Langbaine, by C. Gildon; and after him, by G. Jacob.

[*A*] *An ancient Family in Oxfordſhire.*] Whereof, there was one, reſiding at Thame in that county, before the Reformation; from whence ſprung the learned Dr *George Etherege*, who was born there, about the year 1520; educated at Chriſt-Church-College, in the Univerſity of Oxford; was King's Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue there, in the Reign of Queen Mary, and ſome part of Queen Elizabeth's: but then, as he had been an oppoſer of the Proteſtants, was obliged to reſign it; whereupon he followed his Profeſſion of Phyſick in the City of Oxon, and inſtructed ſeveral ſcholars, who were the ſons of ſome Roman Catholic gentlemen, in the Sciences, to his old age, being alive in 1588; and was buried in the ſaid city, when he died. He wrote and tranſlated many learned books in his younger years; as John Leland has, in his poetical encomiums remembered (1); being a good Hebretian, Grecian and Poet; ſome of them written in Divinity, Phyſick, Muſick, and Verſe; among which was his *Acta Henrici Octavi*, in a Greek Poem, which he preſented to Queen Elizabeth, when, in a progreſs, ſhe viſited that Univerſity, *Anno* 1566. But it being thought only deſigned for the uſe of her Majeſty, and its author, it was during his life kept from the preſs, and ſo has continued ever ſince in MS. and *ſub noctibus atticis* (2). He alſo tranſlated a book written by Paulus Ægineta into Engliſh; the Pſalms of David into Hebrew verſe; and moſt part, or all of Juſtin Martyr, from the original Greek; beſides ſome other things, for the particulars whereof we ſhall at preſent refer to our author (3).

(1) Vid. *Princip. ac Illuſtrium aliquot & Eruditorum in Anglia Virorum, Encomia, &c. a Joanne Lelando* Antiquario conſcripta. edit. 4*to*, Lond. 1589, p. 111.

(2) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. fol. 1736, p. 85.

[*B*] *The Comical Revenge: or Love in a Tub.*] This Comedy was acted at his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York's Theatre, then newly erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; and firſt printed, as is obſerved above, in Quarto, 1664. again, in 1669, 1689, 1690; and afterwards in the volume of our Author's Comedies printed together. It is dedicated by him, to the Honourable Charles Lord Buckhurſt; to whom he ſays, 'I could not have wiſhed myſelf more fortu-'nate, than I have been, in the ſucceſs of this poem: 'the writing of it, was a means to make me known 'to your Lordſhip; the acting of it, has loſt me no 'reputation; and the printing of it, has now given 'me an opportunity to ſhew how much I honour you, '&c. (4).' Mr Langbaine ſays that, 'This Comedy, 'though of a mixed nature; part of it being ſerious, 'and writ in heroic verſe, yet has ſucceeded admira-'bly on the ſtage; it having been always acted with 'general approbation (5).'

(3) See A. Wood, in Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 289, a. And Athen. Oxon. Tom. I. col. 237.

(4) Sir George Etherege's Dedicat. to the Lord Buckhurſt of *The Comical Revenge*, &c.

[*C*] *His Comedy entitled, She would, if ſhe could, gained him no leſs applauſe.*] This alſo, was acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, as was obſerved above, in 1668; again, in 1671, &c. Alſo acted at

(5) Account of the Dramatick Poets, 8*vo*, Oxon. 1691, p. 189.

continuance of his ſtudies to poliſh and enliven the theatrical taſte, be no leſs conſtant in ſuch entertainments than the moſt aſſiduous of his contemporaries. But it was aſcribed to his indolence, or too great an indulgence in his pleaſures, rather than any cloſe engagement at that time to more ſerious applications in the affairs of State, that his ingenuity was ſo alienated from the exerciſe of his pen; and indeed it is manifeſt, that there was an interval of above ſeven years, between that, and the appearance of his next, which was alſo his laſt dramatick production; and which, by the way, will ſhew us when that poem was written by his friend the Earl of Rocheſter which we ſhall here below cite; wherein though our author is highly complimented with all the requiſites of an accompliſhed Poet, he is yet condemned to loſe the Laurel for that delay [*D*]; his ſaid laſt comedy not being publiſhed till 1676. It is intituled, *The Man of Mode: or, Sir Fopling Flutter.* It is dedicated by him to the Ducheſs of York, who then was Mary the daughter of the Duke of Modena; in the ſervice of which Ducheſs our author, as he ſays in his ſaid dedication, he then was; and this play ſtill exalted his reputation, even above what both the former had done; he having therein, as perhaps he had alſo partly ſet himſelf ſome example in the others before, ſhadowed forth (but ſomewhat diſguiſedly) ſome of his noted acquaintance and contemporaries who were known, or thought to be ſo, by his ſaid draughts of them,

the Theatre-Royal, by their Majeſties Servants, and printed Quarto, 1693, &c. And tho' it has neither Dedication, Preface, Prologue, nor Epilogue, that might inform us of its ſucceſs, the reaſon whereof may perhaps preſently appear, yet has it had great encomiums alſo beſtowed upon it. One of our comick writers, who was his contemporary, and afterwards Poet Laureat, writes thus of this Play, 'She *would, if ſhe could*, I think, and have the authority of ſome of the beſt judges for it, is the beſt Comedy that has been written ſince the Reformation of the ſtage. And even that, for the imperfect repreſentation of it at firſt, received ſuch prejudice, that had it not been for the favour of the *Court*, in all probability it had never got up again; and it ſuffers for it, in great meaſure, to this very day (6).' Mr Phillips ſays of theſe two Comedies, *Love in a Tub*, and *She would, if ſhe could*, that for pleaſant wit and no bad oeconomy, they are judged not unworthy the approbation they have met with (7). Gildon agrees with Langbaine, that this laſt is a Comedy of the firſt rank; and Langbaine further wiſhes 'For the publick ſatisfaction, that this great maſter would oblige the world with more of his performances; which would put a ſtop to the crude and indigeſted Plays, which, for want of better, cumber the ſtage (8).' Theſe applauſes aroſe from our Author's changing the ſtudy after old copies, and chimerical draughts from ungrounded ſpeculation, which is but painting with dead colours, for thoſe, taken directly from the freſheſt practiſe and experience in original life. He drew his characters from what they called the *Beau monde*; from the manners and modes then prevailing with the gay and voluptuous part of the world; which has made them appear the more natural, tho' we cannot ſay the more innocent. He has alſo ſpirited his dialogues, eſpecially in the courtſhip of the fair ſex, for which he is diſtinguiſhed by Mr Dryden and others, with a ſparkling gaiety which had but little appeared before upon the ſtage, in parts pretending to the character of modiſh Gallants; and to judge of his figures according to the rules of true reſemblance, he will appear a maſterly hand; but ſtrictly to examine them, by the rules of honour, morality, and the principles of virtue, where none ſuch are ſeriouſly profeſſed; as the main buſineſs in the Comedies of thoſe times, and moſt ſince, are intrigues of unlawful love, would be a ſeverity, that might tend to eclipſe that expoſure of thoſe corruptions, which has ever been allowed as the greateſt benefit of Theatrical repreſentations; according to the reflexions which have been made on the comic writings of our Author, and ſome other contemporaries, by a late writer (9): tho' it is by the ſame hand alſo owned on the other ſide, that corruptions are too often taught upon the ſtage, under the pretence of expoſing them. To deſcribe and make known thoſe poiſonous things which are baneful to the body, may be neceſſary and ſufficient for the avoidance of the ignorant; but thoſe examples that poiſon the morals and virtues of the mind, are ſo palatable to the vicious, that the ſimple or bare deſcriptions of them often prove fatal, unleſs accompanied with ſuch powerful antidotes, as may deſtroy their miſchievous efficacy, or ſuch proſpects of their deſtructive conſequences, as may terrify mankind more by their durable diſaſters, than tempt them by their fleeting delights; as the ſame Author has alſo obſerved upon this topic (10): and this part of the argument has been alſo more directly applyed to Sir George's Plays, particularly by a late reformer of the ſtage, who had been a comick writer himſelf; and who, upon quoting a reflexion that had been made on a ſpeech in one of his own Comedies, as too much inclining to a vein of wantonneſs, may ſeem to have aimed at ſome apology for it, by recriminating upon this play of our Author's, as what is intirely written in that vein; where ſpeaking of luſcious expreſſions and deſcriptions that gratify a ſenſual appetite, he ſays, 'This expedient to ſupply the deficiency of wit, has been uſed more or leſs, by moſt of the authors who have ſucceeded on the ſtage; tho' I know but one who has profeſſedly writ a play upon the baſis of the deſire of multiplying our ſpecies; and that is, the polite Sir *George Etherege*; if I underſtand what the lady would be at in the play called *She would, if ſhe could.* Other Poets have here and there, given an intimation that there is this deſign, under all the diſguiſes and affectations which a lady may put on; but no author except this, has made ſure work of it, and put the imaginations of the audience upon this one purpoſe from the beginning to the end of the Comedy. It has always fared accordingly; for, whether it be, that all who go to this piece, *would, if they could*, or that, the innocents go to it, to gueſs only what *She would, if ſhe could*, the play has always been well received (11).'

(6) See *The Humoriſt*, a Comedy, by Tho. Shadwell of the Middle Temple, 4*to*, 1671, in Pref.

(7) E. Phillips's Collection of the Poets, P. ii. p. 53; and W. Winſtanley copies his words.

(8) Langbaine's Account of the Engl. Dramatick Poets, p. 187.

(9) In a Diſcourſe upon Comedy, MS. 4*to*, among the Collections of the late N. Boothe, Eſq; of Gray's-Inn, p. 13.

(10) Idem, p. 154.

(11) See *The Spectator*, Vol. I. No. 51.

[*D*] *Condemned to loſe the Laurel for that delay.*] In the ſaid famous Poem, written by the Lord Rocheſter (*), after the example of Sir John Suckling's upon the like ſubject, Apollo finds ſome plauſible pretence of exception to the claim of every poetical candidate for the laurel crown; therefore our Poet, by the ſcheme or drift of it, could eſcape no leſs diſappointment than the reſt; yet his Lordſhip, to do him ample juſtice, has ſufficiently ſhewed his merits to it, in every thing but his perſeverance to exert them; which, after having firſt of all diſcarded Mr Dryden, he next expreſſes thus.

This reverend Author was no ſooner ſet by,
But Apollo had got gentle George in his eye;
And frankly confeſſed, of all Men that writ,
There's none had more Fancy, Senſe, Judgment or Wit:
But, i'th' crying ſin Idleneſs, he was ſo harden'd,
That his long *ſev'n years* ſilence was not to be pardon'd.

Which plainly ſhews that the Poem in which theſe lines are written (12) was juſt before the publication of our Author's next Play abovementioned in the text, and here, in the following note.

(*) Tho' it has ſince been fathered, as well as ſome others, without any authority, upon George D. of Buckingham. See The Tryal of the Poets, for the Bays, in Imitation of a Satire in Boileau, among The Miſcellaneous Works of Geo. late D. of Buckingham, &c. 8*vo*, 1704, p. 41.

(12) The Seſſion of the Poets, in Lord Rocheſter's Works, 8*vo*, 1739. And in Dryden's Miſcellanies, edit. 12*mo*, 1716, P. ii. p. 96.

[*E*] *And*

them, to many of the audience, which rendered the Play very popular [*E*]. It ſeems he was

[*E*] *Which made the Play very popular.*] This Comedy, called *The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter*, acted alſo at the Duke's Theatre, beſides the firſt edition, abovementioned, in 1676, had other impreſſions in 1684, &c. Our Author, in his courtly Dedication to the ſaid Ducheſs of York has this, among other very complaiſant and reſpectful expreſſions; 'I 'hope the honour I have of *belonging to you*, will 'excuſe my preſumption: 'tis the firſt thing I have 'produced in your ſervice, and my *duty* obliges me 'to what my *choice* durſt not elſe have aſpired.' The ſong in the laſt act, was tranſlated by Sir Car Scroop, from part of an Elegy written in French by *Madame la Comteſſe de la Suze* (13). The Prologue was alſo written by the ſaid Baronet; in which he has theſe Verſes.

(13) See *Le Recüeil des Pieces Gallentes*, Tom. I. p. 42.

With modeſt fears a *Muſe* does firſt begin,
Like a *young wench* newly entic'd to Sin:
But, tickled once with praiſe, by her good will,
The wanton fool would never more lye ſtill.
'Tis an *old miſtreſs* you'll meet here to night,
Whoſe charms you once have look'd on with delight;
But now of late, ſuch dirty drabs have known ye,
A Muſe 'oth' better ſort's aſham'd to own ye, &c.

And he goes on, to cenſure the ſuperfluous importation of any foreign characters of folly, when we are overſtocked with ſuch varieties, as are giving continual provocation to be expoſed at home. Therefore he entreats the audience, to be favourable to their own breed, and forbare to damn in the copy, what they have admired in the original. The Epilogue to this Play was written by Mr Dryden; in which he found it proper to anticipate the audience with an opinion that there was no perſonal ſatire intended, and to prevent any thing of that kind being ſuſpected therein: ſo deſcribes one of the principal characters, that of Sir Fopling, which was moſt liable to ſuch ſuſpicion, as a draught drawn only from the imagination, or its ideas ariſing from the collective body of Fops in general, and pointing, by no means, at any particular man. To which purpoſe the former part of that Epilogue is thus written:

Moſt modern Wits, ſuch monſtrous *Fools* have ſhown,
They ſeem not of Heav'n's making, but their own.
Thoſe nauſeous *Harlequins*, in *Farce* may paſs,
But there goes more to a ſubſtantial aſs;
Something of Man, muſt be expos'd to view,
That, Gallants, they may more reſemble you:
Sir *Fopling* is a *Fool*, ſo nicely writ,
The Ladies would miſtake him for a *Wit*.
And when he ſings, talks loud, and cocks, would cry,
I vow, methinks he's *pretty* company;
So briſk, ſo gay, ſo travell'd, ſo refin'd!
As he took pains to graff upon his kind.
True Fops help Nature's work, and go to ſchool,
To file, and finiſh God Almighty's Fool:
Yet none Sir *Fopling*, him, or him can call;
He's *Knight 'o th' Shire*, and repreſents you all:
From each he meets, he culls what e'er he can,
Legion's his name, a *People* in a *Man*.

And to the ſame ſenſe concludes,

Yet every man is ſafe from what he fear'd,
For no one Fool is hunted from the herd.

And yet he has here ſo deſcribed his dreſs, his airs, and humours, however gathered only from this chemerical precedent, as he would have it thought, on the Drama, that the town was rather confirmed in, than diverted thereby from applying the imaginary to a real perſon. And who was the original of this picture agreed upon at laſt to be, but Beau Hewit, the moſt notorious Fop of that time! as we have been credibly informed; alſo that the part of Dorimant was drawn for the Author's friend the Earl of Rocheſter; wherein his inconſtancy, falſhood, and triumphs, in the conqueſt and ruin of the fair, are varniſhed over with ſuch agreeable and captivating graces; of modiſh and polite gallantry, that they may have been no leſs delectable to the lighter, than diſpleaſing to the graver part, or thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is, to aſſume, or profeſs this character. The Poet has alſo drawn out ſome ſketch of himſelf in this Play, if we miſtake not, in the character of Medley: nay, as we alſo had it from the ſame intelligence, that of the late Mr John Bowman, who had either acted the part of Sir Fopling, or ſome other in this Comedy, when it was in its earlieſt and higheſt repute, the very Shoemaker, in the firſt act, was alſo meant for a real perſon; who, by his improvident courſes, having been before unable to make any profit of his trade, grew afterwards, upon this publick repreſentation of him, ſo notable, and drew ſuch a reſort of the beſt cuſtomers to him, as obliged him to ſuch cloſe application in his buſineſs, and made him ſo ambitious of giving ſatisfaction, that he thenceforth became a very thriving man, and acquired a very ſubſtantial and comfortable maintenance for himſelf and family. The play met with extraordinary ſucceſs upon the ſtage, however different judgments have been given of it. Langbaine ſays, 'It is 'written with great art and judgment; and is ac-'knowledged by all to be as true Comedy, and the 'characters as well drawn to the life, as any play 'that has been acted ſince the Reſtauration of the 'Engliſh ſtage (14):' with whom Gildon agrees. 'Tis true our Author has here in this, as well as his other Comedies before, made ſome witty alluſions, and ſimilies drawn from the Sportſman's language, or phraſes uſed in the country diverſions of hunting and hawking; which might not be ſo familiarly reliſhed by ſome of his Criticks, or meer Courtiers, Citizens, and Cockneys in town: and though he may not have ſo highly built upon any little underplots, that keep up the ſpirit and buſineſs of the ſcenes, till they have gathered to one ſuch capital plot as might at laſt break out into that ſurpriſing diſcloſure of events, which would anſwer the expectation of ſome judges; whence it was objected, that he had written two, as one Author, (*) or as another, not over correctly, *three taking Plays without one Plot*; tho' 'tis by others aſſerted, theſe three Plays are neither without Plot or Humour (15): Yet thoſe little objections, from ſome of his audience, were foundation enough it ſeems, for a ſatirical pen to raiſe a little character of him upon, in that poem, where the ſaid ſatiriſt mentions our Author, among the better ſort of thoſe Poets, who were then damned, as he acknowledges, only by the ignorant, after this manner.

(14) In his Account of Sir G. Etherege, as before.

(*) In the Works of G. Duke of Bucks, as before, p. 60.

(15) Miſcellanea Aurea: or, The Golden Medley, &c. 8vo, 1720, p. 291.

A fourth, for writing ſuperfine,
With words correct in every line:
And one that does preſume to ſay,
A Plot's too groſs for any Play.
Comedy ſhould be clean and neat,
As Gentlemen do talk and eat:
So, what he writes, is but Tranſlation,
From Dog and Partridge Converſation (16).

(16) See *The Ramble*, an Heroick Poem; with ſome Terreſtrial Hymnes and Carnal Ejaculations; by Alexander Radcliffe, of Gray's Inn, Eſq; 8vo, 1682: in his *News from Hell*, p. 53; reprinted in Dryden's Miſcellanies, edit. 12mo, 1716, P. ii. p. 101.

But our Author has been handled, with regard particularly to this laſt Comedy, more ſeverely yet, by that Critick in Proſe, who, as we have above read, beſtowed ſome cenſure upon the laſt before mentioned: but with what candour and equity, this has been ſo rigorouſly reflected on, is ſubmitted to other judges; by ſome of whom, it has been thought that, to ſift out ſome coarſe and indelicate ſentiments or expreſſions from the meaneſt or loweſt characters, and mention nothing that is gay, witty, or polite, from any others; nothing like what Dorimant has accoſted the widow with,

They taſte of Death, who do at Heaven arrive,
But we this Paradiſe approach alive!

I ſay,

was addicted to some great extravagancies; being too free of his purse in gaming, and of his constitution with women and wine; which embarrassed his fortune, impaired his health, and brought some satirical reflexions upon him. Gildon says, that for marrying a Fortune he was knighted (*e*); but we have it more particularly in a poem of those times, which never was printed, that to make some reparation of his circumstances, he courted a rich old widow; but her ambition was such, that she would not marry him unless he could make her a Lady; which he was forced by the purchase of knighthood to do (*). This might be, as it is computed, from the chronological order in which that poem seems to have been transcribed, in the volume of such like poems, wherein we have seen it, about the year 1683 (*f*). We hear not of any issue he had by this Lady: but we have been informed that he cohabited, whether before, or after his said marriage, we know not, for some time with Mrs Barry the Actress, and had a daughter by her; that he settled five or six thousand pounds upon her; but that she died young (*g*). From the same intelligence we have also learnt, that Sir George was, in his person, a fair, slender, genteel man; but spoiled his countenance with drinking, and other habits of intemperance; and in his deportment, very affable and courteous, of a sprightly and generous temper; which with his free, lively, and natural vein of writing, acquired him the general character of *Gentle George*, and *Easy Etherege*; in respect to which qualities, we may often find him compared with Sir Charles Sidley [*F*]. His said courtly address, and other accomplishments, won him the favour of the Duchess aforesaid, afterwards, when King James was crowned, his Queen; by whose interest and recommendation he was sent Ambassador abroad. In a certain pasquil that was written upon him, it is intimated as if he was sent upon some embassy to Turkey; which, because never printed that we know of, we shall here in a note transcribe [*G*], to shew how free the Wits could be with his character, who had been so with his own conduct. Gildon says, that being in particular esteem with the late Queen, King James's consort, he was sent Envoy to Hamburgh (*h*); but it is, in several books evident, that he was, in that reign, a Minister at Ratisbon; at least, from the year 1686, to the time that his Majesty left this kingdom, if not later; more

(*e*) Lives, &c. of Engl. Dramatick Poets, as above.

(*) In a *Consolatory Epist.* to Capt. *Julian*, ascribed to G. Duke of *Bucks*, this match is reflected on.

(*f*) This Poem is intituled *The Present State of Matrimony*; to be seen, in a fair MS. Collect. of Satires, Vol. II. in the Harleian Library. There are other copies, with enlargements to the same sense.

(*g*) This from the information of the late Mr John Bowman, the oldest Actor of his time; who knew Sir George, as well as Mrs Barry.

(*h*) In his Account of Sir G. Etherege, as before, p. 53.

I say, to gather us out a few weeds only, and overlook every flower, has been thought, in this instance, but a partial description of the Muses garden; and some of our most celebrated Comedies written since, might suffer as much or more, by such inequitable examination. The part of Dorimant seems not so expressly intended for the perfect fine Gentleman, as the refined rake or libertine; the unconfinable rover after amorous adventures; therefore, strict honour and honesty are not to be expected in such a character; and the play is unjustly brought to the test, upon the false and unallowable proposition of its being an absolute pattern of genteel Comedy. *If* all plays were to pass the ordeal of moral virtue, it would have company enough in the fiery sentence; and under such a merciless trial, it might not in some measure, be denyed, 'But that the negligence of every thing which engages the attention of the sober and valuable part 'of mankind, appears very well drawn in this piece; 'as it must be denyed, that it is necessary to the 'character of a fine Gentleman, that he should in 'that manner trample upon all order and decency.' And tho' we cannot be so very violently prejudiced, as to assert that 'This *whole* celebrated *Piece* is a 'perfect contradiction of good manners, good sense, 'and common honesty; that there is nothing in it, 'but what is built upon the ruin of virtue and innocence;' and, 'That nothing but being lost to a sense 'thereof, can make any one see this Comedy, without observing more frequent occasions to move sorrow and indignation, than mirth and laughter;' yet, we may partly coincide with the Critick, in the conclusion of his remarks on this play; where, at the same time, that he allows it to be nature, we also agree, it is nature (tho' not in the utmost, yet) in its corruption and degeneracy (17). These three Comedies were reprinted together in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, but so blindly, as to the time when they were written, having no particulars of any date, but that of the year in which they were then reprinted, that there is no knowing by any thing in the book, whether they were ever published before, or that the Author was not then alive (18); an imperfection, for want of some considerate editor, common in the new impressions of books, often to the perplexity, obstruction, and misguidance of studious men in their pursuits of historical knowledge. At the end of this edition, are the two poetical Epistles of our Author, which, in his Embassy, he addressed to the Earl of Middleton, and three other small Poems, that will hereafter be somewhat further spoken of (19).

(17) The Spectator, Vol. I. edit. 8*vo*, 1747, No. 65, p. 399, &c.

(18) The Works of Sir George Etherege, containing his Plays and Poems: printed for J. Tonson, &c. 8*vo*, 1704. They were reprinted in 12*mo*, 1715.

(19) In note [*I*].

[*F*] *Often find him compared with Sir Charles Sidley.*] Among other testimonies which might be produced, that of his learned friend Mr John Evelyn is in these words,

While fathers are severe, and servants cheat,
Till bauds and whores can live without deceit,
Sidley and easy Etherege will be great (20).

(20) Mr Evelyn's Imitation of Ovid's 15th Elegy.

Another Poetical Writer has these lines upon them;

Here gentle Eth'rege's and Sidley's Muse,
Warm the coy maid, and melting love infuse:
No unchast words, with harsh offensive sound,
The tender ears of blushing virgins wound;
Nor thought, which nauseous images inspire,
And damp the glowing heat of soft desire:
But calm and easy the sweet numbers move,
And ev'ry verse is influenc'd by love (21).

(21) Mr Charles Tooke, To a young Lady, with the first edition of *A Collection of Poems*, viz. *The Temple of Death*, &c. third edit. 12*mo*, 1716, p. 2.

[*G*] *We shall here, in a note transcribe.*] This Pasquil upon our Author, also two of his Plays, and his embassy to Turkey, as we have it now before us, consists of these lines:

Eth'rege by Knight and Lords united club,
Pickled his *Play*, and *Person* in a *Tub*:
For *Comical Revenge*, the Lord thought fit
To have a single Trial of his Wit;
In which the Title, if well understood,
Does shew, he *wou'd* write better *if he cou'd*:
But he and's Play have different mishaps;
One's purg'd to cure, t'other to get more claps.
His meagre face did his bad fate foretell;
That, like himself, 'twou'd not be count'nanc'd well:
Instead of sense, he welcomes you with sound;
For his Fee-simple was two hundred pound:
Yet let us not at this great bounty scoff;
He's the first Fire-ship e'er was well paid off.
Ovid to *Pontus* sent, for too much Wit;
Eth'rege to *Turkey*, for the want of it (22).

(22) So, in an old MS. copy, found among the Earl of Arlington's Papers, in 1739.

more especially it appears that he was then there, in his own letters, which he wrote from thence; some, to the Earl of Middleton, in verse; to one whereof his Lordship engaged Mr Dryden to return a poetical answer; in which he invites Sir George to write another play, and to keep him in countenance for his having been so dilatory in his last, reminds him how long the comedy, or farce, of *The Rehearsal* had been hatching, by the Duke of Buckingham, before it appear'd *(i)*; but we meet with nothing more of our author's writing, after his last comedy aforesaid, for the stage. However, there are in being some other letters of his in prose, which were written also from Ratisbon; two whereof, which he sent to the said Duke of Buckingham, when he was in his recess, because they are not only entertaining in themselves, but will give us a stronger, and more exact resemblance, both of the writer and receiver, than any draught that could be made with the most vivid colours, in a more distant description, may not, we persuade ourselves, be thought tedious here to produce [*H*]. As for his other compositions, such as have

(i) See these Letters in Dryden's Miscellanies, &c.

[*H*] *May not be thought tedious here to produce.*] We have met with but three letters of Sir George's writing in Prose, from Ratisbon. One is directed to his friend in London, whose name is not mentioned, and dated from that city, August 23. 1688; wherein, he gives a short account of some German Beauties there, &c. There is moreover, something arch in this letter; where Sir George is speaking of an indolent friend 'whose mistress, says he, I should pity, but 'that I am persuaded his prudence has made him 'chuse her in the *Family*:' and a little further, he talks in the very same sense of himself: 'I have 'learned to ogle and languish in publick, like any '*Walcup*; and to content myself in private, with 'a piece of *Household-bread*, as well as some of my 'friends (23).' But the other two letters, which are more considerable for their contents, being thought worthy of revival, and proper to illustrate this article, we shall here recite; the first of them is as follows:

(23) See *Familiar Letters* by *John* Earl of *Rochester*, &c. Vol. II. 1697. Published by *Ch. Gildon*, and printed for *Sam. Briscoe*; who, in an advertisement before the same, says, that, in the next Trinity-Term would be published a *Third* Volume of *Familiar Letters*; which would consist entirely of the Lord *Rochester*'s, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s, and Sir *George Etherege*'s: but we learn not that such volume was ever published; though perhaps some of those written by Sir *George* might afterwards be printed in other Collections.

To GEORGE Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

'I Received the news of your Grace's retirement into *Yorkshire*, and leading a sedate contemplative 'life there, with no less astonishment, than I should 'hear of his *Christian* Majesty's turning *Benedictine* 'Monk, or the Pope's wearing a long perriwig, and 'setting up for a flaming beau in the seventy-fourth 'year of his age. We have a picture here in our 'Town-Hall, which I never look upon, but it makes 'me think on your Grace; and I dare swear you'll 'say, there is no dishonour done you, when you 'hear whose it is: in short, 'tis that of the famous 'CHARLES the Vth, who amidst all the magnificence that this foolish world affords, amidst all his '*African* laurels and *Gallic* triumphs, freely divested 'himself of the Empire of *Europe*, and his hereditary kingdoms, to pass the remainder of his life in 'solitude and retirement.

'Is it possible that your Grace, who has seen ten 'times more luxury than that Emperor ever knew; 'conversed with finer women; kept politer company; 'possessed as much too, of the true real greatness of 'the world as ever he enjoyed, should in an age, 'still capable of pleasure, and under a fortune, whose 'very ruins would make a comfortable *Electorate* here 'in *Germany*; is it possible, I say, that your Grace 'should leave the Play at the beginning of the fourth 'Act, when all the Spectators are in pain to know 'what will become of the Hero, and what mighty 'matters he is reserved for, that set out so advantageously at first? That a person of your exquisite 'taste, who has breathed the air of Courts even from 'your infancy, should be content, in that part of your 'life which is most difficult to be pleased, and most 'easy to be disgusted, to take up with the conversation of country Parsons; a sort of people, whom to 'my knowledge, your Grace never much admired; 'and do penance in the nauseous company of Lawyers, whom I am certain you abominate!

'To raise our astonishment higher; who could ever 'have prophesied, though he had a double gift of '*Nostradamus* his spirit, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, who never vouchsafed his embraces to any ordinary beauty, would ever condescend to sigh and 'languish for the heiress apparent of a thatched cottage, in a straw hat, flannen petticoat, stockings of 'as gross a thrum as the blew-coat boys caps at the 'hospital, and a smock, the Lord defend me from 'the wicked idea of it! of as coarse a canvas as ever 'served an apprenticeship to a mackarel-boat? who 'could have believed, till matter of *fact* had confirmed the belief of it; and your Grace knows that 'matter of fact is not to be disputed, that the most 'polished refined epicure of his age, that had regaled 'himself in the most exquisite wines of *Italy*, *Greece*, 'and *Spain*, would, in the last scene of his life, debauch his constitution in execrable *Yorkshire* ale? 'and that he, who all his life-time, had either seen 'Princes his play-fellows or companions, would submit to the nonsensical chat, and barbarous language 'of farmers and higglers!

'This, I confess, so much shocks me that I cannot 'tell what to make on't; and, unless the [illegible] came 'to me confirmed from so many authentic hands, that 'I have no room left to suspect the veracity of it, I 'should still look upon it to be apocryphal. Is your 'Grace then in earnest, and really pleased with so 'prodigious an alteration of persons and things? for 'my part, I believe it; for I am certain that your 'Grace [illegible] act any person better than that of a hypocrite.

'But I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for this familiarity I have taken with you. Give me leave 'therefore if you please, to tell you something of 'myself. I presume that an account of what passes 'in this busy part of the world, will not come unacceptable to you, since all my correspondents from '*England* assure me, your Grace does me the honour 'to enquire often after me, and has expressed some 'sort of a desire, to know how my new character fits 'upon me.

'Ten years ago, I as little thought that my stars 'designed to make a politician of me, and that it 'would come to my share to debate in publick assemblies, and regulate the affairs of *Christendom*, as the 'Grand Signior dreamed of losing *Hungary*: but my 'royal Master having the charity to believe me master 'of some qualities, of which I never suspected myself, I find that the zeal and alacrity I discover in 'myself, to support a dignity which he has thought 'fit to confer upon me, has supply'd all other defects, 'and given me a talent, for which, till now, I justly 'fancied myself uncapable.

'I live in one of the finest and best mannered cities 'in *Germany*, where 'tis true we have not pleasure in 'that perfection as we see it in *London* and *Paris*, yet 'to make us amends, we enjoy a noble serene air, 'that makes us hungry as hawks; and though business, and even the worst sort of business, wicked 'politics, is the distinguishing commodity of the place, 'yet I will say, that for the *Germans*, they manage 'it the best of any people in the world; they cut 'off, and retrench, all those idle preliminaries and 'useless ceremonies that clog the wheels of it every 'where else: and I find, that, to this day, they 'make good the observation that *Tacitus* made of 'their ancestors; I mean, that their affairs, let them 'be ever so serious and pressing, never put a stop to 'good eating and drinking, and that they debate their 'weightiest negotiations over their cups.

''Tis true, they carry this humour by much too 'far for one of my complexion; for which reason I 'decline appearing among them, but when my Mas-'ter's

have been printed, they consist, for the greatest part, of little airy sonnets, smart lampoons,

'ters concerns make it necessary for me to come to 'their assemblies. They are indeed a free-hearted, 'open sort of gentlemen that compose the *Diet*; without reserve, affectation, and artifice; but they are 'such unmerciful plyers of the bottle, so wholly given 'up to what our sots call good-fellowship, that 'tis 'as great a constraint upon my nature, to sit out a 'night's entertainment with them, as it would be to 'hear half a score long-winded Presbyterian Divines 'cant successively one after another.

'To unbosome myself frankly and freely to your 'Grace, I always looked upon drunkenness to be an 'unpardonable crime in a *young* fellow, who, without 'any of these foreign helps, has fire enough in his 'veins to enable him to do justice to *Cælia*, whenever 'she demands a tribute from him. In a *middle-aged* 'man, I consider the bottle only as subservient to the 'nobler pleasure of love; and he that would suffer 'himself to be so far infatuated by it, as to neglect 'the pursuit of a more agreeable game, I think de'serves no quarter from the ladies: in *old age*, in'deed, when it is convenient very often to forget 'and steal from ourselves, I am of opinion that a lit'tle drunkenness discreetly used, may as well contri'bute to our health of body, as tranquillity of soul.

'Thus I have given your Grace a short system of 'my morals and belief in these affairs. But the gen'tlemen of this country go upon a quite different 'scheme of pleasure: the best furniture of their par'lours, instead of innocent *China*, are tall overgrown 'Rummers; and they take more care to enlarge their 'cellars, than their patrimonial estates. In short 'drinking is the hereditary sin of this country; and 'that Hero of a *Deputy* here, that can demolish, at 'one sitting, the rest of his brother *Envoys*, is men'tioned with as much applause as the Duke of *Lo'rain*, for his noble exploits against the *Turks*; and 'may claim a statue, erected at the publick expence 'in any town in *Germany*.

'Judge then, my Lord, whether a person of my 'sober principles, and one, that only uses wine, as 'the wiser sort of Roman Catholics do images, to 'raise up my imagination to something more exalted, 'and not to terminate my worship upon it, must not 'be reduced to very mortifying circumstances in this 'place; where I cannot pretend to enjoy conversa'tion, without practising that vice which directly 'ruins it.

'And as I have just reason to complain of the men, 'for laying so unreasonable a tax upon pleasure: so 'I have no less occasion to complain of the women, 'for wholly denying it.

'Could a man find out the secret to take as long a 'lease for his life, as *Methuselah*, and the rest of the 'Antidiluvian gentlemen, who were three hundred 'years in growing up to the perfection of vigor, en'joy'd it the same number of years, and were as long 'in decaying, something might be said for the two 'crying sins of both sexes here; I mean, drunken'ness in the men, and reservedness in the ladies. 'What would it signify to throw away a week's, nay, 'a month's enjoyment upon one night's debauch, if 'a man could promise himself the age of a patri'arch? or where would be the mighty penance in 'dancing a dozen years attendance after a coy fe'male; watching her most favourable moments, and 'most accessible intervals, at last to enjoy her, if in'firmities and old age were to come so late upon us?

'But since fate has given us so short a period to 'taste pleasure with satisfaction; three or four days 'sickness is too great a rent-charge upon human na'ture, and drunkenness cannot pretend, out of its 'own fund, to acquit the debt. And, my Lord, since 'our gayety and vigor leave us so soon in the lurch; 'since feebleness attacks us, without giving us fair 'warning; and we no sooner pass the meridian of 'life but begin to decline; it is hardly worth a lover's 'while to stay as long for compassing a mistress, as '*Jacob* did for obtaining a wife; and without this 'tedious drudgery and application, I can assure your 'Grace that an amour is not to be managed here.

'But, my Lord, I forget that while I take upon me 'to play the moralist, and to enlarge so rhetorically 'upon the preciousness of time, I have already made 'bold with too much of your Grace's: for which 'reason, I here put a stop to my Discourse, and will 'endeavour, the next pacquet that goes from this 'place, to entertain your Grace with something more 'agreeable.

I am,

Ratisbon,
Nov. 12. 1686. My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient Servant,

G. ETHEREGE (24).

(24) Miscellaneous Works, written by G. late Duke of Buckingham, &c. 8vo, 1704, p. 124, &c.

Here, our reader has the most frank and undisguised, natural and lively images of Sir George's sentiments upon the Duke's retirement from all the splendor and luxury of life; his own employment in his political capacity, with the habits and tempers of those gentry of both sexes, among whom he resided; and what is most directly to the purpose in this place, a more faithful and perspicuous pourtrait of his own humour and genius, than he could have been display'd by, in all the characters that were to be drawn of him. Now the reader is to judge, whether there is not a scene as diverting, a spirit as brisk, and a resemblance of himself as clear, in the next.

To his *Grace the Duke of* BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

'I Never enjoy myself so much, as when I can steal 'a few moments from the hurry of publick busi'ness, to write to my friends in *England*; and as 'there are none there, to whom I pay a profounder 'respect than to your Grace, wonder not if I afford 'myself the satisfaction of conversing with you by 'way of letters, the only relief I have left to support 'your absence at this distance, as often as I can find 'opportunity.

'You may guess by my last, whether I don't pass 'my time very comfortably here; forced as I am by 'my character, to spend the better part of my time 'in squabbling and deliberating with persons of beard 'and gravity, how to preserve the ballance of Chri'stendom; which would go well enough of itself, if 'the Divines and Ministers of Princes would let it 'alone: and when I come home spent and weary 'from the *Diet*, I have no Lord Dorset's or Sir Charles 'Sidley's to sport away the evening with; no Madam 'I....., or Lady A.....s; in short, none of those 'kind charming creatures *London* affords, in whose 'embraces I might make myself amends for so many 'hours murder'd in impertinent debates; so that, not 'to magnify my sufferings to your Grace, they really 'want a greater stock of christian patience to support 'them, than I can pretend to be master of.

'I have been long enough in this town, one would 'think, to have made acquaintance enough with per'sons of both sexes, so as never to be at a loss how 'to pass the few vacant hours I can allow myself: but 'the terrible drinking that accompanies all our visits 'hinders me from conversing with the men so often 'as I would otherwise do; and the *German* Ladies 'are so intolerably reserved and virtuous, with tears 'in my eyes I speak it to your Grace, that it is next 'to an impossibility to carry on an intrigue with them. 'A man has so many scruples to conquer, and so many 'difficulties to surmount, before he can promise him'self the least success, that for my part I have given 'over all pursuits of this nature. Besides, there is so 'universal a spirit of censoriousness reigns in this 'town, that a man and a woman cannot be seen at '*Ombre* or *Picquet* together, but 'tis immediately 'concluded, some other game has been play'd be'tween them; and as this renders all manner of ac'cess to the ladies almost impracticable, for fear of 'exposing their reputation to the mercy of their ill'natured neighbours, so it makes an innocent piece of 'gallantry often pass for a criminal correspondence.

'So that, to deal freely with your Grace, among 'so many noble and wealthy families as we have in

'this

poons, and ſmooth panegyricks; which we ſhall only conciſely enumerate at the foot of the

'this town, I can only pretend to be truely acquainted 'with one: the gentleman's name was *Monſieur Hoff-* 'man, a frank, hearty, jolly companion; his father, 'one of the moſt eminent wine merchants of the city, 'left him a conſiderable fortune, which he improved 'by marrying a *French* Jeweller's daughter of *Lyons*. 'To give you his character in ſhort, he was a ſen- 'ſible, ingenious man, and had none of his country 'vices; which I impute to his having travelled 'abroad, and ſeen *Italy*, *France*, and *England*. His 'lady is a moſt accompliſhed, ingenious perſon, and 'notwithſtanding ſhe is come into a place, where ſo 'much formality and ſtiffneſs are practiſed, keeps up 'all the vivacity and air, and good humour of *France*.

'I had been happy in my acquaintance with this 'family for ſome months; when an ill favoured acci- 'dent robbed me of the greateſt happineſs I had hi- 'therto enjoy'd in *Germany*, the loſs of which I can 'never ſufficiently regret. *Monſieur Hoffman*, about 'three weeks ago, going to make merry with ſome 'friends, at a village ſome three leagues from this 'place, upon the *Danube*; by the unſkilfulneſs or ne- 'gligence of the watermen, the boat, wherein he 'was, unfortunately chanced to overſet, and of ſome 'twenty perſons, not one eſcaped to bring home the 'news, but a boy, who miraculouſly ſaved himſelf, 'by holding faſt to the rudder, and ſo by the rapi- 'dity of the current was caſt upon the other ſhore.

'I was ſenſibly afflicted at the death of my worthy 'friend; and ſo indeed were all who had the honour 'of knowing him. But his wife took on ſo extrava- 'gantly, that ſhe, in a ſhort time, was the only talk 'both of city and country. She refuſed to admit any 'viſits from her neareſt relations; her chamber, her 'antichamber, and pro-antichamber were hung with 'black; nay, the very candles, her fans, and tea-ta- 'ble wore the livery of grief: ſhe refuſed all manner 'of ſuſtenance, and was ſo averſe to the thoughts of 'living, that ſhe talked of nothing but death: in 'ſhort, you may tell your ingenious friend *Monſieur* 'de Saint Evremond, that *Petronius* his *Epheſian Ma-* 'tron, to whoſe ſtory he has done ſo much juſtice, in 'his noble tranſlation, was only a type of our more 'obſtinate, as well as unhappy German widow.

'About a fortnight after this cruel loſs, for I thought 'it would be labour loſt to attack her grief in its firſt 'vehemence, I thought myſelf obliged, in point of 'honour and gratitude to the memory of my deceaſed 'friend, to make her a ſmall viſit, and condole her 'ladyſhip upon this unhappy occaſion: and though I 'had been told that ſhe had refuſed to ſee ſeveral 'perſons who had gone to wait on her, with the ſame 'errand, yet I preſumed ſo much upon the friend- 'ſhip her late huſband had always expreſſed for me, 'not to mention the particular civilities I had re- 'ceived from herſelf, as to think I ſhould be admitted 'to have a ſight of her: accordingly I came to her 'houſe, ſent up my name, and word was immediately 'brought me, that if I pleaſed I might go up to her.

'When I came into the room, I fancied myſelf 'in the territories of death; every thing looked ſo 'gloomy, ſo diſmal, and ſo melancholy. There was 'a grave *Lutheran* miniſter with her, who omitted 'no arguments to bring her to a more compoſed and 'more chriſtian diſpoſition of mind. *Madam*, ſays 'he, *You don't conſider that by abandoning yourſelf thus 'to deſpair, you actually rebel againſt Providence. I 'can't help it*, ſays ſhe; *Providence may e'en thank it- 'ſelf, for laying ſo inſupportable a load upon me. O 'fye, Madam*, cries the other, *this is downright im- 'piety; what would you ſay now, if heaven ſhould 'puniſh it by ſome more exemplary viſitation? That is 'impoſſible*, replies the lady ſighing; *and ſince it has 'robbed me of the only delight I had in this world; the 'only favour it can do me, is to level a thunderbolt 'at my head, and put an end to all my ſufferings.* The parſon finding her in this extravagant ſtrain, 'and ſeeing no likelihood of perſuading her to come 'to a better temper, got up from his ſeat, and took 'his leave of her.

'It came to my turn now, to try whether I was 'not capable of comforting her; and being convinced 'by ſo late an inſtance, that arguments brought from 'religion were not likely to work any extraordinary 'effects upon her, I reſolved to attack her ladyſhip 'in a more ſenſible part, and repreſent to her the 'great inconveniencies, not which her ſoul, but her 'body received from this inordinate ſorrow.

'*Madam*, ſays I to her, *next to my concern for 'your worthy huſband's untimely death, I am grieved 'to ſee what an alteration the bemoaning of his loſs 'has occaſioned in you.* Theſe words, raiſing her cu- 'riosity to know what this alteration was, I thus con- 'tinued my diſcourſe. *By endeavouring, Madam, to 'extinguiſh, or at leaſt to alleviate your grief, than 'which nothing can be more prejudicial to a beautiful 'woman, I intend a publick benefit; for if the publick 'is intereſted, as moſt certainly it is, in the preſerving 'of a beautiful face, that man does the publick no 'little ſervice who contributes moſt to its preſervation.*

'This odd beginning operated ſo wonderfully upon 'her, that ſhe deſired me to *leave this general road 'of compliments, and explain myſelf more particularly 'to her.* Upon this, delivering myſelf with an un- 'uſual air of gravity, which your Grace knows I 'ſeldom carry about me, in the company of ladies, 'I told her that, *Grief ruins the fineſt faces, ſooner 'than any thing whatſoever*; and that, *as envy her- 'ſelf could not deny her face to be the moſt charming 'in the univerſe, ſo if ſhe did not ſuffer herſelf to be 'comforted, ſhe muſt ſoon expect to take her farewel 'of it.* I confirmed this aſſertion, by telling her of 'one of the fineſt women we ever had in *England*, 'who did herſelf more injury in a fortnight's time, 'by lamenting her only brother's death, than ten 'years could poſſibly have done; that I had heard 'an eminent Phyſician at *Leyden* ſay, That *Tears, 'having abundance of ſaline particles in them, not 'only ſpoiled the complexion, but haſtened wrinkles: 'But, Madam*, concluded I, *why ſhould I give myſelf 'the trouble to confirm this by foreign inſtances, and 'by the teſtimonies of our moſt knowing Doctors, when 'alas! your own face ſo fully juſtifies the truth of 'what I have ſaid to you.*

'*How!* reply'd our diſconſolate widow, with a 'ſigh, that came from the bottom of her heart; *and 'is it poſſible that my juſt concern for my dear huſ- 'band, has wrought ſo cruel an effect upon me in ſo 'ſhort a time?* with that, ſhe ordered her gentlewo- 'man to bring the looking-glaſs to her, and having 'ſurveyed herſelf a few minutes in it, ſhe told me, '*ſhe was perfectly convinced that my notions were 'true.* But, cries ſhe, *what would you have us poor 'women do in theſe caſes; for, ſomething*, continues 'ſhe, *we owe to the memory of the* deceaſed, *and ſome- 'thing too, to the* world, *which expects at leaſt the 'common appearances of grief from us.*

'*By your leave, Madam*, ſays I, *all this is a miſ- 'take, and no better; you owe nothing to your huſ- 'band, ſince he is dead, and knows nothing of your 'lamentation. Beſides, could you ſhed an ocean of 'tears upon his hearſe, it would not do him the leaſt 'ſervice: much leſs do you lie under any ſuch obliga- 'tion to the world, as to ſpoil a good face only to 'comply with its tyrannic cuſtoms. No, Madam, take 'care to preſerve your beauty, and then let the world 'ſay what it pleaſes; your ladyſhip may be revenged 'upon the world whenever you ſee fit. I am reſolved*, anſwers ſhe, *to be intirely governed by you; there- 'fore tell me frankly, what ſort of a courſe you'd have 'me ſteer? why Madam*, ſays I, *in the firſt place 'forget the defunct; and in order to bring that about, 'relieve nature, to which you have been ſo long un- 'merciful, with the moſt exquiſite* meats, *and the moſt 'generous* wines. *Upon condition you'll ſup with me*, 'cries our afflicted lady, *I will ſubmit to your pre- 'ſcription.* But why ſhould I trouble your Grace 'with a narration of every particular?

'In ſhort, we had a noble regale that evening in 'her bedchamber; and our good widow puſhed the 'glaſs ſo ſtrenuouſly about, that her comforter, mean- 'ing myſelf, could hardly find the way to his coach. 'To conclude this farce, which I am afraid begins 'now to be too tedious to your Grace, this *Phœnix* 'of her ſex, this pattern of conjugal fidelity, two 'mornings ago, was married to a ſmooth-chinn'd enſign

'of

the page [*I*]. All that we have met with more than is here mentioned or referred to of his

'of Count *Trautmandorf*'s Regiment; that had not 'a farthing in the world but his pay to depend upon! 'I assisted at the ceremony; tho' I little imagined 'the lady would take the matrimonial receipt so soon.

'I was the easier persuaded to give your Grace the 'larger account of this Tragi-comedy, not only be-'cause I wanted better matter, to entertain you with 'at this lazy conjuncture, but also to show your 'Grace that not only *Ephesus*, in antient, and *Eng-'land* in latter times, have afforded such fantastical 'widows, but even *Germany* itself; where, if the 'ladies have not more virtue, than those of their sex 'in other countries, yet, they pretend at least a 'greater management of the out side of it.

'By my last pacquet from *England*, among a heap 'of nauseous trash, I received the *Three Dukes of Dun-'stable*, which is really so monstrous and insipid that 'I am sorry *Lapland* or *Livonia* had not the honour 'of producing it: but if I did penance in reading it, 'I rejoyced to hear that it was so solemnly interred 'to the tune of cat-calls. The *Squire of Alsatia* how-'ever, which came by the following post, made me 'some amends for the cursed impertinence of the 'Three Dukes; and my witty friend Sir C....S....y's 'Bellamira gave me that intire satisfaction, that I 'cannot read it over too often.

'They tell me my old acquaintance Mr *Dryden* 'has left off the theatre, and wholly applies himself 'to the study of the controversies between the two 'Churches. Pray Heaven! this strange alteration in 'him portends nothing disastrous to the State; but I 'have all along observed, that Poets do religion as 'little service by drawing their pens for it, as the 'Divines do Poetry, by pretending to versification.

'But I forget how troublesome I have been to 'your Grace: I shall therefore conclude with assuring 'that I am, and to the last moment of my life shall 'be, ambitious of being,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient and

most obliged servant,

Ratisbon, Octob. 21. 1689. G. ETHEREGE (25).

(25) Miscellaneous Works of George Duke of Buckingham, as before, p. 131, &c.

So this letter is dated, in the volume here referred to, from whence the copy above is transcribed; but there seems to be a little mistake in it, and that the original was dated the year before; otherwise, it will appear to have been sent by our Author, to his noble friend, above a year after the said Duke was dead; besides, 'tis likely he should have had Sir Charles Sidley's Comedy of *Bellamira* sent him sooner than two years after it was published, for it was first printed in 1687; and as Shadwell's *Squire of Alsatia* was first printed in 1688, 'tis most probable this letter was written the same year, because Mr *Dryden* had given over his Popish controversies, upon the Revolution, and before the next year.

[*I*] *Enumerate at the foot of the page.*] Of these his smaller Poems, we have met with about twenty that have been ascribed to him in print, besides the little sonnets that are interspersed in his Plays; tho' in the most particular account that has been given of him, and his writings (26), there are not above half a dozen of them mentioned. One of the earliest perhaps of these his lesser Poems, may be that, *To Her Excellency the Marchioness of* NEWCASTLE, *after the reading of her incomparable* POEMS: It consists of about forty lines, and begins thus, *Madam, with so much wonder we are struck* (27): and because we have hitherto given but a very slender specimen of our Author's poetry, the conclusion of this panegyric may here serve for a further taste of it.

(26) See Giles Jacob's Account of the Poets, in his article of Sir G. Etherege.

(27) One volume of her Ladyship's Poems, &c. was published in folio 1653: another, of her Letters and Poems, in 1676.

While we, your praise, endeav'ring to rehearse,
Pay that great *duty* in our humble *verse*;
Such as may justly move your anger, you,
Like Heav'n, forgive them, and accept them too.
But what *we* cannot, your brave *Hero* pays,
He builds those monuments we strive to raise;
Such, as to after ages shall make known,
While he records *your* deathless fame, his *own*.
So when an *Artist*, some rare *Beauty* draws,
Both, in our *wonder* share, and our *applause*:
His Skill, from Time, secures the glorious Dame;
And makes *Himself* immortal in *her Fame*.

Another of his panegyrical Poems bears this title—*To Mr I. N, on his translations out of the French and Italian*; beginning with, *While others toil, our country to supply*, &c. about a page and half. His translation of *Voiture's Urania*, is in four stanzas of alternate verse, beginning thus—*Hopeless I languish out my days*. His song, *To Sylvia*, is in three stanzas, or quadrains; concluding with, *Who sees her must love, and who loves her must die*: by which it is still remembered among our sonneteers. Another *Song*.—*Tell me no more you love*, &c. in sixteen lines. *To a very young lady*; beginning, *Sweet bud of beauty*; in fourteen lines. *To a lady who fled the sight of him*.—If *I my Celia could persuade*; in eighteen lines. *To a lady, asking him, how long he could love her*.—*It is not Celia in our power*; in two stanzas of six. *The Divided Heart*.—*Ah Colin that I were but sure*: near a page. *The Imperfect Enjoyment*.—*After a pretty amorous discourse*: fifty lines. *The forsaken Mistress: a Dialogue*, between *Phillis* and *Strephon*.—*Tell me gentle Strephon why*: About a page. Here are eleven of our Author's Poems, which are to be found in one volume (28). In another, entituled our Author's Works, we find, the last of them reprinted; and four besides, that are different, viz. A *song* of two stanzas on the inquietudes of love; beginning with, *Ye happy Swains whose Hearts are free*. And another *Song of Basset*, in eight stanzas of alternate verse. Beginning —*Let Equipage and Dress despair* (†). We have also, in that volume called our Author's Works, the *two* poetical *letters* sent by him from *Ratisbon*, as was before observed, to the Earl of *Middleton*; both written in verse of eight feet; the former containing near fourscore lines, the latter near forty; describing the dress and humours, of the ladies especially, in those parts, and how he passed his time among them; much in that airy and amorous vein wherein *his* letters in Prose are written, before recited. Those five Poems are in the volume before mentioned (29). And these two poetical letters are to be found likewise in two other collections at least; one in that, which is stiled, *Familiar Letters* by the Lord *Rochester*, &c. before quoted (30), where we have also a poetical *answer* to the former of our Author's (31), tho' it is not mentioned in that collection by whom it was written; but in another, the name of Mr Dryden appears to it (32), who in the beginning of his said *Answer* takes notice that at the time of his writing the same, about 1687, Sir George was aged fifty-one years; from whence may be computed the time of his birth, as it is above given. And in the conclusion of that Answer, Mr Dryden intimates that Sir George had some while since begun another Play, which he incites him to finish, as what could not fall below the *Rehearsal*; and as he knew no George, meaning our Author and the Duke of Buckingham, who could write any thing under ten years warning; as we have partly hinted already in the text above. There are besides that *answer*, the two said poetical letters, in this same volume, and two *Songs* more of his, not before mentioned. The one beginning with these words—*Cease anxious world, your fruitless pain*; in three stanzas of six lines: and the other, with these—*In some kind dream upon her, Slumber steal*; in fifteen lines (33). Lastly, there are three Poems more ascribed to our Author, in another volume, which we have also before quoted. One is entituled, *The Libertine*: beginning, *Since death, on all, lays his impartial hand*; consisting of three stanzas of eight lines, and a chorus (34). The others, are *two Satires*, upon Nell Guyn, one of King Charles's Mistresses. The first is called, *Madam Nelly's complaint*: beginning with—*If Sylla's ghost made bloody Cat'line start*: in

(28) A Collection of Poems, *viz. The Temple of Death*, &c. third edit. printed for D. Brown, &c, 12*mo*, 1716.

(†) These two are also printed in Dryden's Miscellanies, 12*mo*, 1716, P. ii. p. 268, 344.

(29) The Works of Sir G. Etherege, 8*vo*, 1704, at the end of his Plays.

(30) Vol. II. 1697, p. 56.

(31) Page 61.

(32) In Dryden's Miscellanies, as before, Vol. II. p. 281.

(33) Idem, p. 218.

(34) See The Miscel. Works of the D. of Bucks, as before, p. 120.

his writing in profe, is, a fhort piece, intituled, *An Account of the Rejoycing at the Diet of* Ratifbonne, *performed by Sir* George Etherege, *Knight, refiding there, from his Majefty of* Great Britain; *upon Occafion of the Birth of the Prince of Wales. In a Letter from Himfelf.* Printed in the Savoy 1688 (*k*). How far beyond this, or the next year he lived, the writers on our Poets who have fpoken of him, have been, as in many other particulars of his life, fo in the time when he died, very deficient. In Gildon's fhort and imperfect account of him, which we have been forced to confult in want of better, 'tis faid that after the Revolution he went for France to his Maftor, and died there, or very foon after his arrival in England from thence (*l*). But there was a report, as we have received it from an ingenious Gentleman, that Sir George came to an untimely death, by an unlucky accident at Ratifbon; for after having treated fome company with a liberal entertainment at his houfe there, in which having perhaps, taken his glafs too freely, and being, through his great complaifance, too forward, in waiting on fome of his gueſts at their departure, flufh'd as he was, he tumbled down the ftairs and broke his neck, fo fell a martyr to his civility (*m*). Some of his furviving relations, having received a credible account of, from a perfon who was acquainted with them, we fhall fuccinctly mention, in the fhort note hereunto fubjoined [*K*].

(*k*) Printed in folio, on a half fheet.

(*l*) Gildon, as before.

(*m*) This account we received from John Lockey, Efq;

in about two leaves. The other is called *The Lady of Pleafure*; with its argument at the head of it, whereof the firft line is, *The Life of Nelly truely fhown.* In about three leaves and a page (35). Thefe two fatires, as we remember, were printed before, without any author's name: and indeed, they feem to be written, the laft efpecially, in a groffer ftile, with more blunt or vulgar expreffions in it, than was cuftomary to Sir George, befides as it mentions the death of Nell Guyn, we believe it may therefore be found, it was written after that of our Author.

(35) Works of the D. of Bucks. p. 29, 34.

[*K*] *In a fhort note hereunto fubjoined.*] Since the foregoing part of this article was printed off, we have been informed, that there are two Wills in the Prerogative office, which might poffibly have given fome further light into the family, and other particulars relating to our Author, could we have had a timely extract of them. The firft is executed by William Etherege, Anno 1649 (36); the laft, by another William Etherege, in Middlefex, Anno 1690 (37): whether the former was the father of our Author, or any other relation, and the latter his brother, we have not now time to examine. But from thofe who have been converfant with fome furvivers of the family, we have received intelligence that, our Author Sir George, had a brother, who lived and died at Weftminfter; had been a great courtier, yet a man of fuch ftrict honour, that he was efteemed a reputation to the family. His picture, painted in a gown, with his fine black curled hair, is in the poffeffion of a friend. He had been twice married, and by his firft wife, had a fon; a little man, of a brave fpirit, who inherited the honourable principles of his father. He was a Colonel in King William's wars; was near him in one of the moft dangerous battles in Flanders, I think it was the battle of Landen, in 1693, when his Majefty was wounded, and the Colonel both loft his right eye, and received fuch a contufion on his fide, as he complained of to his death. He was offered in Queen Anne's reign, twenty two hundred pounds for his commiffion, but refufed to live at home in peace, when his country was at war. This Colonel Etherege died at Eling in Middlefex, about the third or fourth year of the late King George; when his dear friend, the Lord Rivers, had his body opened; and there was found a gathering where he had received his bruife, which looked like a fodden turnip, and probably haftened his death. He was buried in Kenfington church, near the altar; and there is a tombftone over his vault, in which was alfo buried his wife, fon, and fifter. That fon was graciouſly received at Court by Queen Anne, and foon after his father returned from the wars in Flanders, under the Duke of Malborough, fhe gave him an Enfign's commiffion, intending further to promote him, in reward of his father's fervices; but he died a youth: and that fifter married Mr Hill of Feverfham in Kent; but we hear not of any male iffue furviving. G

(36) In the Vol. entit. *Fairfax*, Qu. 82.

(37) Vol. *Dyke*, Qu. 41.

EVELYN (JOHN) a great Philofopher, a worthy Patriot, and a learned writer in the XVIIth century. He was defcended from a very antient and honourable family, as appears from feveral authentick vouchers, a branch of which, at the time of his birth, was fettled in the county of Surrey, though it flourifhed originally in the county of Salop, at a place which is ſtill called Evelyn (*a*) [*A*]. George Evelyn, Efq; purchafed the eſtate of

(*a*) Additions to Camden's Britannia, publifhed in Engliſh by Bifhop Gibſon, Vol. I. col. 649.

[*A*] *At a place which is ſtill called Evelyn.*] Our Author himſelf, had taken great pains to enquire into the origin of his family, in conſequence of which, he found that they had formerly written their name Avelyn and Ivelyn, as well as Evelyn, which might be confirmed by a variety of inſtances; he was likewiſe informed, that a branch of their family flouriſhed in France, and that one of them was taken priſoner, at the battle of Agincourt; but what had more of certainty, and deſerved better to be depended upon, was taken from the tradition of the family, that they came from Long Ditton into Surrey, and to Long Ditton, from Harrow on the Hill, but that originally, they were ſeated at the town of Evelyn, in the hundred of South Bradford, in the county of Salop; of which county alſo he reports, that the Onſlows likewiſe were, who removed about the ſame time from a place of that name, in the neighbourhood of Shrewſbury; as the Hattons alſo did from a place called Cold Hatton, in the ſame hundred with Evelyn in Shropſhire; and, which is very remarkable, all ſettled again near each other in Surrey (1). George Evelyn, Eſq; the founder of this branch of the Evelyns in Surrey, firſt carried the art of making gunpowder to perfection in England, and for the conveniency of his works in the neighbourhood, purchaſed an eſtate at Wotton, of one Mr Owen, but who were the owners of this place in early times does not appear (2). This George Evelyn had a conſiderable intereſt at Court, and procured from Queen Elizabeth a grant, in conjunction with Thomas Reeves, of the Rectory of St Nicholas Coleabby in Queenhith Ward, London, which afterwards came by meſne conveyances to the family of the Hackers, and by the attainder of Colonel Francis Hacker, who commanded the guard when King Charles the firſt was murdered, came again to the Crown (3). It was in the latter part of his life that this gentleman came to live at Wotton, which however did not hinder him from planting there, as appears from what our Author himſelf tells us (4). 'In a word, to give an inſtance of what ſtore of woods 'and timber of prodigious ſize there were growing in 'our little county of Surrey, the neareſt of any to 'London, and plentifully furniſhed, both for profit 'and pleaſure, with ſufficient grief and reluctancy I 'ſpeak it, my own grandfather had ſtanding at Wot-'ton, and about that eſtate, timber that now were 'worth one hundred thouſand pounds, ſince of what 'was left my father, who was a great preſerver of 'wood, there has been thirty thouſand pounds worth 'of

(1) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 116.

(2) Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. I. col. 185.

(3) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 425, 506.

(4) Camden's Britannia by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. I. col. 186.

of the family at Wotton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and had by two wives ſixteen ſons and eight daughters; he departed this life May 30, 1603, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, leaving his eſtate at Wotton to Richard Evelyn, Eſq; his youngeſt and only ſurviving ſon by his ſecond wife (*b*). This Richard Evelyn, Eſq; married Eleanor, daughter and heireſs of John Standfield of Lewes in the county of Suſſex, Eſq; and was a perſon of great worth and virtue (*c*) [*B*]. He had by the Lady beforementioned three ſons, *viz.* George, John, and Richard; of the ſecond of theſe, John, we are to ſpeak in this article. He was born October 31, 1620, at his father's ſeat at Wotton (*d*), and was very carefully educated in his tender years, receiving the firſt elements of learning at the free-ſchool at Lewes in Suſſex, from whence he removed in 1637 to Baliol-college in Oxford (*e*), where, as a Gentleman-Commoner, he remained for about three years, during which ſpace he proſecuted his ſtudies in Logick and Philoſophy, and then removed to the Middle-Temple, where he remained till the breaking out of the Civil War, when he repaired to Oxford, and obtained leave from King Charles I, under his own hand, to travel beyond the ſeas for his improvement (*f*). In the ſpring of 1644 he left England, in order to make the tour of Europe, which he performed very ſucceſsfully, making it his buſineſs to enquire carefully into the ſtate of the Sciences, and the improvements made in all uſeful arts, wherever he came; concerning which he made very large and valuable collections, the contents of which he moſt generouſly communicated to all ſuch as applied to him for information (*g*). He ſpent ſome time at Rome, and having an opportunity there to learn the true ſentiments of the Papiſts upon the cutting off Archbiſhop Laud's head, he thought himſelf obliged, in juſtice to that great Prelate's memory, to give an atteſtation thereof under his own hand (*h*) [*C*]. He viſited likewiſe other parts of Italy for the ſake of improving himſelf in Architecture, Painting, the knowledge of Antiquities, medals, and other branches of polite literature, and at the ſame time left nothing unexamined, that could contribute to the perfect underſtanding of Natural Philoſophy, to which, beyond all other ſciences, he was paſſionately addicted. We have an inſtance of his care and induſtry in this reſpect, preſerved by one of the greateſt and moſt intelligent Philoſophers of this or of any other country (*i*) [*D*]. In 1647 Mr Evelyn came to Paris, where,

(*b*) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 126.

(*c*) See ſome farther particulars relating to him in the notes.

(*d*) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 117.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 941.

(*f*) So Mr Evelyn himſelf informed Mr Aubrey.

(*g*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 417.

(*h*) Hiſt. of the Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. I. p. 616.

(*i*) Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Vol. II. p. 306.

' of timber, fallen by the axe and the fury of the late ' hurricane and ſtorm: now no more, Wotton ſtript ' and naked and aſhamed almoſt to own its name.'

[*B*] *Of great worth and virtue.*] Richard Evelyn, Eſq; mentioned in the text, had beſides his three ſons, two daughters, Elizabeth, who married Edward Darey, of Dartford in Kent, Eſq; and Jane the wife of William Glanville, Eſq; (5). George Evelyn, Eſq; elder brother to our Author, enjoyed the family eſtate at Wotton fifty-eight years; and dying in 1698, at the age of eighty-three, he left it to his brother John; he was a perſon of great worth, and generally eſteemed by his neighbours as appeared from his being frequently elected Knight of the Shire for the County of Surrey (6). In his time, there was a very extraordinary diſcovery made upon opening the family vault, of which there is a full account in the additions to the Engliſh Britannia, which there is ſo much the more reaſon to credit, as thoſe additions came from our Author himſelf. After deſcribing the ridge of hills that divide Surrey from Suſſex and Kent, he proceeds thus (7): ' Not far from the bottom, ſtands an ancient ſeat ' of the Evelyns of Wotton, among ſeveral ſtreams ' gliding thro' the meadows, adorned with gentle riſings ' and woods, which as it were encompaſs it. And ' theſe, together with the gardens, fountains, and other ' hortulane ornaments, have given it a place, and ' name amongſt the moſt agreeable ſeats. In open- ' ing the ground of the churchyard of Wotton, to ' enlarge a vault belonging to this family, they met ' with a ſkeleton, which was nine foot and three ' inches long, as the (*) worthy and famous Mr John ' Evelyn had it atteſted, by an antient and under- ' ſtanding man then preſent, who accordingly mea- ' ſured it and marked the length on a pole, with ' other workmen who affirmed the ſame. They ' found it lying in full length between two boards of ' the coffin, and meaſured it before they had diſ- ' compoſed the bones. But trying to take it out, it ' fell all to pieces, for which reaſon they flung it ' amongſt the reſt of the rubbiſh, after they had ſe- ' parately meaſured ſeveral of the more ſolid bones.'

(5) Aubrey's Antiq of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 127.

(6) Camden's Britannia by Biſhop Gibſon, col. 164, in the edit. of 1695, but left out in the laſt edit. to which there is no date.

(7) Ibid. Vol I. col. 186.

(*) Theſe epithets added ſince our auther's deceaſe.

[*C*] *Under his own hand.*] In order to underſtand this matter, it is neceſſary that the reader ſhould know, that amongſt other things charged upon Archbiſhop Laud, one was, that he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and had kept a ſecret correſpondence with the Pope, and to maintain this, witneſſes were called to ſhew in what credit he ſtood at Rome. Sir Henry Mildmay had told the Archbiſhop in private diſcourſe, that he was the moſt hateful man there, that had ever ſat in the See of Canterbury ſince the Reformation, but when he was examined as a witneſs, he affirmed that there were two factions at Rome, one of which did indeed ſpeak very ill of the Archbiſhop, but the other ſpoke very well of him. The Archbiſhop intimated, that he did not believe Sir Henry Mildmay had ever been at Rome. Mr Chaloner depoſed, that at Rome ſome had a good opinion of the Archbiſhop, and thought him well inclined to them, for which reaſon they prayed for him; Mr Anthony Mildmay ſeconded his brother's account, and ſaid that the Jeſuits hated him, but that the ſecular Prieſts loved the Archbiſhop very well, but this was hearſay only (8). After the Archbiſhop's death, this matter was much talked of, and therefore, as Mr Evelyn happened to be at Rome when the Archbiſhop was put to death, he was deſired to give ſome account of the general ſentiments of people there, which he accordingly did in the following certificate (9).

(8) State Tryals, Vol I. p. 897.

I was at Rome in the company of divers of the Engliſh Fathers, when the news of the Archbiſhop's ſufferings, and a copy of his ſermon, made upon the ſcaffold, came thither. They read the ſermon, and commented upon it, with no ſmall ſatisfaction and contempt, and looked upon him as one that was a great enemy to them, and ſtood in their way, whilſt one of the blackeſt crimes imputed to him, was his being popiſhly affected.

JOHN EVELYN.

(9) Archbiſhop Laud's Troubles and Trial, Vol. I. p. 616.

[*D*] *Of this or of any other country.*] The perſon mentioned in the text, is the honourable Mr Boyle, who ſpeaking of the effects of cold, and of the reaſons there are to believe that they may ſubſiſt, even after the cold which produced them ceaſes, provided they are not expoſed to a degree of heat that muſt deſtroy them, mentions the preſerving of ſnow the whole year round in repoſitories, far from being cold enough to produce ſuch an effect; which therefore ought to be attributed to the bare keeping of the ſnow from being expoſed to warm air. To illuſtrate this, that learned man tells us, he intended to have cited from ſome books, an account of theſe ſtore-houſes which he remembered to have ſeen in *Italy*; but

where, being recommended to Sir Richard Browne, Bart. the King's Miniſter there, he made his addreſſes to his only daughter Mary, whom he not long after married, and in her right became poſſeſſed of Sayes-Court near Deptford in Kent, where he reſided after his return to England, which was about the year 1651 (*k*). He had before that time recommended himſelf to the notice of the learned world, by publiſhing ſeveral treatiſes which were extreamly well received, and the leiſure he had in his retreat at Sayes-Court after his return, put it in his power to add quickly to their number. Theſe were for the moſt part tranſlations, either from the learned or modern languages, for he was perfectly verſed in both, without any unreaſonable prepoſſeſſions in favour of Antiquity, or prejudice againſt it. Such kind of labours, whatever they may be thought of now when tranſlations are become common, were then very juſtly eſteemed, and were, without queſtion, highly ſerviceable, as well in propagating uſeful knowledge, as in the improvement of our ſtile, of which Mr Evelyn was a great maſter, as theſe treatiſes, if he had left none beſides, might ſufficiently demonſtrate [*E*]. The ſituation of publick affairs induced

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 941.

but miſſing of his expectation in books, he endeavoured to ſupply it by enquiry.——But let him tell the reſt of his ſtory himſelf——meeting therefore the other day, ſays he (10), with my ingenious friend, Mr John Evelyn, his inquiſitive travels, and his inſight into the more polite kinds of knowledge, and particularly architecture, made me deſire and expect of him that account of the Italian way of making conſervatories of ſnow, that I had miſſed of in ſeveral authors, and having readily obtained my deſire of him, I ſhall not injure ſo juſtly eſteemed a ſtile as his, to deliver his deſcriptions in any other words than thoſe enſuing ones, wherein I received it from him. 'The 'ſnow pits in Italy, &c. are ſunk in the moſt ſolitary 'and cooled places, commonly at the foot of ſome 'mountain, or elevated ground, which may beſt pro-'tect them from the meridional and occidental ſun: 'twenty five foot wide at the orifice, and about fifty 'in depth, is eſteemed a competent proportion. And 'though this be excavated in a conical form, yet it 'is made flat at the bottom or point. The ſides of 'the pit are ſo joiſted, that boards may be nailed 'upon them very cloſely jointed. His Majeſty's at 'Greenwich, newly made on the ſide of the caſtle 'hill, is, as I remember, ſteened with brick, and 'hardly ſo wide at the mouth. About a yard from 'the bottom, is fixed a ſtrong frame, or treſſel, upon 'which lies a kind of wooden grate, the top or cover 'is double thatched with reed or ſtraw, upon a copped 'frame or roof, in one of the ſides whereof, is a nar-'row door caſe, hipped on like the top of a dormer, 'and thatched, and ſo it is compleat.' *To conſerve ſnow.* 'They lay clean ſtraw upon the grate or wat-'tle, ſo as to keep the ſnow from running through, 'whilſt they beat it to a hard cake of any icy con-'ſiſtence, which is near one foot thick, upon this 'they make a layer of ſtraw, and on that ſnow beaten 'as before; and ſo continue a bed of ſnow and a 'bed of ſtraw S. S. S. till the pit be full to the brim. 'Finally, they lay ſtraw or reed, for I remember to 'have ſeen both, a competent thickneſs over all, and 'keep the door locked. This grate is contrived, that 'the ſnow melting by any accident in laying, or ex-'traordinary ſeaſon of weather, may drain away from 'the maſs, and ſink without ſtagnating upon it, which 'would accelerate the diſſolution, and therefore the 'very bottom is but ſlightly ſteened. Thoſe who are 'moſt circumſpect and curious, preſerve a tall circle 'of ſhady trees about the pit, which may rather ſhade 'than drip upon it.' This is certainly an admirable ſpecimen of that care with which our Author regiſtred his diſcoveries, as well as the curioſity which prompted him to enquire into every thing worthy of notice, either natural or artificial, in the countries through which he paſſed. It is much to be regretted, that a work ſo entertaining and inſtructive, as the hiſtory of his travels would have been, appeared even to ſo indefatigable a perſon as he was, a taſk for him too laborious to undertake; for we ſhould have then ſeen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy, which are now very indiſtinctly and partially repreſented; and we ſhould alſo have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we ſhall now probably never hear at all.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 306.

[*E*] *Might ſufficiently demonſtrate.*] As ſeveral of theſe treatiſes were printed before the Author's return to England, and others without his name; ſo we muſt depend upon the general opinion of the world, and the authority of Mr Wood for their being his; yet there is no great reaſon to ſuſpect any miſtake, ſince the account of them was publiſhed in his life-time, and therefore Mr Evelyn had an opportunity of ſetting the world right, if any error had been committed of conſequence enough to have merited his notice.

I. *Of Liberty and Servitude*, 1649, 12mo. This was a tranſlation, and in all probability the firſt Eſſay of our Author's pen.

II. *A Character of* England, *as it was lately preſented in a letter to* a Nobleman *of* France *with reflection upon* Gallus Caſtratus 1651. 16to. the third edition of this book appeared in 1659, at preſent it is very ſcarce.

III. *The State of* France, London 1652. 8vo.

IV. *An Eſſay on the firſt Book of* Titus Lucretius Carus, *de rerum natura, interpreted and made into* Engliſh *verſe by* J. Evelyn, Eſq; London 1656. 8vo. the frontiſpiece to this book, was deſigned by his Lady Mrs Mary Evelyn. There is a copy of verſes by Edmund Waller, Eſq; of Beaconsfield, prefixed and directed to his worthy friend Mr Evelyn, and part of the character he gives him is worthy the reader's attention. After deſcribing the ſubject of the book he proceeds thus:

So vaſt this argument did ſeem,
That the wiſe author did eſteem,
The *Roman* language (which was ſpread
O'er the whole world in triumph led)
A tongue too narrow to unfold
The wonders which he would have told.
This ſpeaks thy glory, noble friend,
And *Britiſh* language does commend.
For here *Lucretius* whole we find,
His words, his muſick, and his mind.
Thy art has to our country brought
All that he writ and all he thought.
Ovid tranſlated, *Virgil* too,
Shew'd long ſince what our tongue could do,
Nor *Lucan*, we nor *Horace* ſpar'd,
Only *Lucretius* was too hard;
Lucretius, like a fort, did ſtand
Untouch'd, till your victorious hand,
Did from his head this garland bear,
Which now upon your own you wear.
A garland! made of ſuch new bays,
And fought in ſuch untrodden ways,
As no man's temples e'er did crown,
Save this great author's and your own.

V. *The* French *Gardiner inſtructing how to cultivate all ſorts of Fruit-trees and Herbs for the Garden, together with directions to dry and conſerve them in their natural*, &c. Lond. 1658. in *twelves*, and ſeveral times after. In moſt of the Editions is added, *the Engliſh Vineyard vindicated, by* John Roſe, *Gardiner to his Majeſty King* Charles II. *with a tract of the making and ordering of Wines in France.* The third edition of this French Gardiner, which came out in 1676, was illuſtrated with ſculptures.

VI. *The Golden Book of St* Chryſoſtom, *concerning the Education of Children.* Lond. 1659. 12mo.

[*F*] *It*

induced him to consider that privacy with which he lived at Sayes-Court as a very great blessing; and so fond was he of this rural retreat, that he was very desirous of making it his settled course of life, though but a young man, with a considerable fortune, and extreamly admired and courted by all his acquaintance. This studious disposition, together with his disgust of the world, occasioned by that strange scene of violence and confusion that was then acted upon the publick stage, was so strong, that he actually proposed to the Honourable Mr Robert Boyle, the raising of a kind of college for the reception of persons of the same turn of mind, where they might enjoy the pleasure of agreeable society, and at the same time pass their days without care or interruption. His scheme for such an establishment is equally entertaining and curious [*F*]. But when a prospect appeared of better

[*F*] *Is equally entertaining and curious.*] The letter, in which this plan of a college is contained, is directed to the Hon. Mr Robert Boyle, and dated from Sayes-Court, September 3, 1659. Our author expresses himself very much at large, and very pathetically represents, though with great caution and modesty, the miseries of the times, and the reasons which might induce men of true virtue and strict science to think of sheltring themselves in some quiet retreat, from the disagreeable accidents to which they might be liable, in such times, and amongst such men, as the world then abounded with. He declares, that if he had been a single person, and without family, he would, without hesitation, have dedicated his fortune to the raising such a college as he proposed, to the thoughts of which he seems to have been led by a discourse of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon's. He likewise observes, that notwithstanding his situation in the world prevented him from undertaking such a thing alone, yet nothing could give him greater pleasure than the hopes of associating Mr Boyle therein. He says farther, that, though this project had been long swimming in his mind, yet he had never communicated it to any person whatever, so that Mr Boyle need not be under any apprehensions of opening himself freely upon a thing of so private a nature. He adds to all this, that he had no particular cause of discontent, being, with respect to his circumstances, perfectly easy, happy, and satisfied in his family; well respected in the world; and, in all things, as free from the necessity of looking for such a retreat, exclusive of his own inclination, as any Gentleman whatever. Without taking notice of these parts of his letter, the plan itself would be scarce intelligible; to have transcribed them at large, would have swelled this note beyond it's proper bounds; and therefore I judged it proper to contract them: but with respect to the author's scheme, which is very curious and entertaining, at the same time that it has a close relation to his personal history, it is certainly requisite that should appear in the author's own words. No doubt Mr Boyle wrote an answer to it, which would have been well worth the perusal, but whether that be still preserved or not is very uncertain. As for Mr Evelyn's proposal, it runs thus (11):

(11) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. P. 398, 399.

'I propose the purchasing of thirty or forty acres of 'land, in some healthy place, not above twenty-five 'miles from London, of which a good part should be 'tall wood, and the rest upland pastures, or downs 'sweetly irrigated. If there were not already an house 'which might be converted, *&c.* we would erect, 'upon the most convenient site of this near the wood, 'our building, *viz.* one handsome pavillion, containing a refectory, library, withdrawing-room, and 'a closet; this the first story: for we suppose the 'kitchen, larders, cellars, and offices, to be contrived 'in the half story under ground. In the second should 'be a fair lodging-chamber, a pallet-room, gallery, 'and a closet, all which should be well and very nobly 'furnished, for any worthy person that might desire to 'stay any time, and for the reputation of the college. 'The half story above, for servants wardrobes and like 'conveniencies. To the entry fore-front of this court, 'and at the other back-front, a plot walled in, of a 'competent square for the common seraglio, disposed 'into a garden, or it might be only carpet, kept curiously, and to serve for bowls, walking, or other 'recreations, *&c.* if the company please. Opposite 'to the house, towards the wood, should be erected a 'pretty chapel, and, at equal distances, even within 'the flanking walls of the square, six apartments or 'cells for the members of the society, and not contiguous to the pavillion, each whereof should contain a 'small bed-chamber, an outward room, a closet, and 'a private garden, somewhat after the manner of the 'Carthusians. There should likewise be an elaboratory, with a repository for rarities and things of nature; aviary, dove-house, physick-garden, kitchen-garden, and a plantation of orchard-fruit, *&c.* all 'uniform buildings, but of single stories, or a little 'elevated. At convenient distance, towards the olitory garden, should be a stable for two or three 'horses, and a lodging for a servant or two. Lastly, 'a garden-house and conservatory for tender plants. 'The estimate amounts thus: the pavillion, 400 *l*; 'the chapel, one hundred and fifty pounds; apartments, walls, and out-housing, six hundred pounds; 'the purchase of the fee for thirty acres, at fifteen 'pounds *per* acre, eighteen year's purchase, four hundred pounds; the total, fifteen hundred and fifty 'pounds; sixteen hundred pounds will be the utmost. 'Three of the cells or apartments, that *is*, one 'moiety with the appurtenances, shall be at the disposal of one of the founders, and the other half at 'the others. If I and my wife take up two apartments (for we are to be decently asunder however I 'stipulate, and her inclination will greatly suit with it, 'that shall be no impediment to the society, but a 'considerable advantage to the œconomick part) a third 'shall be for some worthy person, and, to facilitate 'the rest, I offer to furnish the whole pavillion compleatly to the value of five hundred pounds, in goods 'and moveables, if need be for seven years, till there 'shall be a publick stock, *&c.* There shall be maintained, at the publick charge, only a Chaplain well 'qualified, an antient woman to dress the meat, wash, 'and do all such offices; a man to buy provision, 'keep the garden, horses, *&c.* a boy to assist him and 'serve within. At one meal a day, of two dishes 'only, unless some little extraordinary upon particular 'days or occasions (then never exceeding three) of plain 'and wholsome meat; a small refection at night: 'wine, beer, sugar, spice, bread, fish, fowl, candle, 'soap, oats, hay, fuel, *&c.* at four pounds *per* week, 'two hundred pounds *per annum*; wages, fifteen 'pounds; keeping the gardens, twenty pounds; the 'Chaplain, twenty pounds *per annum*. Laid up in 'the treasury one hundred forty-five pounds, to be employed for books, instruments, drugs, trials, *&c.* The 'total, four hundred pounds a year, comprehending the 'keeping of two horses for the chariot, or the saddle, 'and two kine; so that two hundred pounds *per annum* will be the utmost that the founders shall be at 'to maintain the whole society, consisting of nine persons (the servants included) though there should no 'others join capable to alleviate the expence; but, if 'any of those who desire to be of the society, be so 'well qualified as to support their own particulars, and 'allow for their proportion, it will yet much diminish 'the charge, and of such there cannot want some at all 'times as the apartments are empty. If either of the 'founders thinks expedient to alter his condition, or 'that any thing do *humanitus contingere*, he may resign to another, or sell to his colleague, and dispose 'of it as he pleases, yet so as it still continue the institution. ORDERS. At six in summer prayers in the 'chapel. To study till half an hour after eleven. 'Dinner in the refectory till one. Retire till four. 'Then called to conversation (if the weather invite) 'abroad, else in the refectory. This never omitted 'but in case of sickness. Prayers at seven. To bed 'at nine. In the winter the same, with some abatements for the hours, because the nights are tedious, 'and the evenings conversation more agreeable. This 'in the refectory. All play interdicted, sans bowls, 'chess,

better times, it occaſioned ſome change in his ſentiments, and, upon an attempt being made to damp the deſires of the people for the King's return, he drew his pen in that critical ſeaſon in defence of his Majeſty's character (*m*), which, at ſuch a juncture, was both an acceptable and a very important ſervice [*G*]. Immediately after the King's return, Mr Evelyn was introduced to, and graciouſly received by, him, nor was it long before he received a very ſingular mark of the King's eſteem for, and confidence in, him. It happened thus: there had many troubles and diſputes fallen out between the Ambaſſadors of the crowns of France and Spain, for precedence in the Courts of foreign Princes, and amongſt theſe there was none more remarkable than that upon Tower-Hill, on the landing of an Ambaſſador from Sweden, September 30, 1660, which was ſo premeditated a buſineſs on both ſides, that the King, foreſeeing it would come to a quarrel (*n*), and being willing to carry himſelf with indifference towards both, which could not be otherwiſe done, than leaving them at liberty to take what methods they thought proper for ſupporting their reſpective pretences, but to ſhew at the ſame time his concern for the publick tranquillity, orders were given for a ſtrict guard to be kept upon the place, and all his Majeſty's ſubjects were enjoined not to intermeddle, or take part with either ſide; and the King was farther pleaſed to command, that Mr Evelyn ſhould, after diligent enquiry made, draw up and preſent him a diſtinct narrative of the whole affair, which he accordingly

(*m*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 117.

(*n*) Continuation of Heath's Chron. p. 751.

'cheſs, &c. Every one to cultivate his own garden. 'One month in ſpring a courſe in the elaboratory on 'vegetables, &c. In the winter a month on other 'experiments. Every man to have a key of the ela'boratory, pavilion, library, repoſitory, &c. Weekly 'faſt. Communion once every fortnight, or month 'at leaſt. No ſtranger eaſily admitted to viſit any of 'the ſociety, but upon certain days weekly, and that 'only after dinner. Any of the ſociety may have 'his commons to his apartment, if he will not meet 'in the refectory, ſo it be not above twice a week. 'Every Thurſday ſhall be a muſick meeting at con'verſation hours. Every perſon of the ſociety ſhall 'render ſome publick account of his ſtudies weekly, 'if thought fit, and eſpecially, ſhall be recommended 'the promotion of experimental knowledge, as the 'principal end of the inſtitution. There ſhall be a 'decent habit and uniform uſed in the college. One 'month in the year may be ſpent in London, or any 'of the Univerſities, or in a perambulation for the 'publick benefit, &c. with what other orders ſhall be 'thought convenient.'

[*G*] *And a very important ſervice.*] The conduct of Mr Evelyn in this critical year 1659, which was in truth the moſt active in his whole life, is hardly taken notice of by any of thoſe who have undertaken to preſerve his memoirs, and therefore we will endeavour to give the reader as much light into it as poſſible. After the death of Oliver, and the depoſition of Richard Cromwell, there were many of the Commanders in the Army, that ſhewed an inclination to reconcile themſelves to the King, which diſpoſition of theirs was very much encouraged by ſuch as had his Majeſty's intereſt truly at heart. Amongſt theſe, Mr Evelyn had a particular eye upon Colonel Herbert Morley (12), an old experienced Officer in the Parliament Army, who had two ſtout Regiments entirely at his devotion, was very much eſteemed by his party, and had the general reputation of being a perſon of great probity and honour. It was a very dangerous ſtep as things then ſtood, to make any advances to one in his ſituation, yet Mr Evelyn, conſidering how much it might be in that gentleman's power to facilitate the King's return, fairly ventured his life, by adviſing the Colonel freely to make his peace with, and enter into the ſervice of, the King. The Colonel, as might well be expected, acted coldly and cautiouſly at firſt, but at laſt accepted Mr Evelyn's offer, and deſired him to make uſe of his intereſt to procure a pardon for himſelf, and ſome of his relations and friends whom he named, promiſing in return to give all the aſſiſtance in his power to the royal cauſe. At the ſame time that Mr Evelyn carried on this dangerous intercourſe with Colonel Morley, he formed a reſolution of publiſhing ſomething that might take off the edge of that inveteracy, expreſſed by thoſe who had been deepeſt in the Parliament's intereſt, againſt ſuch as had always adhered to the King, and with this view he wrote a ſmall treatiſe which had the deſired effect, and was ſo generally well received, that it ran through three impreſſions that year, the title of this piece was (13),

(12) Baker's Chron. with additions, Lond. 1696, fol. p. 661.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 942.

VII. *An* Apology *for the* Royal Party, *written in a letter to a perſon of the late Council of State; with a touch at the pretended* Plea *of the* Army. Lond. 1659. in two ſheets in 4to.

But while Mr Evelyn and other gentlemen of his ſentiments were thus employed, thoſe of the contrary party were not idle, and amongſt theſe one Marchmont Needham, who firſt wrote with great bitterneſs for the King againſt the Parliament, and afterwards with equal acrimony for the Parliament againſt the King, was induced to pen that piece mentioned in the text, which was deſervedly reckoned one of the moſt artful and dangerous contrivances, for impeding that healing ſpirit that began now to ſpread itſelf through the nation, and with that view was handed to the preſs by *Praiſe-God Barebone* one of the fierceſt zealots in thoſe times, the title of which at large runs thus (14) *News from Bruſſels, in a letter from a near attendant on his Majeſty's perſon, to a perſon of honour here, dated* March the 10th 1659. the deſign of this pretended letter was to repreſent the character of King Charles the Second in as bad a light as poſſible, in order to deſtroy the favourable impreſſions that many had received of his natural inclination to mildneſs and clemency. All the King's friends were extremely alarmed at this attempt, and ſaw plainly that it would be attended with moſt pernicious conſequences; but Mr Evelyn, who had as quick a foreſight as any of them, reſolved to loſe no time in furniſhing an antidote againſt this poiſon, and with great diligence and dexterity, ſent abroad in a week's time a compleat anſwer which bore the following title.

(14) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 117.

VIII. *The late news or meſſage from* Bruſſels *unmaſked.* Lond. 1659. 4to.

This was certainly a very ſeaſonable and a very important ſervice, which for his own ſafety our Author managed with ſuch ſecrecy, that hardly any body knew from whom this Pamphlet came. But how much ſoever he had reaſon to be pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his pen upon this occaſion, he could not help being extremely mortified at the change he perceived in his friend Colonel Morley's behaviour, who of a ſudden grew very ſilent and reſerved, and at length plainly avoided any private converſation with Mr Evelyn. In this ſituation our Author had the courage to write him an expoſtulatory letter, which was in effect putting his life into his hands, and yet even this failed of procuring him the ſatisfaction he expected; however he felt no inconvenience from it, for this alteration in Colonel Morley's countenance towards him, was not at all the effects of any change in his diſpoſition, but aroſe from his having entered into new engagements for the King's ſervice, with Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper and General Monk (15), who had tied him down to ſuch abſolute ſecrecy, that he was not able at that juncture to give Mr Evelyn any hint that might make him eaſy, but by degrees theſe clouds were diſpelled, and he ſaw plainly enough from the Colonel's publick behaviour, that he had no reaſon to apprehend any miſchief from the confidence he had repoſed in him.

(15) Baker's Chron. continued by E. Phillips, Lond. 1674, fol. p. 722.

accordingly did, and it is a very curious and remarkable piece, though not taken notice of in any of the accounts of our author's writings, which is the reaſon of our ſpeaking of it with all it's circumſtances [*H*]. Our author began now to enter into the active ſcenes of life, but yet without bidding adieu entirely to his ſtudies; on the contrary, he publiſhed, in the ſpace of a few months, ſeveral learned treatiſes upon different ſubjects (*o*), which met with great applauſe, the rather, becauſe the author expreſſed in ſome of them his intention to proſecute more largely ſeveral philoſophical ſubjects, in a manner that might render them conducive to the benefit of ſociety; and of his capacity for performing theſe promiſes, ſome of theſe pieces were inſtances ſufficient to ſatisfy every intelligent reader, as well as to juſtify the character he had already acquired, of being at once an able and agreeable

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 941.

[*H*] *With all its circumſtances.*] This piece of Mr Evelyn's is very curious, and not being to be met with in any of his works, the reader cannot be diſpleaſed with having this opportunity of peruſing it, more eſpecially when he ſees, by the concluſion, what the conſequences were of this political riot. The title of it ran thus: *The manner of the Encounter, between the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, at the landing of the Swediſh Ambaſſador.*

'Upon Monday laſt being the 30th of September, 'about ten in the morning the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's 'coach, in which were his Chaplain with ſome of 'his gentlemen, attended by about forty more of his 'ſervants in livery, was ſent down to the Tower 'wharf, and there placed itſelf near about the point, 'where the ranks of ordnance determine towards 'the gate leading into the bulwark. Next after him 'came the Dutch and (twelve a-clock paſt) the Swe-'diſh coach of honour, diſpoſing of themſelves accord-'ing to their places. About two hours after this (in 'company with his Majeſty's Coach Royal) appeared 'that of the French Ambaſſador's, wherein were Le 'Marquis d'Eſtrade, ſon to the French Ambaſſador, 'with ſeveral more of his gentlemen, and as might 'be computed near an hundred and fifty in train, 'whereof above forty were horſemen well appointed, 'with piſtols, and ſome of them with carabines, muſ-'quetoons, or fuzies: in this poſture and equipage 'ſtood they expecting upon the wharf, and as near 'as might be approaching to his Majeſty's coach, 'which was oppoſite to the ſtairs, about three in the 'afternoon the Swediſh Ambaſſador being landed, 'and received into his Majeſty's coach, which moved 'leiſurely before the reſt, and was followed by that 'of the Swede's. The French Ambaſſador's coach en-'deavoured to go the next, driving as cloſe as poſſibly 'they could, and advancing their party with their 'ſwords drawn, to force the Spaniards from the guard 'of their own coach, which were alſo putting in for 'precedency next the King's. His Majeſty's coach 'now paſt the Spaniard's, who held as yet their rapiers 'undrawn in their hands, ſtepping nimbly on either 'ſide of the hindmoſt wheels of their maſter's coach 'drew their weapons and ſhouted, which cauſed the 'French coach horſes to make a pauſe: but when 'they obſerved the advantage, which by this the Spa-'niſh Ambaſſador's coach had gained, being now in 'file after the Swedes, they came up very near to the 'Spaniard's, and at once pouring in their ſhot upon 'them, together with their foot, then got before their 'coach, fell to it with their ſwords, both which the 'Spaniards received without removing one jot from 'their ſtation.

'During this *demeſle* (in which the French re-'ceived ſome repulſe and were put to a ſecond ſtand, 'a bold and dextrous fellow, and as moſt affirm with 'a particular inſtrument as well as addreſs, ſtooping 'under the bellies of the French Ambaſſador's coach-'horſes, cut the hamſtrings of two of them, and 'wounded a third, which immediately falling, the 'coach for the preſent was diſabled from advancing 'farther, the coachman forced out of his box, and 'the poſtilion mortally wounded, who falling into 'the arms of an Engliſh gentleman that ſtepped in to 'his ſuccour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his 'thigh. This diſorder (wherein ſeveral were wounded 'and ſome ſlain) cauſed thoſe in the French to alight, 'and ſo enraged their party, that it occaſioned a ſe-'cond briſk aſſault both of horſe and foot, which 'being received with extraordinary gallantry, many 'of their horſe retreated and wheel'd off to St Ka-'therine's.

'It was in this ſkirmiſh, that ſome brickbatts were 'thrown from the edge of the wharf, which by a 'miſtake are ſaid to have been provided by the Spa-'niſh Ambaſſador's order the day before: but that 'they were not caſt by any of the Engliſh, is atteſted 'by the general conſent of all the ſpectators.

'In this interim then (which was near half an 'hour) the Spaniſh coach went forward after his Ma-'jeſties, with about twenty of its retinue following 'who ſtill kept their countenances towards the Frenc 'as long as they abode on the wharf, and that nar 'row paſſage of the bulwark (where the conteſt wa 'very fierce) without diſorder: ſo as the firſt whic 'appeared on Tower-Hill, where now they wer 'entring, was his Majeſty's coach followed by th 'Swedes Ambaſſador's, and next by that of Spain 'with about twenty-four or thirty of his Liveries ſtil 'diſputing it, with a leſs number of French wh 'came after them in the rear.

'And here beſides what were ſlain with bullets o 'the wharf, and near the bulwark, whereof one wa 'a Valet de Chambre of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's 'and ſix more, amongſt which a poor Engliſh Plaiſte 'rer, and near forty wounded, fell one of the French 'who was killed juſt before his Highneſs's Life-Guard 'no one perſon of the numerous ſpectators intermed 'dling, or ſo much as making the leaſt noiſe or tu 'mult, people or ſoldiers, whereof there were three 'companies of foot, which ſtood oppoſite on the hill 'to the Guards of Horſe, 'twixt whom the antago-'niſts lightly ſkirmiſhed ſome freſh parties of French 'coming out of ſeveral places and protected by the 'Engliſh, amongſt whom they found ſhelter till the 'Spaniſh Ambaſſador's coach having gained and paſſed 'the chain which leads into Crochet Friers, they de 'ſiſted and gave them over.

'Whatever diſadvantage the French came off with 'in this rencounter, wherein except one man that 'fought among the Spaniards with a half pike, no 'any of the Engliſh were ſeen to act any thing that 'might contribute to the ſucceſs of one ſide more 'than another, till a few of the multitude which 'ſtood on that ſide of the wharf being enraged by 'the wounds, which they received from the ſhot that 'came in amongſt them, and whereof 'tis ſaid ſome 'of them afterwards died, were forced to defend 'themſelves with what they found at hand. For ſo 'careful was Sir Charles Berkeley, Captain of his 'Royal Highneſs's Life-Guard, to put in execution 'what he had in ſtrict charge from his Majeſty, that 'not a man of the ſpectators was ſuffered with impu-'nity ſo much as with a ſwitch in his hand. The 'French King from this occaſion gained an advan-'tage to the prerogative he ſtood upon, greater than 'if this conteſt had not happened; for whereas, this 'buſineſs of precedence had been hitherto in contro-'verſy between him and Spain, in ſo much that to 'prevent all inconveniencies, an accord had been 'lately made here between the Spaniſh Ambaſſador 'and the Count of Soiſſons, that they ſhould aſſiſt at 'no publick ceremonies, but upon all ſuch caſual en-'counters paſs on their way as they fortuned to meet: 'The King of France countermanding this agree-'ment, and ſending poſitive charge to D'Eſtrade not 'to abate any thing of thoſe pretenſions formerly 'ſtood upon, and hearing what enſued upon his Am-'baſſador's executing of his injunctions, was ſo in-'cenſed thereat, that the quarrel had proceeded to 'an abſolute breach of the late concluded peace be-'tween the two Kingdoms, had not the King of 'Spain condeſcended to agree that thence forward, 'precedence ſhould be yielded to the French upon all 'ſuch like occaſions without any diſpute.'

[*I*] *An*

agreeable writer [*I*]. About the close of the year 1662, when his Majesty was pleased, by his Letters Patent, to erect and establish the Royal Society for the improvement of Natural knowledge, JohnEvelyn, Esq; was appointed one of the first Fellows and Council (*p*). He had given a proof the same year how well he deserved that distinction, by a small but excellent work of his, intituled SCULPTURA (*q*), of which, as it is now become very scarce, an account shall be given in the notes [*K*]. Upon the first appearance of the nation's

(*p*) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 137.

(*q*) See an account of that Work in the notes.

[*I*] *An able and agreeable writer.*] It is certain that very few authors who have written in our language, deserve this character so well as Mr Evelyn, who tho' he was acquainted with most sciences, and wrote upon many different subjects, yet was very far, indeed the farthest of most men of his time, from being a superficial writer. He had genius, he had taste, he had learning, and he knew how to give all these a proper place in his works, so as never to pass for a pedant, even with such as were least in love with literature, and to be justly esteemed a polite author by those who knew it best. His performances during this year, except one, were but light and trivial in comparison of those that he afterwards sent abroad; but it is necessary however, that the reader, who will expect a large account of those, should take notice of these likewise.

IX. *A* Panegyrick *at his Majesty King* Charles II. *his* Coronation. Lond. 1661. fol.

X. Instructions *concerning the erecting of a* Library. *Written by* Gabriel Naudé, *published in* English *with some improvements, by* John Evelyn, Esq; Lond. 1661. 8vo.

XI. Fumifugium; *or the inconveniencies of the air, and the smoke of* London *dissipated. Together, with some remedies humbly proposed, by* John Evelyn, London 1661. 4to. in five sheets addressed to the King and Parliament, and published by his Majesties express command.

XII. Tyrannus, *or the* Mode; *in a discourse of* sumptuary Laws, London 1661. 8vo.

[*K*] *In the notes*] Of this work which has been always looked upon as a very great curiosity, from the time of its publication to this day, the title at large runs thus. XIII. Sculptura: *or the History and Art of* Calcography *and* engraving *in* copper, *with an ample enumeration of the most renowned* masters *and their* works. *To which is annexed, a new manner of engraving or* Mezzo Tinto, *communicated by his Highness* Prince Rupert, *to the* Author *of this treatise.* Lond. 1662. 8vo. In the dedication to Mr Robert Boyle, dated at Sayes-Court, April 5th 1662, he observes, that he wrote this treatise at the reiterated instances of that gentleman. The *first* chapter treats of Sculpture, how derived and distinguished, with the styles and instruments belonging to it. The *second*, of the original of Sculpture in general. In this chapter our Author observes that letters, and consequently Sculpture, were long before the Flood, Suidas ascribing both letters and all the rest of the Sciences to Adam. After the Flood, as he supposes, there were but few who make any considerable question, that it might not be propagated by Noah to his posterity, tho' some admit of none before Moses. 'But what then shall we 'think of that book of the wars of the Lord, which 'this sacred Author mentions Num. xxi. not to insist 'upon the eighty eighth, and one hundred and nine-'teenth Psalms, by many ascribed to some of the pa-'triarchs his predecessors? Mercurius Trismegistus, 'three hundred years after the Flood, and long before 'Moses, engraved his secret and mysterious things in 'stone, as himself reports, reforming what had been 'depraved by the wicked Cham, some in letters, some 'in figures, and enigmatical characters, such haply as 'were those contained in the magnificent and stupen-'dous obelisks, erected by Misra the first Egyptian 'Pharaoh, which being at least, four hundred years 'before Moses, as the most indefatigable Kircher has 'computed, does greatly presage their antiquity to 'have been before that holy Prophet. But not to put 'too much stress upon superannuated tradition, this 'we are sure of is of faith and without controversy, 'that in Moses we have the tables of stone engraven 'by the finger of God himself, where the command 'is express even against the abuse of this very art, as 'well as an instance of the idolatry attesting that of 'Sculpture, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven 'image.* But this which is indeed, the first writing 'that we have Scripture to vouch for, does yet pre-'suppose engraving to have been of much greater an-'tiquity. What else were the Teraphim, what the 'Pentos stolen by Rachael? The Idols of Terah? Or 'the Egyptians? &c. But we forbear to expatiate 'only that which is Ben Syrac, somewhere in Eccle-'siasticus delivered, that the original of idolatry was 'from images to preserve the memory of the dead, 'as in process of time by the flatterers of great men, 'it was turned to be an object of adoration, plainly 'infers graving to have been older than Idolatry.' But now, continues our Author, to recover its esteem again beyond all prejudice (however by others abused as indeed many of the best things have been;) it was we know imputed for a spiritual talent in Bezaleel, and Aholiab, who made Intaglias to adorn the High Priest's Pectoral. And we have said how the Egyptians reverenced it, as seeming to have used it before letters, or rather their Hieroglyphics, importing sacred sculpture were those elements by which they transmitted to posterity, what they esteemed most worthy of record, and not as some have imagined wrapp'd up in those enigmatical figures, the secrets of their arts both divine and secular; such as were also the Horapollinis notæ, and all those other venerable antiquities of this nature, transported to Rome out of Egypt, in no less than two and forty prodigious obelisks, interpreted by the industrious Kircher. Suidas attributes the invention to the Father of the Faithful, others to Theut or Hermes, some to Cadmus and the Phœnicians. Bibliander will have letters and sculpture from Adam, Josephus from Henoch; Philo from Abraham, Eusebius, from Moses, Cyprian from Saturn, where by the way, because it is said he did *Literas imprimere*, Petrus Calaber, who calls himself Pomponius Lætus, absurdly deduces, that even the Typographical Art was known in the age of this Hero. But thence it descended to the Egyptians, by Misraim, and so was communicated to the Persians, Medes, and Assyrians, thence to the Greeks, and lastly to the Romans, from whom it was derived to us, as Peter Crinitus, in his seventh Book *de honestâ Disciplina*, out of a very antient manuscript *Bibliothecæ Septimianæ*, seems to deduce. Now should all this but relate to the several characters it shall yet serve our purpose, since whoever was the inventor of letters, was also doubtless the father of Sculpture, as is apparent if not by the columns erected by Seth, (one whereof *Angelus Roccha*, in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, presumes to have been of brass) by several other instances, the writing with ink, paper, or parchment, being altogether a novelty in comparison with the more antient forms and materials, such as were the slit stones or slates, which succeeded the stately marbles, and preceded the thinner leaves of bark and tables of wood, which, from the German Bucher, signifying the Fagus or Beech tree, whose fruit does still with us retain the name of Beech mast, were called Books, to whatever voluble or folding matter applied. For before the invention of paper, they used the leaves of palm, as *Varro, de Sibylla*; then the rinds of trees, afterwards sheets of lead, linnen, wax, and ivory, as Vopiscus tells us. They wrote in silk among the Persians and Chinese, and lastly were invented parchment and paper. But, whether in all these or whatever the subject were some few later excepted, it was still by insculping, scarifying, and making a kind of incision into it, especially intending to consign to posterity, their laws divine and human, Roman, Egyptian, or Hebrew for so of old.

——Verba minantia fixo
Ære ligabantur.

Thus were the Hieronicæ preserved in the temple of Olympian Jove, and the Roman Consuls in the Capitol,

tion's being obliged to engage in a war with the Dutch, the King thought proper to appoint

tol, and as by thoſe innumerable inſcriptions of irrefragable and undeniable antiquities does appear, we have already computed how probable it is, that Sculpture was in uſe in Egypt ſomewhat before, or at leaſt, as ſoon as the Patriarch Abraham went thither. But the leſs diſcerning Greeks who received it from the Egyptians, could tell us of no writings of theirs extant before Homer, if we will prefer the authority of Joſephus before that of Tatian, a learned Aſſyrian and contemporary with Juſtin Martyr, where he mentions no leſs than ſeventeen Greek writers more ancient than Homer. There are alſo enumerated the names of twenty Argive Kings from Inachus to Agamemnon, which ſtrongly infers the means of recording by Sculpture and writing to have been very antient. For ſo we read, that the Poems of Heſiod were ingraven in lead. Ariſtotle mentions Daphne, a certain Devotreſs of Apollo, Sabinus and Diodorus many others. But when or however it were, thence, as we obſerved, it travelled into Greece, that Theatre of Arts, where it ſoon arrived to the ſupremeſt height of perfection, when being applied to the forming of figures, it was celebrated by all the witty men of thoſe and the ſucceeding ages. Homer tells us, of the engraving in the ſhield of Achilles, Heſiod of that of Hercules, not to mention the Sculptures upon the chariot of the ſun deſcribed by the Poet, becauſe it is altogether fictitious, tho' extremely ingenious, and whence perhaps they might have their *Vehicula Cælata*, mentioned by Q. Curtius. The *third* chapter treats of the reputation and progreſs of Sculpture among the Greeks and Romans down to the middle ages, with a diſcuſſion of ſome pretenſions to the invention of copper cuts, and their impreſſions. The *fourth*, of the invention and progreſs of Chalcography, in particular together, with an ample enumeration of the moſt renowned maſters and their works. The *fifth*, of drawing and deſign, previous to the Art of Chalcography, and of the uſe of pictures in order to the education of children. In this chapter our Author, in honour of the Art upon which he writes, diſcourſes thus: 'It 'was in the former chapter, that we made rehearſal 'of the moſt renowned Gravers and their works, not 'that we had no more to add to that number, but 'becauſe we would not mingle theſe illuſtrious names 'and qualities there, which we purpoſely reſerved for 'the crown of this diſcourſe; we did therefore for'bear to mention what his Highneſs Prince Rupert's 'own hands have contributed to the dignity of that 'Art, performing things in graving of which ſome 'enrich our collection comparable to the greateſt 'Maſters, ſuch a ſpirit and addreſs there appears in 'all that he touches, and eſpecially in that of the 'Mezzotinto, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter 'more at large, having firſt enumerated thoſe incom'parable gravings, of that his new and inimitable 'ſtile, in both the great and little decollations of St 'John the Baptiſt, the ſoldier holding a ſpear and 'leaning his hand on a ſhield, the two Mary Magda'lens, the old man's head, that of Titian, &c. after 'the ſame Titian, Georgion and others; we have alſo 'ſeen a plate etched by the preſent French King 'and other great perſons, the Right Honourable the 'Earl of Sandwich, ſometimes as we are told divert'ing himſelf with the burine, and herein imitating 'thoſe antient and renowned Heroes, whoſe names 'are loud in the trumpet of fame, for their ſkill and 'particular affection to theſe Arts. For ſuch of old, 'were Lucius Manilius, and Fabius, noble Romans, 'Pacuvius the tragic Poet, nephew to Ennius; So'crates, the wiſeſt of men, and Plato himſelf, Metro'dorus and Pyrrhus the Philoſopher, did both deſign 'and paint, and ſo did Valentinian, Adrian, and Se'verus, Emperors, ſo as the great Paulus Æmilius 'eſteemed it of ſuch high importance, that he would 'needs have his ſon to be inſtructed in it, as in one 'of the moſt worthy and excellent accompliſhments 'belonging to a Prince. For the Art of graving, 'Quintilian likewiſe celebrates Euphranor, a polite 'and rarely endowed perſon, and Pliny, in that chap'ter where he treats of the ſame Art obſerves, that 'there was never any one famous in it, but who was 'by birth or education a gentleman, therefore he and 'Galen in their recenſion of the liberal Arts, men'tion that of graving in particular amongſt the moſt 'permanent, and in the ſame catalogue numbers it 'with Rhetorick, Geometry, Logic, Aſtronomy, yea, 'Grammar itſelf, becauſe there is in theſe Arts, ſay 'they, more of fancy and invention than ſtrength of 'hand, more of the ſpirit than of the body. Hence 'Ariſtotle informs us, that the Grecians did univer'ſally inſtitute their children, in the Art of painting 'and drawing, for an oeconomique reaſon there 'ſignified, as well as to produce proportions in the 'mind: Varro makes it part of the ladies education, 'that they might have the better ſkill in the works of 'Embroidery, &c. and for this cauſe is his daughter 'Martia celebrated amongſt thoſe of her fair ſex. We 'have already mentioned the learned Anna Schur'man, but the Princeſs Louiſa has done wonders of 'this kind, and is famous throughout Europe for the 'many pieces which inrich our cabinets, examples 'ſufficient to vindicate its dignity, and the value that 'has been ſet upon it, ſince both Emperors, Kings, 'and Philoſophers, the great and the wiſe, have not 'diſdained to cultivate and cheriſh this honourable 'quality of old, ſo nobly reputed, that amongſt the 'Greeks a ſlave might not be taught it: how paſ'ſionately does Pereſkius, that admirable and univerſal 'genius, deplore his want of dexterity in this Art! 'Baptiſta Alberti, Aldus Pomponius, Guaricus Durer, 'and Rubens, were politely learned and knowing 'men, and it is hardly to be imagined, of how great 'uſe and conducible a competent addreſs in this Art 'of drawing and deſigning, is to the ſeveral advan'tages which occur, and eſpecially to the more noble 'mathematical Sciences, as we have already inſtanced 'in the lunary works of Hevelius, and are no leſs 'obliged to celebrate ſome of our own countrymen 'famous for their dexterity in this incomparable Art, 'ſuch was that Blagrave, who himſelf cut thoſe dia'grams in his Mathematical Jewel, and ſuch at pre'ſent, is that rare and early prodigy of univerſal ſci'ence, Dr Chr. Wren, our worthy and accompliſhed 'friend. For if the ſtudy of Eloquence and Rheto'rick were cultivated by the greateſt genius's and 'heroick perſons which the world has produced, and 'that by the ſuffrage of the moſt knowing to be a 'perfect Orator, a man ought to be univerſally in'ſtructed, a quality ſo becoming and uſeful ſhould 'never be neglected.' In the *ſixth* chapter he diſcourſes of the new way of Engraving or Mezzo Tinto, invented and communicated by his Highneſs Prince Rupert, and he therein obſerves, 'that his High'neſs did indulge him the liberty of publiſhing the 'whole manner and addreſs of this new way of en'graving, but when I had well conſidered it, ſays he, '(ſo much having been already expreſſed, which may 'ſuffice to give the hint to all ingenious perſons how 'it is to be performed) I did not think it neceſſary, 'that an art ſo curious, and as yet ſo little vulgar, 'and which indeed does not ſucceed where the work'man is not an accompliſhed deſigner, and has a 'competent talent in painting likewiſe, was to be 'proſtituted at ſo cheap a rate, as the more naked 'deſcribing of it here, would too ſoon have expoſed 'it to. Upon theſe conſiderations, then it is, that 'we leave it thus enigmatical, and yet that this may 'appear no diſingenuous rhodomontade in me, or in'viduous excuſe, I profeſs myſelf to be always moſt 'ready *ſub ſigillo*, and by his Highneſs's permiſſion, 'to gratify any curious and worthy perſon, with as 'full and perfect a demonſtration of the entire Art, 'as my talent and addreſs will reach to, if what I 'am now preparing to be reſerved in the Archives 'of the Royal Society concerning it, be not ſufficiently 'inſtructive.' There came however, into the hands of the communicative and learned Richard Middleton Maſſey, M. D. and F. R. S. the original manuſcript written by Mr Evelyn, and deſigned for the Royal Society, intitled *Prince* Rupert*'s new way of* Engraving, *communicated by his Highneſs to Mr* Evelyn. In the margin of which is this note, *This I prepared to be regiſtred in the Royal Society, but I have not yet given it in, ſo as it ſtill continues a ſecret.* In this manuſcript, he firſt deſcribes the two inſtruments employed

appoint Commiſſioners to take care of the ſick and wounded; this was in November 1664, and Mr Evelyn was one of the number, having all the ports between Dover and Portſmouth in his diſtrict; and Sir Thomas Clifford, who was afterwards a Peer, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England, was another of thoſe Commiſſioners (*r*). We find theſe particulars in a letter from our author to Mr Boyle, in which he expreſſes how great a ſatisfaction it would have been to have had that worthy and charitable perſon for his colleague. His literary labours within the compaſs of this year were not only as great, but even greater than in any of thoſe preceding, which aroſe from the great deſire the author had to ſupport the credit of the Royal Society, and to convince the world, that Philoſophy was not barely an amuſement fit to take up the time of melancholy and contemplative perſons, but a high and uſeful ſcience, worthy the attention of men of the greateſt parts, and capable of contributing in a ſupream degree to the welfare of the nation (*s*). In this noble deſign, as never any man engaged with a better will, or proſecuted his intentions with greater diligence, ſo it may be truly ſaid, that never any advocate for Philoſophy employed his talents with greater ſucceſs. He exerted them alſo in the defence, and for the improvement, of the publick taſte in Architecture and Painting, with equal vigour and with equal applauſe. The ſame praiſes that were beſtowed upon him then, have been continued in reſpect to his works from the gratitude of poſterity, nor are his learned efforts in behalf of ſcience and the polite arts, leſs reliſhed now than at the time of their firſt appearance, a reward, which, though it may have been deſerved by many, has however been received by few, at leaſt in the ſame degree with our author, and is therefore an inconteſtible proof of his merit [*L*]. As there is nothing more natural, than for men of true

(*r*) Boyle's Works Vol. V. p. 402.

(*s*) See his large Preface prefixed before his *Sylva*.

ployed in this new manner of engraving, viz. the *Hatcher* and the *Style*, and then proceeds to explain the method of uſing them. He concludes with the following words: 'This invention or new manner of 'Chalcography, was the reſult of chance, and improved by a German ſoldier, who eſpying ſome 'ſcrape on the barrel of his muſquet, and being of 'an ingenious ſpirit, refined upon it, till it produced 'the effects you have ſeen, and which indeed is, for 'the delicacy thereof, much ſuperior to any invention 'extant of this Art, for the imitation of thoſe maſterly drawings, and, as the Italians call it, that morbidezza expreſſed in the beſt of their deſigns. I 'have had the honour to be the firſt of the Engliſh 'to whom it has been yet communicated, and by a 'ſpecial indulgence of his Highneſs, who with his 'own hands was pleaſed to direct me with permiſſion 'to publiſh it to the world, but I have eſteemed it a 'thing ſo curious, that I thought it would be to profane it, before I had firſt offered it to this illuſtrious 'Society. There is another way of engraving by rowelling a plate with an inſtrument, made like that 'which our Scriveners and Clerks uſe to direct their 'rulers by on parchment, only the points are thicker 'ſet into the rowell. And when the plate is ſufficiently 'freckled with the frequent reciprocation of it, upon 'the poliſhed ſurface, ſo as to render the ground 'dark enough, it is to be abated with the ſtyle, and 'treated as we have already deſcribed. Of this ſort 'I have ſeen a head of the Queen Chriſtina, graved, 'if I miſtake not, as big as the life, but not comparable to the Mezzo Tinto of Prince Rupert, ſo deſervedly celebrated by

J. EVELYN.

[*L*] *An inconteſtible proof of his merit.*] The digeſting the numerous works of this elegant and excellent writer in their natural order, is a work of no ſmall pains, as thoſe who have given the world his memoirs heretofore were very ſenſible, and for that reaſon never attempted it; yet that is not the cauſe of our mentioning it here, but a conſideration of quite a different nature, which is, that we may not be blamed for any deficiency or miſtake into which we may happen to fall through want of proper guides, in ſpite of all the care that we could poſſibly take; and having premiſed this, we will proceed in our catalogue:

XV. SYLVA: *or, a Diſcourſe of* Foreſt Trees, *and the Propagation of* Timber *in his Majeſty's Dominions. As it was delivered in the* Royal Society *the 15th of October* 1662, *upon Occaſion of certain* Queries *propounded to that illuſtrious Aſſembly by the Honourable the principal Officers and Commiſſioners of the Navy. To which is annexed,* POMONA: *or, an Appendix concerning* Fruit Trees, *in relation to* Cyder, *the making, and ſeveral ways of ordering it: publiſhed by expreſs Order of the Royal Society. By* John Evelyn, *Eſq; Fellow of the Royal Society.* Lond. 1664, fol.

The bare Hiſtory of the editions of this moſt valuable work, the contents of which are too well known to ſtand in need of any account to be given of them here, is ſufficient to employ all the room that we have to ſpare. It was written by the command, it was publiſhed in virtue of an order of the Royal Society, ſigned by the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, their Preſident, and dedicated to the King. The ſecond edition of it was publiſhed in 1669, with a new dedication to King Charles II, dated from Sayes-Court Aug. 24. The firſt paragraph of which is ſo remarkable as to deſerve, in a great degree, the reader's notice. 'Sir, This 'ſecond edition of *Sylva*, after more than a thouſand 'copies had been bought up and diſperſed of the firſt 'impreſſion, in much leſs than two years ſpace (which 'Bookſellers aſſure us is a very extraordinary thing in 'volumes of this bulk) comes now again to pay it's homage to your Serene Majeſty, to whoſe auſpices alone 'it owes the favourable acceptance which it has received in the world. But it is not that alone which 'it preſumes to tell your Majeſty, but to acquaint you 'that it has been the ſole occaſion of furniſhing your 'almoſt exhauſted dominions with more I dare ſay 'than two millions of timber trees, beſides infinite 'others, which have been propagated within the three 'nations at the inſtigation, and by the direction, of 'this work; and that the author of it is able, if need 'require, to make it out by a competent volume of 'letters and acknowledgments, which are come to his 'hands from ſeveral perſons of the moſt eminent quality, many of them illuſtrious, and divers of them 'unknown to him, in juſtification of what he aſſerts, 'which he the rather preſerves with the more care, 'becauſe they are teſtimonials from ſo many honourable perſons of the benefit they have received from 'the endeavours of the Royal Society, which now-a-'days paſſes through ſo many cenſures; but ſhe has 'yet your Majeſty for her Founder and Patron, and is 'therefore the leſs concerned, ſince no man of worth 'can lightly ſpeak ill of an Aſſembly, which your 'Majeſty has thought fit to dignify by ſo ſignal a relation to it.' There follows next a ſhort diſcourſe *To the Reader*, in which the occaſion, contents, and deſign of the work, are cleared; then a copy of Latin verſes by the learned Dr Beale; to theſe ſucceed another copy of Latin verſes, written by R. Bohun, Eſq; and then a third in Greek, by John Evelyn, junior, Eſq; POMONA, which is but an *Appendix*, is however dedicated to that beſt of Miniſters, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, and Lord High Treaſurer of England. The *third* edition, with great additions and improvements, was publiſhed in 1679. The *fourth* edition in 1705, in which the Diſcourſe to the reader is very much enlarged, and every chapter of the work very conſiderably augmented. There was a *fifth* edition, with all the leſſer pieces of our author relating to agriculture and gardening annexed, in 1729, all in folio; nor is there any reaſon to doubt it's farther ſucceſs.

true learning to preſerve a laſting regard and affection for the academies where they firſt purſued

XVI. *A* PARALLEL *of the Antient Architecture with the Modern, in a collection of ten principal Authors, who have written upon the* five *Orders, viz.* Palladio *and* Scammozzi, Serlio *and* Vignola; D. Barbaro *and* Cataneo; L. B. Alberti *and* Viola, Bullant *and* De Lorme; *compared with one another. The three Greek Orders,* Doric, Ionic *and* Corinthian, *compriſe the* firſt *part of this* Treatiſe, *and the* two *Latin*; Tuſcan *and* Compoſita, *the latter*; *written in* French *by* Roland Freart, *Sieur* de Chambray; *made* Engliſh *for the benefit of Builders. To which is added an account of* Architects *and* Architecture, *in an Hiſtorical and Etymological Explanation of certain* Terms, *particularly affected by* Architects; *with* Leon Baptiſta Alberti's *Treatiſe of* Statues. *By* John Evelyn, *Eſq; Fellow of the* Royal Society. *Lond.* 1664. folio.

This work, as well as the former, is dedicated to King Charles the Second, and the Dedication dated from Sayes-Court, Auguſt 20th. I will take the liberty of quoting ſome lines from it, not for the ſake of panegyrick, tho' in that no writer excelled our Author, but upon the ſcore of the facts that are mentioned therein, which there is a probability might not otherwiſe fall in the reader's way. After an apology for prefixing his royal name to a tranſlation, our Author proceeds thus. 'I know none indeed, to whom could I 'more aptly inſcribe a diſcourſe of Building, than to ſo 'Royal a Builder, whoſe auguſt attempts have already 'given ſo great a ſplendour to our imperial city, and 'ſo illuſtrious an example to the nation! it is from 'this contemplation, Sir, that after I had, by the commands of the Royal Society, endeavoured the improvement of timber and the planting of trees, I 'have advanced to that of Building, as its proper and 'natural conſequent, not with a preſumption to incite 'or inſtruct your Majeſty, which were a vanity unpardonable, but by it to take occaſion of celebrating 'your Majeſty's great example, who uſe your Empire and authority ſo worthily, as fortune ſeems to 'have conſulted her reaſon, when ſhe powred her favours upon you; ſo as I never caſt my eyes on that 'generous deſignation in the Epigram,

——*Ut donem* Paſtor *&* ædificem,

'without immediate reflection on your Majeſty, who 'ſeem only to value thoſe royal advantages you have 'above others; that you may oblige, and that 'you may build. And certainly, Sir, your Majeſty 'has conſulted the nobleſt way of eſtabliſhing your 'greatneſs, and of perpetuating your memory, ſince, 'whilſt ſtones can preſerve inſcriptions, your name 'will be famous to poſterity; and, when thoſe materials fail, the benefits that are engraven in our hearts 'will outlaſt thoſe of marble. It would be no paradox, but a truth, to affirm that your Majeſty has 'already built, and repaired, more in three or four 'years, notwithſtanding the difficulties and the neceſſity of an extraordinary oeconomy for the publick 'concernment, than all your enemies have deſtroyed 'in twenty; nay, than all your Majeſty's predeceſſors have advanced in an hundred, as I could eaſily 'make out, not only by what your Majeſty has ſo 'magnificently deſigned and carried on at that, your 'antient honour of Greenwich, under the conduct of 'your moſt induſtrious and worthy ſurveyor, but in 'thoſe ſplendid apartments, and other uſeful reformations for ſecurity and delight about your Majeſty's 'Palace at Whitehall, the chargeable covering firſt, 'then paving and reformation of Weſtminſter-Hall, care 'and preparation for rebuilding St Paul's, by the impiety 'and iniquity of the late confuſions, almoſt dilapidated, 'with what her Majeſty the Queen-Mother has added 'to her Palace at Somerſet-Houſe, in a ſtructure becoming her royal grandeur, and the due veneration 'of all your Majeſty's ſubjects, for the honour ſhe 'has done both this your native city, and the whole 'nation. Nor may I here omit what I ſo much deſire to tranſmit to poſterity, thoſe noble and profitable amænities of your Majeſty's plantations, wherein you moſt reſemble the divine Architect, becauſe 'your Majeſty has propoſed in it ſuch a pattern to 'your ſubjects, as merit their imitation and profoundeſt 'acknowledgments, in one of the moſt worthy and 'kingly improvements that nature is capable of. I 'know not what they talk of former ages, and of the 'now contemporary Princes with your Majeſty, theſe 'things are viſible: and ſhould I here deſcend to 'more particulars, which yet were not foreign to the 'ſubject of this diſcourſe, I would provoke the whole 'world to produce me an example parallel with your 'Majeſty, for your exact judgment and marvellous 'ability in all that belongs to the naval Architecture, 'both as to its proper terms and more ſolid uſe, in 'which your Majeſty is maſter of one of the moſt 'noble and profitable arts that can be wiſhed, in a 'Prince to whom God has deſigned the dominion of 'the ocean, which renders your Majeſty's Empire 'univerſal; where, by exerciſing your royal talent 'and knowledge that way, you can bring even the 'Antipodes to meet, and the poles to kiſs each other; 'for ſo likewiſe, not in a metaphorical but natural 'ſenſe, your equal and prudent government of this 'nation, has made it good, whilſt your Majeſty has 'ſo proſperouſly guided this giddy bark, through ſuch 'a ſtorm, as no hand, ſave your Majeſty's, could touch 'the helm, but at the price of their temerity.' There is alſo another Dedication to Sir John Denham, Knight of the Bath, Superintendant, and Surveyor of all his Majeſty's buildings and works, in which there are ſeveral matters of fact worth knowing, as indeed there are in all Mr Evelyn's Dedications; for tho' no man was naturally more civil, or more capable of making a complement handſomely; yet his merit was always conſpicuous in his good manners; and he never thought that the ſwelling ſound of a well turned period, could atone for want of ſenſe. It appears from the Dedication of the ſecond edition of the Sylva to King Charles the Second, *that there was a ſecond edition of this work alſo in the ſame year, viz. 1669, as there was a third in 1697, which was the laſt in the* Author's life-time, and *therefore the laſt* that I am obliged to mention. In this third edition, which is very much improved, *the account of* Architects *and* Architecture, *which is* an *original* work of Mr Evelyn's, and a *moſt excellent* one of its kind, is dedicated to Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Surveyor of his Majeſty's buildings and works, and therein occurs a paſſage that concerns the perſonal hiſtory of our Author ſo much, that it would be unpardonable in me to omit it. Having ſaid in the firſt paragraph, that if the whole Art of building were loſt, it might be found again in the noble works of that great Architect, which, tho' a very high, is no unjuſt complement; more eſpecially, continues our Author, St Paul's Church and the Monument, and then adds. 'I have named 'St Paul's, and truly not without admiration, as oft 'as I re-call to mind, as frequently I do, the ſad and 'deplorable condition it was in, when, after it had 'been made a ſtable of horſes and a den of thieves, 'you, with other gentlemen and myſelf, were, by 'the late King Charles, named Commiſſioners to ſurvey the dilapidations, and to make report to his 'Majeſty, in order to a ſpeedy reparation: you will 'not, I am ſure, forget the ſtruggle we had with 'ſome who were for patching it up any how, ſo the 'ſteeple might ſtand, inſtead of new building, which 'it altogether needed: when, to put an end to the 'conteſt, five days after (16), that dreadful conflagration happened, out of whoſe aſhes this Phœnix 'is riſen, and was by providence deſigned for you. 'The circumſtance is too remarkable, that I could 'not paſs it over without notice. I will now add no 'more, but beg your pardon for this confidence of 'mine, after I have acquainted you that the *Parallel* 'to which this was annexed being out of print, I was 'importuned by the Bookſeller to add ſomething to 'a new impreſſion, but to which I was no way inclined; till, not long ſince, going to St Paul's to 'contemplate that auguſt pile, and the progreſs you 'have made, ſome of your chief workmen gratefully 'acknowledging the aſſiſtance it had afforded them, 'I took this opportunity of doing myſelf this honour.' The fourth edition of this work, printed long after our Author's death, viz. in 1733, was in folio, as well as the reſt; to which is added *the Elements*

(16) Auguſt 27, Sept. 2, 1666.

purſued their ſtudies; ſo Mr Evelyn gave a noble teſtimony of his high reſpect for that of Oxford, by uſing his utmoſt intereſt with the Lord Henry Howard, in order to prevail upon him to beſtow the Arundelian marbles, then remaining in the garden of Arundel houſe in the Strand (*t*), upon the univerſity, in which he happily ſucceeded, and obtained, in conſequence of it, all the reward he deſired, which was the thanks of that learned body, delivered by Delegates ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe (*u*); which venerable monuments of Antiquity ſtill remain at Oxford, and are now diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as contributes equally to ornament and uſe, where, while they continue to command the admiration of every intelligent ſpectator, they muſt, at the ſame time, perpetuate the remembrance of that zeal with which Mr Evelyn exerted himſelf, in order to procure ſo proper as well as ſo magnificent an act of bounty, equally worthy of the Moſt Noble Perſon by whom it was beſtowed, and of that moſt learned body upon whom it was beſtowed (*w*) [*M*]. This was far from being the laſt favour conferred by that noble perſon, at the requeſt of Mr Evelyn, whom he honoured with his friendſhip in the moſt entire degree, after he arrived at the high title of Norfolk; as, on the other hand, Mr Evelyn made no other advantage of his kindneſs towards him, than giving a right direction to the natural generoſity of that excellent perſon, whence flowed ſome particular marks of kindneſs to the Royal Society, which were very gratefully accepted, and ſomething farther would have been procured, if the ſudden and unexpected death of that great and good man (*x*) had not fruſtrated the ſchemes formed by our author for the ſervice of that learned ſociety, to which, from it's very foundation, he was attached with a zeal, which, however warm, never felt any decay [*N*]. Mr Evelyn ſpent his time, at this juncture, in a manner as pleaſing

(*t*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 942.

(*u*) See a farther account of this matter in the notes.

(*w*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. iii. p. 28.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. p. 90.

ments of Architecture, *by Sir* Henry Wotton, and ſome other things, of which, however, hints were met with in our Author's pieces.

XVII. Μυσηριον της Ανομιας; *that is, another part of the* Myſtery *of* Jeſuitiſm, *or the new* Hereſy *of the* Jeſuits, *publickly maintained at* Paris, *in the College of* Clermont, *the twelfth of December* 1661, *declared to all the Biſhops of* France, *according to the copy printed at* Paris. *Together with the* imaginary Hereſy, *in three letters; with divers other particulars relating to this abominable* Myſtery, *never before publiſhed in* Engliſh, Lond. 1664. 8vo. This, indeed, has not our Author's name to it; but, that it is really his, and that he had reaſons for not owning it more publickly, will appear from the following extract of a letter from him to Mr Boyle (17). 'If my book of Architecture do 'not fall into your hands at Oxon, it will come with 'my apology when I ſee you at London, as well as 'another part of the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm, which, 'with ſome other papers concerning that iniquity, I 'have tranſlated, and am now printing at Royſton's, 'but without my name.—So little credit there is in 'theſe days, in doing any thing for the intereſt of 'religion!'

(17) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 402.

XVIII. Kalendarium Hortenſe, *or the* Gardiners Almanack, *directing what he is to do monthly throughout the year, and what fruits and flowers are in prime. By* John Evelyn, Eſq; *Lond.* 1664, 8vo. The ſecond edition of this book, which I take to have been in folio, and bound with the *Sylva* and *Pomona*, as I am ſure it was in the third edition, was dedicated to Abraham Cowley, Eſq; with great complements from our Author, to that excellent and worthy perſon to whom it had been communicated before, which occaſioned Mr Cowley's addreſſing to John Evelyn, Eſq; his mixt eſſay in verſe and proſe, entitled, *the Garden*, which has been always admired as one of the fineſt pieces that fell from the pen of that illuſtrious Poet. We ſhould next inform the reader of the ſeveral editions this curious and uſeful work has gone through; but the truth is, we have it not in our power, the editions of it being long ago out of number, the laſt (at leaſt that we know of) of which any account was kept, was the ninth; ſince that, it is ſaid in the title page, a new edition. The Author made many additions as long as he lived, ſo that the beſt was that printed by way of Appendix to the fourth and laſt edition of the *Sylva* in his life-time, which is alſo, in the fifth edition of that work, printed after his deceaſe; we have had many Kalendars ſince, ſome better and ſome worſe; but it was eaſy to write after ſo fair an original, which, in method and form, as well as matter, is very elegant and conciſe, and withal very plain, ſuited exactly to the capacities of thoſe for whoſe uſe it was deſigned.

[*M*] *Upon whom it was beſtow.*] Theſe hiſtorical marbles, brought chiefly from the iſland of Pharos, and containing the moſt antient and authentick inſcriptions, relative to the State of Athens, were, at an immenſe expence, purchaſed and brought into England, by Thomas Earl of Arundel, to whom our Author, Mr Evelyn, was well known in Italy, and were placed in the garden of his Palace without Temple-Bar; they were afterwards, as the reader has ſeen in the text, removed to Oxford, and are at preſent fixed on the outward wall of the Theatre, marked with the letter (H), to diſtinguiſh them from other antiquities of the ſame kind, and which are placed there likewiſe, that were beſtowed upon the Univerſity by the learned Selden (18). As a farther mark of the gratitude of that learned body, the following inſcription is placed under the arms of the noble family of Howard. 'Æternæ Memoriæ excellentiſſimi Dni. Domini 'Henrici Howard de Caſtle Reiſing, Fratris & Hære-'dis, Thomæ Howard Ducis Norfolciæ, a proſapiâ 'regiâ primi Comitis Angliæ, Comitis Surreiæ Do-'minis & Baronis de Howard, Domini & Baronis Mow-'bray Seagrave Brewes de Gower Fitzallen Clun Of-'waldſtree Maltrevers & Greyſtoke, ad Muley Urſhed 'Marocienſem Imperatorem Legati. Ob Marmora 'hæc Arundelianorum nomine per totum orbem ce-'leberrima, avi ſui Thomæ Arundeliæ Comitis, ſu-'premi Angliæ Mareſcalli, ſummique artium libera-'lium patroni, ſumptibus & ſollicitudine ingentibus, ab 'Ottomanicâ Barbarie vindicata, & in Pallatium gen-'tilitium Londini pridem tradu&ta, ab ipſo dein do-'nata, gratabunda, poſuit Univerſitas Oxonienſis.' that is, *To the perpetual Memory of that moſt excellent Nobleman,* Henry *Lord* Howard, *of* Caſtle Reiſing, *Brother and Heir of* Thomas Howard, *Duke of* Norfolk, *allied to the Royal Line, the firſt Duke of* England, *Earl of* Arundel, *and Primier Earl of* England; *Earl of* Surrey, *Baron of* Howard; and alſo *Baron* Mowbray, Seagrave, Brewes *de* Gower, Fitzallen, Clun, Oſwaldſtree, Maltrevers, *and* Greyſtoke, *Embaſſador to* Muley Urſhed, *Emperor of* Morocco: *on account of theſe ſtiled* Arundelian Marbles, *celebrated throughout the world; by his Uncle* Thomas *Earl of* Arundel, *Earl* Marſhal *of* England, *and the great Patron of the liberal Arts, with immenſe care and expence, reſcued from the barbarous* Turks, *and firſt brought to his* Palace *in* London, *and at length generouſly beſtowed upon* her, *the Univerſity of* OXFORD, *gratefully inſcribed this ſtone.*

(18) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 28.

[*N*] *Which, however warm, never felt any decay.*] This noble perſon was the ſon of Henry Earl of Arundel, and younger Brother to Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was immediately after the Reſtoration, reſtored to the title of Duke of Norfolk. About the ſame time this noble perſon was created Baron Howard, of Caſtle Riſing, in the county of Norfolk; in 1672, he was created Earl of Norwich, and Earl Marſhal of England; in 1678, he ſucceeded his Brother in the title of Duke of Norfolk; and in 1683, he

pleasing as he could wish; he had great credit at Court and great reputation in the world, was one of the Commissioners for rebuilding St Paul's (y), attended the meetings of the Royal Society with great regularity; undertook readily whatever tasks were assigned him to support that reputation, which, from their first institution, they had acquired, and which, by degrees, triumphed over that envy which it raised. He was punctual in the discharge of his office as a Commissioner of the sick and wounded, and when he had leisure retired to his seat at Sayes-Court, where he carried into practice the rules he so judiciously laid down, and made his gardens the entertainment and the wonder of the greatest and most judicious men of those times, most of whom were his particular friends (z). Yet in the midst of his employments, both publick and private, and notwithstanding the continual pains that he bestowed in augmenting and improving the books he had already published, he found leisure sufficient to undertake fresh labours of the same kind, and that too without any diminution of the high character he had obtained by his former writings [O]. He made a journey to Oxford in the summer of 1669, where, on the 15th of July, he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law, as a mark of the gratitude of that learned body (a), and of the just sense they had of the credit derived to them from his being educated in Baliol-college. It was indeed a singular point of Mr Evelyn's felicity, that all the honours he obtained, and all the posts to which he was raised, were the meer rewards of his merit, and bestowed upon him without the least sollicitation. Thus, after King Charles II had tried, with very little effect, to promote trade, according to the advice of persons engaged therein (b), when he thought proper to erect

(y) See Mr Evelyn's Dedication of his treatise of Architecture to Sir Chr. Wren.

(z) Life of Lord Keeper Guilford, p. 286.

(a) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 180.

(b) North's Examen of the Compleat Hist. of England.

he died at his house in Arundel-Street (19). His friendship for Mr Evelyn began early, and lasted without interruption, so long as they lived; as appears from a solemn memorial of his gratitude, on the part of Mr Evelyn (20), besides several occasional testimonies of deep respect in his works. It was at the request of Mr Evelyn, that his Grace gave several testimonies of regard to the Royal Society, and bestowed upon them the Arundel Library, which was a curious and valuable collection (21). He likewise intended to have given a most noble statue of Minerva to the University of Oxford, but his unexpected death prevented Mr Evelyn from getting it timely removed (22).

(19) Collins's Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. p. 90.

(20) See his Dedication of the Idea of the Perfection of Painting to his Grace.

(21) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. IV, p. 120, 121.

(22) *Numismata*: or, a Discourse on Medals, p. 42, 65.

[O] *By his former writings.*] It is a point of justice due to the merit and memory of our author, to remark, that though he wrote so much, and published so many books, upon such a diversity of subjects, yet is there none of them that carries any mark of haste or negligence; on the contrary, they appear all of them to have cost much study and attention, and to perform more than is promised by their titles; some instances of which will appear in this note.

XIX. *The* History *of the* three *late famous* Impostors, *viz.* Padre Ottomano, *pretended Son and Heir to the late Grand Signior*; Mahomet Bei, *a pretended Prince of the* Ottoman *Family, but, in truth, a* Wallachian *Counterfeit*; *and* Sabbatai Sevi, *the supposed* Messiah *of the* Jews, *in the Year* 1666; *with a brief Account of the Ground and Occasion of the present War between the* Turk *and the* Venetian: *Together with the Cause of the final Extirpation, Destruction, and Exile, of the* Jews *out of the Empire of* Persia. Lond. 1668, 8vo.

This piece is dedicated to Henry Earl of Arlington, and, as I before observed, that Mr Evelyn's Dedications are filled with curious facts, rather than a crowd of complements; so, by giving him this, I shall at once justify that observation, and gratify his curiosity, as to the contents of a book that is now become very scarce; it runs thus:

My Lord,

'THESE ensuing discourses entitle their original, to the noble industry and affection to truth of an illustrious person, and to the great and worthy ingenuity of a Persian stranger, lately amongst us, from whose mouth I have received the two following first narrations, and from whom I have been abundantly satisfied, that the particulars are of undoubted verity. For the third, and last, which concerns the story of that impudent Jew, it will need little apology, since it proceeds not only from an eye-witness, but from the hand of a person who has already gratified the publick with the fruit of many rare and excellent observations, and which becomes due to your Lordship upon a just claim; so as your Lordship having been so pleased with the first relation, cannot be less with the following; though I should never have presumed to be their deferent in this unpolished dress, had I not received some assurances of your pardon.

'It will doubtless appear very strange, that impostures of this magnitude should so long abuse the world, were there no other interest in it than the vanity of the persons who assume to themselves the titles. Whatever the reason of it be, here we have matter of fact; and it was more than time the world should at last be disabused, which has been so long imposed on, and even laboured under the common mistake, That the cause of this obstinate war and quarrel 'twixt the Turk and the Venetian, was grounded only upon the taking Sultan Osman and his mother, pretended son and wife of Sultan Ibrahim, by the gallies of Malta. This was, my Lord, the believed report at my being at Venice the very year this action fortuned, and it has since gained credit, and filled our ears, and all the Histories of this age, as a thing unquestionable; but, with what pretence of truth, these papers will both inform your Lordship, and give day to some other passages worthy the notice of inquisitive men, and of a conjuncture so seasonable for it, while the eyes and thoughts of all Europe are intent upon the success of Candia. What concerns the Wallachian vagrant will be a service both to his Majesty and other Christian Princes, whom this bold impostor has had the front to abuse, but, *eripitur persona*, the mask is now off, and I have no more to add than that of being, *&c.*

This Dedication is subscribed J. E. and certainly if Mr Wood had seen it, he would not have said as he does, *I know nothing yet to the contrary but this may be a translation* (23). The nature and value of this little piece was much better known abroad, one of the best received Literary Journals extant having given, though at some distance of time, a very just character of it (24), with this very remarkable circumstance, that the pretended Mahomet Bei was at that very juncture in the city of Leipsick. There is added, at the end of this piece, an account of the extirpation of the Jews in Persia, during the reign of Shah Abbas the Second, which is not so large or perfect as the rest, but then the author gives a hint of this, and does not press any thing farther than he is supported by authorities. He mentions a person, who, the very year that the book was published, took upon him the title of brother to the famous Count Serini, and that he had the misfortune to be shipwrecked in the West of England (25), by which he imposed upon persons of quality, till, by unluckily calling for drink upon the road in very audible English, he discovered the cheat, and was obliged to renounce his new dignity to avoid Bridewell. He farther remarks with respect to Sabatai Sevi, that he was the twenty-fifth false Messiah that had attempted to impose upon the Jews, even according to their own account.

(23) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

(24) Act. Eruditorum Lipsiensium, A. D. 1690, p. 605.

(25) These passages are in the Preface.

XX. *Publick*

erect a particular Board for that purpose, and named several persons of great rank to be members

XX. Publick employment, *and* an active life *preferred to* solitude, *in a reply to a late ingenious* Essay *of a contrary title*. Lond. 1667. in 8vo. This was written, in answer to a discourse of Sir George Mackenzie's, preferring solitude to publick employment, which was at the time of its publication much admired, and as our Author apprehended *this* might prove an encouragement to indolence and timidity, he therefore wrote against it. We have in the Transactions of the Royal Society a character of this, and the piece before mentioned, which follows the account given of the second edition of the *Sylva*, and is worthy the reader's perusal (26). 'Besides other 'treatises which are anonymous, says this account, 'as being of a reserved nature, but are nevertheless, 'entirely for the honour of the King and this Kingdom, and generally for the good of all men, he 'hath lately made two considerable excursions, in *one* 'of which, tracts for a caution of all future ages, and 'to denote the general aptness of mankind to be 'deluded and deceived, he hath published a well 'grounded history of the *three* late famous impostors, 'the first, merely casual and innocent, in *Padre Ottomanno*; the second, bold and impudent, in *Mahomet Bei*; the third, a confident cheat, in *Sabbatai Sevi*, the Jews counterfeit *Messias:* in the other 'tract, *publick employment* and *an active life* are preferred to *solitude*. Thus he, and other generous 'persons, can, in the crowd of publick business, find 'or make leisure to oblige all men; whilst morose 'schoolmen and narrow criticks make it their main 'business, to out go satan in their false accusations, 'disingenuous surmises, and immodest disturbances of 'the noblest endeavours and atchievements.'

(26) Philosoph. Transact. No. 53.

XXI. *An* Idea *of the* perfection *of* Painting, *demonstrated from the principles of art, and by examples conformable to the observations, which* Pliny *and* Quintilian *have made upon the most celebrated* Pieces *of the* antient Painters, *parallel'd with some works of the most famous modern Painters*, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, *and* N. Poussin. *Written in French by* Roland Freart, *Sieur de* Cambray, *and rendred English by* J. E. *Esquire, Fellow of the Royal Society*. Lond. 1668. 8vo. This translation, is dedicated to Henry Howard of Norfolk, heir apparent to that Dukedom, and the dedication is dated from *Sayes-Court*, June the 24th 1668. In the preface, he observes, that the reader will find in this discourse, divers useful remarks, especially, where the Author 'treats of *Costume* (27), which we, continues he, have 'interpreted *Decorum*, as the nearest expression our 'language will bear to it. And, I was glad our Author had reproved it, in so many instances, because, 'it not only grows daily more licentious, but even 'ridiculous and intolerable. But, it is hoped this 'may universally be reformed, when our modern 'workmen shall consider, that neither the exactness 'of their design, nor skilfulness in colouring, has been 'able to defend their greatest predecessors from just 'reproaches, who have been faulty in this particular. 'I could exemply in many others, whom our Author 'has omitted, and there is none but takes notice, 'what injury it has done the fame of some of our 'best reputed Painters, and how indecorous it is to 'introduce circumstances, wholly improper to the 'usages and genius of the places, where our histories 'are supposed to have been acted.' Mr Evelyn then remarks, that this was not only the fault of Bassano, who would be ever bringing in his wife, children, and servants, his dog, and his cat, and very kitchen-stuff, after the Paduan mode; but of the great Titian himself, Georgion, Tintoret, and the rest, as Paulo Veronese is observed also to have done in his story of Pharaoh's daughter drawing Moses out of the river, attended with a guard of Swisses. Malvogius likewise, in a picture then in the King's gallery at Whitehall, not only represents our first parents with navels upon their bellies, but has placed an artificial stone fountain carved with imagery, in the midst of his Paradise. Nor, does that excellent and learned Painter Rubens escape without censure, not only for making most of his figures of the shapes of brawny Flemings, but for other Sphalmata, and circumstances of the like nature, tho' in some, he has acquitted himself to admiration, in the due observation of Costume, particularly in his crucifixes, &c. Raphael Urbino was, doubtless, one of the first who reformed these inadvertencies, but it was more conspicuous in his latter, than in his former pieces. 'As for Michael Angelo, 'continues Mr Evelyn, tho' I heartily consent with 'our critic in reproving that almost idolatrous veneration of his works, who hath certainly prodigiously 'abused the art, not only in the table this discourse 'arraigns him for, but several more which I have 'seen, yet I conceive, he might have omitted some 'of those imbittered reproaches he has reviled him 'with, who doubtless was one of the greatest masters 'of his time, and however he might succeed as to 'the *Decorum*, was hardly exceeded for what he performed in Sculpture, and the statuary art by many 'even of the antients themselves, and haply by none 'of the moderns, witness his Moses, Christus in Gremio, and several other figures at Rome, to say nothing of his talent in Architecture, and the obligation the world has to his memory, for recovering 'many of its most useful ornaments and members 'out of the neglected fragments, which lay so long 'buried, and for vindicating that antique and magnificent manner of building, from the trifling of 'Goths and Barbarians.' He observes next, that the usual reproach of Painting, has been the want of judgment in Perspective, and bringing more into history than is justifiable, upon one aspect without turning the eye to each figure in particular, and multiplying the points of sight, which is a point even Monsieur Freart, for all the pains he has taken to magnify that celebrated decision of Paris, has failed in. For the knowing in that art easily perceive, that even Raphael himself has not so exactly observed it, since, instead of one, as Monsieur Freart takes it to be, and as indeed it ought to have been, there are no less than four or five, as du Bosse hath well observed in his treatise of the *converted Painter*, where, by the way also, he judiciously numbers amongst the faults against Costume, those Landskips, grotesque figures, &c. which we frequently find abroad especially, for in our country we have few or none of those graceful supplements of steeples painted, horizontally and vertically on the vaults and ceilings of cupola's, since we have no examples for it from the Antients, who allowed no more than a frett to the most magnificent and costly of those which they erected. But, would you know from whence this universal caution in most of their works proceeded, and that the best of our modern Painters and Architects have succeeded better than others of that profession, it must be considered, that they were learned men, good Historians, and generally skilled in the best antiquities, such were Raphael, and doubtless his scholar Julio, and if Polydore arrived not to the glory of letters, he yet attained to a rare habit of the antient gusto, as may be interpreted from most of his designs and paintings. Leon Baptist Alberti was skilled in all the politer parts of learning to a prodigy, and has written several curious things in the Latin Tongue. We know that of later times, Rubens was a person universally learned, as may be seen in several Latin Epistles of his to the greatest scholars of his age. And Nicholas Poussin the Frenchman, who is so much celebrated and so deservedly, did it seems arrive to this by his indefatigable industry, 'as the present famous Statuary, Bernini now 'living, says Mr Evelyn, has also done to so universal a mastery, that not many years since he is reported to have built a theatre at Rome, for the 'adornment whereof, he not only cut the figures and 'painted the scenes, but wrote the play, and composed the musick, which was all in recitativo. And 'I am persuaded, that all this is not yet by far so 'much as that miracle and ornament of our age and 'country, Dr Christopher Wren, were able to perform, if he were so disposed, and so encouraged, 'because he is master of so many admirable advantages beyond them. I alledge these examples partly 'to incite, and partly to shew the dignity and vast 'comprehension of this rare art, and that for a man 'to arrive to its utmost perfection, he should be al-

(27) This piece is now become exceeding scarce, and is very much admired by the lovers of Painting.

members of that Council, he likewiſe appointed Mr Evelyn amongſt thoſe, that were recommended purely to that honour by their abilities (*c*). This preferment was ſo welcome to a perſon of his diſintereſted temper and true publick ſpirit, that he thought he could not expreſs his gratitude better, than by digeſting in a ſhort and plain diſcourſe the chief heads of the Hiſtory of Trade and Navigation, which he accordingly did, and dedicated that ſmall piece to the King, which was very graciouſly received, and is allowed to contain as much matter in as ſmall a compaſs, as any that was ever written upon a topick ſo copious, as well as ſo important (*d*) [*P*]. As this promotion not only opened the means, but alſo required the employing many of his hours in the ſervice of his country, it naturally diverted him in ſome meaſure from his ſtudies; but, notwithſtanding this, when the Royal Society (*e*) found it requiſite to demand the aſſiſtance of ſome of it's principal Members, and to exact from them the tribute of certain diſſertations upon weighty and philoſophical ſubjects, he did not plead either his age or his avocations in excuſe, but chearfully and vigorouſly ſet about the taſk that was aſſigned him, and performed it as happily as the Society or himſelf could wiſh, as the reader will learn at the bottom of the page [*Q*]. Theſe were all the preferments he met with in that reign, and though they were

(*c*) This was the original of the Board of Trade which ſtill ſubſiſts.

(*d*) See this explained in the note.

(*e*) See his Letter before his Philoſophical Diſcourſe upon Earth.

' moſt as univerſal as the Orator in Cicero, and the ' Architect in Vitruvius. But certainly, ſome tincture ' in Hiſtory, the Opticks and Anatomy, are abſolutely ' requiſite, and more in the opinion of our Author, ' than to be a ſteady Deſigner, and ſkilled in the tem' pering and applying of colours, which amongſt moſt ' of our modern workmen go now for the only ac' compliſhments of a Painter.'

[*P*] *As well as important.*] We have in the text ſhewn the occaſion and ground of this treatiſe, which from its bevity deſerves not the name of a book, ſo much as of a pamphlet. The title at large runs thus,

XXII. Navigation *and* Commerce, *their original and progreſs, containing a ſuccinct account of* Traffic *in general, its benefits and improvements, of diſcoveries, wars, and conflicts at ſea, from the original of* Navigation *to this day, with ſpecial regard to the* Engliſh Nation, *their ſeveral voyages and expeditions to the beginning of our late difference with* Holland, *in which his Majeſty's title to the dominion of the ſea is aſſerted, againſt the* novel *and* later *Pretenders. By* J. Evelyn, Eſq; S. R. S. Lond. 1674. 8vo.

There is a dedication prefixed to the KING, in which he takes notice of that relation, in which he ſtood by his new office to his Majeſty, which gave him the boldneſs to bring ſo inconſiderable an offering into his preſence. There is alſo a very ſuccinct account of it, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (28), and the truth is, that moſt people comparing the pompous title page, with the diminutive ſize of the book, have from thence formed a concluſion to its diſadvantage, and conſequently in ſome degree to the diſcredit of its Author. But whoever examines it narrowly, and weighs every part of it with due conſideration, will, if I miſtake not highly, entertain a different notion of this diſcourſe, and think it at leaſt equal to any thing we have of this gentleman's writing, which, ſo long as uſeful learning is eſteemed, and the Engliſh language underſtood, will be thought no mean character. In order to have a right notion of it, we muſt firſt of all reflect on the Author's deſign in writing it; the nature and copiouſneſs of the ſubject, and the perſons for whoſe uſe it was principally intended. As to Mr Evelyn's deſign it was plainly this, to digeſt into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible in the cleareſt method, and in the moſt flowing language, the Hiſtory of Commerce and Navigation in general, of thoſe of England in particular, and of the rights of the Britiſh Crown to the dominion of the ſea. Theſe were ſubjects equally important and extenſive, but it was by no means, his inclination to treat them in a full or in a ſcientifick manner, tho' this ſhort treatiſe is an abundant proof, that no man living was more capable of doing it, if that had been his view. But the truth is, he meant only to ſkim the cream, and to repreſent as ſuccinctly and fairly as poſſible, the ſtrongeſt and moſt intereſting motives, to make theſe ſubjects the ſtudy of Thoſe whom it moſt concerns the nation, ſhould have them in their heads and at their hearts. In ſhort, he meant it as a ſort of brief introduction for the uſe of thoſe noble and great perſonages, whom the King, for the honour of that board, had thought fit to aſſociate with him in this commiſſion (29). It was neceſſary to fix their attention, that the title ſhould promiſe much, it was no leſs requiſite, to ſecure a reading, that the piece ſhould be very ſhort. Take it in this light, it will appear inſtead of a ſuperficial a very wonderful performance, for it comprehends in little more than a hundred pages, an univerſal hiſtory of theſe matters, from the origin of trade down to that time, and upon a ſtrict review it will be found, that every material point is touched therein, and this at once in ſo ſprightly and ſo judicious a manner, as to excite a deſire in the ingenious and inquiſitive reader,* to ſearch the ſeveral topicks to the bottom; and for their aſſiſtance in this reſpect, the beſt and moſt authentic Authors are indicated throughout, and tho' the treatiſe is ſo ſmall, yet there is an accurate index or table at the end, the ſlighteſt review of which will plainly demonſtrate the truth of all that I have ſaid. Upon the whole, inſtead of cenſuring Mr Evelyn for publiſhing ſo trite a pamphlet, upon affairs of ſuch national concern, we ought rather to applaud him for having reduced into an hour's reading, with much more labour to himſelf, than if he had wrote a great book, things of ſo much moment, and add to it our wiſhes, that ſome judicious perſon would make his learned diſſertation, the text, and within the compaſs of a moderate Quarto, illuſtrate, by proper notes, ſo excellent an abridgment of all that is requiſite to be known, upon matters that will never loſe their uſe, and which import this nation more than any other, to which nothing can contribute ſo much as their being fully explained.

(28) Philoſoph. Tranſ. No. 114.

[*Q*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The title of this learned diſcourſe, which will be ever eſteemed and has been often reprinted runs thus:

XXIII. TERRA: *A* Philoſophical Diſcourſe *of* Earth, *relating to the culture and improvement of it for vegetation, and the propagation of plants,* &c. *as it was preſented to the Royal Society,* April 29th 1675. *By* J. Evelyn, Eſq; F. R. S. London 1675. fol. and 8vo.

There is prefixed to this diſcourſe, a letter from the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society, and our Author's anſwer; as theſe are very ſhort, and altogether hiſtorical, we will give them to the reader, and refer him to the Philoſophical Tranſactions, for a ſhort, full, and accurate account of the work (30).—His Lordſhip's letter runs thus— ' Sir, ' the Council of the Royal Society, conſidering with ' themſelves the great importance of having the pub' lick meeting of the ſaid Society conſtantly provided ' with entertainments ſuitable to the deſign of their ' inſtitution, have thought fit to undertake to contri' bute each of them one, not doubting, but that many ' of the Fellows of the Society will join with them ' in carrying on ſuch an undertaking, and being well ' perſuaded of your approbation of this their purpoſe, ' ſo much tending to the reputation and ſupport of ' the ſociety, they deſire that you will be pleaſed to ' undertake for one, and to name any Thurſday after ' the fourteenth of January next, ſuch as ſhall be ' moſt convenient for you, when you will preſent the ' ſociety at one of their publick meetings by yourſelf, ' or ſome other of the Fellows for you, with ſuch a ' diſcourſe grounded upon, or leading to, philoſophi' cal experiments on a ſubject of your own choice; ' in doing of which you will benefit the ſociety, and ' oblige, Sir, &c.

Lond. Dec. 28th 1674.

(30) Philoſoph. Tranſactions, No. 119.

(29) It was in thoſe days known to have anſwered the author's aim very effectually.

Mr

were none of them very conſiderable in reſpect of profit, yet they ſeem to have given him perfect content, and he was ſo eaſy in his own circumſtances, ſo good an œconomiſt, and ſo true a Patriot, that while he daily ſaw freſh improvements made in every county throughout the kingdom, and the commerce of the nation continually extended, he thought himſelf perfectly happy, and never failed to expreſs his ſentiments in that reſpect with all the warmth and freedom imaginable. The ſevere winter of 1683 gave ſome interruption to his domeſtick enjoyments, the froſt committing dreadful depredations in his fine gardens at Sayes-Court, of which he ſent a full and very pathetick account to the Royal Society, in the beginning of the ſucceeding ſpring *(f)* [*R*]. After the acceſſion of King (*f*) Philoſoph. Tranſactions, No. 158.

Mr Evelyn's anſwer runs thus.

'*My Lord*, I have, in obedience to your Lordſhip, 'and the irreſiſtible ſuffrages of that ſociety, over which 'you preſide, reſigned the papers to be diſpoſed of 'as you think fit: I hear your Lordſhip's ſentence is 'they ſhould be made publick. Why ſhould not a 'thouſand things of infinitely more value, daily en-'riching their collection, and which would better 'juſtify the laudable progreſs of that aſſembly, be 'oftner produced as ſome of late have been? This, 'my Lord, would obviate all unkind objections, and 'cover the infirmities of the preſent diſcourſe, with 'things indeed worthy our inſtitution. But as I am 'to obey your Lordſhip's commands, ſo both your 'Lordſhip and the ſociety are accountable for pub-'liſhing the imperfections of, My Lord, &c.'

As theſe letters fully declare the occaſion and nature of this diſcourſe, as well as the means of its being made publick, we may reſt ſatisfied, that notwithſtanding the great modeſty of Mr Evelyn, this paſt in the opinion of the ſociety for a very extraordinary performance, otherwiſe they would never have cauſed it to be publiſhed, much leſs in the manner they did, nor is it leſs certain, that it every way anſwered their intention, it being univerſally well received abroad, as well as at home, and excited a juſt eſteem for that learned body.

[*R*] *Of the ſucceeding ſpring.*] It is a thing univerſally known, and by ſome ſtill remembered, that the winter of 1683 was the coldeſt of any, the ſignal effects of which have been recorded by credible authors. Mr Evelyn's letter therefore is a very great curioſity; it is dated from Sayes-Court, Deptford, April 14, 1684, and, excluſive of an admirable hiſtory, contains, in a very narrow compaſs, a multitude of uſeful remarks, as well as entertaining particulars. 'As to 'timber trees, ſays he, I have not many here of any 'conſiderable age or ſtature, except a few elms, 'which having been decaying many years, one cannot 'well find to have received any freſh wounds, diſtin-'guiſhable from old cracks and hollowneſſes; and in-'deed I am told by divers, that elms have not ſuffered 'as the great oaks have done, nor do I find, amongſt 'numerable of that ſpecies (elms) which I have planted, 'and that are now about twenty-five and thirty years 'ſtanding, any of them touched. The ſame I ob-'ſerve of limes, walnuts, aſh, beech, hornbeams, 'birch, cheſnut, and other foreſters: but, as I ſaid, 'mine are young comparatively, and yet one would 'think that ſhould leſs protect them becauſe more 'tender, ſo as it ſeems the rifting ſo much complained 'of has happened chiefly among the over-grown trees, 'eſpecially oaks: my Lord Weymouth made his la-'mentation to me, and ſo has the Earl of Cheſterfield, 'Lord Ferrers, Sir William Fermor, and others con-'cerned in the ſame calamity, which I mention be-'cauſe of their diſtant habitations. But if rightly I 'remember, one of theſe noble perſons lately told me, 'that, ſince the thaw, the trees which were exceed-'ingly ſplit were come together and cloſed again, and 'I eaſily believe it, but, that they are really as ſolid 'as before, I doubt will not appear when they ſhall 'come to be examined by the axe, and converted to 'uſe: nor has this accident happened only to ſtanding 'timber, but to that which has been felled and ſea-'ſoned, as Mr Shiſh, the Maſter Builder in his Ma-'jeſty's ſhip-yard here, informed me: ſo much for 'our *indiginæ*.

'As for exoticks, I fear my cork trees will hardly 'recover, but the ſpring is yet ſo very backward, 'even in this warm and dry ſpot of mine, that I can-'not pronounce any thing poſitively, eſpecially of 'ſuch whoſe bark is very thick and rugged, ſuch as is 'the cork, enzina, and divers of the reſinous trees. 'The conſtantinopolitan, or horſe-cheſnut, is turgid 'with buds, and ready to explain it's leaf. My cedars 'I think are loſt; the ilex and ſcarlet oak, not ſo; 'the arbutus, doubtful; and ſo are bays, but ſome 'will eſcape, and moſt of them repullulate and ſpring 'afreſh, if cut down near the earth at the latter end of 'the month. The Scotch fir ſpruce, and white Spa-'niſh, which laſt uſes to ſuffer in their tender buds by 'the ſpring froſts, have received no damage this win-'ter; I cannot ſay the ſame of the pine which bears 'the greater cone, but other Norways and pinaſters 'are freſh; laurel is only diſcoloured, and ſome of the 'woody branches mortified, which being cut to the 'quick will ſoon put forth again, it being a ſucculent 'plant. Amongſt our ſhrubs, roſemary is entirely loſt: 'and, to my great ſorrow, becauſe I had not only 'beautiful hedges of it, but ſufficient to afford me 'flowers for the making a very conſiderable quantity 'of the Queen of Hungary's celebrated water: ſo uni-'verſal I fear is the deſtruction of this excellent plant, 'not only over England, but our neighbour countries 'more ſouthward, that we muſt raiſe our next hopes 'from the ſeed. Halimus, or ſea purſelan, of which 'I had a pretty hedge, is alſo periſhed; and ſo ano-'ther of French furzes; the cypreſs are all of them 'ſcorched, and ſome to death, eſpecially ſuch as were 'kept ſhorn in pyramids, but amongſt great numbers 'there will divers eſcape, after they are well chaſtiſed, 'that is, with a tough hazel or other wand to beat off 'their dead and duſty leaves, which growing much 'cloſer than other ſhrubs, hinder the air and dews from 'refreſhing the interior parts. This diſcipline I uſe 'to all my tonſile ſhrubs, with good ſucceſs, as oft as 'winter parches them.

'The berry-bearing ſavine, which, if well under-'ſtood and cultivated, were the only beſt ſuccedaneum 'to cypreſs, has not ſuffered in the leaſt; it perfectly 'reſembles the cypreſs, and grows very tall and thick. 'I think the arbor thuya is alive, and ſo is the Ameri-'can acaia, acanthus, paliurus, pomgranad; my lauruſti-'nus looks ſuſpiciouſly; ſome large and old alaturnus's 'are killed, eſpecially ſuch as were more expoſed to 'the ſun, whereas thoſe that grow in the ſhade eſcape; 'the reaſon of which, I conjecture to be from the re-'ciprocations of being ſomewhat relaxed every day, 'and then made rigid and ſtiff again all night; which 'bending and unbending, ſo often opening and cloſing 'the parts, does exceedingly mortify them and all o-'ther tender plants, which, growing in ſhady places, 'undergo but one thaw and change. Moſt of theſe 'will yet revive again at the root, being cut cloſe to 'ground: the phillyreas anguſti, and ſerratifolio's, both 'of them incomparably the beſt for ornamental hedges 'of any the perennial greens I know, have hardly been 'ſenſible of the leaſt impreſſion, more than tarniſhing 'of their leaves; no more have the Spaniſh jaſmines 'and Perſians; and I enumerate theſe particulars the 'more minutely, that gentlemen, who are curious, 'may take notice what plants they may truſt to a-'broad in all events, for I ſpeak only of ſuch as are 'expoſed.

'As for the choicer rarities, which are ſet in for 'hyemation, they certainly eſcape, or are impaired, 'accordingly as they are treated by the more or leſs 'experienced and induſtrious gardner, or commodiouſ-'neſs of the conſervatory; but to ſay what may be 'added on this ſubject, would require a large chapter, 'not a letter; I would in the mean time adviſe ſuch as 'have ſuffered detriment in their green-houſes, not to 'deſpair, when they ſee the leaves of their myrtles, 'oranges, oleanders, jaſmines, and other precious 'ſhrubs, ruſſet or altogether ſhrivelled and falling; but

'to

King James, we find him, in December 1685, appointed, with the Lord Viſcount Tiviot of the kingdom of Scotland, and Col. Robert Philips, one of the Commiſſioners for executing the great office of Lord Privy-Seal, in the abſence of Henry Earl of Clarendon Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he held till March 11, 1686, when the King was pleaſed to make Henry Baron Arundel of Wardour Lord Privy-Seal (g). He wrote nothing under this reign at all. After the Revolution he was Treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital, and though he was then much in years, yet he wrote ſome, and tranſlated other pieces, amongſt which we are to reckon that labour of his, which has been ſo highly commended by the beſt judges, and which will do laſting honour to his country (b) [S]. One

(g) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

(b) Nicholſon's Engl. Hiſtorical Library, p. 248.

' to cut them to the quick, plaiſter the wounds, and ' plunge their caſes and pots, trimmed with freſh ' mould, &c. in a warm bed, carefully refreſhed, ' ſhaded, aired, and treated as ſick patients, and as ' the prudent gardner beſt knows how. But above all, ' that he be ſure not to expoſe them till theſe eaſtern ' winds (which I call our Engliſh Etefians, and which ' makes our ſprings ſo uncomfortable, when we think ' Winter and all danger paſt) be qualified; for they ' are deadly to all our plants abroad, and frequently ' do us more prejudice than the moſt churliſh winters, ' as commonly finiſhing the deſtruction of what the ' froſts have ſpared; nor are we to be flattered with a ' warm day or two, which are apt to tempt gardners ' to ſet out their plants before the end of April, or that ' we find the wiſe mulberry put forth, which is certainly the moſt faithful monitor; nor ſhould we indeed cut or tranſplant any of the perennials, till of ' themſelves they begin to ſprout.

' I need ſay nothing of holly, yew, box, juniper, ' &c. hardy and ſpontaneous to our country; and yet, ' to my grief again, I find an holly ſtandard, of near ' one hundred years old, drooping and of doubtful ' aſpect; and a very beautiful hedge, tho' indeed much ' younger, being clipp'd about Michaelmas, is mortified ' near a foot beneath the top, and in ſome places to ' the very ground; ſo as there is nothing ſeems proof ' againſt ſuch a winter, which is late cut and expoſed. ' This hedge does alſo grow againſt the ſouth, and is ' very ruſſet, whilſt the contrary ſide is as freſh and ' green as ever; and in all other places of my plantations that are ſhaded, the unſhorn hollies maintain ' their verdure, and are, I judge, impregnable againſt ' all aſſaults of Weather. Among the fruit-trees and murals, none ſeem to have ſuffered, ſave figs; but they ' being cut down, will ſpring again at the root.

' The vines have eſcaped; and of the eſculent plants ' and ſallads, moſt, except artichokes, which are univerſally loſt; and, what I prefer before any ſallad ' whatever eaten raw when young, my ſampier, is all ' rotted to the very root; how to repair my loſs I ' know not, for I could never make any of the ſeed ' which came from the rock ſampier (tho' mine were ' of the very kind) to grow. The arboreſcent, and ' other ſedums, aloes, &c. tho' houſed, periſhed with ' me; but the yucca and opuntia eſcaped. Tulips ' many are loſt, and ſo the Conſtantinople-narciſſus, ' and ſuch tuberoſæ as were not kept in the chimney-corner, where was continual fire. Some anemonies ' appear, but I believe many are rotted; but I have ' made no great ſearch in the flowery parterre, only I ' find that moſt capillaries ſpring, and other humble ' and repent plants, notwithſtanding all this rigorous ' ſeaſon. My tortoiſe, which, by his conſtant burying ' himſelf in the earth at approach of winter, I looked ' upon as a kind of plant-animal, happening to be obſtructed by a vine-root from mining to the depth he ' was uſually wont to inter, is found ſtark dead, after ' having many years eſcaped the ſevereſt winter. Of ' fiſh I have loſt very few; and the nightingals, which ' for being a ſhort wing'd bird, and ſo exceeding fat at ' the time of the year we commonly ſuppoſe them to ' change the climate, whereas indeed they are then ' hardly able to flee an hundred yards, are as briſk and ' frolick as ever; nor do I think they alter their ſummer ſtations, whatever become of them all winter. ' I know not yet of any body who has given tolerable ' ſatisfaction, in this particular, amongſt our Ornithologiſts.'

[S] *Which will do laſting honour to his country.*] The following treatiſes were publiſhed within the period aſſigned in the text. We know nothing of the firſt, except that it has had a place in the catalogue of our author's Works, from which therefore we have no right to remove it; the ſecond is a tranſlation, and annexed to another and larger work of the ſame author's; the third is that work which we have ſo much commended, and to which this note principally refers.

XXIV. Mundus Muliebris: *or, the* Ladies Dreſſing-Room *unlocked, and her Toilette ſpread. In Burleſque: Together with the* Fop-Dictionary, *compiled for the Uſe of the* Fair-Sex. Lond. 1690, 4*to*.

XXV. *Monſieur* de la Quintinye's *Treatiſe of* Orange-Trees, *with the raiſing of* Melons, *omitted in the* French *Editions; made* Engliſh *by* John Evelyn, Eſq; Lond. 1693.

This is added to the *Compleat Gardner*, written by the ſame author; tranſlated and publiſhed in folio, with theſe pieces, by Mr Evelyn. We are told at the beginning, that, about twenty years before, Monſ. de la Quintinye being in England, and making our author a viſit at his houſe, he requeſted of him ſome directions in relation to melons, for the cultivation of which that French gentleman was remarkably famous, who ſent them over accordingly to our author from Paris; and he aſſures us, that his great motive in publiſhing them, was to put into the hands of the world in general, and of the lovers of the art of gardening in particular, the very beſt directions, that, in reference to this curious ſubject, had ever been given. Theſe inſtructions make in the whole but one half ſheet: *the treatiſe of oranges* is larger, and is contained in thirteen chapters, excluſive of the preface; yet the chapters are of no great length, making in all not more than nine ſheets. The method is very natural and exact, the treatiſe full of curious obſervations; and therefore it was a great ſervice rendered to the publick by Mr Evelyn, to annex it to the tranſlation of the reſt of this great man's works, by which they are made compleat.

XXVI. Numismata: *A Diſcourſe of* Medals, *antient and modern; together with ſome account of* Heads *and* Effigies *of illuſtrious and famous* Perſons, *in* Sculps *and* Taille Douce, *of whom we have no* Medals *extant, and of the Uſes to be derived from them. To which is added, a* Digreſſion *concerning* Phyſiognomy. *By* J. Evelyn, S. R. S. Lond. 1697, folio.

There is prefixed to this book, a ſhort but very affectionate dedication in Latin, to the only ſon and heir of Sidney Lord Godolphin, then Francis Godolphin, Eſq; now the Right Honourable Francis Earl of Godolphin, of whoſe father, Mr Evelyn, as indeed what good man does not? makes moſt honourable mention, as of his moſt intimate and moſt faithful friend, recommending to his young patron the cultivation of thoſe ſhining virtues, and great abilities, which were inherent to his family; and remarking to him, his peculiar happineſs in deſcending from a line equally diſtinguiſhed for parts and probity. The ingenious author has entered on his noble and extenſive deſign by informing the reader in his epiſtle, that having begun this work about five years before, he deſiſted from proſecuting it, upon the publiſhing of Mr Walker's treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject; but finding ſome particularities that admitted of a further improvement, he went on again with his own diſcourſe, and, after a ſhort introduction, bewailing the failure of marbles, ſtatues, trophies, &c. in perpetuating memorable actions.

He begins his *firſt* chapter with the uſe of medals, either made for money, or to preſerve the memory of worthy actions; obſerving their very early uſe in the world, and that the firſt Roman money was braſs, without any mark at all; then ſhews the original of ſtamping, which was for a teſtimonial of their being of ſuch a weight. The firſt ſilver ſtamped at Rome, was a little before the firſt Punic war, and gold not till about ſixty-two years after, at which time, the worth of gold to ſilver, was as twelve and a half to one, tho' in the earlieſt times it bore but a decuple value among the

Romans

One would have imagined, that being now on the borders of fourſcore, and having been at leaſt half a century an author, he would have thought it no diſhonour to have ſued out his Writ of Eaſe, when, being full of years and glory, he might have laid down his pen with as general an approbation from the candid judges of that age, as their fathers had ſhewn to thoſe treatiſes which fell from it when he firſt took it up. But Mr Evelyn was not of that ſort of men who are glad of a plauſible excuſe of retiring from labour, notwithſtanding nature furniſhes them with ſtrength to go through it; on the contrary, he conſidered his health and his abilities, and, above all, his improved ſtock of knowledge from experience, as talents intruſted with him by Providence for the benefit of mankind; and he ſcorned in his old age to perform leſs diligently his duty, than, from a true principle of publick ſpirit, he had done in his youth. It was to this excellent frame of mind, ſo much admired and ſo little imitated, that we owe his laſt treatiſe, at leaſt his laſt new treatiſe upon ſallets (*i*), in which it is hard to ſay which deſerves to be commended moſt, the agreeable vivacity of his language, or the wonderful maturity of his judgment [*T*]. Happy old man, who ſtill

(*i*) See this farther explained in the note.

Romans and Greeks. Next, coming to ſpeak more particularly of medals, he is of opinion, that they did not, when firſt made, paſs for money, but were ſtampt in memory of particular famous actions or perſons. But upon the inundation of the Goths, the luſtre of medals ended, with all the more polite arts. He then treats of the materials uſed for money, whether leather, paper, earth, porcelain, coral, ſhells, linnen, or the like. He in the next place ſpeaks of the time when the ſeveral metals came firſt in uſe, and is inclined to think iron and copper were the firſt, of which he gives ſeveral inſtances. Then he proceeds to conſider the impreſſions and ſizes, of which latter there were three.

The *ſecond* chapter treats of the medals of ſeveral nations, as Hebraic, Punic, Barbarous, thoſe of the Goths, Huns, Lombards, &c. with the Britiſh coins; where he ſays, he has ſeen a ſeries of all our coins, from Edward the Confeſſor to his own times, except Richard the third. Then returning to ſpeak of medals, he mentions the Saturnalian made in buffoonry, and touches upon ſome of the cuſtoms uſed at that feaſt; and obſerves, that, except thoſe, no medals were made but upon grave and ſerious occaſions. Speaking of the heads and reverſes, he ſays, medals without any reverſe are never antique, but may without head be good. Our author next makes ſeveral remarks touching the heads, as whether naked or crowned, bearded or ſhaven, &c. as likewiſe of the figures expreſſed at length on the reverſes. He proceeds to the Greek medals, with their ſeveral ornaments and reverſes; thence to the Barbarous, Parthian, Armenian, &c. and ſo to our Saxon, of all which he deſcribes the particular ornaments on their heads, &c. then he comes to medals made of remarkable perſons; touches upon Papal and French medals; after which he mentions the curious collection of Pyrrhus Ligorius, being twenty-ſix volumes of draughts of medals, inſcriptions, relievo's, &c. Greek and Roman; of the Duke of Savoy's, Duke Albert's of Bavaria, now in the cuſtody of the Royal Society, containing the images of Roman Kings, Conſuls, Dictators, Knights, Tribunes, &c. from the foundation of Rome to Julius Cæſar; after which, he remarks the niceneſs of the Antients, in having their reſemblances taken by none but exquiſite maſters; whence we may well believe their medals to be very like them: he concludes this chapter with a propoſal of deſigning, in dead-life, by a very good hand, what medals of undoubted truth can be procured, and theſe to be as well and exactly engraven on copper-plates.

The *third* chapter treats of antient and modern reverſes, as they relate to Hiſtory, Chronology, and other parts of learning, the uſe and benefit whereof he ſhews in ſeveral particulars; informing us not only in Hiſtory and Chronology, but alſo giving the true form of ſeveral habits, inſtruments, engines, machines, inventions, atchievements, cuſtoms, &c. of the Antients, but imperfectly otherwiſe deſcribed; together with the figure under which they repreſented their gods and genii, particular countries, &c. with the ſeveral rewards, as crowns, &c. for virtuous and noble actions: then deploring the want of medals to illuſtrate our own hiſtory, he gives an account of all, or the moſt, that have been ſtamped here, from Edward the third through the ſeveral reigns to the late Revolution, referring the reader for thoſe made ſince that time, to the late publiſhed *Hiſtoire Metallique de Guillaume* III, *by N. Chevalier, in fol. Amſterdam* 1692.

The *fourth* chapter treats of perſons and things deſerving the honour of medals, tho' moſt of them never obtained it; and in this he finds our nation too deficient, and names ſeveral ingenious worthies then living.

The *fifth* chapter is of inſcriptions upon medals, and their ſeveral forms and differences, chiefly relating to Roman and Greek medals; here he gives us the notes and abbreviations of words to be met with in Roman medals.

In the *ſixth* chapter, he lays down inſtructions for the procuring antique and rare medals, with directions to diſtinguiſh the true from counterfeits, preſenting a catalogue of ſome alphabetically; and in this place ſhews the ſeveral tricks uſed in making the cheats, and falſe ones, and ſets down ſome ways to take off medals, by a ſort of glew and ſuch like curioſities.

In the *ſeventh* chapter, our Author diſcourſes of mints, and the moſt ſkilful artiſts, with directions to collect and diſpoſe medals for the cabinet, and adds ſome reflections on the modern clipping, and diminution of coin. Here he obſerves the great number of mints in the ſame kingdom formerly, and the excellency of the method now uſed in minting, far beyond the old way of hammering, and in this place gives his opinion and reaſons, againſt either debaſing the coin, or enhancing the value, and then enumerates the moſt eminent maſters in this art: amongſt them he mentions Trecia of Milan, who cut the King of Spain's arms on a table diamond, next he gives a catalogue of authors treating of this ſubject, with ſome curious collectors of our own and other nations, and then concludes his chapter, with a catalogue of thoſe medals that ſucceed Jovianus, where Mr Walker's catalogue ends.

The *eighth* chapter gives an account of heads and effigies in Taille douce with particular directions for ſuch a collection, preſenting us with a catalogue of perſons meriting a place therein, as well women as men.

The *ninth* chapter, which concludes the work, contains a digreſſion concerning phyſiognomy, where the Author beginning with the head, goes through all the features of the face, and proportions of the body and limbs, giving his opinions and conjectures of the natural diſpoſitions, wit and qualifications, to be gathered from the obſervation of each part and member particularly interſperſed with hiſtorical remarks.

[*T*] *Or the wonderful maturity of his judgment.*] The title of this work was very ſhort being only this.

XXVII. ACETARIA: *A Diſcourſe of* Sallets, *by* J. E. S. R. S. *Author of the Kalendarium.* Lond. 1699. 8vo.

This, which was our Author's laſt work, was dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Somers, at that time Preſident of the Royal Society, and the view of this dedication, was to procure a publick eſtabliſhment for that ſociety, as will ſufficiently appear from the following paragraphs, which cannot ſeem tedious to the reader, ſince, except ſome of Mr Dryden's, he will hardly find any dedications in our language, penned with equal elegance and ſpirit.

My Lord,

'THE idea and plan of the Royal Society, having been firſt conceived, and delineated by a great and learned Chancellor (31), which high of-

(31) Francis Lord Verulam, and Viſcount St Albans.

still in full poſſeſſion of his parts, undertook and accompliſhed ſome years after this the reviewing of his *Sylva*, in which laſt edition (*k*) he has interſperſed various circumſtances relative to his private life, as well as to his ſubject, and has alſo ſhewn that he had ſerious and affecting thoughts of his latter end, though not put in mind of it by his infirmities, which are circumſtances, that, if further explained, cannot be unacceptable to the inquiſitive reader [*U*]. It has been before hinted, that as his collections were very great,

(*k*) This is meant of the laſt edit. publiſhed in his life-time.

'fice your Lordſhip deſervedly bears, not as an acquiſition of fortune, but your intellectual endowments, conſpicuous (among other excellencies) by the inclination your Lordſhip diſcovers to promote natural knowledge: as it juſtifies the diſcernment of that aſſembly to pitch upon your Lordſhip for their Preſident; ſo does it no leſs diſcover the candour, yea, I preſume to ſay, the ſublimity of your mind, in ſo generouſly honouring them with your acceptance of the choice they have made.

'A Chancellor, and a very learned Lord, was the firſt who honoured the Chair; and a no leſs honourable and learned Chancellor reſigns it to your Lordſhip (32).

(32) Lord Viſcount Brounker, Chancellor to Queen Katherine. Charles Mountague, Eſq; Chancellor of the Exchequer.

'So as after all the difficulties and hardſhips the ſociety has hitherto gone through, it has, thro' the favour and protection of its Preſidents, not only preſerved its reputation from the malevolence of enemies and detractors, but gone on culminating and now triumphantly in your Lordſhip: under whoſe propitious influence, I am perſuaded it may promiſe itſelf, that which indeed has hitherto been wanting to juſtify the glorious title it bears of a Royal Society, the emancipating it from ſome remaining and diſcouraging circumſtances which it as yet labours under, among which that of a precarious and unſteady abode is not the leaſt.

'This honour was reſerved for your Lordſhip, and an honour permit me to call it, not at all unworthy the owning of the greateſt perſon living, namely, the eſtabliſhing and promoting real knowledge, and next to what is divine, truly ſo called, as far at leaſt as human nature extends towards the knowledge of nature, by enlarging her Empire beyond the land of ſpectres, forms intentional ſpecies, vacuum, occult qualities, and other inadequate notions, which by their obſtreperous and noiſy diſputes affrighting, and till of late deterring men from adventuring on farther diſcoveries, confined them in a lazy acquieſcence, and to be fed with fantaſms and fruitleſs ſpeculations, which ſignify nothing to the ſpecifick nature of things, ſolid and uſeful knowledge by the inveſtigation of cauſes, principles, energies, powers, and effects of bodies and things viſible, and to improve them for the good and benefit of mankind.'

It is a great pity this propoſition of our Author's was not accepted, ſince undoubtedly a national eſtabliſhment under the direction of ſo wiſe and prudent a perſon, would have enabled the ſociety to have proſecuted their laudable and uſeful deſigns, in a manner worthy of themſelves and honourable to their country. It is not however impoſſible, that this propoſition might come to nothing by their Preſident's loſs of power, which fell out very ſoon after; but however it happened, our Author's zeal and diligence in the application was truly laudable. He had the honour to be one of the firſt members, and he continued to be one of the moſt active for upwards of forty years. This laſt work is nothing inferior to any of the preceding, the ſame learning, the ſame perſpicuity, the ſame quickneſs and penetration reigns through the whole. The reader meets not only with all that he can expect, but with much more, and ſuch a multitude of curious obſervations are interſperſed, as render it as pleaſant and entertaining as it is uſeful. Yet the Author ſuſpecting that ſome might poſſibly cenſure the great pains he had taken upon ſuch a ſubject, and from thence infer, that he was lead to treat ſuch matters, with ſo much ſkill and pains, from the refined luxury of his own palate, took care to guard againſt this in the following elegant apology, which he has inſerted in his dedication.

'The favour I humbly beg is your Lordſhip's pardon for this preſumption. The ſubject is mean, and requires it, and my reputation in danger, ſhould your Lordſhip hence ſuſpect, that one could never write ſo much of dreſſing ſallets, who minded any thing ſerious, beſides the gratifying a ſenſual appetite with a voluptuary apician art. Truly, my Lord, I am ſo far from deſigning to promote thoſe *ſupplicia luxuriæ*, as Seneca calls them, by what I have here written, that were it in my power, I would re-call the world, if not altogether to their priſtine diet, yet to a much more wholſome and temperate than is now in faſhion; and what if they find me, like to ſome who are eager after hunting and other field ſports, which are laborious exerciſes; and fiſhing, which is indeed a lazy one, who after all their pains and fatigue, never eat what they take and catch in either? For ſome ſuch I have known: and tho' I cannot affirm ſo of myſelf, when a well dreſſed and excellent ſallet is before me, I am yet a very moderate eater of them. So as to this book, luxury, I can affirm, and that truly, what the Poet ſays of himſelf, on a leſs innocent occaſion, *Laſciva pagina, vita proba*. God forbid, that after all I have advanced in praiſe of ſallets, I ſhould be thought to plead for the vice I cenſure, and chuſe that of Epicurus for my Lemma. *In hac arte conſenui*, or to have ſpent my time in nothing elſe. The plan annexed to theſe papers, and the apparatus made to ſuperſtruct upon it, would acquit me of having bent all my contemplations on ſallets only, what I humbly offer your Lordſhip is, as I ſaid, part of natural hiſtory, the product of horticulture, and the field dignified by the moſt illuſtrious, and ſometimes tilled *Laureato vomere*, which as it concerns a part of Philoſophy, I may without vanity be allowed to have taken ſome pains, in cultivating as an inferior member of the Royal Society.' Such was the modeſty, ſuch the learning, and ſuch the politeneſs, of this great man!

[*U*] *To the inquiſitive reader.*] It is chiefly from the works of great men, that the curious and particular paſſages of their lives are to be collected. This indeed is a thing of great labour, but at the ſame time infinitely pleaſant to thoſe who delight in honouring the memory of ſuch benefactors to mankind. In this note, we intend a ſpecimen of this ſort from the moſt extenſive and moſt hiſtorical of our Author's performances. We learn from thence, that the true ſignification of his Sirname Evelyn, written antiently Avelan or Evelin, was filberd, or rather hazel, which gives him occaſion to remark, that theſe trees are commonly produced where quarries of free-ſtone lie underneath, as at Hazelbury in Wiltſhire, Haſlingfield in Cambridgeſhire, and Haſlemere in Surrey (33). He more than once remarks, that his grandfather was a great planter and preſerver of timber, as it ſeems were the antient poſſeſſors of the place where he lived, from whence it acquired its name of Wotton (i. e.) Woodtown from the groves and plantations that were about it (34). He farther remarks, that there was an oak felled by his grandfather's order, out of which there was a table made, meaſured by himſelf more than once of five foot in breadth, nine and a half in length, and ſix inches thick, all entire and clear. It was ſet up in brick work for a paſtry board, and to fit it for that uſe, it was ſhortened by a foot, being originally ten foot and a half, as appeared from an inſcription cut in one of its ſides, from whence it appeared to have lain there above one hundred years, when our Author wrote this deſcription (35). When his grandfather's woods were cut down, which conſiſted entirely of oak, they ſprung up again, not oaks but beeches, and when theſe too in their turn felt the axe, there aroſe ſpontaneouſly a third plantation, not of oaks or beech, but of birch, which he does not ſet down as a thing ſingular in itſelf, but becauſe it happened under his own eye (36). He is a declared enemy to iron works, on account of their deſtroying woods; yet he obſerves from the prudential maxims prevailing in his own family, they had quite a contrary effect, as being one principal cauſe of their making ſuch large plantations, and taking ſo much

(33) Evelyn's *Sylva*, or Diſcourſe of Foreſt Trees, fifth edit. p. 76.

(34) Ib. p. 301.

(35) Ib. p. 199.

(36) Ib. p. 213.

great, so he was far from confining them entirely to his own use, but was ever ready to communicate them for the benefit of others, and, considered in that light, was a great benefactor to the publick. An instance has been given in the notes to this purpose, in respect to the famous Mr Boyle, and many instances more might be given, of which, not to trespass on the reader's patience, we will mention but a few; he it was that furnished to the late reverend and learned Bishop of London those additional remarks on the county of Surrey (*l*), which are published in his English edition of the *Britannia*; he contributed largely to Mr Houghton's valuable work (*m*); and the ingenious John Aubrey, Esq; has testified, how often he was indebted to him for his friendly assistance in many of his undertakings (*n*). In respect to the Royal Society, he was equally assiduous in his attendance, and careful in his intelligence; whatever fell within the compass of his own extensive enquiries, he never failed to transmit them to that judicious body, nor was he less attentive to the procuring them proper correspondents both at home and abroad, of which copious testimonies are to be met with in their Registers, and in their printed Transactions (*o*) [*W*]. He might therefore justly stile himself, as he did, a Pioneer in their

(*l*) Sylva, p. 296.

(*m*) Houghton's Husbandry and Trade improved, Vol. IV. p. 132.

(*n*) Miscellanies, p. 87.

(*o*) See this explained in the note.

much pains about them (37). It was a relation of his, that sold Richmond new Park to King Charles the First, after planting many fine trees there (38). Our Author carried this disposition with him to Sayes-Court, where he must have shewn it very early, since he assures us, that the Marquis of Argyle presented him with the Cones of a peculiar kind of fir, which he takes to be the Spanish pinaster or wild pine, and gives a very particular account of the manner in which they grew in the Marquis's country in Scotland (39). He informs us, that it was the Lord Chancellor Bacon who introduced the true plane tree, which he planted originally about Verulam, from whence he had his title (40). Mr Evelyn takes to himself the honour of having propagated the alaternus from Cheshire to Cumberland, which was before reputed an inhabitant only of the green house, but is found very capable, not only of living without doors, but of standing unhurt by the rigour of our severest winters (41). He mentions a most glorious and impenetrable holly hedge, which he had at Sayes-Court four hundred feet in length, nine feet high, and five in diameter, which occasions his dropping a hint, that the fine gardens he had raised there, were wholly ruined by the Czar of Muscovy, who it seems lived there, for the sake of being near the yard (42). He recommended Mr Gibbons the Carver, to King Charles the Second, by whom some exquisite works were performed in St Paul's Cathedral (43). He was likewise consulted by the Bedford family, about preserving their fine trees, so long as the gardens were kept up about Bedford House, which before the last edition of his book were demolished, to make way for the new buildings about Bloomsbury (44). He takes notice of an admirable remedy for a Dysentry, which had been otherwise in all probability buried in oblivion, and this is the fungus substance separated from the lobes of Walnut Kernels, powdered and given in a glass of wine, which he affirms relieved the English soldiers in the famous Dundalk Campaign in Ireland soon after the Revolution, when all other remedies failed (45). He was acquainted with the Conde Mellor a Portuguese Nobleman, who resided some time at the Court of King Charles the Second, when an exile from his own, by whom he was informed, that his father, when Prime-Minister as himself had likewise been, received in a case a collection of plants of China oranges of which only one escaped, and was with difficulty recovered, and yet from this plant came all the China oranges that ever were seen in Europe, which our Author observes, is a most noble and wonderful instance, of what industry may do from the slightest and least promising beginnings (46). One instance of the vast advantages derived from woods I shall borrow, because the facts are notorious and indisputable (47). 'Upon the estate of George Pitt, 'Esquire, of Stratfeildsea, in the County of Southamp-'ton, a survey of timber being taken in the year '1659, it came to ten thousand three hundred 'pounds, besides near ten thousand samplers not va-'lued and growing up naturally. Since this there 'hath been made by several sales, five thousand six 'hundred pounds, and there has been felled for re-'pairs, building and necessary uses, to the value at 'the least of twelve hundred pounds, so as the whole 'falls of timber, amount to six thousand eight hun-'dred pounds. The timber upon the same ground 'being again surveyed, Anno 1677, appears to be 'worth above twenty one thousand pounds, besides 'eight or nine thousand samplers, and young trees 'to be left standing, and not reckoned in the survey. 'But what is yet to be observed, most of this timber 'abovementioned being oak, grows in hedgerows, 'and so as that the standing of it, does very little 'prejudice to the plough or pasture.' To conclude, this worthy person, who was born in a town famous for wood, who derived from his ancestors an affection for plantations, who wrote the most correct treatise of forest trees extant in our own, or perhaps, in any language, and who was himself a most eminent Planter, had a strong desire, after the example of Sir William Temple, who directed his heart to be deposited in his garden, to have his corps also interred in the like manner (48), but very probably he was prevailed upon to alter his mind afterwards, notwithstanding what he had expressed upon that subject (49) in his book; which shews how warm and lasting, that passion for improvement was in his own breast, which, with so much learning, eloquence, and success, he laboured to excite in the bosoms of his countrymen.

(37) Ib. p. 253.

(38) Ibid. p. 40.

(39) Ib. p. 127.

(40) Ib. p. 116.

(41) Ib. p. 152.

(42) Ib. p. 159.

(43) Ib. p. 72.

(44) Ib. p. 215.

(45) Ib. p. 63.

(46) Ib. p. 141.

(47) Ib. p. 276.

(48) Ib. p. 297.

(49) Aubrey's Natural Hist. of Surrey, Vol. IV.

[*W*] *In their printed Transactions.*] It would take up too much time and room, to take notice of every thing that occurs in this valuable collection, that might be alledged to this purpose; and therefore we shall content ourselves with a few instances. Upon some discourse at the Royal Society of the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, he procured the following extract of a letter from Mr Henry Robinson, to whom it was written by Captain William Baddily, and at the same time produced some of the ashes which are mentioned therein; which letter and which ashes had been preserved for upwards of thirty years (50).

'The sixth of December 1631, being in the Gulph 'of Volo riding at anchor about ten of the clock that 'night, it began to rain sand or ashes, and continued 'till two of the clock the next morning. It was about 'two inches thick on the deck, so that we cast it over-'board with shovels, as we did snow the day before: 'the quantity of a bushel we brought home, and pre-'sented to several friends, especially to the Masters of 'Trinity-House. There was in our company Capt. 'John Wilds, commander of the Dragon, and Capt. 'Anthony Watts, commander of the Elizabeth and 'Dorcas. There was no wind stirring when these 'ashes fell; it did not fall only in the places where we 'were, but likewise in other parts, as ships were com-'ing from St John d'Acre to our port, they being at 'that time an hundred leagues from us. We compared 'the ashes together, and found them both one. *If you* 'desire to see the ashes, let me know.'——Thus in the spring of the year 1670, our author communicated, in the following letter to the Lord Viscount Brouncker, a large and circumstantial account of a very singular and extraordinary invention, by a person of rank, called the Spanish *Sembrador*, or new engine for ploughing and equal sowing all sorts of grain, and harrowing at once; by which a great quantity of seed-corn is saved, and a rich increase yearly gained; together with a description of the contrivance and uses of this engine, which epistle ran thus (51).

(50) Philosoph. Transactions, No. 21.

'I cannot devise better how to express my great re-'spects to your Lordship, than by my utmost endea-'vours to promote the interest of that Society, over 'which you have so long, with so much ability and af-

(51) Ibid. No 60.

'fection,

their ſervice, which expreſſion was well choſen, ſince it marked at once how humble and how indefatigable he was, in whatever might contribute to the advancement of that noble deſign, which was the baſis of their inſtitution. He was a true lover of freedom of thought in all philoſophical enquiries, which as he practiſed upon all occaſions himſelf, ſo he very readily indulged it to others; and though nobody was freer from prejudices, or ſpoke more diſcreetly than he did, of books that it was impoſſible for him to commend, yet he never reſented any attack made upon his own, but bore the contradiction of his opinion with all imaginable temper, being perſuaded that truth and reaſon would always triumph in the end, and that it was better to leave things to the deciſion of the publick, than to embark in endleſs controverſies, though in the defence of ſentiments ever ſo well founded (*p*) [*X*]. When we conſider the number of the books he publiſhed, and the variety

(*p*) See a proof of this in the notes.

'fection, ſo faithfully preſided. This therefore will 'plead my excuſe with your Lordſhip, if, in ſome con-'fidence of gratifying the generous deſigns of that 'noble aſſembly, I communicate to them, through 'your hands, not only the inſtrument which I herewith 'preſent them, but the diſcription of the uſe and be-'nefit of it, from ſuch a deferent as I am ſure they will 'very highly value.

'My Lord, it is now almoſt two years ſince that, 'by ſomewhat an odd accident lighting upon a paper 'lately printed in Spaniſh, I found a ſhort paſſage in it, 'giving notice of a certain plough newly brought out 'of Germany into Spain; in both which places it had, 'upon trial, ſo generally obtained, as, beſides the 'royal privilege which was granted to the inventor, 'as to procure the univerſal approbation. Upon this 'hint I took the boldneſs to write to my Lord Ambaſ-'ſador, intreating his Excellency that, as his more 'weighty affairs would give him leave, he would not 'diſdain to inform himſelf more particularly concern-'ing it. This his Lordſhip was not only pleaſed to do, 'but ſo highly obliging as to tranſmit to me the en-'gine itſelf, together with a full deſcription of it and 'it's uſe; all of it written with his own noble hand, 'which I do here conſecrate to the Royal Society, to 'be inſerted among their precious *cimelia*.

'My Lord, being not ſo happy as to wait on you 'myſelf with it, at your publick aſſembly this day, I 'deſire your Lordſhip will cauſe theſe papers to be 'read there, and expoſe the inſtrument to their ex-'amination and trial. There are many gentlemen who 'will not be offended with theſe ruſticities, and who 'know how highly ſuch inventions, and even attempts, 'have been valued by the greateſt and the beſt of men. 'Something ('tis poſſible) may happen to be out of or-'der, by reaſon of the long journey it hath paſſed; 'but their ingenious Curator will ſoon be able to re-'form, and, if need be, improve it. My Lord of 'Sandwich is that illuſtrious perſon to whom the So-'ciety is obliged for this, and many other favours and 'productions of his own more conſummate genius, 'which enrich their regiſters. But let me tell them, 'his Lordſhip hath made, and brought home with 'him, ſuch other polite notices and particulars, of 'Spain and other foreign parts, as I know no perſon, 'of the moſt refined and publick ſpirit, who hath ap-'proached him beſides your Lordſhip: an emulous 'and worthy example, certainly to the reſt of our 'noblemen and miniſters of ſtate abroad, who may 'travel with ſo many advantages to inform themſelves 'above others: and it is to me a ſhining inſtance, of 'both your Lordſhip's happy talents and great com-'prehenſion, that, in the throng of ſo many and ſo 'weighty employments, you can think of cultivating 'the arts, and of doubly obliging your country.'

The deſcription of this machine, tranſlated from the Spaniſh into Engliſh, is of a conſiderable length, and therefore we refer the reader to it in the Tranſactions. The chief reaſon for mentioning it here, was to ſhew how vigilant our author was in his enquiries, and how diligent in the proſecution of them; and yet not with any view of concealing the diſcoveries he made, but quite the contrary; that the Royal Society might have the honour, and the Britiſh nation the benefit, of them. In this reſpect, no doubt, he reaped abundant ſatisfaction, ſince it was declared, over and over again in the Tranſactions, that his *Sylva* had raiſed whole foreſts, and his *Pomona* produced numberleſs orchards; yet that he affected not praiſe out of any degree of vanity, but was really pleaſed with being the inſtrument of good to others, appears very plainly from that warmth, as well as readineſs, with which he recommended other men's works to the favour of the publick, even upon ſubjects on which he had employed his own pen, particularly in the caſe of Mr Smith, which is printed in the Tranſactions (52).

(52) Ib. No. 103.

He was alſo very aſſiduous in procuring, as early as poſſible from abroad, all new books upon curious and uſeful ſubjects; as alſo ſuch, as, from their univerſal high character, were become ſcarce and dear; ſome of which he communicated to the Secretary of the Society, and of others he made large and curious extracts himſelf; and, as is very juſtly obſerved, his tranſlations were doubly valuable, on account of that clearneſs and fidelity with which he expreſſed the author's ſenſe, and the improvements that he added from his own obſervations, as he rendered no treatiſes into Engliſh, without being perfectly verſed in the ſubject upon which, as well as the language in which, they were written. He likewiſe, in teſtimony of his reſpect and duty to the Society, beſtowed upon them thoſe curious tables of veins and arteries, which he brought with him from Padua, and conſequently deſerved to be honourably mentioned in their regiſters, and to have his picture, as it is, hung up in their apartments (53).

(53) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 121.

[*X*] *Though in defence of ſentiments ever ſo well founded.*] Amongſt other advantages that attended the inſtitution of the Royal Society, one was it's giving birth to, and the higheſt encouragement for, free and open enquiries; nor was it any wonder, that, amongſt theſe, ſome turned upon thoſe learned perſons who firſt exerted themſelves in favour of this method of improving knowledge, amongſt theſe, Mr John Houghton, tho' with great decency and good manners, cenſured our author's great performance, on account of it's croſſing a notion he had advanced, *that it would be highly advantageous for the* nation, *if all the* timber *within* twelve *miles of a* navigable river *were deſtroyed.* It is but fair that he ſhould ſpeak for himſelf; his words then are theſe (54).

(54) Collections on Huſbandry and Trade, Vol. IV. p. 273.

'I queſtion not but you eagerly expect to hear 'what may be ſaid, in anſwer to Mr Evelyn's *Sylva*. 'There he ſeems to be quite of another opinion, and 'to give many inſtances of profits from woods, ſo great 'that few other parts of huſbandry can equal them. 'I muſt confeſs Mr Evelyn is a great man, one that I 'have the honour to be acquainted with, and happy is 'he that is ſo; he is a gentleman of great piety, mo-'deſty, and complacency; and alſo endowed with 'ſuch an univerſality of uſeful learning, that he may 'very well be eſteemed a darling of mankind. But he 'is particularly well verſed in the affairs of the wood-'man; and his *Sylva* is ſo good a book, that I have 'not heard of any thing written on the ſubject like it. 'To anſwer it, I will not pretend; to gainſay what 'he affirms I can't, for I believe he loves veracity more 'than life. I will only make ſome obſervations, and, 'if my ſentiments differ from his, I know he will par-'don me, he being well inclined to allow freedom of 'thought, and alſo well verſed in a motto, (*) NULLIUS 'IN VERBA.

(*) That of the Royal Society.

'Now I firſt obſerve the reaſons why this Sylva, or 'diſcourſe of foreſt-trees, was delivered to the Royal 'Society. It was, as I am told, in the title-page, 'upon occaſion of certain queries propounded to that 'illuſtrious aſſembly, by the honourable the principal 'Officers and Commiſſioners of the navy. What theſe 'queries were, do not altogether appear; but, by the 'diſcourſe, one of them ſeems to be how timber might 'be propagated in his Majeſty's dominions. An an-'ſwer to this, our ingenious author hath bravely given. 'But my conſiderations are not how, or how not, to

'propagate

variety of the ſubjects upon which he employed his time, it is impoſſible to forbear wondering at his induſtry and application, which muſt be greatly heightened when we reflect how careful he was in reviewing, correcting, and augmenting all his original works, from whence it is evident, that whatever ſubject appeared weighty enough to attract his attention, never loſt it's place in his thoughts, but, on the contrary, was often reviewed, and reaped the continual benefit of the new lights he received, as well as of his future meditations, which is the true reaſon that his treatiſes are ſo perfect in their kind, and continue as much eſteemed by poſterity, as they were by the inquiſitive and judicious part of the world at the time they came firſt from the preſs. But this is not all; and our aſtoniſhment cannot but attend the information of his leaving behind him unfiniſhed, or at leaſt unpubliſhed, works of a more extenſive nature than thoſe that are printed, which had coſt him incredible pains, and for the compoſing of which he had made prodigious collections (q) [Y]. The

(q) See the Preface prefixed to his Diſcourſe on Sallets.

' propagate timber; but a query, *Whether it is beſt, within certain limits, to propagate it or no?* a thing ' quite beſide his deſign.

' Indeed in his introduction, he, like a very good ' Engliſhman, laments the notorious decay of our ' wooden walls, which he thought likely to follow, ' when our then preſent navy ſhould be worn out or ' impaired: and I muſt confeſs, when he conſidered ' the great deſtruction of our wood that had been made ' in the foregoing twenty years, by ſome thro' neceſſi- ' ty, and others thro' ill ends and purpoſes; together ' with our not being uſed to fetch much timber from ' abroad, and a general cry that none could furniſh us ' with any for ſhipping, eſpecially ſo good as our own; ' with the addition of what amounted to a complaint ' from the honourable Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's ' navy: when he conſidered all this, I ſay, every good ' man will rather commend than blame his zeal.

' But now ſince that deſtruction of our timber, hath ' forced us to look out for a more convenient ſupply to ' London, and ſome other places; and our having ' greater experiences of ſea-fights than ever we had, ' before, other things are known; and it is believed, to ' my certain knowledge, by ſome of the Commiſſioners ' of the navy, and others, that have been greatly con- ' cerned in building of ſhips, that there is ſome other ' timber in the world that will build ſhips as well as ' ours; for inſtance, the French Ruby that we took ' from France, when he joined with Denmark and ' Holland againſt us, had ſuch good timber in it, that, ' as I have been told, England never had better; the ' bullets that entered this French ſhip, made only round ' holes without ſplinters, the thing our timber is valued ' for; and it was ſo hard, that the carpenters with ' their tools could hardly cut it, it was like a piece of ' iron.

' I fancy it ſome of that oak Mr Evelyn ſpeaks of in ' his forecited *Sylva*, chap. III. pag. 25. " There is, " ſaith he, a kind of it ſo tough, and extreamly com- " pact, that our ſharpeſt tools will hardly enter it, and " ſcarcely the very fire itſelf, in which it conſumes but " ſlowly, as ſeeming to partake of a ferrugineous and " metalline ſhining nature, proper for ſundry robuſt " uſes." Theſe laſt thirty ſhips that were built, have a ' great deal of foreign timber in them; and, altho' there ' is ſome decay in them already, yet I am told that the ' fault is not attributed to the foreign timber, but ra- ' ther to the haſty building, the king having not a ſtock ' before hand, the timber had not time enough for a ' ſeaſoning. For theſe reaſons, and what I ſaid before ' about the increaſe of ſeamen, perſwades me to be- ' lieve, that ſuch means will never leſſen our ſtrength; ' and I queſtion not, but, that for our money, we may ' be furniſhed ſufficiently from abroad.'

This paper was publiſhed November the ſixth 1683, and October the thirty-firſt 1701; the ſame gentleman publiſhed another paper, in which he maintained his former opinion (55), and undertakes to refute Mr Evelyn's obſervations, as to the profit made by planting, complaining that what he had before written, was never anſwered; intimating at the ſame time, that the reaſon was, becauſe it was unanſwerable; his words are theſe. ' Mr Evelyn tells us of one Mr Edward ' Salter, who planted an aſh, and before his death ſold ' it for forty ſhillings. I will not reckon the ground ' this aſh grew on to be worth any thing; but ſuppoſe ' the aſh when planted was worth but one ſhilling, and ' the man lived but eighty-four years after, the ſhilling ' would have amounted to ſix pounds eight ſhillings, ' which is far better than forty ſhillings.

' Again, three acres of barren land ſown with acorns, ' in ſixty years became a very thriving wood, and was ' worth three hundred pounds. Being 'twas barren ' land, I'll ſuppoſe it worth but three ſhillings the ' acre, nine ſhillings the three acres; which for ſixty ' years was worth, in preſent money, fifteen pounds, ' nine ſhillings, and ſeven-pence; which doubled every ' twelve years, makes four hundred ninety-five pounds, ' ſix ſhillings, and eight-pence. Suppoſe that the til- ' lage, acorns, and ſetting, came but to the third part ' of fifteen pounds, nine ſhillings, and ſeven-pence, it ' would be upwards of one hundred and ſixty-five ' pounds; which together makes above ſix hundred ' pounds, for the three hundred pounds.'

This warm cenſure might be ſafely truſted by our author, without any anſwer, in thoſe days, when none pretended to decide without hearing both parties with attention. It is however but doing common juſtice to his memory, to ſet theſe points in a clear light, more eſpecially as it may be done in a very narrow compaſs. In the firſt place, Mr Evelyn lays down facts that are indiſputable, for he mentions no improvement in his book without clear authority. On the contrary, Mr Houghton's is a ſuppoſition, and, which is worſe, a ſuppoſition that is entirely groundleſs. He values the young aſh plant at a ſhilling; he might have read in Mr Evelyn, that an hundred ſaplings, of three years growth, are worth but eighteen-pence. Inſtead of fourſcore and four years, he ought to have ſet down a third, or at moſt half, that time; and then, at his own rate of compound intereſt, the value of the plant would not have exceeded a ſingle penny. His objections to the ſecond inſtance, are not leſs frivolous. Barren ground, in the common acceptation of the word, is ground worth nothing, and for that reaſon unlet and unemployed; our critic will have it worth three ſhillings an acre, and, having thus created a rent of nine ſhillings a year, he converts it next into a rent charge, and ſuppoſes a ſixty years leaſe of this barren land, to be worth two and thirty years purchaſe; and this money, put out at compound intereſt, is run up to twice as much as the wood is worth. We will not puſh things to extremity, but ſuppoſe, with him, the land worth nine ſhillings a year, and to be ſold for twenty years purchaſe, which would produce nine pounds; that nine pounds placed out at compound intereſt, at the rate of ſix per cent. would amount, in ſixty years, to two hundred eighty-eight pounds; ſo that there is twelve pounds, and all the intermediate profits by lopping, to pay for the original plantation and cultivation of the trees; upon the whole it is manifeſt, even from this author's manner of arguing, that planting wood is not only more honeſt and virtuous, but at the ſame time a ſafer and ſpeedier way of raiſing a great fortune, than the moſt exorbitant uſury.

[Y] *He had made prodigious collections.*] We may, from the large works which Mr Evelyn has publiſhed, from the compleat plan which he has given us of a large work he intended to publiſh, and from various circumſtances that occur in his letters, form a pretty ſure judgment of the method purſued by him, in compoſing the many and valuable treatiſes that fell from his pen. His way was when he had made choice of a ſubject, to reſolve it into its proper parts, and to entitle theſe according to the bulk of the volume, he propoſed, either books or chapters, that he might digeſt his materials under their proper titles. He then ſet down his own thoughts, in a free ſuccinct manner under every head, to which he added what occurred to him, uſeful or memorable in his reading, and when

(r) Hiſt. of Europe for 1706, p. 527.

(s) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 131.

(t) See the inſcription in the book laſt cited.

The Hiſtory of this learned perſon's life and labours terminates together, for, in a ſhort time after he had fitted the fourth edition of his *Sylva* for the preſs, he departed this life in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, Feb. 27, 1705-6 (*r*), and was interred at Wotton in a tomb of about three foot high of free-ſtone, ſhaped like a coffin, with an inſcription upon a white marble ſtone with which it is covered (*s*), expreſſing, according to his own intention (*t*), *That living in an age of extraordinary events and revolutions, he had learned from thence this truth, which he deſired might be thus communicated to poſterity, That all is vanity which is not honeſt, and that there is no ſolid wiſdom but in real piety.* As to that more laſting

he had finiſhed this, he digeſted his own thoughts regularly, ſupporting them by proper teſtimonies, from antient and modern authors, or if that were the caſe, ſhewing the reaſons for which he diſſented from them. This made his collections very large, in compariſon of the books he publiſhed, into which there entered nothing but the quinteſſence of the authors he had peruſed. The firſt great work which occupied his thoughts, was one of which he formed the plan in his travels, and of which neither Mr Wood, Mr Aubrey, nor any other writer that I have met with, takes the leaſt notice, tho' it was certainly a very great and important deſign, every way worthy of his learning, penetration, and vaſt abilities. He intended to have called it

A General Hiſtory of all Trades.

We have an account of this in one of his own letters to Mr Boyle, in which he aſſigns the reaſons for his laying it aſide, after it had coſt him incredible pains and application. The reader will without doubt, be pleaſed to ſee what he has ſaid upon this ſubject, his letter is dated from Sayes-Court, Auguſt the ninth 1659, and begins thus (56).

(56) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 397.

'I am perfectly aſhamed at the remiſſneſs of this 'recognition, for your late favours from Oxon, where 'though had you reſided, it ſhould have interrupted 'you before this time. It was by our common and 'good friend Mr Hartlib, that I came now to know 'you are retired from thence, but not from the 'Muſes, and the purſuit of your worthy deſigns, the 'reſult whereof we thirſt after with all impatience, 'and how fortunate ſhould I eſteem myſelf, if it were 'in my power to contribute in the leaſt to that 'which I augure of ſo great and univerſal a benefit! 'but ſo it is, that my late inactivity has made ſo 'ſmall a progreſs, that in the *Hiſtory of Trades*, I am 'not advanced a ſtep, finding, to my infinite grief, my 'great imperfections for the attempt, and the many 'ſubjections which I cannot ſupport, of converſing 'with mechanical capricious perſons, and ſeveral 'other diſcouragements, ſo that giving over a deſign 'of that magnitude, I am ready to acknowledge 'my fault, if from any expreſſion of mine, there was 'any room to hope for ſuch a production farther 'than by a ſhort collection of ſome heads and mate'rials, and a continual propenſity of endeavouring in 'ſome particular, to encourage ſo noble a work as 'far as I am able, a ſpecimen whereof I have tranſ'mitted to Mr Hartlib, concerning the ornaments of 'gardens, which I have requeſted him to communi'cate to you, as one from whom I hope to receive 'my beſt and moſt conſiderable furniture, which fa'vour I do again and again humbly ſupplicate, and 'eſpecially touching the firſt chapter of the third 'book, the eleventh and twelfth of the firſt, and in'deed on every particular of the whole.' Whoever would be better acquainted with the whole extent of our Author's project, may conſult his extract of the life of Signor Giacomo Favi, who had the like, and intended to have travelled over the whole world, in order to collect proper materials; in which deſign having made ſome progreſs, he died of a fever at Paris. Of this gentleman, Mr Evelyn ſpeaks in raptures from the ſimilitude between their tempers, but it ſeems, he had not altogether the patience of that Italian virtuoſo, who could accommodate himſelf to the humours of the loweſt of the people, as well as make himſelf acceptable even to the greateſt monarchs of Europe (57). But tho' our Author deſiſted from the original plan, yet it was not till he had finiſhed ſeveral parts of it, particularly his Chalcography, which Mr Boyle prevailed upon him to publiſh, and the following pieces which he never publiſhed.

(57) See the Life of this eminent perſon, who was a native of Bologna in Italy, prefixed to Mr Evelyn's *Chalcography*.

Five Treatiſes, *containing a full view of the ſeveral Arts of Painting in Oyl, Painting in Miniature, anealing in Glaſs, enamalling, and making Marble Paper.*

We may form a judgment from the piece he publiſhed, of the great loſs the world had from his not altering his reſolution, with reſpect to theſe, which no doubt were as thoroughly finiſhed, and as perfect in their kind as that. We may collect from the letter before mentioned, that a ſyſtem of gardening made a part of his great deſign, which however there are ſome grounds to believe, he detached from thence and conſidered as a whole or diſtinct ſyſtem of itſelf, to the compleating of which, he applied himſelf with great ſpirit and labour, and intended to have given it the following title, under which he ſhewed part of his collection to his friends.

Elyſium Britannicum.

We cannot poſitively affirm; but, there are very probable grounds to believe, that this was the very ſame work, of which he has given a plan before his *Acetaria*, about which he intimates in his Preface to that treatiſe, he had ſpent upwards of forty years, and his collections for which had in that time filled ſeveral thouſand pages. The title of this vaſt work as it is there expreſſed, is this.

The Plan of a Royal Garden. *Deſcribing and ſhewing the amplitude of that part of* Georgicks, *which belongs to* Horticulture.

He propoſed to divide this into three books, the firſt of which was to conſiſt of ſix chapters, wherein he meant to diſcourſe of the principles of things, the four reputed elements, the celeſtial influences, the ſeaſons, the natural ſoil of a garden, and all the artificial improvements that could be made therein. The ſecond book was to contain twenty four chapters, and of theſe it is ſufficient to ſay, that the twentieth chapter ſeems to have been executed in his diſcourſe of ſallets, and that the laſt chapter of this book, was no other than his Gardiners Kalendar. The third book was to be divided into twelve chapters, and to comprehend all the acceſſaries, ſo as to leave nothing which had ſo much as any relation to this favourite ſubject unexhauſted. The cauſe of his leaving this work alſo unfiniſhed, he very freely and plainly tells us, was his perceiving, that it exceeded his whole power of execution, that is, to come up to the ſcheme formed in his own mind, notwithſtanding his glorious ſpirit, his eaſy fortune, and indefatigable diligence. This we may very eaſily credit, when we conſider that his treatiſe of ſallets could not be above a fortieth, perhaps, not above a fiftieth, part of his intended performance.

To theſe his unpubliſhed works, we muſt add another, mentioned only by Mr Wood, who gives us nothing concerning it but the following title.

A Treatiſe of the Dignity of Man (58).

(58) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

Our Author has likewiſe etched, when he came to Paris 1649 (59), five ſeveral proſpects of places, which he had drawn on the ſpot, between Rome and Naples, to which he prefixed alſo a frontiſpiece intitled, *Locorum aliquot inſignium & celeberrimorum inter* Romam & Neapolin, *jacentium ὑποδείξεις & Exemplaria; Domino Domino*, Thomæ Henſhaw, *Anglo, omnium eximiarum & preclariſſimarum artium cultori ac propugnatori maximo & συνοπλαμενὸ αὐτῷ non propter operis pretium ſed ut ſingulare amoris ſui teſtimonium exhibeat prima has ἀδοκιμασίας aqua forti excuſas & inſculptas* Jo. Evelynus *Delineator* D. D. C. Q. R. Hoare *excud.* I. *Tres Tabernæ ſivi Appii Forum, celebre illud, in ſacris Literis. Act.* 28. II. *Terracini, olim Anxuris, Promontorium.* III. *Proſpectus verſus* Neapolin, *a Monte* Veſuvio. IV. *Montis* Veſuvii *juxta* Neapolin *externa Facies.* V. *Montis* Veſuvii *Fauces & Vorago; ſive Barathrum internum.* He etched alſo a view of his own ſeat at *Wotton*, and another of *Putney* in *Surrey*.

(59) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſtory of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 118.

laſting monument, which the pens of the moſt learned and ingenious men have conſecrated to his memory, in the characters which they have afforded us of him and his writings, the reader will find ſome notice taken at the bottom of page [Z]. By his moſt

[Z] *Taken at the bottom of the page.*] It is a natural and very juſt method of concluding articles like this, with characters of the author by eminent perſons; for it is firſt paying a due reſpect to their memories; next it affords the reader ſatisfaction, who is deſirous of learning on what authorities ſuch high characters are built; and laſtly, it juſtifies the praiſes beſtowed, and the pains taken, in the compiling ſuch articles, more eſpecially when they are carried to an extraordinary length. But it is requiſite, that even this neceſſary attention ſhould be kept within juſt bounds; and therefore having already cited Mr Boyle, and the Royal Society, in praiſe of Mr Evelyn, we ſhall now confine ourſelves only to a few, and thoſe too the moſt eminent, of the learned writers, who have celebrated this great man, and endeavoured to do juſtice to his labours. We will begin with Abraham Cowley, Eſq; who, in his eſſay, intituled *the Garden*, having declared that a rural retreat, and a life of privacy and ſtudy, was the utmoſt extent of his wiſh, and had been ſo for many years, proceeds thus (60). 'Several accidents of my 'ill fortune have diſappointed me hitherto, and do 'ſtill, of that felicity; for tho' I have made the firſt 'and hardeſt ſtep to it, by abandoning all ambitions 'and hopes of this world, and by retiring from the 'noiſe of all buſineſs, and almoſt company; yet I 'ſtick ſtill in the inn of a hired houſe and garden, a'mong weeds and rubbiſh, and without that pleaſanteſt 'work of human induſtry, the improvement of ſome'thing which we call not very properly, but yet we 'call our own. I am gone out from Sodom, but I am 'not yet arrived at my little Zoar. O let me eſcape 'thither (is it not a little one), and my ſoul ſhall live. 'I do not look back yet, but I have been forced to 'ſtop, and make too many halts. You may wonder, 'Sir, for this ſeems a little too extravagant and pin'darical for proſe, what I mean by all this preface: 'it is to let you know, that tho' I have miſſed, like a 'chymiſt, my great end; yet I account my affections 'and endeavours well rewarded, by ſomething that I 'have met with by the by; which is, that they have 'procured me ſome part in your kindneſs and eſteem, 'and thereby the honour of having my name ſo advan'tageouſly recommended to poſterity, by the epiſtle 'you are pleaſed to prefix to the moſt uſeful book that 'has been written in that kind, and which is to laſt as 'long as months and years. Among many other arts 'and excellencies which you enjoy, I am glad to find 'this favourite of mine the moſt predominant, that 'you chuſe this for your wife, tho' you have hundreds 'of other arts for your concubines, tho' you know 'them, and beget ſons upon them all, to which you 'are rich enough to allow great legacies; yet the iſſue 'of this ſeems to be deſigned by you to the main of 'the eſtate; you have taken moſt pleaſure in it, and 'beſtowed moſt charges upon it's education: and I 'doubt not to ſee that book, which you are pleaſed to 'promiſe to the world, and of which you have given 'us a large earneſt in your Kalendar, as accompliſhed 'as any thing can be expected, from an extraordinary 'wit and no ordinary expences, and a long experience. 'I know no body that poſſeſſes more private happineſs 'than you do in your garden, and yet no man who 'makes his happineſs more publick, by a free com'munication of the art and knowledge of it to others. 'All that I myſelf am able yet to do, is only to re'commend to mankind the ſearch of that felicity which 'you inſtruct them how to find and to enjoy.

(60) This poem of Mr Cowley's is dated, Chertſea, Aug. 16, 1666.

I.

Happy art thou whom God does bleſs,
With the full choice of thine own happineſs;
And happier yet, becauſe thou'rt bleſt,
With prudence how to chuſe the beſt.
In books and gardens thou haſt plac'd aright,
(Things which thou well doſt underſtand,
And both doſt make with thy laborious hand,)
Thy noble innocent delight.
And in thy virtuous wife, where thou again doſt meet
Both pleaſures more refin'd and ſweet;
The faireſt garden in her looks,
And in her mind the wiſeſt books.
Oh, who would change theſe ſoft, yet ſolid joys!
For empty ſhews, and ſenſeleſs noiſe;
And all which rank ambition breeds,
Which ſeem ſuch beauteous flowers, and are ſuch
pois'nous weeds, &c.

The ingenious and learned Joſeph Glanville (61) gave a high character of our author, when but a very few of his works had appeared. 'Mr John Evelyn, ſays he, 'hath very conſiderably advanced the hiſtory of fruit 'and foreſt trees, by his Sylva and Pomona; and grea'ter things are expected from his preparations for Ely'ſium Britannicum, a noble deſign now under his 'hands; and certainly the inquiſitive world is much 'indebted to this generous gentleman, for his very in'genious performances in this kind; as alſo for thoſe 'others of Sculpture, Picture, Architecture, and the 'like practical uſeful things, with which he hath in'riched it.' But the judicious and reverend Dr William Wotton ſpeaks more highly of our author, as being acquainted with moſt of his writings; and in comparing the antient with the modern Agriculture, he delivers himſelf thus (62). 'In making my compariſon, 'I ſhall comprehend all that the Antients underſtood by 'their *Res Ruſtica*, as it takes in the *foreſter's*, the 'husbandman's, and the *gardner's* buſineſs: Cato, 'Varro, and Columella, include the graſier's alſo, 'thereby compleating the whole body of farming; but 'ſince his work cannot well be made a ſcience of, I 'ſhall omit it. By a *foreſter* here, I underſtand one 'that knows how to plant, propagate, and increaſe, 'all ſorts of timber-trees, what ſoils are proper for 'every ſort, how they may beſt be defended from dan'gers in their growth, to what uſes they are moſt ap'plicable when they have arrived to their utmoſt per'fection, and how they may be beſt applied. Such 'a man, in ſhort, as Mr Evelyn inſtructs in his Sylva, 'where he gives a full ſyſtem of the woodman's ſkill, 'what he ought to know, and what to practiſe. A 'great part of his work, and indeed the niceſt part of 'it, the Antients were ſtrangers to, as having leſs occa'ſion for it. The world was then, comparatively 'ſpeaking, in it's infancy; there was no want of wood 'for fuel, building, or ſhips, and this plenty made 'men leſs curious in contriving methods of preſerving 'what they had in ſo great abundance. England, till 'within a few ages, was every where over-run with 'wood: The Hercynian foreſt, antiently took up what 'is now the moſt flouriſhing part of Germany: and 'France, which is at preſent ſo wonderfully populous 'that little cultivable ground remains untilled, was in 'Cæſar's time over-ſpread with woods and foreſts. As 'Men increaſe, tillage becomes more and more requi'ſite, the conſumption of wood will be proportionably 'greater, and it's want, and the neceſſary uſes of tim'ber, which grow upon men as they become more nu'merous, will, of conſequence, put them upon ways 'to preſerve and increaſe it. Commerce, with diſtant 'parts, will ſhew men rare and uſeful trees, to which 'their own ſoil was before a ſtranger; and luxury will 'ſoon teach them to tranſplant them. No wonder 'therefore, if modern writers excel the antients, upon 'a ſubject which they had leſs occaſion for. The Ro'mans indeed were curious in planting trees for ſhade 'or fruit; but their induſtry in that particular, came 'under another head, as rather belonging to the 'gardner's work. It may therefore, perhaps, be e'ſteemed a ſmall character of Mr Evelyn's diſcourſe of 'foreſt-trees, to ſay, that it out-does all that Theo'phraſtus and Pliny have left us on that ſubject: For it 'not only does that and a great deal more, but con'tains more uſeful precepts, hints, and diſcoveries, 'upon that now ſo neceſſary a part of our *Res Ruſtica*, 'than the world had till then known, from all the 'obſervations of former ages. To name others after 'him, would be a derogation to his performance.' In comparing the antient and modern *husbandman* and *gardner*, he ſpeaks as highly of Mr Evelyn's *Pomona*, and

(61) *Plus Ultra*: or, The Progreſs and Advancement of Knowledge ſince the Days of Ariſtotle, p. 74.

(62) Reflexions on Ancient and Modern Learning, p. 274.

most virtuous and excellent wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Brown (*u*), who was the companion of his fortunes, and in some measure also of his studies, for almost three-score years, he had five sons and three daughters; of the former, all died young except one, of whom we shall speak in the next article; of the latter, only one survived him, Susannah, married to William Draper of Adscomb in the county of Surrey, Esq (*w*); His excellent widow did not out-live him quite three years, but dying Feb. 9, 1709, was, according to her own desire, deposited in a stone coffin, as near as could be to the corps of her dear husband (*x*). Upon the stone coffin, in which the leaden one lies that holds her body, a white marble stone is placed of the same shape, with a very short inscription (*y*), which informs us, that at the time of her demise she was in the seventy-fourth year of her age, and that she was esteemed, admired, beloved, and regretted, by all who knew her (*z*).

(*u*) Baronettage of England, Vol. V. p. 146.

(*w*) Aubrey's Hist. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 131.

(*x*) Baronettage, &c. Vol. V. p. 148.

(*y*) Aubrey's History of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 132.

(*z*) Baronettage, &c. Vol. V. p. 149.

and of his *Kalendar*, which, however, we will omit. Bishop Burnet (63), acknowledging some communications from him, stiles him 'that most ingenious and 'virtuous gentleman, Mr Evelyn, who is not satisfied 'to have advanced the knowledge of this age, by his 'own most useful and successful labours, about planting and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute 'every thing in his power to perfect other men's endeavours.' The honourable Roger North speaks thus of his brother the Lord-Keeper Guilford's visit to our author, and of his manner of living (64). 'His Lordship was once invited to a philosophical meal, at the 'house of Mr Evelyn at Deptford. The house was 'low, but elegantly set off with ornaments, and quaint 'motto's, at most turns; but, above all, his garden 'was exquisite, being most boscaresque, and, as it 'were, an exemplar, of his book of forest-trees. They 'appeared all so thriving and clean, that, in so much 'variety, no one could be satiated in viewing; and to 'these were added plenty of ingenious discourses, which 'made the time short.' A very critical inquirer into every thing relating to English history, the late Lord Bishop of Carlisle, speaking of his *Numismata*, bestows the following character of that book, and it's author (65). 'We might justly have expected whatever 'could have been desired on this subject, from the excellently learned pen of Mr Evelyn, had he bent his 'thoughts, as was believed, towards the consideration 'of our British coins as well as medals. It now appears, that his Numismata carried him no farther 'than those larger, and more choice pieces, that are 'usually called by this latter name; whereon he has, 'indeed, treated with that accuracy and fineness, which 'became a gentleman and a scholar.' Our Author's works are also very honourably mentioned by several foreign writers (66), particularly by the judicious Morhoff, who tells us that some of them were translated into Latin. It may prove some satisfaction to the inquisitive reader, if we add that his picture was thrice drawn in oil, first in 1681, by Vanderborcht, a famous artist, and brought out of Germany at the same time with Wenceslaus Hollar, the graver, by the Earl of Arundel; a second time in 1648, by Walker; and the third time by Sir Godfrey Kneller, for his friend Mr Pepys of the admiralty, of which that at the Royal Society is a copy. There is a print of him by Nanteüil, in which he is represented, in a cloak in his own hair, and under him some books marked with the cypher J. E. He likewise drew him more than once in black and white, with Indian ink; and there is a picture of him in crayon by Lutterel (67). E

(63) Hist. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 417.

(64) North's Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, p. 286.

(65) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 248.

(66) Polyhistor, ii. 2, 21, 7. ii. 2, 41, 4.

(67) Aubrey's Nat. History of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 124.

EVELYN (JOHN) son to the former. He was born at his father's house at Sayes-Court near Deptford, January 14, 1654 (*a*), and was there very tenderly educated in his infancy, being considered (after the death of his brother Richard Evelyn, January 27, 1657, who, though but five years of age, was esteemed a kind of (*b*) prodigy) as the heir of the family. He was likewise universally admired for the pregnancy of his parts, which induced his father to send him in 1666 to Oxford, where he remained in the house of the most ingenious and learned Dr Ralph Bathurst, then President of Trinity-college, before he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner, which was in Easter-term 1668 (*c*). It is not clear at what time he left Oxford, but Mr Wood seems to be positive that he took no degree there, but returned to his father's house, where he prosecuted his studies under the directions of that great man (*d*). There is, however, good reason to believe, that it was during his residence in Trinity-college, and when he was not above fifteen years of age, he wrote that elegant Greek poem which is prefixed to the second edition of the *Sylva*, and is a noble proof of the strength of his genius, and wonderful progress in learning in the early part of his life. He discovered his proficiency soon afterwards, both in the learned and modern languages, by his elegant translations (*e*); as well as his intimate acquaintance with the Muses, in some original poems which were very justly admired. Of all these the reader will have a farther account in the notes [*A*]. He married Martha, daughter and

(*a*) See the Genealogy of the family of Evelyn.

(*b*) St Chrysostom's *Golden Book*, translated by J. Evelyn, Esq; p. 119.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1079.

(*d*) English Baronettage, Vol. V. p. 149.

(*e*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1079.

[*A*] *Will have a farther account in the notes.*] If we consider the father's turn of mind, and how much the young gentleman must be obliged to hear and see of gardens and plantations, we need not in the least wonder that he should employ his pen first upon this subject, more especially in the easy way of translation, and from a book so justly, as well as generally admired, as the French jesuit's has ever been. The title of our author's little treatise, was,

I. *Of* GARDENS, *four books, first written in Latin verse, by* Renatus Rapinus; *and now made English, by* John Evelyn, Esq; 1673, 8*vo*.

His father annexed the second book of this translation to his Sylva; and it must be allowed, that as the sense is very faithfully rendered, so the poetry is very easy and harmonious, more especially if we consider it as the work of a lad of nineteen. The reader will judge of this from the following short specimen, containing instructions for the culture of the cypress-tree in gardens, founded upon the fable of the unhappy catastrophe of Cyparissus (1), supposed to be changed into beautiful evergreen, by intemperate grief; or by the power of Apollo, at the youth's own request. What is said of Sylvanus, is an improvement of the fiction, as delivered by the antients.

(1) Rapin of Gardens, B. ii. p. 35.

Though *Cypress*'s contiguous well appear,
They better shew if planted not so near;
And since to any shape with ease they yield,
What bounds more proper to divide a field?
Repine not *Cyparissus* then in vain,
Since by your change fresh honours you obtain.
SYLVANUS and this boy with equal fire,
Did heretofore a lovely *hart* admire.

While

and coheireſs of Richard Spenſer, Eſq; and having a head as well turned for buſineſs as ſtudy, became one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in Ireland, and would probably have been advanced to higher employments if he had not been cut off in the flower of his age, dying at his houſe in London March 24, 1698, in the forty-fifth year of his age (*g*). He had by his wife two ſons and three daughters. His eldeſt ſon Richard died an infant at Sayes-Court, as did his eldeſt daughter Martha-Mary. His ſecond daughter, Elizabeth, married Simon Harcourt, Eſq; eldeſt ſon and heir of Simon Lord Viſcount Harcourt, Lord High-Chancellor of Great Britain, by whom ſhe became mother to the preſent Lord Viſcount Harcourt (*h*). Jane, his third daughter, died an infant at his houſe in the pariſh of St Martin's in the Fields, and was interred at Kenſington. John Evelyn, his ſecond and only ſurviving ſon, born at Sayes-Court March 2, 1681, ſucceeded to his grandfather's eſtate. He was married at Lambeth chapel, September 18, 1705, to Anne, daughter of Edward Boſcawen of Worthivil in the county of Cornwall, Eſq; He was, by Letters Patents bearing date July 30, 1713, created a Baronet (*i*). This worthy Gentleman, who inherits the virtue and learning, as well as patrimony of his anceſtors, made ſeveral alterations and additions to the family ſeat at Wotton in 1717, one of which was the erecting a beautiful library, forty-five feet long, fourteen feet broad, and as many high, for the reception of that large and curious collection of books made by his grandfather, his father, and himſelf (*k*). He is at preſent the eldeſt of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, Fellow of the Royal Society, and is bleſſed with a numerous poſterity.

(*g*) Baronettage of England, Vol. V. p. 149.

(*h*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 403.

(*i*) Baronettage, Vol. V. p. 149.

(*k*) Aubrey's Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 125.

While in the cooler paſtures once it fed,
An arrow, ſhot at random, ſtruck it dead.
But when the youth the dying beaſt had found,
And knew himſelf the author of the wound.
With never ceaſing ſorrow he laments,
And on his breaſt his grief and anger vents.
Sylvanus, mov'd with the poor creature's fate,
Converts his former love to preſent hate;
And no more pity in his angry words,
Than to himſelf th' afflicted youth affords.
Weary of life, and quite oppreſt with woe,
Upon the ground his tears in channels flow;
Which having water'd the productive earth,
The *Cypreſs* firſt from thence deriv'd it's birth,
With *Sylvan*'s aid; nor was it only meant
T' expreſs our ſorrow, but for ornament.
Chiefly when growing low, your fields they bound;
Or when your garden's avenues are crown'd,
With their long rows; ſometimes it ſerves to hide,
Some trench declining on the other ſide.
Th' unequal branches always keep that green,
Of which it's leaves are ne're diveſted ſeen.
Tho' ſhook with ſtorms, yet unmov'd remains,
And by rough trials greater glory gains.

II. *The Life of* Alexander the Great, *tranſlated from the* Greek *of* Plutarch (2).

III. *The Hiſtory of the* GRAND VISIERS, Mahomet, *and* Achmet Coprogli; *of the three laſt* Grand Signiors, *their* Sultanas, *and chief Favourites*; *with the moſt ſecret Intrigues of the Seraglio*, &c. Lond. 1677, 8*vo*.

(2) Printed in the fourth volume of Plutarch's Lives by ſeveral hands.

This was a tranſlation from the French, and has been eſteemed an entertaining and inſtructive hiſtory. Our author wrote alſo ſeveral poems occaſionally, of which two are printed in a celebrated collection (3); the one, intituled *on Virtue*, has been eſteemed excellent in it's kind by the beſt judges; and the other, ſtiled *the Remedy of Love*, has been alſo much admired.

(3) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 262, 274.

E

F.

FABIAN, or FABYAN (ROBERT) author of the *Concordaunce of Stories* (*a*), or Chronicle of England and France, was born in London (*b*). He was brought up to trade, and became ſo conſiderable a Merchant that he was choſen one of the Aldermen of that illuſtrious city. In the 9th of Henry VII, namely in part of the years 1493 and 1494, he had the honour of being one of the Sheriffs of the ſame (*c*). He was a perſon of learning for the times he lived in, and had ſome ſkill in Poetry, both in Engliſh, Latin, and French (*d*) [*A*]. But he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of Hiſtory; and compiled out of ſeveral authors [*B*] a Chronicle, which was printed after his deceaſe [*C*]. He died at London in the beginning of the year 1512, and was buried February

(*a*) So he called his Chronicle.

(*b*) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. Ætas XVI. ad ann. 1512, No. 913.

(*c*) J. Stow's Survey, with J. Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, *Vol.* II. B. v. p. 126; and, our author's Chronicle, edit. 1533, fol. CCXXX. b.

(*d*) Bale. Script. Brytanniæ Cent. 8*va*, No. 62.

[*A*] *And had ſome ſkill in Poetry, both in Engliſh, Latin, and French.*] Take a ſample of his Engliſh Poetry, from the Prologue to his Chronicle, where he gives an account of that work.

Into ſeven partes, I have this booke divided,
So that the reader maie choſe where he will.
The firſt conteineth how the Britons guided
This lande, from Brute (*) Moliuncius untill:
And from Moliuncius, I have ſette for ſkill,
To the ninthe yere of kyng Caſſibelan
The ſeconde parte, for that the Romaines than
Conquered Britain. And thens to Severine
The thirde parte I have alſo aſſigned.
The fourthe endeth then at Conſtantine.
The fifte at Cadwaladar I have alſo diffined.
At the conqueſt I have eke determined
The ſixte parte. And of the ſeventh or laſte,
At our redoubted Prince I have the ende caſte,
Henry the eight whom God preſerve and ſave,
And hym defende from all adverſitie.

(*) Molmutius.

— — — — — — — — — — —

And for this booke includeth ſtories fele,
And toucheth thynges doen in ſondrie place,
So that one tyme muſt with an other dele,
To kepe the yeres, the tyme and the ſpace,
Therfore this name ſhall it now purchace,
(Concordaunce of ſtories) by me provided,
The actuhour, ſans nome finally diviſed.

— — — — — — — — — — —

He hath alſo Verſes at the beginning of the ſecond Volume of his Chronicle, ſome of which run thus:

Whoſo hym liketh theſe verſes to reade
With favour I praie he will them ſpel.
Let not the rudeneſſe of them him leade,
For to deſprave this rime dogrell.
Some part of the honor it doeth you tel
Of this old citee Troinovaunt:
But not thereof the halfe dell
Conuyng in the maker is ſo adaunt.

[*B*] *Out of ſeveral Authors.*] Particularly, Euſebius, Eutropius, Paullus Diaconus, Matthæolus Veronenſis, Petrus Pictavienſis, Guido de Columna, Roger de Hoveden, Alured of Beverley, Ranulph Higden, John de Treviſa, Lydgate, John Froiſſard, Gaguin, Hartman Shedel, Jacobus Bergomas, Will. Caxton, and eſpecially Geoffrey of Monmouth (1).

(1) Bale, Script. Brytanniæ Cent. octava, No. 62. p.642, edit. 1559.

[*C*] *A Chronicle which was printed after his deceaſe.*] It was firſt printed at London in 1516. fol. by R. Pynſon; and afterwards by William Raſtell, 1533, fol. in neat and ſmall black types, and on good paper. At the concluſion of each part, there is a Hymn to the Virgin Mary [omitted in the following Editions.] And at the end of all 'Thus endeth 'Fabyans Cronicle. Printed by W. Raſtell, and fy-'nyſhed the laſte daye of December, in the yere of 'our Lorde. M. V. C. and XXXIII.' There are alſo at the end five leaves, which bring down the Hiſtory to the beginning of King Henry VIII. but are omitted in ſubſequent Editions, particularly in one of the year 1559. now before us. The whole work is divided into two Volumes: whereof the firſt begins at Brute, and ends at the death of our King Henry II. and Philip II. King of France. The ſecond Volume, which is the moſt valuable of the two, contains the Chronicles of England and of France, from the beginning of the reign of King Richard I. until the end of the reign of Charles IX. of France, that is till the year 1504, the 20th of King Henry VII. And it appears by the concluſion, that it was finiſhed by the Author, Novemb. 7. 1504 (2). The ſecond Volume begins with an account of the Wards of London, and the pariſh Churches in each Ward: and then are ſet down the Bailiffs of that City under every year, from the time they were appointed, that is from 1190, until the year 1209, when the two Bailiffs were converted, by King John, into a Mayor and two Shireves. Of theſe the Author gives exact liſts, under each year, as far as his Chronicle reaches. He comprehends, as 'tis ſaid in the title-page, the Chronicles of England and of France; not all together, or under the reſpective years, but in diſtinct Chapters, or Articles, denoted, in the beginning, by the words *Anglia* and *Francia*.——We are told, that Cardinal Wolſey cauſed as many copies of this book as he could come at, to be burnt, becauſe the Author had made too clear a diſcovery of the large revenues of the Clergy (3). As for the character it bears: 'tis called by one who was a good

(2) See p. 525, col. 1, edit. 1559.

(3) Bale, ubi ſupra.

February 28, in the church of St Michael's Cornhill (*e*); where formerly was to be ſeen his monument [*D*].

(e) And not of All Saints, as both Bale and Pits have it, ubi ſupra; and from them Dr Fuller in his Worthies, in London, p. 218.

(4) Stow's Survey, &c. as above, B. v. p. 128.

a good judge (4), 'a painful labour, to the great honour of the city, and the whole realm.' He is very particular in the affairs of London, many good things being noted by him (which concern the government thereof) hardly to be had elſewhere. In the beginning of his ſeventh part, he obſerves Ralph Higden's method of making his years commence at Michaelmas: and is, in other reſpects, a great follower of that Author (5).

(5) Dr Nicolſon's Engl. Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736, fol. p. 69.

[*D*] *Where formerly was to be ſeen his monument.*] On which was the following inſcription: but now gone.

Like as the day his courſe doth conſume,
And the new morrow ſpringeth again as faſt,
So man and woman by natures cuſtome,
This life to paſſe, at laſt in earth are caſt,
In joy, and ſorrow, which here their time do waſt.
Never in one ſtate, but in courſe tranſitory,
So full of change is of this world the glory (6).

(6) Stow's Survey, as above, B. ii. p. 145.

C

FAIRFAX (THOMAS, Lord) a very active man in the Parliament's ſervice during our unhappy Civil Wars, in the laſt century, and at length General of their armies, was the eldeſt ſon of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax [*A*], by Mary his wife, daughter of Edmund Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave. He was born at Denton within the pariſh of Otley in Yorkſhire, in January 1611 (*a*). After a proper ſchool education, he ſtudied ſome time in St John's college in Cambridge, to which in his latter days he became a benefactor. He appears to have been a lover of learning, though he did not excel in any branch, except it was in the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Britain, as will appear in the ſequel. Being of a martial diſpoſition even in his younger years, but finding no employment at home, he went and ſerved in Holland as a voluntier under the command of Horatio Lord Vere [*B*], in order to learn the art of war (*b*). After ſome ſtay there (but how long we cannot learn) he came back to England; and, retiring to his father's houſe, married Anne, fourth daughter of the ſaid Lord Vere. Here he contracted a ſtrong averſion for the Court; either by the inſtigation of his wife, who was a zealous Preſbyterian (*c*), or elſe by the perſuaſions and example of his father, who grew 'actively and factiouſly diſaffected to 'the King (*d*).' So that, upon his Majeſty's firſt endeavours to raiſe a guard at York for his own perſon; [apprehended then by the people of thoſe parts, and found quickly after, to be the beginning of an army;] he was entruſted by his party to prefer a petition to the King, beſeeching him to hearken to his Parliament, and not to take that courſe of raiſing forces: which petition the King endeavouring to ſhun, he preſſed with that inſtance, and followed him ſo with it, on Heyworth-moor, in the preſence of near 100,000 people, that at laſt he preſented it upon the pomel of his ſaddle (*e*). Shortly after, upon the actual breaking out of the Civil Wars, in 1642, his father having received a commiſſion from the Parliament to be General of the forces in the North, he had a commiſſion under him to be General of the Horſe (*f*). His firſt exploit was at Bradford in Yorkſhire, which he obliged a body of Royaliſts to quit, and to retire to Leeds. A few days after, he and Capt. Hotham, with ſome horſe and dragoons marching thither, the Royaliſts fled in haſte to York. And the former having advanced to Tadcaſter, reſolved to keep the paſs at Wetherby, for ſecuring the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, from whence their chief ſupplies came. Sir Thomas Glemham attempted to diſlodge them from thence; but, after a ſhort and ſharp encounter, retired (*g*). Whereupon William Cavendiſh Earl of Newcaſtle, and Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland, united their forces at York, amounting to 9000 men (*b*), and reſolved to fall upon Tadcaſter: which being judged untenable, the Lord Fairfax, and his ſon Sir Thomas, drew out to an advantageous piece of ground near the town: but, after a ſix hours fight, were beaten, and withdrew in the night to Selby (*i*). Three days after, Sir Thomas marched in the night by ſeveral towns in

(a) A. Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721. col. 86.

(b) Ibid. & Anglia Rediviva; England's Recovery, &c. by Joſhua Sprigge, fol. Lond. 1647, p. 7.

(c) Memoirs of Edm. Ludlow, edit. 1698, Vol. I. p. 314.

(d) The Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1732, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 718.

(e) Sprigge, p. 8.

(f) Short Memorials of Tho. Lord Fairfax, Lond. 1699, 8vo, p. 96.

(g) Ib. p. 2—8.

(b) The Commons War of England, &c. Lond. 1662, 8vo, p. 22.

(i) Memorials, as above, p. 4—13.

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax*] The Heralds, according to their uſual flattering ſtrain, trace up this family's pedigree even higher than the Norman Conqueſt. Telling us, that it was at that time ſeated at Touceſter in Northumberland, from whence they removed into Yorkſhire (*). But it is a great queſtion, whether ſurnames were thus early taken from perſons complexions; as this of Fairfax, ſignifying *Fair locks*, from *fair*, and the Saxon *feax* hair: and the family ſeems to have had no notion of this derivation, when they took for their motto this rebus or pun, viz. the Latin words *Fare fac*, ſay, do. ——But to return; Sir William Fairfax was High-Sheriff of Yorkſhire in the 26th and 31ſt of King Henry VIII. and Thomas, his grandſon, was advanced by King Charles I. May 4. 1627. to the title of Baron Cameron in Scotland (1). This Thomas Lord Fairfax married Helen, daughter to Robert Aſk, Eſq; and by her left five ſons and two daughters. Ferdinando, the eldeſt, was entirely attached to the Parliament (2); one of their committee for the county of York (3); and General of their forces in Yorkſhire, and the adjacent counties (4). He ſerved them with the utmoſt zeal, upon every occaſion, till his death, which happened, at York, March 13, 1647-8 (5). By his wife, Mary, daughter of Edmund Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave, as above related, he had three ſons; Sir Thomas, who is the ſubject of this article; Charles, ſlain at the battle of Marſton-moor, July 3. 1644; and another, not mentioned by name. Alſo ſix daughters (6). This family, as Mr Whitelock informs us (7), was deſcended from the Law.

(*) Britiſh Compendium, for Scotland, by F. Nichols, ed. 1729. p. 451.

(1) Compend. ib. and Camden's Britan. edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1189.

(2) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, Vol. III. p. 138.

(3) Id. Vol. II. p. 515.

(4) Id. Vol. III. p. 142.

(5) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 296.

(6) Compendium, ubi ſupra.

(7) Memorials, p. 66.

[*B*] *Under the command of Horatio Lord Vere*] This Horatio, was fourth ſon of John de Vere the fifteenth Earl of Oxford of that noble family: and by King Charles I. ann. 1625, was advanced to the title of Lord Vere of Tilbury (8). He long ſerved in Holland, with great valour and reputation, jointly with his brother the brave Sir Francis Vere Governor of the Briel. In 1620. Sir Horatio commanded the Regiment ſent from England to the aſſiſtance of the Elector Palatine (9): and afterwards was employed in ſeveral other expeditions in the Netherlands. About the year 1632, or 1633, Sir Thomas Fairfax ſerved as a voluntier under him; and was at the conſiderable action of taking Boſch, or Bois-le-Duc, from the Spaniards, but had no command while he was there. He returned to England in 1634, or 1635 (10).

(8) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 199.

(9) Ar. Wilſon's Hiſt. of King James I. under 1620.

(10) Wood, as above, col. 86.

[*C*] *And*

in which the Royaliſts lay, and came to Bradford, where he entrenched himſelf. But having too many ſoldiers to lye idle, and too few to be upon conſtant duty [C], he reſolved to attempt his enemies in their garriſons. Accordingly coming before Leeds, he carried that town (Jan. 23, 1642-3) after a hot diſpute, wherein a good ſtore of ammunition fell into his hands, of which he ſtood in great want (*k*). Next he defeated a party of 700 horſe and foot at Giſborough, under the command of Col. Slingſby (*l*). And then Wakefield and Doncaſter yielded themſelves to the Parliament. But, for theſe overt-acts, William Earl of Newcaſtle, the King's General, proclaimed Sir Thomas and his father traytors, and the Parliament did the like for the Earl (*m*). In the mean time, the Lord Fairfax being denied ſuccour from Hull, and the Eaſt Riding, was forced to forſake Selby, and retire to Leeds: of which the Earl of Newcaſtle having intelligence, he lay with his army on Clifford-moor, to intercept him in his way to Leeds. Whereupon Sir Thomas was ordered by his father, to bring what men he could to join with him at Sherburne, on purpoſe to ſecure his retreat. To amuſe the Earl, Sir Thomas made a diverſion at Tadcaſter, which the garriſon immediately quitted, and whereof he ſlighted the works. But the Lord Goring marching to its relief, with twenty troops of horſe and dragoons, defeated Sir Thomas upon Bramham-moor: who alſo received a ſecond defeat upon Seacroft-moor, where ſome of his men were ſlain, and many taken priſoners. So that he made his retreat with much difficulty to Leeds, about an hour after his father was ſafely come thither. And, according to him, this was one of the greateſt loſſes he ever received (*n*). Leeds and Bradford being all the garriſons the Parliament had in the North, Sir Thomas thought it neceſſary to poſſeſs ſome other place: therefore with about 1100 horſe and foot, he drove, on the 21ſt of May, the Royaliſts out of Wakefield, which they had ſeized again; and took 1400 priſoners, 80 officers, and great ſtore of ammunition (*o*). But, ſhortly after, the Earl of Newcaſtle coming to beſiege Bradford, and Sir Thomas and his father having the boldneſs, with about 3000 men, to go and attack his whole army, which conſiſted of 10,000, on Adderton-moor; they were entirely routed by the Earl, on the 30th of June (*p*), with a conſiderable loſs [D]. Upon that, Halifax and Beverley being abandoned by the Parliamentarians, and the Lord Fairfax having neither a place of ſtrength to defend himſelf in, nor a garriſon in Yorkſhire to retire to [E], withdrew the ſame night to Leeds, to ſecure that town. But, by his order, Sir Thomas ſtayed in Bradford with 800 foot and 60 horſe; wherein being ſurrounded, he was obliged to force his way through: in which deſperate attempt, his Lady, and many others, were taken priſoners [F]. At his coming to Leeds, he found things in great diſtraction; the Council of War having reſolved to quit the town, and retreat to Hull, which was ſixty miles off; with many of the King's garriſons in the way. However, though there were fifty or ſixty troops of Royaliſts within three miles of Leeds, he got ſafely to Selby, where there was a ferry, and hard by one of the Parliament's garriſons at Cawood (*q*). Immediately after his coming to Selby, being attacked by a party of horſe which purſued him, he received a ſhot in the wriſt of his left arm, which made the bridle fall out of his hand; and being among the nerves and veins, ſuddenly let out ſuch a quantity of blood, that he was ready to fall from his horſe. But taking the reins in the other hand in which he had his ſword, he withdrew himſelf out of the crowd [G]; and after

(*k*) Ibid. p. 17.

(*l*) The Commons War, p. 24.

(*m*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 66. Heath's Chron. edit. 1676, fol. p. 43.

(*n*) His Memorials, as above, p. 22—27.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 28—34.

(*p*) Heath's Chron. p. 47. and Memorials.

(*q*) Memorials, p. 34—53.

[C] *And too few to be upon conſtant duty.*] According to his own account, he had but three troops of horſe, and about eight hundred foot; but, upon ſummoning the country, he made up the latter twelve or thirteen hundred (11). Whilſt he lay at Selby, he went and beat up a quarter of the Royaliſts at Sherburne, and took Major-general Windham, and others priſoners: but, in this attempt, his horſe was ſhot under him (12).

(11) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 12, 15.

(12) Ibid. p. 18, &c.

[D] *With a conſiderable loſs.*] Two thouſand were killed and taken; and the next day two thouſand priſoners were made, at the taking of the town (13).

(13) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars, by T. Hobbes, Lond. 1679, 8vo, p. 177.

[E] *Nor a garriſon in Yorkſhire to retire to.*] For Sir John Hotham, the Governor of Hull had declared, if they were forced to retreat thither, he would ſhut the gates on them. Whilſt the Lord Fairfax was muſing on theſe ſad thoughts, a meſſenger was ſent unto him from Hull, to let him know the townſmen had ſecured the Governor; that they were ſenſible of the danger he was in, and if he had any occaſion to make uſe of that place, he ſhould be very readily and gladly received there (14).

(14) Memorials of Lord Fairfax, as above, p. 44, 45. See alſo, p. 22.

[F] *In which deſperate attempt, his Lady, and many others, were taken priſoners.*] As we learn from his own Memorials, in the following words:— 'I muſt 'not here forget my wife, who ran the ſame hazard 'with us in this retreat, and with as little expreſſion 'of fear; not from any zeal, or delight in the war, 'but through a willing and patient ſuffering of this 'undeſirable condition. I ſent two or three horſe-'men before, to diſcover what they could of the ene-'my, who preſently returned, and told us there was 'a guard of horſe cloſe by us.——I, with ſome '12 more, charged them. Sir Henry Fowles, Major-'General Gefford, myſelf and 3 more brake through; 'Capt. Mudd was ſlain, and the reſt of our horſe 'being cloſe by, the enemy fell upon them, and ſoon 'routed them, taking moſt of them priſoners, among 'whom was my wife, the Officer Will. Hill, behind 'whom ſhe rid, being taken. I ſaw this diſaſter, but 'could give no relief; for after I was got through, 'I was in the enemies reer alone; thoſe who had 'charged through with me, went on to Leeds, think-'ing I had done ſo too: but I was unwilling to leave 'my company, and ſtay'd till I ſaw there was no 'more in my power to do, but to be taken priſoner 'with them. I then retired to Leeds (15).'

(15) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 49, 50.

[G] *He drew himſelf out of the crowd.*] Theſe additional circumſtances, from his own account, may not be unacceptable to the reader. '——The ene-'my minding nothing ſo much as how to get away, 'I drew myſelf out of the crowd, and came to our 'men, who turned about, and ſeeing me ready to 'fall from my horſe, they lay'd me on the ground: 'now when I was almoſt ſenſeleſs, my Surgeon came 'ſeaſonably, and bound up the wound, and ſtopt the 'bleeding. After a quarter of an hour's reſt, I got 'a horſe-back again; the other part of our horſe had 'beaten the enemy back to Cawood, the ſame way 'they came firſt to us. Thus by the goodneſs of 'God, our paſſage was made clear; ſome went over 'the ferry after my father, I myſelf with others went 'through

after a very troubleſome and dangerous paſſage (being often attacked, ſometimes in the front, ſometimes in the rear) he came to Hull (r). Upon theſe repeated diſaſters, the Scots were haſtily ſollicited to ſend 20,000 men to the aſſiſtance of the Parliamentarians, who were thus likely to be over-powered. The Lord Fairfax, after his coming to Hull, made it his firſt buſineſs to raiſe new forces, and in a ſhort time had about 1500 foot, and 700 horſe. The town being little, Sir Thomas was ſent to Beverley, with the horſe and 600 foot: for, the Marquis of Newcaſtle (s) looking upon them as inconſiderable, and leaving only a few garriſons, was marched with his whole army into Lincolnſhire; having orders to go into Eſſex, and block up London on that ſide. But he was haſtily recalled Northward, upon the Lord Fairfax's ſending out a large party to make an attempt upon Stanford-bridge near York. The Marquis, at his return into Yorkſhire, firſt diſlodged from Beverley Sir Thomas, who retreated into Hull, to which the Marquis laid ſiege; but could not carry the place. During the ſiege, the horſe being uſeleſs, and many dying every day, Sir Thomas was ſent with them over into Lincolnſhire, to join the Earl of Mancheſter's forces, then commanded by Major-General Cromwell (t). At Horncaſtle, or Winſby, they routed a party of 5000 men, commanded by Sir John Henderſon: and, at the ſame time, the beſieged in Hull making a ſally upon the beſiegers, obliged them to retire. Theſe two defeats together, the one falling heavy upon the horſe, the other upon the foot, kept the Royaliſts all that winter from attempting any thing; and the Parliamentarians, after the taking of Lincoln, ſettled themſelves in winter quarters (u). But Sir Thomas had not long the benefit of them, for in the coldeſt ſeaſon of the year, he was commanded by the Parliament to go and raiſe the ſiege of Nantwich in Cheſhire, which the Lord Byron, with an army from Ireland, had reduced to great extremity. He ſet forward from Lincolnſhire December 29, and, being joined by Sir William Brereton, entirely routed, on the 21ſt of January, the Lord Byron, who was drawn out to meet them (w) [H]. After that, they took in ſeveral garriſons in Cheſhire, particularly Crew-houſe, &c (x). Sir Thomas having ſtayed in thoſe parts till the middle of March, was ordered back by his father into Yorkſhire, that by the conjunction of their forces he might be abler to take the field. They met about Ferry-bridge; and Col. Bellaſis, Governor of York, having advanced to Selby, to hinder their junction, they found means, notwithſtanding, to join, and entirely defeated him, on the 11th of April 1644 (y) [I]. This good ſucceſs rendered Sir Thomas maſter of the field in Yorkſhire, and nothing then hindered him from marching into Northumberland, as he had been ordered by the Parliament, to join the Scots, which were kept from advancing Southward by the ſuperior forces of the Marquis of Newcaſtle, quartered at Durham. But that ſtroke having thrown York into the utmoſt diſtraction, the inhabitants ſpeedily ſent to the Marquis to haſte back thither; by which means a way was left open for the Scots, who with cold and frequent alarms were reduced to great extremity. They joined the Lord Fairfax at Wetherby, on the 20th of April, and marching on to York, laid ſiege to that city [K], wherein

(r) Ibid. p. 52—56.

(s) He was created Marquis Oct. 27, 1643. Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(t) Memorials, as above, p. 59—65; and Whitelock, p. 75.

(u) Memorials, as above, p. 66—69.

(w) Ib. p. 69—76. Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. V. p. 302. Whitelock, p. 81.

(x) Ibid.

(y) Memorials, p. 76—79. Whitelock, p. 86.

'through the levels to Hull.——I had been twenty 'hours on horſeback, after I was ſhot, without any 'reſt or refreſhment, and as many hours before. And 'as a further affliction, my daughter [afterwards 'Ducheſs of Buckingham] not above five years old, 'being carried before her maid, endured all this re-'treat a horſeback; but nature not being able to hold 'out any longer, ſhe fell into frequent ſwoonings, and 'in appearance was ready to expire her laſt. Having 'now paſſed the Trent, and ſeeing a houſe not far 'off, I ſent her with her maid only thither, with 'little hopes of ſeeing her any more alive, though I 'intended the next day to ſend a ſhip from Hull for 'her. I went on to Barton, having ſent before to 'have a ſhip ready againſt my coming thither. Here 'I lay down to take a little reſt, if it were poſſible 'to find any in a body ſo full of pain, and a mind 'yet fuller of anxiety and trouble. Though I muſt 'acknowledge it as the infinite goodneſs of God, that 'my ſpirit was nothing at all diſcouraged from doing 'ſtill that which I thought to be my duty. I had 'not reſted a quarter of an hour, before the enemy 'came cloſe to the town. I had now not above a 'hundred horſe with me, we went to the ſhip, where 'under the ſecurity of her ordinance we got all our 'men and horſe aboard; and croſſing Humber, we 'arrived at Hull, our men faint and tired. I myſelf 'had loſt all, even to my ſhirt, for my cloaths were 'made unfit to wear with rents and blood. Preſently 'after my coming to Hull, I ſent a ſhip for my daugh-'ter, who was brought the next day to the town, 'pretty well recovered of her long and tedious jour-'ney. Not many days, after the Earl of Newcaſtle 'ſent my wife back again in his coach, with ſome 'horſe to guard her; which generous act of his gained 'him more reputation, than he could have got by 'detaining a lady priſoner, upon ſuch terms (16).'

(16) Memorials, p. 54, &c.

[H] *Entirely routed, on the 21ſt of January, the Lord Byron, who was drawn out to meet them.*] His army of Iriſh conſiſted of 3000 foot, of whom above 2000 were ſlain or taken priſoners; and of 1800 horſe, moſt of whom eſcaped by flight. Col. George Monk, then in the King's ſervice, being taken in this action, was ſent up priſoner to the Tower of London, where he remained till 1647, when he entered into the Parliament's ſervice, for the reduction of Ireland. And his great bravery in that kingdom was the cauſe of his ſucceeding advancement (17).

(17) Memorials, p. 69, &c. Whitelock, p. 81. Ruſhworth, Vol. V. p. 302; and Life of General Monk, by T. Skinner, M. D. edit. 1724, 8vo, ch. ii.

[I] *They found means, notwithſtanding, to join, and entirely defeated him, &c.*] The Lord Fairfax took a great compaſs about, to deceive the vigilance of the Royaliſts, and by that means joined his ſon (18). Their attack was in three diviſions; the firſt led on by the Lord Fairfax himſelf; the next by Sir John Meldrum; and the third by Col. Bright, brother-in-law to Col. Lambert: Sir Thomas Fairfax led on the horſe. The matter was a long time diſputed with equality on both ſides, till the horſe forced a paſſage into the town, where the following priſoners were taken; 2 Colonels; 3 Lieutenant-Colonels; 1 Major of horſe, and 3 of foot; 8 Captains of horſe; 11 Captains of foot; 3 Captain-Lieutenants; 3 Lieutenants of horſe; 23 Lieutenants of foot; 12 Enſigns; 6 Cornets of horſe; 4 Quarter-maſters; above 60 Serjeants, Trumpets, &c. 1600 common Soldiers; 2000 Arms, and above; and all the bag and baggage (19).

(18) Ruſhworth, Vol. V. p. 618.

[K] *Laid ſiege to that city.*] During the ſiege, St Mary's Tower, wherein many foundation-charters and other grants relating to the Monaſteries, in Yorkſhire

(19) From the account then printed by authority.

wherein the Marquis of Newcaſtle had ſhut himſelf up (z); being cloſely purſued, on the way thither, by Sir Thomas, and Major-General Leſley (a). And when Prince Rupert was advancing out of Lancaſhire to the relief of that place, they marched with 6000 horſe and dragoons and 5000 foot, to ſtop his progreſs (b): but he eluding their vigilance, and fetching a compaſs about with his army, which conſiſted of above 20,000 men, got into York (c). Whereupon the Parliamentarians raiſed the ſiege, and retired to Heſſey-more. The Engliſh were for fighting, and the Scots for retreating; which laſt opinion prevailing, they both marched away to Tadcaſter (d), there being great differences and jealouſies between the two nations. But the raſh and haughty Prince, inſtead of haraſſing and wearing them out by prudent delays, reſolved, without conſulting the Marquis of Newcaſtle or any of his officers, to engage them, on Marſton-moor, eight miles from York, on the 2d of July: where that bloody battle was fought, which entirely ruined the King's affairs in the North (e). In this battle, Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of the horſe [L]. The Prince, after his defeat, retiring towards Lancaſhire, and the Marquis, in diſcontent, ſailing away to Hamburgh (f), the three Parliament-Generals came and ſat down again before York, which ſurrendered the 15th of July: and the North was now wholly reduced by the Parliament's forces, except ſome garriſons (g). In September following, Sir Thomas was ſent to take Helmeſley-caſtle, where he received a dangerous ſhot in one of his ſhoulders, and was brought back to York, all being doubtful of his recovery for ſome time (h). Some time after, he was near being killed by a cannon-ſhot before Pomfret-caſtle [M]. Hitherto he had acquitted himſelf with undaunted bravery, and with great and deſerved applauſe from his party. Had he ſtopped here, or at ſuch times at leaſt as the King's conceſſions were in reaſon and equity a juſt ground for peace (which was more than once) he might have been honourably ranked among the reſt of thoſe Patriots, who took up arms only for the redreſs of grievances. But his boundleſs ambition, and his great deſire to rule, made him weakly engage, with the utmoſt zeal, in the worſt and moſt exceptionable parts of our unhappy Civil Wars. For, when the Parliamentarians thought fit to new model their army, and to lay aſide the honeſt but unſucceſsful Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex; they unanimouſly voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be their General in his room: and he being eaſy, and forward to undertake or execute any thing that he was put upon, was the more readily choſen by the two then prevailing parties of Preſbyterians and Independants. To him Oliver Cromwell was joined with the title of Lieutenant-General, but with intention of being his governor (i); and he was indeed the ſpring of all his ſucceeding motions. Sir Thomas being thus voted Commander in Chief of the Parliament's army on the 21ſt of January 1644-5 (k), received orders from the Parliament ſpeedily to come up from the North to London (l). Accordingly he repaired privately thither Febr. 18, and, the next day, was brought by four of the members into the Houſe of Commons, where he was highly complemented by the Speaker, and received his commiſſion of General (m). The 15th of the ſame month, an Ordinance was made, for raiſing and maintaining of forces under his command [N]: it having been voted, a few days before, that he ſhould nominate all the Commanders in his army, to be taken out of any the other armies, with the approbation of both Houſes (n). March 25, the Parliament ordered him 1500*l* (o). The 3d of April, he went from London to Windſor where he had appointed the general rendezvous; and continued there till the laſt day of that month, new-framing and modelling the army: or rather Cromwell doing it in his name. For, as Mr Rapin well obſerves (p), Cromwell had ſuch an influence over him, that he made him do whatever he pleaſed. April 16, he was appointed by both Houſes Governor of Hull (q). In the mean

(z) Memorials, p. 77, 78, 79, 80.
(a) Whitelock, p. 87.
(b) Ib. p. 92.
(c) Ib. p. 93.
(d) Memorials, as above, p. 82, 83.
(e) Ib. p. 82, &c. and Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. edit. 1732, 8vo, Vol. IV. p. 503, &c.
(f) Lord Clarendon, ibid.
(g) Memorials, p. 89. Whitelock, p. 95.
(h) Ibid.
(i) Elenchus Motuum, autore G. Bates, edit. 1676, p. 67, 68.
(k) The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer, No. 89.
(l) Whitelock, p. 128.
(m) Ibid. p. 132.
(n) Ib. p. 130, 136.
(o) Ib. p. 138.
(p) Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. edit. 1733, fol. p. 516.
(q) Whitelock, p. 142.

and other Northern counties, were depoſited, being accidentally blown up; Sir Thomas recovered as many of thoſe valuable pieces as he could, rewarding very generouſly ſuch ſoldiers as brought any of them to him. He had before employed Roger Dodſworth, to copy out great numbers of them, allowing him an annuity of 40*l. per ann.* during his life; by which means they were preſerved from irrecoverable ruin, and make a very conſiderable part of the *Monaſticon Anglicanum*. All the ſaid Dodſworth's collections and MSS. amounting in the whole to 122 volumes, were afterwards bequeathed by the Lord Fairfax to the Bodleian Library at Oxford (20).

(20) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 11, 14, 15. See alſo the article DUGDALE (Sir WILLIAM).

[L] *In this battle, Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of horſe.*] This right wing of horſe, which conſiſted of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops in the van, and of the Scotch cavalry in the rear, (againſt which the Prince had a more peculiar indignation) was, at the firſt onſet of the King's left wing of horſe, put to rout; the Royaliſts following them in the purſuit ſo far (as it was their unhappy cuſtom) that thereby they became the overthrow of their own army (21).

(21) Heath's Chron. p. 59.

[M] *He was near been killed, &c.*] This we learn from Mr Whitelock, in theſe words. 'Sir Thomas 'Fairfax and Colonel Forbes ſtanding together near 'Pomfret-caſtle, a cannon-bullet from thence came 'betwixt them, and the wind of it beat them both 'to the ground, and put out one of Col. Forbes's 'eyes, and ſpoiled that ſide of his face, and yet no 'other hurt to Sir Thomas Fairfax (22).'

(22) Whitelock, p. 124.

[N] *An Ordinance was made, for raiſing and maintaining of the Forces under his command.*] This Ordinance imported, that there ſhould be forthwith raiſed and formed, for the defence of the King and Parliament, the true Proteſtant Religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, an army conſiſting of 6600 horſe to be diſtributed into eleven regiments; and of 1000 dragooniers, to be diſtributed into ten companies; and of 14400 foot, to be diſtributed into twelve regiments, each regiment of foot to conſiſt of twelve hundred, and each ſuch regiment to be diſtributed into ten companies. For their maintenance, there was impoſed upon nineteen of the counties and cities in England, the monthly ſum of fifty three thouſand four hundred and fifty ſix pounds; which was raiſed in the ſame manner as our preſent Land-tax (23).

(23) Collection of all the publique Orders, &c. Printed for Edw. Huſband, Lond. 1646, fol. p. 599.

[O] *When*

mean time, Taunton, in Somerſetſhire, one of the Parliament's garriſons, being cloſely beſieged by the Royaliſts, Sir Thomas Fairfax received orders to haſten to its relief, with 8000 horſe and foot (*r*). He began his march May 1, and by the 7th had reached Blandford in Dorſetſhire (*s*): but the King taking the field from Oxford, with ſtrong reinforcements brought by the Princes Rupert and Maurice; Sir Thomas was ordered by the Parliament, to ſend 3000 foot and 1500 horſe to relieve Taunton, and himſelf to return, with the reſt of his forces to join Oliver Cromwell and Major-General Browne, and attend the King's motions (*t*). The 14th of May he was come back as far as Newbury (*u*); where having reſted three nights, he went and faced Dennington-caſtle, and took a few priſoners. Thence he proceeded to lay ſiege to Oxford, as he was directed by the Committee of both kingdoms, and ſat down before it the 22d. But before he had made any progreſs in this ſiege, he received orders to draw nearer the King, who had taken Leiceſter by ſtorm, May 31, and was threatning the eaſtern aſſociated counties (*w*). Sir Thomas therefore riſing from before Oxford, June 5, arrived the ſame day at Marſh-Gibbon in Buckinghamſhire; on the 11th he was at Wootton, and the next day at Gilſborough in Northamptonſhire: where he kept his head-quarters till the 14th, when he engaged the King's forces at the fatal and deciſive battle of Naſeby [*O*], and obtained a compleat victory (*x*). The King, after that, retiring into Wales, Sir Thomas went and laid ſiege on the 16th to Leiceſter, which ſurrendered on the 18th (*y*). He proceeded, on the 22d, to Warwick; and thence (with a diſpoſition either to go over the Severn towards the King, or to move Weſtward as he ſhould be ordered) he marched on through Glouceſterſhire towards Marlborough, where he arrived the 28th (*z*). And here he received orders from the Parliament, to haſten to the relief of Taunton, which was beſieged again by the Royaliſts; letters being ſent at the ſame time into the aſſociated counties, for recruits, and the arrears of pay, for his army (*a*). But July 2, upon his coming to Blandford, he was informed that the Lord Goring had drawn off his horſe from before Taunton, and left his foot in the paſſages to block up that place, marching himſelf with the horſe towards Langport (*b*). Sir Thomas Fairfax therefore advancing againſt him, defeated him there on the 10th of July (*c*); and, the next day, went and ſummoned Bridgewater, which was taken by ſtorm on the 22d (*d*). He became alſo maſter of Bath the 30th of the ſame month; and then laid cloſe ſiege to Sherborne-caſtle, which was likewiſe taken by ſtorm Auguſt 15. And having beſieged the rich and famous city of Briſtol from the 22d of Auguſt to the 10th of September [*P*], it was ſurrendered to him by Prince Rupert (*e*); at which the King was ſo exceſſively angry [*Q*], that he ordered the Prince to go and ſeek his ſubſiſtence ſomewhere beyond ſea (*f*). After this laborious expedition, the General reſted ſome days at Bath, having ſent out parties to reduce the caſtles of the Deviſes and Berkley, and other garriſons between the Weſt and London; and on the 23d moved from Bath to the Deviſes, and thence to Warminſter on the 27th, where he ſtayed till October 8, when he went to Lyme in Dorſetſhire (*g*). From this place he came to Tiverton, of which he became maſter on the 19th (*h*); and then, as he could not undertake a formal ſiege in the winter ſeaſon, he blocked up the ſtrong city of Exeter, which did not ſurrender till the 13th of April following (*i*): in the mean time, he took Dartmouth by ſtorm January 18, 1645-6 (*k*); and ſeveral forts and garriſons at different

(*r*) Ibid. p. 144.

(*s*) Sprigge, ubi ſupra, p. 15.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 17. and Whitelock, p. 145.

(*u*) Sprigge, p. 19.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 21; and Whitelock, p. 146, 147. Memorable occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Ruſticus*.

(*x*) Sprigge, p. 33, &c.

(*y*) Sprigge, p. 48, 49.

(*z*) Sprigge, p. 55.

(*a*) Whitelock, p. 153.

(*b*) Idem. p. 155; and Sprigge, p. 57, 60.

(*c*) Sprigge, p. 64, &c. Whitelocke, p. 158, 159.

(*d*) Sprigge, p. 66, &c Whitelock, p. 161, 162, 166.

(*e*) Sprigge, p. 76—120.

(*f*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 694.

(*g*) Sprigge, p. 124, 127, 128.

(*h*) Ib. p. 134, 144.

(*i*) Ib. p. 146, &c.

(*k*) Ib. p. 167; and Whitelock, p. 189.

[*O*] *When he engaged the King's forces at the fatal and deciſive battle of Naſeby.*] As I am not writing a hiſtory of England, I ſhall not enter into the particulars of this battle, but only take notice of the ſhare Sir Thomas Fairfax had in it. He commanded the main body of foot; and behaved with uncommon valour and bravery (24). During the engagement, having had his helmet beat off, he rid bareheaded up and down from one part of his army to another, to ſee how they ſtood, and what advantage might be gained: and coming up to his own life-guard, commanded by Col. Charles Doyley, he was told by him that he expoſed himſelf to too much danger, and the whole army thereby, riding bareheaded in the fields, and ſo many bullets flying about him; and Doyley offered the General his helmet, but he refuſed it, ſaying, 'It is well enough Charles.' (25)——This viſible difference appears in the encouragement given to the two contending parties, which may account for their different ſucceſs almoſt in every battle. The King's forces fought for Him, not for themſelves; and both officers and ſoldiers were in general negligent and unfaithful in their duty (26). But the Parliamentarian ſoldiers fought for Themſelves, for booty and plunder, at leaſt for very great rewards, and could not but mend their fortunes by fiſhing in troubled waters; no wonder therefore that they fought with ſo much fury and reſolution.

(24) Sprigge, p. 33, &c.

(25) Whitelock, p. 151.

(26) Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 729.

[*P*] *And having beſieged the rich and famous city of Briſtol, from the 22d of Auguſt to the 10th of September.*] Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his firſt ſummons to Prince Rupert, has theſe remarkable words; which are ſubmitted to the reader's conſideration.—— 'Sir, 'the Crown of England is and will be where it ought 'to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the King 'miſled by evil counſellors, or through a ſeduced 'heart, hath left his Parliament, under God, the 'beſt aſſurance of his crown and family: the main-'taining of this ſchiſme is the ground of this unhappy 'war on your part: and what ſad effects it hath pro-'duced in the three kingdomes, is viſible to all men. 'To maintain the rights of the crown and kingdom 'jointly; a principal part whereof is, that the King 'in ſupream acts is not to be adviſed by men of whom 'the law takes no notice, but by his Parliament, the 'great counſel of the kingdom, in whom (as much 'as man is capable of) he hears all his people as it 'were at once adviſing him, and in which multitude 'of councellours lyes his ſafety, and his peoples inte-'reſt; and to ſee him right in this; hath been the 'conſtant and faithfull endeavour of the Parliament. 'And to bring theſe wicked inſtruments to juſtice that 'have miſled him, is a principal ground of our fight-'ing (27).'—But, from theſe plauſible and righteous ſentiments, Sir Thomas ſeems to have departed afterwards.

(27) Sprigge, p. 98.

[*Q*] *At which the King was ſo exceſſively angry.*] And the more, as the Prince, in a letter to his Majeſty of the 12th of Auguſt, had aſſured him, 'that 'if no mutiny happened, he would keep Briſtol for 'four months (28).'

(28) Clarendon, ibid.

[*R*] *Febr.*

different times. Febr. 16, he defeated the Lord Hopton near Torrington (*l*) [*R*]. This Nobleman retreating with his broken forces into Cornwall, Sir Thomas followed him: In purſuit of whom he came to Launceſton Febr. 25, and to Bodmin March 2. On the 4th Mount Edgecombe was ſurrendered to him; and Fowey about the ſame time (*m*). At laſt the Parliament-army approaching Truro, where Lord Hopton had his head-quarters; and he being ſo hemm'd in as to remain without a poſſibility of eſcaping; Sir Thomas, on the 5th of March, ſent and offered him honourable terms, if he would capitulate [*S*]. After ſome delays and difficulties, the Lord Hopton accepted of them; and a treaty was ſigned by Commiſſioners on both ſides, March 14; in purſuance of which, the Royaliſts, conſiſting of above 5000 horſe, were diſbanded; and took an oath never to bear arms againſt the Parliament (*n*). But, before the treaty was ſigned, the Lord Hopton and Arthur Lord Capel, retired to Scilly, from whence they paſſed into Jerſey, Apr. 17, with Charles Prince of Wales, Sir Edward Hyde, and other perſons of diſtinction (*o*). Thus the King's army in the Weſt being entirely diſperſed, by the vigilance and wonderful ſucceſs of General Fairfax; he returned, March 31, to the ſiege of Exeter, which ſurrendered to him upon articles, the 13th of April, as I have already obſerved (*p*): and with the taking of this city ended our General's weſtern expedition. Having entirely ſubdued thoſe parts, which were the greateſt ſtrength and almoſt the only refuge of the Royaliſts, he marched, with wonderful ſpeed (*q*), towards Oxford, the moſt conſiderable garriſon remaining in the King's hands. Setting out therefore from Exeter April 18, he came, on the 1ſt of May, with his army before that city, and began to lay ſiege to it (*r*). The King, who was there, afraid of being encloſed, privately, and in diſguiſe, departed from thence on the 27th of April; and May 4 put himſelf into the hands of the treacherous Scots (*s*). Oxford ſurrendered upon articles June 24 [*T*], as did Wallingford July 22 (*t*). After the reduction of theſe places, Sir Thomas went and beſieged Ragland-caſtle in Monmouthſhire, the property of Henry Somerſet Marquis of Worceſter, which yielded Aug. 19 (*u*). And thus, before Michaelmas 1646, the unhappy King Charles I. had neither army nor fortreſs left in England. The next employment required of the General, was to diſband Major-General Maſſey's brigade, which he did at the Deviſes. About that time he was ſeized with a violent fit of the ſtone, under which he laboured many days. As ſoon as he was recovered, he took a journey to London; where he arrived Novemb. 12, being met ſome miles off by great crowds of people, and the city-militia. The next day, both Houſes of Parliament agreed to congratulate his coming to town, and to give him thanks for his faithful ſervices and wiſe conduct [*U*]: which they did the day following, waiting upon him at his houſe in Queen-ſtreet (*w*). Hardly had he had time to reſt, when he was called upon to convoy the two hundred thouſand pounds that had been granted to the Scottiſh army; the price of their delivering up, or betraying, their Sovereign King Charles [*W*]. For that purpoſe he ſet out

(*l*) Sprigge, p. 184, &c. and Whitelock, p. 192, 193.

(*m*) Sprigge, p. 203.

(*n*) Sprigge, p. 205—229. Whitelock, p. 198, 199.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 734; and Vol. V. p. 2, 4.

(*p*) Sprigge, p. 233—244.

(*q*) Whitelock, p. 201.

(*r*) Sprigge, p. 245, &c.

(*s*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 22. T. Hobbes, as above, p. 185.

(*t*) Sprigge, p. 260—290. Whitelock, p. 210.

(*u*) Sprigge, p. 291—330.

(*w*) Sprigge, p. 311, &c. Whitelock, p. 227.

[*R*] *Febr.* 16. *he defeated the Lord Hopton near Torrington*] And, as a reward for this great ſervice; on the 24th of February, the Parliament ordered fifty thouſand pounds for his army, out of the Exciſe (29).

(29) Whitelock, p. 194.

[*S*] *Sir Thomas Fairfax ſent and offered him, on the 5th of March, honourable terms, if he would capitulate.*] Namely, 'to the ſouldiery in general, Engliſh and Forreigners, liberty either to go beyond ſea, or to their homes in England, as they pleaſed; and to ſuch Engliſh as ſhould chooſe to live at home, his protection for the liberty of their perſons, and for the immunity of their eſtates from all plunder or violence of ſouldiers, and all to go their wayes with what they had, ſaving horſes and armes; but for officers in commiſſion and gentlemen of quality, he ſhould allow them to go with horſes for themſelves and one ſervant or more, ſuitable to their quality, and with armes befitting gentlemen in a condition of peace; and ſuch officers as would goe beyond ſea for other ſervice, to take with them their armes and full number of horſes anſwerable to their offices. To all Troopers and inferiour ſort of Horſe officers bringing in and delivering up of their horſes and armes, 20*s.* a man in lieu of their horſes to carry them home: to Engliſh gentlemen of conſiderable eſtates, his paſſe and recommendation to the Parliament for their moderate compoſition (30).'

(50) Sprigge, p. 205, 206.

[*T*] *Oxford ſurrendred upon articles June* 24.] And at that juncture, Sir Thomas expreſſed his regard to learning, by agreeing in the 14th article of the ſurrender, 'That the Chancellour, Maſters and Scholers of the Univerſity of Oxon, and the Governours and Students of Chriſt-Church, and all other Heads and Governours, Maſters, Fellowes and Schollers of the Colleges, Hals, &c. of the ſame Univerſity, and the publick Profeſſors and Readers, and the Orator thereof, and all other perſons belonging to the ſaid Univerſity, or to any Colleges or Hals therein, ſhould and might, according to their ſtatutes, charters and cuſtomes, enjoy their ancient forme of government, ſubordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament: and that all the rights, privileges, franchizes, lands, tenements, houſes, poſſeſſions, rents, revenues, hereditaments, libraries, debts, goods and chattels, belonging to the ſaid Univerſity, or to Chriſt-church, or to any Colleges or Halls in the ſaid Univerſity (except ſuch rents and revenues as had been already taken and received by Ordinance of Parliament) ſhould be enjoyed by them reſpectively, free from ſequeſtrations, fines, taxes, and all other moleſtations whatſoever.——— And that all Churches, Chappels, Colledges, Hals, Libraries, Schooles, and publick buildings, within or belonging to the City or Univerſity, or to Chriſt's-Church, or the ſeveral Colleges or Hals thereof, ſhould be preſerved from defacing and ſpoyle.' But it ſeems theſe articles were not reliſhed by the root- and branch-men (31). Sir Thomas took alſo great care for the preſervation of the publick library, which in ſeveral reſpects did ſuffer while the garriſon was poſſeſt by the royal party (32).

(31) Sprigge, p. 267, 273.

(32) Wood, Faſt. ut ſupra, col. 88.

[*U*] *And to give him thanks for his faithful ſervices and wiſe conduct*] They gave him ſomething more ſubſtantial than words and compliments, by making him very conſiderable preſents and grants at different times. As namely, in 1645, they ſent him a jewel of great value, ſet with diamonds, which was tyed in a blue ribband, and put about his neck (33). In 1646 an ordinance was made for ſettling 5000l. a year upon him, and his heirs (34). And 4000l. a year was granted to him out of the Duke of Buckingham's eſtate (35): which probably was part of the 5000l. ſettled upon him by the Parliament. Inſtead of the other thouſand, 10,000l. was given him by Parliament (36).

(33) Whitelock, p. 177, 180. Sprigge, p. 152.

(34) Whitelock, p. 223, 235, 246.

(35) Heath's Chron. p. 235.

(36) Whitelock, p. 298.

[*W*] *The price of their delivering up, or betraying, their Sovereign King Charles.*] Mr Rapin takes great pains,

out from London, Decemb. 18, with a ſufficient force (*x*), carrying at the ſame time 50,000*l.* for his own army. The King being delivered by the Scots to the Parliament's Commiſſioners at Newcaſtle January 30, 1646-7; Sir Thomas went and met him, Feb. 15, beyond Nottingham, in his way to Holmby; and his Majeſty ſtopping his horſe, Sir Thomas alighted, and kiſſed his hand; and afterwards mounted, and diſcourſed with him as they rode along (*y*) [*X*]. The 5th of March following, after long debate in Parliament, he was voted General of the forces that were to be continued. He came to Cambridge the 12th of the ſame month, where he was highly careſſed and complimented, and created Maſter of Arts (*z*) [*Y*]. Hitherto, the crafty and ambitious Oliver Cromwell had permitted him to enjoy in all reſpects the ſupreme command, at leaſt to outward appearance. And, under his conduct, the army's rapid ſucceſs, after their new model, had much ſurpaſſed the expectation of the moſt ſanguine of their maſters, the Parliament. The queſtion now was, to diſband the majority of them after their work was done, and to employ a part of the reſt in the reduction of Ireland. But either of the two appeared to all of them intolerable. For many having, from the dregs of the people, riſen to the higheſt commands; and by plunderings and violence amaſſing daily great treaſures; they could not bear the thoughts of loſing ſuch great advantages. To maintain themſelves therefore in the poſſeſſion of them, Cromwell, and his ſon-in-law Ireton, as good a contriver as himſelf, but a much better writer and ſpeaker, deviſe how to raiſe a mutiny in the army againſt the Parliament. To this end they ſpread a whiſper among the ſoldiery, 'that the Parliament, now they had the King, intended to diſband them; to cheat them 'of their arrears; and to ſend them into Ireland, to be deſtroyed by the Iriſh.' The army enraged at this, were taught by Ireton to erect a council among themſelves, of two ſoldiers out of every troop and every company, to conſult for the good of the army, and to aſſiſt at the Council of War, and adviſe for the peace and ſafety of the kingdom. Theſe were called Adjutators, or Agitators (*a*), and wholly under Cromwell's influence and direction; the moſt active of them being his avowed creatures (*b*). Sir Thomas ſaw with uneaſineſs his power on the army uſurped by theſe Agitators, the forerunners of confuſion and anarchy, whoſe deſign (as he obſerves) was to raiſe their own fortunes upon the publick ruin: and that made him reſolve to lay down his commiſſion (*c*). But he was over-perſuaded by the heads of the Independent faction to hold it [*Z*], till he had accompliſhed their deſperate projects, of rendering themſelves maſters not only of the Parliament but of the whole kingdom. For, he joined in the ſeveral petitions and proceedings of the army that tended to deſtroy the Parliament's power (*d*); about the beginning of June, he advanced towards London, to awe the Parliament, though both Houſes deſired his army might not come within fifteen miles of the ſame (*e*); June 15, he was a party in the charge againſt eleven of the Members of the Houſe of Commons (*f*) [*AA*]; in Auguſt, he eſpouſed the Speakers of both Houſes, and the ſixty-ſix Members that had fled to the army, and betrayed the privileges of Parliament: and entering London, Auguſt 6, reſtored them in a kind of triumph. For which he received the thanks of both houſes; and was appointed Conſtable of the Tower (*g*). He was no way concerned in the violent removal of the King from Holmby [*BB*], by Cornet Joyce, on the 3d of June;

(*x*) Sprigge, p. 317. Whitelock, p. 231.

(*y*) Whitelock, p. 238.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 239, 240.

(*a*) Hobbes, ubi ſupra, p. 191, 192.

(*b*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 46.

(*c*) His Memorials, p. 105, 108.

(*d*) See Whitelock, p. 240, 241, 242, 246, &c.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 252, 261, 262.

(*f*) Papers then publiſhed; and Ruſhworth, Vol. VI. p. 570.

(*g*) Whitelock, p. 261—264.

pains, in endeavouring to clear his friends the Scots, from the imputation of having ſold the King to the Parliament (37). But if the Parliament did not actually give that ſum for *this* very *conſideration*, it is certain, that it very much ſecured and haſtened the payment of the Scotch army's arrears: which, without ſuch a valuable pledge as the King's perſon, might have remained long unſatisfied. Tho' it is true that they were become very burdenſome to the Northern counties (38): But if they had grown too troubleſome, as they were no longer neceſſary, they would undoubtedly have been ſerved in the ſame manner as they afterwards were by Oliver Cromwell. Mr Whitelock's following words deſerve to be duly weighed. 'Now there began to be an 'underſtanding between ſome here and the Scots, for 'their delivery up of the King's perſon to the Parliament (39).' And the ſame author mentions (40), that the King ſaid, 'he was bought and ſold.'

(37) Hiſt. edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 525.

(38) See Whitelock, p. 223, 225, 226, 227, 231.

(39) Page 231.

(40) Page 236.

[*X*] *And afterwards mounted and diſcourſed with him as they rode along.*] The King ſaid to one of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, 'That the General 'was a man of honour, and kept his word with 'him (41).' But we are not informed upon what occaſion.

(41) Whitelock, p. 238.

[*Y*] *And created Maſter of Arts.*] He was alſo, Jan. 11. this year, elected one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for the Burgh of Cirenceſter (42).

(42) Id. p. 234, 380.

[*Z*] *But he was over-perſuaded —— to hold it*] Tho' he had never thought of oppoſing or diſobeying the Parliament, yet he was diſpoſed to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he ſaw it was ſo much complied with, and ſubmitted to, by all men (43).

(43) Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 45.

[*AA*] *June 15. he was a party in the charge againſt eleven of the members of the Houſe of Commons.*] Theſe eleven accuſed members, were, Denzill Hollis, Eſq; Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major-General Maſſey, John Glynn, Eſq; Recorder of London, Walter Long, Edward Harley, and Antony Nicholl, Eſqrs. (44). The ſubſtance of the charge againſt them, only amounted to ſome *pretended* 'violent or 'oppreſſive ways, tending (as the words of the accuſation run) to overthrow the rights and liberties of 'the ſubjects of this nation.' But their real fault (which was far from being a fault) conſiſted in their oppoſing the army's unlawful and arbitrary proceedings; endeavouring to diſband it; or ſending part into Ireland: Which, as it tended to ruin and put a period to the exorbitant power of the army, was in their eyes an unpardonable crime. No wonder, therefore, that they oppoſed to the utmoſt all attempts towards their own diſſolution; and endeavoured to exclude from Parliament, or deſtroy, all thoſe that were for pulling them down from their exalted height, and ſending them back to their mechanick trades, or reducing them to their original meanneſs, obſcurity, and rags. And thus, as Mr Whitelock well obſerves (45), 'The army whom 'the Parliament had raiſed, paid, and commiſſionated, 'now mutiny againſt them, and with their ſwords in 'their hands, controul and oppoſe their principals and 'maſters.'

(44) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra.

(45) Page 281.

[*BB*] *He was no way concerned in the violent removal of the King from Holmby.*] The reaſons, ſent to the General by the authors of this violence, for their committing it, were, 'That they had intimation of a 'deſign,

June; and waited with great reſpect upon his Majeſty at Sir John Cutts's houſe near Cambridge (*b*). Being ordered, on the 15th of the ſame month, by the Parliament, to deliver the perſon of the King to ſuch perſons as both Houſes ſhould appoint; that he might be brought to Richmond, where propoſitions were to be preſented to him for a ſafe and well-grounded peace (*i*): inſtead of complying (though he ſeemed to do ſo) he carried his Majeſty from place to place, according to the ſeveral motions of the army [*CC*]. And yet he outwardly expreſſed, upon moſt occaſions, a due reſpect for him [*DD*]; ſo that his ambiguous conduct was owing to the fear he had, leſt the Parliament ſhould become maſters of the King's perſon. Thus, not having the will or reſolution to oppoſe what he had not power enough to prevent, he reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell [*EE*]; and though he wiſhed nothing that Cromwell did, yet he contributed to bring it all to paſs (*k*). It was this undoubtedly that made him concur, Jan. 9, 1647-8, in that cruel Declaration of the army, wherein they adhered to the Commons votes, of 'No further 'addreſſe or application to the King; and reſolved to ſtand by the Parliament, in what 'ſhould be further neceſſary for ſettling and ſecuring the Parliament and kingdom, 'without the King and againſt him (*l*).' His father dying at York March 13, he became poſſeſſed of his title and eſtate; and was appointed Keeper of Pontefract-caſtle, Cuſtos Rotulorum of Yorkſhire, &c. in his room (*m*). But his father's death made no alteration in his conduct, he remaining the ſame ſervile or deluded tool to Cromwell's ambition. For he not only ſent extraordinary ſupplies, and took all pains imaginable for reducing Col. Poyer in Wales; but alſo quell'd, with the utmoſt zeal and induſtry, an inſurrection of apprentices and others in London, April 9, who had declared for God and King Charles (*n*). The 1ſt of the ſame month, he removed his head-quarters to St Edmund's-bury; and upon the Royaliſts ſeizing Berwick and Carliſle; and the apprehenſion of the Scots entering England; he was deſired, May 9, by the Parliament, to advance in perſon into the North, to reduce thoſe places, and to prevent any danger from the threatned invaſion. Accordingly he began to march that way, the 20th (*o*). But he was ſoon recalled, to quell an inſurrection in Kent, headed by George Goring, Earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller. Advancing therefore againſt them

(*b*) Id. p. 252; and Sir T. Fairfax's Memorials, p. 112, &c.

(*i*) Whitelock, p. 253, 255.

(*k*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 52, 86.

(*l*) Paper printed at that time. See alſo Whitelock, p. 287.

(*m*) Whitelock, p. 296.

(*n*) Ib. p. 298, 299.

(*o*) Id. p. 305, 306, 307.

'deſign, which they were able to make good, of ſome 'to ſurprize the King (46);' *viz.* the Parliament, or ſome by their order. For, as one obſerves, the King was then the golden apple contended for by the Parliament and the army.——Sir Thomas gives the following account of that affair. 'Being at Saffron-Walden, I 'had notice that Cornet Joyce, an Arch-Agitator, who 'quartered about Oxford, had ſeized on the King's 'perſon, removed his guards, &c. So ſoon as I heard 'of it, I immediately ſent away two regiments of 'horſe, commanded by Colonel Whaley, to ſet all 'things again in their due courſe and order. But be-'fore he came to Holmby, the King was advanced 'two or three miles on his way to Cambridge, attend-'ed by Joyce, where Colonel Whaley acquainted the 'King, he was ſent by the General to let him know 'how much he was troubled at thoſe great inſolencies 'that had been committed ſo near his perſon; and as 'he had not the leaſt knowledge of them before they 'were done, ſo he had omitted no time in ſeeking to 'remove that force, which he had orders from me to 'ſee done: and therefore he deſired his Majeſty that 'he would be pleaſed to return again to Holmby, 'where all things ſhould be ſettled again in as much 'order and quietneſs as they were before. And alſo he 'deſired the Commiſſioners of Parliament to re-aſſume 'their charge, and attend the King as uſual. But the 'King refuſed to return, and the Commiſſioners to act; 'whereupon Colonel Whaley urged them to it, ſaying, 'He had an expreſs command to ſee all things well 'ſettled again about his Majeſty, which could not be 'done, but by his returning again to Holmby. The 'King ſaid poſitively he would not do it; ſo the Co-'lonel preſt him no more, having indeed a ſpecial di-'rection from me to uſe all tenderneſs and reſpect, as 'was due to his Majeſty.——The next day I waited 'on his Majeſty [at Sir John Cutts's houſe], it being 'alſo my buſineſs to perſuade his return to Holmby, 'but he was otherwiſe reſolved, the Agitators having 'brought him into an opinion that the army was for 'him.——That it might appear what a real trouble 'this act was to me,——I called for a council of war 'to proceed againſt Joyce, for this high offence and 'breach of the articles of war; but the officers, whe-'ther for fear of the diſtempered ſoldiers, or rather '(as I ſuſpected) a ſecret allowance of what was done, 'made all my endeavours in this ineffectual (47).'

(46) Whitelock, p. 251.

(47) Memorials, p. 112, &c.

[*CC*] *According to the ſeveral motions of the army*] The army was in the end of March 1647, at Walden; May 26, &c. at St Edmund's-bury; June 4, &c. at Newmarket; June 10, at Royſton; June 14, &c. at St Alban's; June 25, at Barkhamſtead; the 26th, at Uxbridge; the 30th, at High-Wickham; July 21, at Ayleſbury; the 24th, at Bedford; the 31ſt, at Uxbridge; Aug. 2, at Colebrook; the 4th, at Hammerſmith; the 6th, at London; the 7th, at Croydon; the 14th, at Kingſton; the 28th, at Putney; in November, at Hertford; in December, &c. at Windſor. ——And the King was, till June 3, at Holmby; the 5th, at Huntington; the 8th, at Sir John Cutts's; the 11th, at Newmarket; the 24th, at Royſton; the 26th, at Hatfield; July 2, at Windſor; the 3d, at Caverſham; the 21ſt, at Woburne; the 24th, at Latimer's; Aug. 2, at Stoke-Abbey; the 14th, at Oatlands; the 24th, at Hampton-Court (48): where he continued till the 11th of November following, when he eſcaped into the Iſle of Wight.

(48) From Papers printed by authority at that time; and Whitelock, p. 249—267.

[*DD*] *And yet he outwardly expreſſed, upon moſt occaſions, a due reſpect for him*] For, in letters from him to the Parliament, he declares, that he and his officers 'endeavoured only the ſettlement of the pub-'lick peace, and rights of the nation; and aſſured the 'King, that this being done with his concurrence, the 'rights of his Majeſty and his family ſhould be pro-'vided for; and in the mean time his Majeſty ſhould 'find from them all perſonal civilities and reſpects, and 'ſuch freedom as may ſtand with ſafety, and the truſt 'lying upon them.——That they are no enemies to 'Monarchy and Civil government.——That they con-'ceived, to avoid all harſhneſſes, and afford all kind-'neſſes to his Majeſty, conſiſting with the peace and 'ſafety of the kingdom, is the moſt chriſtian, honour-'able, and prudent way; and that tender, equitable, 'and moderate dealing towards his Majeſty, his fami-'ly, and party, is the moſt hopeful courſe, to take 'away the ſeeds of war, and feuds amongſt us and our 'poſterity, and to procure a laſting peace (49).'

(49) Whitelock, p. 258.

[*EE*] *He reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell.*] About this time, being tired with multiplicity of buſineſs and petitions at London, he appointed Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, and divers other officers, and ſuch field-officers as were in town, or any five of them, to meet every day in Whitehall, to receive petitions, and conſider of buſineſſes relating to the army, and for the better preparing of diſpatches (50).

(50) Ibid. p. 292.

[*FF*] *With*

them from London, in the latter end of May, he defeated a conſiderable party of them at Maidſtone June 2, with his uſual valour (*p*) [*FF*]. But the Earl, and about 500 of the Royaliſts, getting over the Thames at Greenwich into Eſſex, June 3, they were joined by ſeveral parties brought by Sir Charles Lucas, and Arthur Lord Capel, which made up their numbers about 4000; and went and ſhut themſelves up in Colcheſter on the 12th of June (*q*). The Lord Fairfax, informed of their motions, paſſed over with his forces at Graveſend, with ſo much expedition, that he arrived before Colcheſter June 13. Immediately he ſummons the Royaliſts to ſurrender; which they refuſing, he attacks them the ſame afternoon with the utmoſt fury. But being repulſed, he reſolved, June 14, to block up the place, in order to ſtarve the Royaliſts ſhut up therein into a compliance. Theſe endured a ſevere and tedious ſiege of eleven weeks, not ſurrendering till Auguſt 28. and feeding for about five weeks chiefly on horſe-fleſh; all their endeavours for obtaining peace, or honourable terms, being ineffectual [*GG*]. This affair is the moſt exceptionable part in the Lord Fairfax's conduct. For, he granted the worſe terms, to that poor town, than to any other in the whole courſe of the war; he endeavoured to deſtroy it as much as poſſible; he laid an exorbitant fine, or ranſom, of 12,000*l.* upon the inhabitants, to excuſe them from being plundered; and he vented his revenge and fury upon Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle [*HH*], who had behaved in the beſt and moſt inoffenſive manner during the ſiege, ſparing that buffoon the Earl of Norwich, whoſe behaviour had been quite different (*r*): ſo that his name and memory there ought to be for ever deteſtable. After his mighty exploits againſt a poor and unfortified town, he took a kind of triumphant progreſs to Ipſwich, Yarmouth, Norwich, St Edmund's-bury, Harwich, Merſey, and Maldon (*s*). About the beginning of December, he came again to London, to awe that city and the Parliament, and to forward the proceedings againſt the King; quartering himſelf in the royal palace of Whitehall (*t*): and, 'by ſpecial order from him and the 'Council of the army [*II*],' it was, that ſeveral members of the houſe of Commons were ſecluded and impriſoned, the 6th and 7th of that month (*u*); he being, as one expreſſes it, lull'd in a kind of ſtupidity (*w*). He was foremoſt in the liſt of the King's Judges, but refuſed to act (*x*), probably by his Lady's perſuaſion [*KK*]. Feb. 14, 1648-9, he was voted

(*p*) Id. p. 309.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 312; and Hiſt. of Colcheſter, by P.M. B. i. p. 58, &c.

(*r*) Whitelock, p. 312, 318.

(*s*) Ib. p. 337.

(*t*) Heath's Chr. p. 192.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 359.

(*w*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 87.

(*x*) Ibid. and Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 254.

[*FF*] *With his uſual valour.*] Though he was very much diſabled and indiſpoſed, and had a great fit of the gout then upon him, yet he could not be prevailed with to remain with the main body of the army in the field; but, with his foot wrapped up, he mounted on horſeback, led on his men in the greateſt danger, and was one of the firſt in all this action. Both ſides did their parts with much valour and reſolution, and there was ſcarce any action in the war more deſperate and hazardous, and better performed than this (51).

(51) Whitelock, p. 309.

[*GG*] *All their endeavours for obtaining peace on honourable terms being ineffectual.*] For, as early as June 19, they propoſed, 'That there might be a treaty between both armies for a peace:' adding, that 'it 'was the general peace of the kingdom they contended 'for.' But Sir Thomas replied, 'That ſuch a treaty, 'and for ſuch a peace, was not the proper work of 'himſelf, or the army, but theirs that had employed 'him:' and he offered only, that if within 24 hours they laid down their arms, the common ſoldiers ſhould have liberty to depart to their ſeveral homes; and the officers paſſes to go beyond ſea. His terms grew much higher afterwards (52).

(52) See Hiſt. of Colcheſter, B. i. p. 57. *

[*HH*] *And he vented his revenge and fury upon Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle.*] From the very beginning of the ſiege, he expreſſed the utmoſt paſſion and reſentment againſt Sir Charles Lucas in particular (53): and, in his Memorials (54), is ſo injurious to his memory, as to call him, and Sir George, mere ſoldiers of fortune. His words are, 'But Sir Charles Lucas, and 'Sir George Liſle, being mere ſoldiers of fortune, and 'falling into our hands by chance of war, were ex'ecuted.' Whereas Sir Charles was no more a ſoldier of fortune than his Lordſhip; for he had an eſtate in Eſſex, till diſpoſſeſſed of it by plundering rebels; and was heir to the honour and eſtate of his brother John Lord Lucas, for want of iſſue male. In his letter to the Parliament, his Lordſhip ſeems to queſtion, whether he had not prejudiced the honour and juſtice of Parliament in their execution. '——For ſome ſatisfac'tion, ſays he, to military juſtice, and in part of avenge 'for the innocent blood they have cauſed to be ſpilt, 'and the trouble, damage, and miſchiefe they have 'brought upon the towne, this country, and the king'dome, I have, with the advice of a Counſell of Warre 'of the chiefe officers both of the country-forces and 'the army, cauſed two of them who were rendered 'at mercy, to be ſhot to death before any of them had 'quarter aſſured them. The perſons pitched upon 'for this example, were, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir 'George Liſle, *in whoſe military execution I hope your 'Lordſhips will not find cauſe to think your honour or 'juſtice prejudiced* (55).'

(53) See Whitelock, p. 313.

(54) Page 122.

(55) Hiſt. of Colcheſter, as above, p. 69.

[*II*] *And by ſpecial order from him and the Council of the Army.*] Theſe are Mr Whitelock's expreſs words; but the Lord Fairfax clears himſelf from it, in the following manner. 'To prepare a way to this 'work [the King's Tryal] this agitating council did 'firſt intend to remove all out of the Parliament who 'were like to oppoſe them, and carried it on with 'ſuch ſecrecy, as I had not the leaſt intimation of it 'till it was done, as ſome of the members of the 'houſe can witneſs, with whom I was at that very 'time upon ſpecial buſineſs, when that attempt was 'made by Colonel Pride upon the Parliament, which 'I proteſt I never had any knowledge of till it was 'done. The reaſon why it was ſo ſecretly carried, 'that I ſhould have no notice of it, was, becauſe I 'always prevented thoſe deſigns when I knew them '(56).' The Lord Clarendon alſo confirms the ſame. 'No body own'd this act of violence in the excluſion 'of ſo many members: there was no order made for 'it by the houſe. Fairfax the General knew nothing 'of it, and the guards themſelves being aſked "what "authority they had," gave no other anſwer, but "that they had orders (57)." But the ſame noble Author obſerves in the foregoing page, that the committee of Parliament that was appointed to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correſpondence between the Army and the Parliament, were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his preſence; and then he told them ſullenly and ſuperciliouſly, 'that 'the way to correſpond with the army, was to com'ply with their remonſtrance' and the next morning a guard of muſqueteers was placed to ſeclude the members.

(56) Memorials, p. 119, 120.

(57) Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 239.

[*KK*] *He was foremoſt in the liſt of the King's Judges, but refuſed to act, probably by his Lady's perſuaſion.*] She exclaimed aloud againſt the proceedings of the High-court, and the irreverent uſage of the King by his ſubjects, inſomuch that the court was interrupted (58): for her huſband, the Lord Fairfax, being called firſt as one of the Judges, and no anſwer being made, the crier called him the ſecond time, when there was a voice heard that ſaid, 'he had 'more

(58) Whitelock, p. 371.

voted to be one of the new Council of State (*y*). But on the 19th he refuſed to ſubſcribe the Teſt, appointed by Parliament, for approving all that was done concerning the King and Kingſhip (*z*). March 31, he was voted General of all the forces in England and Ireland, more to his honour than intrinſick power (*a*). In May, he marched againſt the Levellers, who were grown very numerous, and began to be troubleſome and formidable in Oxfordſhire, and utterly routed them at Burford (*b*). Thence, on the 22d of the ſame month, he repaired to Oxford with Oliver Cromwell, and other officers, where he was highly feaſted; and created Doctor of Laws (*c*). Next, upon apprehenſion of the like riſings in other places, he went and viewed the caſtles and fortifications in the iſle of Wight, and at Southampton, and Portſmouth; and near Guilford had a rendezvous of the army, which he exhorted to obedience (*d*). June 4, he was feaſted with other officers, *&c.* by the city of London, and preſented with a large and weighty baſon and ewer of beaten gold (*e*). In June 1650, upon the Scots declaring for King Charles II, the junćto of the Council of State having taken a reſolution to be beforehand, and not to ſtay to be invaded from Scotland, but to carry firſt the war into that kingdom; General Fairfax, being conſulted, ſeemed to approve of the deſign. But afterwards, by the perſuaſions of his Lady, and of the Preſbyterian Miniſters, he declared himſelf unſatisfied, that there was a juſt ground for the Parliament of England to ſend their army to invade Scotland: and reſolved to lay down his commiſſion, rather than engage in that affair [*LL*]. Whereupon, on the 26th, the ordinance whereby he was appointed commander in chief of all the forces of the Parliament being repealed, that high truſt was immediately committed to Oliver Cromwell (*f*); who was glad to ſee him removed, as being no longer neceſſary, but rather an obſtacle to his further ambitious deſigns. For a kind of compenſation, the Parliament ſettled an annual revenue of five thouſand pounds upon his Lordſhip (*g*). Being thus releaſed from all publick employment, he went and lived quietly at his own houſe in Nun-Appleton in Yorkſhire; always earneſtly wiſhing and praying (as we are aſſured) for the reſtitution of the Royal Family, and fully reſolved to lay hold on the firſt good opportunity to contribute his part towards it; which made him always looked upon with a jealous eye by the Uſurpers of that time. As ſoon as he was invited by General Monk to aſſiſt him againſt Lambert's army, he cheerfully embraced the occaſion, and appeared, on the 3d of December 1659, at the head of a body of gentlemen of Yorkſhire; and, upon the reputation and authority of his name, the Iriſh brigade, of 1200 horſe, forſook Lambert's army, and joined him. The conſequence was, the immediate breaking of all Lambert's forces, which gave General Monk an eaſy march into England (*b*). The 1ſt of January 1659-60, his Lordſhip made himſelf maſter of York (*i*); and, on the 2d of the ſame month, was choſen by the Rump-Parliament one of the Council of State, as he was again on the 23d of February enſuing (*k*). March 29, he was elected one of the Knights for the County of York, in the Healing Parliament (*l*): and was at the head of the Committee appointed, May 3, by the Houſe of Commons, to go and attend King Charles II. at the Hague; to deſire him to make a ſpeedy return to his Parliament, and to the exerciſe of

(*y*) Whitelock, p. 381.
(*z*) Ibid. p. 383.
(*a*) Ibid. p. 392.
(*b*) Ibid. p. 401, 402.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 403. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 86.
(*d*) Whitelock, p. 404. Heath's Chron. p. 234.
(*e*) Whitelock, p. 406.
(*f*) Ibid. p. 460, 461, 462. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 314, *&c.*
(*g*) Ludlow, ib. p. 316.
(*b*) Epiſt. Dedic. to his Memorials, p. viii. viii.
(*i*) Kennet, Regiſter, *&c.* p. 7, 13.
(*k*) Ib. p. 3, 66.
(*l*) Ib. p. 101.

' more wit than to be there,' which put the court into ſome diſorder, and ſomebody aſking, who it was, there was no other anſwer but a little murmuring. But, preſently, when the impeachment was read, and that expreſſion uſed, of ' All the good people of Eng-' land,' the ſame voice in a louder tone anſwered, ' No, nor the hundredth part of them:' upon which, one of the officers bid the ſoldiers give fire into that box whence thoſe preſumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly diſcerned that it was the General's wife, who had uttered both thoſe ſharp ſayings; who was preſently perſuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new diſorder.——Having been bred in Holland, ſhe had not that reverence for the Church of England, as ſhe ought to have had, and ſo had unhappily concurred in her huſband's entring into Rebellion, never imagining what miſery it would bring upon the kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all ſhe could to hinder her huſband from acting any part in it (59).——A. Wood relates ſome particular circumſtances of the Lord Fairfax's behaviour, at the time of the King's murder, that ſhow ſuch extreme hypocriſy, or ſo much indolence, ſtupidity, and eaſineſs in being impoſed upon, that they are hardly credible.—— ' 'Tis true, ſays he, that before the King ' was beheaded, he did uſe his power and intereſt to ' have the execution deferred for ſome days, forbear-' ing his coming among the officers, and did fully re-' ſolve with his own regiment to prevent the execu-' tion, or have it deferred till he could make a party ' in the army to ſecond his deſign: but behold his ' policy! all the morning of that day on which the ' King was beheaded, and the time when he was be-' headed, he was with certain officers of the army ' at prayer or in diſcourſe, or both, in Major Tho. ' Harriſon's apartment in Whitehall (being a room ' at the hither end of that gallery looking towards ' the Privy-garden) and knew nothing of it, as it ' doth appear by this paſſage. When his Majeſty was ' beheaded, and his corps thereupon immediately cof-' fined and covered with a black velvet pall, Bp. Juxon ' who attended him on the ſcaffold, and Thomas ' Herbert the only groom of his bedchamber that was ' then left, did go with the ſaid corps to the back-' ſtairs to have it embalmed, and Mr Herbert, after ' the body had been depoſited, meeting with the Ge-' neral, Fairfax aſked him " how the King did?" ' Whereupon Herbert looking very ſtrangely upon ' him, told him that " the King was beheaded," at ' which he ſeemed much ſurpriſed (60).'

(59) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 254, 255.

(60) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 87.

[*LL*] *And reſolved to lay down his commiſſion rather than engage in that affair.*] A committee from the Council of State went to confer with him upon that ſubject, in a room in Whitehall; but (tho' they went firſt to prayer, that God would direct them in this buſineſs, and Cromwell and moſt of the reſt prayed) yet the prayers of theſe hypocrites could not be countenanced with a heavenly influence, nor their reaſons and arguments prevail upon his Lordſhip. And if they had, very ſorry and diſappointed would many of them have been; as Mr Whitelock, a member of this committee, obſerves in the following words— ' none ' of the Committee ſo earneſt to perſuade the General ' to continue his commiſſion as Cromwell and the ' Soldiers. Yet there was cauſe enough to believe ' that they did not overmuch deſire it (61).'

(61) Whitelock, p. 460—462. See alſo Ludlow, ubi ſupra, p. 315.

of his kingly office (*m*). May 16, he waited upon his Majeſty with the reſt [*MM*]; and atoned in ſome meaſure for all paſt offences, by readily concurring and aſſiſting in his Reſtoration. After the diſſolution of the ſhort Healing Parliament, he retired again to his ſeat in the country; where he lived in a private manner, till his death, which happened November 12, 1671, in the 60th year of his age (*n*) [*NN*]. Several letters, remonſtrances, and other papers, ſubſcribed with his name, are preſerved in Ruſhworth and other Collections, being publiſhed during the time he was General; but he diſowns moſt of them [*OO*]. After his deceaſe, ſome 'ſhort memorials, written by himſelf,' were publiſhed; which do him no great honour [*PP*]. The Lord Fairfax, as to his perſon, was tall, but not above the juſt proportion (*o*); and of a gloomy and melancholy diſpoſition. He ſtammered a little, and was a bad Orator in the moſt plauſible occaſion (*p*). As to the qualities of his mind; he was religious in the way he profeſſed, which was Preſbyterianiſm (*q*) [*QQ*]: of a good natural diſpoſition (*r*): a great lover of learning, having contributed to the edition of the Polyglott, and other large works (*s*): and a particular admirer of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain, witneſs the encouragement he gave to Mr Dodſworth (*t*). He was of a meek and humble carriage, and but of few words in diſcourſe and Council; yet when his judgment and reaſon were ſatisfied, he was unalterable; and often ordered things expreſsly contrary to the judgment of all his Council (*u*). His valour was unqueſtionable. He was daring, and no ſelf-ſeeker (*w*). And in action in the field, he appeared ſo highly tranſported, that ſcarce any one durſt ſpeak a word to him, and he would ſeem like a man diſtracted and furious (*x*). His being outwitted by Cromwell, or ſuffering himſelf to become the tool and property of that wicked ambitious man, was his greateſt blemiſh. Happy would it have been for the nation, happy for himſelf, if he had retired ſooner [*RR*].

(*m*) Ib. p. 133.

(*n*) Epiſt. Dedic. as above, p. ix. and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 88.

(*o*) Sprigge, p. 322.

(*p*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 178. Sprigge, p. 323.

(*q*) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 88. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 314.

(*r*) Bellicoſum quidem, & ſua natura probum. BateiElench. Motuum, p. 68.

(*s*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 48.

(*t*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 14. Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 886.

(*u*) Whitelock, p. 204, 205.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the Rebellions in England, &c. by Sir Roger Manley, p. 79.

(*x*) Whitelock, p. 205.

[*MM*] *May 16, he waited upon his Majeſty, with the reſt.*] 'He drew upon him, as A. Wood relates, 'the curioſity and eyes of all men, as known to them 'by name to have been Captain-General of the Parliament-Army. And when the firſt ceremony was 'paſt, he deſired, as 'tis ſaid, to ſee the King in pri'vate, and to aſk him pardon for the paſt offences, 'which accordingly he did with all ſubmiſſion (62).'

(62) Ubi ſupra, col. 88.

[*NN*] *Till his death, which happened November 12. 1671. in the 60th year of his age.*] He was buried in an iſle joyning on the Southſide to the Chancel of Bilburgh Church, near York. Over his grave was ſoon after put this Epitaph. 'Here lye the bodies of 'the right honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax of Den'ton, Baron of Camerone, who died Nov. the 12th. 'An. 1671, in the ſixtieth year of his age. And of 'Anne his wife, Daughter and Coheir of Horatio 'Lord Vere Baron of Tilbury. He had iſſue, Mary 'Ducheſs of Buckingham, and Elizabeth (63).'—His eldeſt Daughter, Mary, had the misfortune of having for huſband the witty, wicked, George Villiers Duke of Buckingham; to whom ſhe was married May 24, 1657 (64). She died in November 1704 (65). There is no account of the other daughter.

(63) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 88.

(64) Whitelock, p. 665.

[*OO*] *But he diſowns moſt of them.*] In theſe words. 'One thing more requires I ſhould ſay ſome'thing to, before I conclude; that is, concerning pa'pers and declarations of the army that came out in 'my name, and the Council of Officers. I ſay, from 'the time they declared their uſurped authority at 'Triplow-heath, I never gave my free conſent to any 'thing they did: but being yet undiſcharged of my 'place, they ſet my name in way of courſe to all their 'papers, whether I conſented or not: and to ſuch 'failings are all authorities ſubject (66).'

(65) Annual Liſt at the end of Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne.

(66) Memorials, p. 124, 125.

[*PP*] *After his deceaſe, ſome ſhort memorials, written by himſelf, were publiſhed; which do him no great honour.*] They were publiſhed in 1699, 8vo. by Brian Fairfax, Eſq; The author never deſigned them for the preſs, only to remain for the ſatisfaction of his own relations: but they were publiſhed to prevent a ſurreptitious edition. As I ſaid, they do no great honour to the noble author: for they are writ in an odd canting ſtrain; and moreover abound with miſtakes. For inſtance, in p. 122. now accidentally open before me, he ſays.—That the Beſieged in Colcheſter *after four months cloſe ſiege were compelled to ſurrender.* But the ſiege of that place laſted neither four months, nor three months; being only from the 13th of June to the 27th of Auguſt. And the like in other inſtances.

[*QQ*] *He was religious in the way which he profeſſed, which was Preſbyterianiſm.*] But Sir Roger Manley, on the other hand, ſays, that tho' 'conſtancy was attributed to his natural temper, being 'melancholy, *it* was notwithſtanding thought ductile 'where religion was in queſtion; and therefore Crom'well, that famous impoſtor in godlineſs, was given 'him for a ſuperviſing Lieutenant (68).'

(68) Ubi ſupra.

[*RR*] *Happy for himſelf, if he had retired ſooner.*] For, as Mr Addiſon elegantly repreſents it,

> When vice prevails, and impious men bear ſway,
> The poſt of honour is a private ſtation (69).

(69) Cato, Act 4, ſcene 4.

Brian Fairfax, Eſq; the editor of his Lordſhip's Memorials, concludes his character with the following encomium; 'that ſo long as unfeigned piety towards 'God, invincible courage joyned with wonderful mo'deſty, and exceeding good nature: juſtice and cha'rity to all men in his private life; and an ingenuous 'acknowledgment of his publick error, with hearty 'endeavours to make reparation, as ſoon as he was 'convinced of it, ſhall be eſteemed in the world: ſo 'long ſhall the name of my Lord Fairfax be honoured 'by good men, and be had in perpetual remem'brance (70).'——The Duke of Buckingham, his Lordſhip's ſon-in-law, compoſed alſo an Epitaph for him, wherein he beſtows the higheſt praiſes and compliments upon him.

(70) Epiſtle Dedicatory, p. ix, x.

C

FANSHAW (Sir RICHARD) an excellent Poet, employed in ſeveral embaſſies by King Charles I. and II, was the youngeſt ſon [*A*] of Sir Henry Fanſhaw, of Ware-Park in Hertfordſhire [*B*]. He was born about the year 1607 (*a*), and received the firſt rudiments

(*a*) For he was aged 59 in 1666, when he died. Epitaph.

[*A*] *Was the youngeſt ſon.*] And the tenth child, as it is in his epitaph, *proles undecima.*

[*B*] *Of Sir Henry Fanſhaw, of Ware-Park in Hertfordſhire.*] He was deſcended from the family of Fanſhaw, of Fanſhaw-gate in Derbyſhire; being the great-grandſon of John Fanſhaw, of that place: this John's two ſons, Henry and *Thomas*, were ſucceſſively Remembrancers of the Exchequer (1); and the latter buying Ware-park of Katharine Counteſs of Huntington, about the year 1570, made it the place of his reſidence. By his firſt wife, Mary daughter of ——— Bourchier, he had iſſue *Henry* his eldeſt ſon and heir, who was made a Knight, and died the 10th of March 1615; having had by his wife, Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Smith, Cuſtomer of the port of London, ten children; and among the reſt, Thomas, Simon, and RICHARD who is the ſubject of this article. Thomas, the eldeſt, was advanced by King Charles II. to the title of Viſcount Dromore:

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ments of his education from the famous Thomas Farnaby; afterwards he compleated his ſtudies in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and from thence went to travel into foreign countries; by which means he became a gentleman admirably accompliſhed (*b*). In 1635 he was, for his early abilities, taken into the ſervice of the State by King Charles I. and appointed Reſident to the Court of Spain: whence being recalled into England, at the beginning of the troubles in 1641, he followed the Royal intereſt during all the ſucceeding calamitous times, and was employed in ſeveral important matters of State. In 1644, attending the Court at Oxford, he had the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law conferred upon him (*c*): and being now grown very eminent for his excellent parts and learning (*d*), he was made Secretary to Charles Prince of Wales, whom he attended into the weſtern parts of England, and thence into the iſles of Scilly and Jerſey (*e*) [*C*]. In 1648, he was appointed Treaſurer of the Navy under the command of Prince Rupert, which office he managed till the year 1650, when he was created a Baronet by King Charles II, and ſent Envoy-extraordinary to the Court of Spain. Being recalled thence into Scotland, he ſerved there in quality of Secretary of State; to the great ſatisfaction of all parties, notwithſtanding he never took the Covenant or Engagement. In 1651, he was made priſoner at the battle of Worceſter, and committed to cloſe cuſtody in London: where continuing till he contracted a dangerous ſickneſs, he had liberty allowed him, upon giving bail, to go for the recovery of his health to any place he ſhould chooſe, provided he ſtirred not five miles from thence without leave from the Parliament. Among other places, he was at Tankerley-Park in Yorkſhire, in 1654; where, and during the reſt of his confinement, and at vacant hours afterwards, he made ſeveral tranſlations, and wrote divers poems, of which an account is given below (*f*). In February 1659-60, he repaired to King Charles II, at Breda, who knighted him the April following (*g*). Upon his Majeſty's Reſtoration, it was expected that he would have been made one of the Secretaries of State, not only from the kindneſs his Maſter long had for him, and the hopes formerly given him of it; but likewiſe as a recompence, in ſome meaſure, for the great ſufferings which both he and his family had ſuſtained in that King's ſervice. However miſſing that preferment, he had the place of Maſter of Requeſts conferred on him, a ſtation in thoſe times of conſiderable profit. Afterwards, for his known abilities, and accurate Latin ſtyle, he was alſo made Secretary of the Latin tongue (*h*). In 1661, being one of the Burgeſſes for the Univerſity of Cambridge, he was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor for Ireland (*i*): and having, by his reſidence in foreign courts, qualified himſelf for publick employments abroad, he was ſent Envoy-extraordinary to Portugal, with a dormant commiſſion to the Embaſſador, which he was to make uſe of as occaſion ſhould require. Shortly after, he was appointed Embaſſador to that Court, where he negotiated the marriage between his maſter King Charles II, and the Infanta Donna Catharina, daughter of King John VI. He returned to England towards the end of the ſame year (*k*). We are aſſured, that he was ſent again Embaſſador to that crown in 1662 (*l*); and when he had finiſhed his commiſſion, to the mutual ſatisfaction both of King Charles II, and of Alphonſo King of Portugal, being recalled in 1663, he was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council (*m*). In the beginning of the year 1664, he was ſent Embaſſador to *Philip* IV, King of Spain [*D*]; and arrived February the 29th at Cadiz, where he was ſaluted in a manner unexampled to others, and received with ſeveral circumſtances of particular eſteem (*n*) [*E*]. During his reſidence at this

(*b*) Short Account of Sir Ric. Fanſhaw, prefixed to his Letters, mentioned below.

(*c*) Wood, Faſt. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 43, 44.

(*d*) Short Account, as above.

(*e*) See Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, edit. 1731, 8*vo*, Vol. IV. p. 672, 696, 704, 732, 733.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Short Account, as above.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Short Account. See alſo Biſhop Kennet's Reg. & Chron. edit. 1728, p. 537, 559, 560, 588.

(*l*) Wood, ib.

(*m*) Short Account.

(*n*) See his Letters, p. 32, mentioned below.

Dromore: But his ſon Thomas ſold Ware-park to Sir Thomas Byde, Knt. Simon was alſo knighted. The place of Remembrancer of the Exchequer was enjoyed by Sir Henry, and Thomas Lord Viſcount Fanſhaw, and his ſon, during the reigns of King James I. and King Charles I. and II. (*z*).

(*z*) Wood, ibid. Sir Hen. Chauncy's Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, p. 207, 208; and Camden's Britan. edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1399.

[*C*] *And thence into the iſles of Scilly and Jerſey*.] But not of Guernſey, as Mr Wood hath it (3): For it does not appear that the Prince was at all in Guernſey. See Lord Clarendon (4), and the reſt of our Hiſtorians.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) Vol. V. p. 4.

[*D*] *In the beginning of the year* 1664, *he was ſent Embaſſador to Philip* IV. *King of Spain*.] His correſpondence during this embaſſy was publiſhed in 1702, in one volume 8*vo*. under this title. 'Original Letters 'of his Excellency Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, during his 'embaſſies in Spain and Portugal: which, together 'with divers Letters and Anſwers from the chief Miniſters of State of *England*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, con'tain the whole negotiations of the treaty of peace be'tween thoſe three crowns.' The publiſher received thoſe letters from the hands of a daughter of Sir Richard, who had left them in her poſſeſſion. He obſerves in the preface, that 'Learned men of all de'grees, qualities, and employments, are extremely in'quiſitive after the *letters* and *correſpondencies* of ſuch 'perſons as have had the honour of being employed at 'foreign courts in the quality of Embaſſadors, Envoys, 'or Reſidents, or at home as Publick Miniſters; and 'their curioſity is ſoon accounted for, when we con'ſider the advantage that is gained by ſeeing things as 'they are in their native dreſs; before the ſucceeding 'embelliſhments of artifice or intereſt have diſguiſed, and 'rendered them more plauſible than in truth the origi'nals were deſigned for.' In Sir Richard's inſtructions, the chief points recommended to him, were, to demand reparation and puniſhment from ſome freebooters, who had taken ſhips from the Engliſh; and to endeavour to reſtore amity, trade, and commerce, and renew the alliance between England and Spain: to mediate an accommodation between Spain and Portugal: to get the tranſportation of blacks into the Weſt-Indies, appropriated to the Engliſh; and the pre-emption of Spaniſh wools, *&c.* (5).

(5) See his Letters, as above; and Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. II.

[*E*] *And received with ſeveral circumſtances of particular eſteem*.] It appears from one of Sir Richard's letters, that this extraordinary reſpect was paid him not only upon his own, but alſo upon his maſter the King of England's account. His words are thus. 'I had 'not been three hours on ſhore [at Cadiz] when an 'Extraordinary arrived from Madrid, with more par'ticular orders than formerly from his Catholick Ma'jeſty, importing that our Maſter's fleet (when arrived) 'and this Ambaſſador, ſhould be preſaluted from the 'city in a manner unexampled to others, and which 'ſhould not be drawn into example hereafter. More'over (and this ſo likewiſe) that I and all my company 'muſt be totally defray'd, both here and all the way 'up to Madrid, upon his Catholick Majeſties accompt, 'with ſeveral other circumſtances of particular eſteem

'for

this Court King Philip died, Sept. 17, 1665; leaving his ſon Charles, an infant (*o*), and his dominions, under the regency of his Queen, Mary-Anne, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III (*p*). Our wiſe Miniſter taking an advantage of this minority, put the finiſhing hand to a peace with Spain; which was ſufficiently tired and weakened with a twenty-five years war, for the recovery of Portugal, that had been diſmembered from the Spaniſh crown in 1640. The treaty of peace was ſigned at Madrid, December 6, 1665 [*F*]. About the 14th of January following, his Excellency took a journey into Portugal, where he ſtaid till towards the end of March (*q*). The deſign of this journey undoubtedly was, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between that crown and Spain: which however was not effected till 1667, by the mediation of his Britannick Majeſty (*r*). Sir Richard having fulfilled his commiſſion, was preparing for his return to England; when, June 4, 1666, he was ſeized at Madrid with a violent fever, which put an end to his life the 16th of the ſame month (*s*); the very day he had deſigned to ſet out on his return home. His body being embalmed, was conveyed by his lady, with all his children then living, by land to Calais, and ſo to London: whence being carried to All-Saints-Church in Hertford, it was depoſited in the vault of his father-in-law Sir John Harriſon, till May 18, 1671, when it was removed into a new vault, made on purpoſe for him and his family in the pariſh-church of Ware. Near the vault, there is a handſome monument erected to his memory (*t*) [*G*]. He was remarkable for his meekneſs, ſincerity, humanity, and piety; and alſo was an able ſtateſman and a great ſcholar, being, in particular, a compleat maſter of ſeveral modern languages, eſpecially the Spaniſh, which he ſpake, and writ, with as much exactneſs as if he had been a native of that country (*u*). What he wrote, or publiſhed, is mentioned in the note [*H*]. By his lady, Anne, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Harriſon, of Balls, he had ſix ſons and eight daughters; whereof only one ſon, and four daughters, ſurvived him (*w*).

(*o*) He was born 6 Nov. 1661.

(*p*) Short Account, as above.

(*q*) See The Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. 1701, p. 164, 168.

(*r*) Ib. p. 236, &c.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) Wood; and Short Account, ubi ſupra; and Sir Hen. Chauncy's Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, p. 211.

(*u*) Short Account, as above; and Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, edit. 1699, p. 54.

(*w*) Epitaph.

(6) Letters, p. 32. 'for our Royal Maſter above all the world beſides (6).' From a paſſage in another letter of his, it is evident, that the hope the Spaniards entertained, of having Tangier and *Jamaica* reſtored to them by England; was, 'That which made his arrival ſo impatiently 'longed for, and *ſo magnificently celebrated* (7).'

(7) Page 128.

[*F*] *The treaty of peace was ſigned at Madrid, the 6th of December* 1665.] It is printed among the Earl of Arlington's letters, Vol. II. p. 114, &c. and in the Collections of Treaties.

[*G*] *Near the vault there is a handſome monument erected to his memory.*] Sir Henry Chauncy gives a deſcription of it (8), with the Epitaph: wherein the character given to Sir Richard is, that he was moſt eminent for ſweetneſs of temper, learning, loyalty, &c. *Vir Comitate Morum, Literarum Luce, Fidei conſtantia præſtantiſſimus*, &c. The reſt contains only an account of his family, marriage, iſſue, offices, and employments, which have been ſufficiently related already in this article.

(8) Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, p. 211.

[*H*]. *What he wrote, or publiſhed, is mentioned in the note.*] 'Tis as follows, I. An Engliſh tranſlation, in rhyme, of the celebrated Italian paſtoral, called *Il Paſtor Fido*, or The Faithful Shepherd; written originally by *Battiſta Guarini* (9). Printed at London 1646, 4*to.* and 1664, 8*vo.* ſee a further account of it below. II. A tranſlation from Engliſh into Latin verſe, of, *The Faithful Shepherdeſs*, a Paſtoral; written originally by *John Fletcher*, Gent. Lond. 1658. III. In the octavo edition of The Faithful Shepherd, *anno* 1664, are inſerted the following poems of our author's, *viz.* 1. An Ode upon Occaſion of his Majeſty's Proclamation in 1630, commanding the Gentry to reſide upon their Eſtates in the Country. 2. A Summary Diſcourſe of the Civil Wars of Rome; extracted from the beſt Latin Writers in Proſe and Verſe. 3. An Engliſh Tranſlation of The fourth Book of Virgil's Æneis, on the Loves of Dido and Æneas. 4. Two Odes out of Horace, relating to the Civil Wars of Rome, againſt covetous rich Men. IV. He tranſlated from Portugueſe into Engliſh, *The Luſiad, or Portugal's Hiſtorical Poem*; written originally by Luis de Camoëns. Lond. 1655, &c. *fol.* V. After his deceaſe, namely in 1671, were publiſhed theſe two poſthumous pieces of his in 4*to.* *Querer per ſolo querer: To love only for Love's ſake*, a dramatick romance repreſented before the King and Queen of Spain; and *Fieſtas de Aranjuez: Feſtivals at Aranjuez.* Both written originally in Spaniſh, by Antonio de Mendoza; upon occaſion of celebrating the birth-day of King Philip IV, in 1623, at Aranjuez. They were tranſlated by our author in 1654, during his confinement at Tankerley-Park in Yorkſhire: Which uneaſy ſituation induced him to write the following ſtanza's on this work.

(9) See Bayle's Dictionary, under the article GUARINI.

Time was, when I, a pilgrim of the ſeas,
When I 'midſt noiſe of camps and courts diſeaſe;
Purloin'd ſome hours to charm rude cares with verſe,
Which flame of *Faithful Shepherd* did rehearſe.

But now reſtrain'd from ſea, from camp, from court,
And by a tempeſt blown into a port;
I raiſe my thoughts to muſe on higher things,
And ecchо arms and loves of Queens and Kings.

Which Queens (deſpiſing crowns and Hymen's band)
Would neither men obey, nor men command:
Great pleaſure from rough ſeas to ſee the ſhore;
Or from firm land to hear the billows roar (10).

(10) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Short Account; and Lives of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, by Langbaine, p. 55.

We are told, that he compoſed ſeveral other things, remaining in manuſcript, which he writ in his younger years, but had not the leiſure to compleat (11).—Even ſome of the forementioned printed pieces have not all the perfection which our ingenious author could have given them. For, as the writer of the ſhort account of his life obſerves, 'being, for his loyalty and zeal to 'his maſter's ſervice, toſſed from place to place, and 'from country to country, during the unſettled times 'of our anarchy; ſome of his manuſcripts falling by 'misfortune into unſkilful hands, were printed and 'publiſhed without his conſent or knowledge, and be-'fore he could give them his laſt finiſhing ſtroaks.'—— But that was not the caſe with his excellent tranſlation of Paſtor Fido; which was publiſhed by himſelf, and hath been applauded by ſome of the beſt judges, particularly by Sir John Denham; who, after cenſuring ſervile tranſlators, goes on thus:

(11) Short Account.

A new and nobler way thou doeſt purſue,
To make Tranſlations and Tranſlators too.
They but preſerve the aſhes, Thou the flame,
True to his ſenſe, but truer to his fame.

Q

FARQUHAR (GEORGE), an ingenious comic Poet, in the latter end of King William's reign, and part of Queen Anne's; was deſcended of a good family in the North of Ireland, where, it is ſaid, his parents held no mean rank (*a*). We have been informed, by a gentleman of that country, that his father was Dean of Armagh, but have not met with it confirmed: however, it is atteſted by another of his countrymen, that he was the ſon of a clergymen, and born at *Londonderry*, in that kingdom; which was in the year 1678, as may be computed from his account of him (*b*). There, he received his more juvenile inſtruction; and there he diſcovered a genius, ſo early devoted to the Muſes, that unleſs he is complimented, as he intimates Poets often by themſelves are, with being the Authors of ripe fruits in their greeneſt years, he gave ſeveral ſpecimens of his poetry before he was ten years old, in which he manifeſted a depth of thinking, as well as an elegancy of expreſſion, far beyond his years; one example whereof, being preſerved by the writer of his memoirs above quoted, may alſo, in this account of ours, be thought not unworthy of preſervation [*A*]. We receive it from the ſame hand, that his parents having a numerous iſſue, could beſtow on him no fortune further than a genteel education; therefore, when he was qualified for the Univerſity, he was ſent to *Trinity-College* in *Dublin*; which, as we are elſewhere informed, was in 1694, he being then in the ſeventeenth year of his age (*c*). Here, by the progreſs he made in his ſtudies, he acquired a conſiderable reputation (*d*); but we find it not conſented to, that he there took his degree of *Bachelor* of Arts (*e*); for indeed, his gay and volatile diſpoſition, could not long reliſh the grave and regular courſe of a collegiate life; and his own opinion of it, to that ſenſe, he afterwards freely enough diſplayed in ſeveral parts of his comedies, and other writings: beſides, the expence of it, without any immediate proſpect of ſome profitable returns, might be inconſiſtent with his circumſtances. The more polite and popular entertainments of the town, moſt attracted him, eſpecially thoſe of the ſtage; and he does not ſeem to have been in that college much above a year, or two at moſt, before he perceived ſome hopeful temptation of tranſplanting himſelf thither, from the encouragement he ſaw others receive. For, when Mr Joſeph Aſhbury, the maſter of Dublin theatre, had carried thither from England, among others, to recruit his company of players, Mr Robert Wilks, who had been, from the latter end of the year 1690, till his ſaid return into Ireland (*f*), under Mr Chriſtopher Rich, at Drury-Lane houſe, tho' very little to his advantage; but was now, at Dublin, much advanced in his ſalary, and much more careſs'd by his own countrymen than he had been at London, as we have it in another life of Mr Wilks, different from that laſt quoted (*g*); Mr Farquhar ſoon found alſo his own perſon, and his parts, being already known by ſome of his poetical performances, ſo recommend him to that maſter, or this player, that by the voluntary choice of the one, or cordial intereſt of the other, he was readily admitted into the ſaid theatre; but his ſervices there were of no long continuance. It is indeed reported, that his genteel figure, proper geſture, ready memory, and juſt elocution, rendered him very acceptable there; only his voice, which, either in ſpeaking or ſinging, among private company, made him alſo, as we have been informed by thoſe who knew him, very engaging, was too mild, too low, in thoſe publick and numerous aſſemblies. In ſhort, he could not rant and rave, and tear a paſſion to tatters, as Shakeſpear phraſes it (*h*); or captivate the commonalty of an audience, which is raviſhed more with ſound than ſenſe: and might poſſibly want, like Thomas Otway and Nat. Lee (*i*), that front or aſſurance, that conceit of ſelf-ſufficiency, which diſguiſes defects and improprieties, both in ſpeech and action; overbears the generality of ſpectators; and carries many veteran ſtagers plauſibly thro' thoſe parts, which they are unqualified naturally to perſonate. His more excellent talents, however, might have preſerved the Player at Dublin, and loſt the Poet at London, but for an accident, whereby he was near turning a feigned tragedy into a real one [*B*]; which

(*a*) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, before his Works, edit. 1728; and the Account of him in Giles Jacob, *&c.*

(*b*) The Works of Sir James Ware, edit. Dublin, fol. Vol III. 1746, among the Additional Writers of Ireland, by the editor Walter Harris, Eſq; p. 263.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Memoirs of Mr Farquhar, as above, p. 4.

(*e*) See Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Mr Robert Wilks, by Daniel O' Bryan, Eſq; 8*vo*, 1732, p. 13.

(*f*) An Apology for the Life of Mr ColleyCibber, Comedian. *&c.* By Himſelf, 4*to*, 1740, p. 59, 137.

(*g*) The Life of that eminent Comedian Robert Wilks, Eſq; 8*vo*, 1733, p. 4, *&c.* See alſo The Hiſt. of the Engl. Stage, from the Reſtauration to the preſent Time; including The Lives, Characters, and Amours of the moſt eminent Actors and Actreſſes, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1741, p. 130, *&c.*

(*h*) In Hamlet.

(*i*) See *Roſcius Anglicanus*, *&c.* by John Downes, 8*vo*, 1708, p. 34. alſo Gildon's Dramatick Poets, in Otway; and the Compl. Liſt of Dram. Poets, 8*vo*, 1747, in Lee.

[*A*] *May in this account be thought not unworthy of preſervation.*] This early production of our author's, which has indeed in it ſomething beyond the years in which it is ſaid to be written, is as follows.

The pliant *ſoul* of erring youth,
Is like ſoft wax, or moiſten'd clay;
Apt to receive all heav'nly *truth*,
Or yield to tyrant *Ill* the ſway.

Slight folly in your *early* years,
At *manhood* may to *virtue* riſe;
But he, who in his *youth* appears
A *fool*, in *age* will ne'er be *wiſe* (1).

(1) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, p. 4.

However, our author himſelf reflects upon the aſcribing ſome compoſitions to ingenious men in their green years, or their pretending to have written them before they did; as if it were not only unneceſſary, but might be diſadvantageous, thro' the extraordinary expectations it might raiſe, of proportionable improvements in their riper productions; ſo extenuate the character it was intended to magnify; where he brings in Poet Lyric, ſaying to his correſpondent, 'Now, Sir, 'here's a poem, which, according to the way of us 'Poets, I ſay, was written at fifteen; but, between 'you and I, it was made at five and twenty (2).'

[*B*] *He was near turning a feigned tragedy into a real one.*] This ſtory we find related after this manner. 'Mr Farquhar was extreamly beloved in Ire-'land, and had indeed the advantage of a very good 'perſon, tho' his voice was weak; but as he never 'met with the leaſt repulſe from the audience, in any 'of his performances, he was reſolved to continue on 'the ſtage till ſomething better ſhould offer; but his 'reſolution was ſoon broke by an accident. For Mr 'Farquhar being to play the part of Guyomar (3), who 'kills Vaſquez, one of the Spaniſh Generals; and for-'getting to exchange his ſword for a foil, in the en-'gagement, he wounded his brother tragedian who re-'preſented Vaſquez, very dangerouſly; and tho' it 'proved not mortal, yet it ſo ſhocked the natural ten-'derneſs of Mr Farquhar's temper, that it put a period 'to his acting ever after (4).'

(2) Farquhar's Love and a Bottle, towards the end of the 4th act.

(3) In Mr Dryden's *Indian Emperor*.

(4) Memoirs of Mr Farquhar, as before. Life of Mr Wilks, 8*vo*, 1733, p. 5.

[*C*] *Mrs*

which being ſo repugnant to his inherent humanity, added to his other diſcouragement; and this happening at the time when Mr Wilks received a more profitable propoſal than he expected, from Mr Rich aforeſaid, of four pounds a week, if he would return, with his wife, to the Engliſh ſtage, it was with the leſs difficulty that Mr Farquhar was perſuaded to bear them company (*k*). After their arrival at London, which might be in the year 1696 (*l*), Mr Wilks, who was well acquainted with his abilities, ceaſed not his importunities, till he had prevailed with him to write a play (*m*); aſſuring him, that he was beheld by all who knew him, in a much brighter light than he had opportunity hitherto of ſhewing himſelf; and was fitter to exhibit entertaining compoſitions *for the ſtage*, than to echo thoſe of other Poets *upon it*. But he was more ſubſtantially invited yet, by a genteel and decent accommodation, which would enable him, both with means and leiſure, to exerciſe his genius at eaſe, in the ſtudy of dramatick poetry; for we are told, it was not very long after that accident at the Playhouſe in Dublin, before the Earl of Orrery, who was a patron as well as maſter of learning, in regard to his ſingular merits, which he ſaw hitherto unrewarded, gave him a Lieutenant's commiſſion in his own regiment, then in Ireland, which he held ſeveral years (*n*). From the former of which authorities here referred to, we alſo learn, that, as an officer of the ſaid rank in the army, he behaved himſelf very commendably, and gave ſeveral proofs both of his courage and conduct. Whether this commiſſion was conferred upon him before, or after he obliged the town with his firſt comedy, we are not particularly informed; and authors differ in their nomination of the firſt play that Mr Wilks performed in, upon his return to the Engliſh ſtage. Whether he acted the part of Palamede (*o*), as it has been affirmed by one of our dramatick Hiſtorians (*p*), or that of Armuſia (*q*), according to the aſſertion of another (*r*), is not here very material: but we have among Mr Farquhar's *Miſcellanies*, an Epilogue of his writing, which was ſpoken by Mr Wilks at his firſt appearance, as 'tis ſaid, *upon* the Engliſh ſtage (*s*); which we take to be rather this, his firſt appearance, upon his *return* thither, unleſs it may be urged, that our Author, who wrote ſuch verſes as are before quoted, at ten years of age, might very well write theſe, at twelve or thirteen. In the year 1698, his firſt comedy, called LOVE *and a* BOTTLE, appeared on the *Theatre-Royal* in Drury-Lane, and it was, as well for the ſprightly dialogue, as that lively turn of incidents in it, which fill the ſtage with buſineſs, and keep up the ſpirit of ſuch compoſitions, very well received, tho' Mr Wilks had no part in it. In 1699, the late celebrated Mrs Anne Oldfield, was, upon his judgment and recommendation, firſt admitted into the ſaid theatre [*C*], ſhe then being ſixteen years of age (*t*): and in the former part of the year 1700, he brought his CONSTANT COUPLE, or TRIP *to the* JUBILEE, upon that ſtage, it being then the Jubilee year at Rome, when ſome Popiſh zealots, of all countries, made their *trip* thither, to buy pardons and other trinkets or fairings, for the convenience of ſoul and body. But our Author drew ſuch a gay airy figure in Sir *Harry Wildair*; the part was ſo perfectly adapted to Mr Wilks's genius, and it was ſo animated by his geſture and vivacity of ſpirit, that it is not determinable whether the Poet or the Player received more reputation by it. Towards the latter end of this year, we meet with Mr Farquhar in Holland, probably upon his military duty; from whence he has given a deſcription, in two of his letters, dated in Auguſt and October that year, from the Brill and from Leyden, no leſs equitable than facetious, as well of thoſe places, as the people (*u*); and in a third, dated from the Hague, in the ſame month laſt mentioned, he very humorouſly relates how merry he was there, at a treat made by the Earl of Weſtmorland; while, not only himſelf, but King William, and others of his ſubjects, were detained there by a violent ſtorm, which he has no leſs comically deſcribed (*w*); and has, among his poems, written alſo an ingenious copy of verſes to his miſtreſs upon the ſame ſubject. Whether this miſtreſs was the ſame perſon whom he calls his charming *Penelope*, in ſeveral of his love-letters addreſſed to her, and ſome others probably in

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 131.

(*l*) Cibber's Apology, &c. p. 136, 137.

(*m*) The Life of Mr Wilks, 8*vo*, 1733, p. 5; and The Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 131.

(*n*) Memoirs of Mr Farquhar, before his Works; and O'Bryan's Life of Mr Wilks, as before, p. 23.

(*o*) In Dryden's *Marriage à la Mode*.

(*p*) Cibber's Apology, p. 137.

(*q*) In Fletcher's Iſland Princeſs.

(*r*) In the Life of Mr Wilks, 8*vo*, 1733, p. 6.

(*s*) See Farquhar's Poems, Letters, and Eſſays, before his Plays, Vol. I. p. 35.

(*t*) Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Oldfield, p. 1, 2.

(*u*) See The Works of the late ingenious Mr George Farquhar, &c. edit. 1728, Vol. I. p. 21, 26.

(*w*) Id. p. 73.

[*C*] *Mrs Oldfield was by his recommendation*, &c. *admitted into the ſaid theatre.*] The particulars of this aſſertion we have from a perſon who was then ſervant to Mr Rich, maſter of that theatre, in a letter which he wrote to the editor of Mrs Oldfield's life, in which it is printed in theſe words.

SIR,

'IN your Memoirs of Mrs *Oldfield* it may not be 'amiſs to inſert the following facts, on the truth of 'which you may depend. Her father Capt. *Oldfield*, 'not only run out all the military, but likewiſe the 'paternal bounds of his fortune, having a pretty eſtate 'in houſes in Pall-Mall. It was wholly owing to Capt. '*Farquhar* that ever Mrs *Oldfield* became an actreſs, 'from the following incident. Dining one day at her 'aunt's, who kept the Miter Tavern in St James's 'Market (*), he heard Miſs *Nanny* reading a play be'hind the bar, with ſo proper an emphaſis, and ſuch 'agreeable turns ſuitable to each character, that he 'ſwore the girl was cut out for the ſtage, to which ſhe 'had before always expreſſed an inclination, being 'very deſirous to try her fortune that way. Her mo'ther, the next time ſhe ſaw Capt *Vanbrugh*, who had 'a great reſpect for the family, told him what was 'Capt. *Farquhar*'s advice; upon which, he deſired to 'know whether, in the plays ſhe read, her fancy was 'moſt pleaſed with tragedy or comedy? Miſs being 'called in, ſaid comedy; ſhe having, at that time, 'gone thro' all *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*'s comedies; and 'the play ſhe was reading, when Capt. *Farquhar* dined 'there, was *The Scornful Lady*. Capt. *Vanbrugh*, 'ſhortly after, recommended her to Mr *Chriſtopher* '*Rich*, who took her into the houſe, at the allowance 'but of fifteen ſhillings *per* week. However, her a'greeable figure, and the ſweetneſs of her voice, ſoon 'gave her the preference, in the opinion of the whole 'town, to all our young actreſſes; and his Grace the 'late Duke of *Bedford*, being pleaſed to ſpeak to Mr '*Rich* in her favour, he inſtantly raiſed her allowance 'to twenty ſhillings *per* week: her fame and ſalary, at 'length, roſe to her juſt merit.

(*) It was then kept by Mrs Voſs.

Nov. 25, 1730. 'Your humble ſervant,

'CHARLES TAYLOR (5).'

(5) Memoirs of Mrs Anne Oldfield, 8*vo*, 1741, p. 55, &c.

in which ſhe is not ſo called, we know not; but have been informed by an old officer of the army, who very well knew Mr Farquhar, and ſome of his youthful gallantries, that by that name we are to underſtand Miſs Oldfield, above mentioned; and that the perſon meant by Mrs V———, in one of them, ſaid to be her bedfellow (*x*), was Mrs Verbruggen the actreſs; the ſame, who was ſome years before Mrs Mountfort (*y*); from whom Mrs Oldfield received her firſt theatrical inſtructions, and ſucceeded, when ſhe died three or four years after in child-bed, in her principal parts, with ſingular commendation: and we ſhall ſee preſently, how comfortably Mr Farquhar could warm his fancy, and chafe up his inclinations, at this bright ſparkling flame of his: from whence we need not doubt what another perſon, who was acquainted alſo with her, has ſaid in theſe words; 'I have 'often heard Mrs Oldfield mention the many agreeable hours ſhe had ſpent in Mr Far-'quhar's company (*z*).' But here, Chronology calls upon us, for the ſpace of a few lines, to Order. In the beginning of the following year, he was a ſpectator of, if not a mourner at, Mr Dryden's funeral; but the deſcription he has made of it, is indeed no mournful one (*a*). And now his laſt comedy having met with almoſt unparallelled ſucceſs, and ſo charmed the whole town, that nothing could reliſh like a continuation of it; he accordingly, in that year, 1701, brought out his comedy called *Sir* HARRY WILDAIR, *&c.* and when Mrs Oldfield came to ſhine out, equal with Wilks, in thoſe two plays, there were none at that time which more attracted the gay company at leaſt, which frequented the Theatre, or more engaged their approbation: of theſe three comedies hitherto ſpoken of, we ſhall ſay ſomething more hereafter, with his others, in a note together. In the next year, he publiſhed thoſe Miſcellanies, as ſome call them, or Collection of POEMS, LETTERS, and ESSAYS, which we have before cited; though, perhaps ſtiled, in this firſt edition, as we find them in ſome catalogues of books, by a title ſomewhat different (*b*); of which, it may not be improper here, to be ſomewhat more particular [*D*]. Some of thoſe

(*x*) Ibid. p. 64.

(*y*) Whoſe huſband, Mr W. Mountfort, was killed by Capt. Ric. Hill, Dec. 9, 1692; for which murder Charles Lord Mohun was tried and acquitted by his Peers in Feb. following. *Vide* State Trials, *&c.*

(*z*) Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Oldfield, p. 50.

(*a*) Farquhar's Letters, in his Works, as above, p. 71, where the great confuſion at that funeral is very viſible.

(*b*) Love and Buſineſs, *&c.* by Mr Farquhar, 8*vo*, 1702.

[*D*] *Of which it may not be improper to be here ſomewhat more particular.*] In this collection of our Author's *poems*, *letters*, and *eſſays*, reprinted with the the ſucceeding editions of his comedies, ſeveral of the poems ſeem, by their titles or ſubjects, to have been ſome of the earlieſt of his productions; as his *Pindarick* Ode *on the Death of General Schomberg*, who was killed at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland, *anno* 1690. An *Epigram on the Riding-Houſe at Dublin*. *On the Death of Queen Mary*. An *Epilogue, ſpoken by Mr Wilks, at his firſt Appearance on the Engliſh Stage*, as before-mentioned. His *Prologue on the propoſed Union of the two Houſes*. His *Verſes written in Orinda's Poems, in imitation of Ovid*. Thoſe *To the ingenious Lady* who wrote *The Fatal Friendſhip* (6). *To a Lady, being detained from her by Storms*. And ſome others.

(6) Mrs Cath. Trother, printed 4*to*, 1698; which Gildon thinks deſerves the Applauſe it met with. His Dramatick Poets, in Append. p. 179.

His *Letters*, as we obſerved, were written in 1700 and 1701. Some, when he was in Holland; and the reſt, when he was returned to England; of which we have mentioned ſome chief parts relating to his perſonal hiſtory, but the greateſt number contain his courtſhip and amours with one or two of the fair ſex; ſome, dated from *Grays-Inn*; others, from the *Inner Temple*; and ſome part of Eſſex, when he was in the country. In one of his amorous letters, containing a *conteſt between his head and his heart*, in which the latter, by the help of ſome other members, gets the better in the concluſion, which is ſtily witty and waggiſh; there runs throughout ſuch a ſingular vein of humour and drollery, that we may take it for a comedy in miniature (7). In another, his diſtinctions upon thoſe female maxims of amorous policy, aſſerting, that *if the women will fly, the men will purſue*; and that *enjoyment quenches love*; with his arguments againſt *the inconſiſtence of love with reaſon*, he has, like an honourable lover, ingeniouſly defeated thoſe tyrannical and heterodox principles in the fair ſex, and attempted to introduce a reformed ſyſtem in their doctrine of love; by diſtinguiſhing, like a man of ſenſe, what only is the paſſion of fools (8). But among his letters to his dear *Penelope*, or Mrs Oldfield as it is reported, that above referred to, in which Mrs Verbruggen is affirmed to be mentioned, concludes with his verſes upon *Roſamond's Pond* in St *James's Park*, and the Water-rat which had frighted his charmer aforeſaid, away from the banks of it, in theſe words.

(7) Farquhar's Letters, *&c.* P. 49.

(8) Id. p. 51.

Fair *Roſamond* did little think,
Her cryſtal *pond* ſhould turn a *ſink*;
To harbour *vermin* that might ſwim,
And frighten *beauties* from the brim.
Henceforth, deteſted pond, no more
Shall *beauties* crown your verdent *ſhore*;
Your *waves*, ſo fam'd for *am'rous* league,
Are now turn'd *Ratſbane* to *Intrigue*.

But his *letter* and *dialogue*, written to the ſame perſon, as 'tis ſaid, from *Gray's-Inn, upon her wearing her maſk* the evening before; which was a female faſhion in thoſe days, as well in *publick walks*, as among the ſpectators at the *Playhouſe*; becauſe they ſo naturally diſplay his pleaſant temper and talents, and will afford an idea of them as clear as moſt of the reſt, therefore may not be thought tedious to repeat, eſpecially as they are all that we ſhall revive out of this collection, are as follow.

'The arguments you made uſe of laſt night for 'keeping on your maſk, I endeavoured to defeat with 'reaſon; but that proving ineffectual, I'll try the force 'of rhyme, and ſend you the heads of our chat in a '*poetical dialogue* between *You and I*.'

YOU.
Thus *Images* are *veil'd* which you *adore*;
Your *Ignorance* does raiſe your *zeal* the more.

I.
All *Image-worſhip* for *falſe zeal* is held;
Falſe idols ought indeed to be *conceal'd*.

YOU.
Thus *Oracles* of old were ſtill receiv'd;
The more *ambiguous*, ſtill the more *believ'd*.

I.
But *Oracles* of old were ſeldom *true*;
The *Devil* was in 'em—ſure he's not in *you!*

YOU.
Thus maſk'd in *Myſteries* does the *God-head* ſtand;
The more *obſcure*, the greater his *command*.

I.
The *God-head*'s hidden *pow'r* wou'd ſoon be paſt,
Did we not hope to *ſee* his *face* at laſt.

YOU.
You are my *Slave* already, *Sir*, you know;
To ſhew more *charms*, wou'd but increaſe your *woe*:
I ſcorn an *inſult* to a *conquer'd* foe.

L

thoſe letters were publiſhed, from the copies returned him, at his requeſt, by one of his female correſpondents, as appear therein (*c*); who was, as it is reported, the ſaid Mrs Oldfield; and ſhe often delighted to read them, many years after they were printed; as ſhe alſo did, that Eſſay at the end of them, which is called *A Diſcourſe upon* COMEDY, *in Reference to the* ENGLISH STAGE; which, as it is both very entertaining, and expreſſive of our Author's ſentiments upon this ſubject, a few extracts thereof may not, in this article, be unwelcome [*E*]. But what may give a more natural and lively repreſentation of him ſtill,

(*c*) Mr Farquhar's Letters, as before, p. 42. Alſo towards the end of the Pref. p. 13.

I.

I am your *Slave*, 'tis true; but ſtill you ſee,
All *ſlaves*, by nature, ſtruggle to be *free*:
But if you would *ſecure* the ſtubborn *prize*,
Add to your *wit*, the *fetters* of your *eyes*;
Then pleas'd with *thraldom*, would I *kiſs my chain*,
And ne'er think more of *liberty* again (9).

(9) Mr Farquhar's Letters, as before, p. 46, &c. Further on this ſubject of women in diſguiſe, ſee *Leanthe*'s ſong, in the firſt ſcene of the third act; and *Lucinda*'s exit, in the firſt of the fourth, in our author's *Love and a Bottle*.

This collection of *Poems, Letters*, &c. is dedicated by our Author to *Edmund Chaloner*, Eſq; an ingenious admirer of the Muſes, eſpecially that of Mr Farquhar; and a deſcendent of the famous Sir Thomas Chaloner, who was himſelf a man of diſtinguiſhed wit and learning in his time; alſo a Soldier as well as a Poet, like Mr Farquhar; who has therein not only celebrated the virtuous qualities and accompliſhments of his Patron, in a very polite manner, but ſhewed, in the example of that Anceſtor, how harmoniouſly *Mars* and *Minerva* may combine, or make a moſt illuſtrious union in one perſon. How dangerouſly that brave Anceſtor eſcaped death, when ſhipwreck'd by the ſtorm that defeated the expedition of Charles the Emperor againſt the Algerines; when he catched, and held faſt in his mouth, the cable that ſaved his life, with the loſs of his teeth: how bravely he purchaſed the honour of being made Knight-Banneret in the field: How diſcreetly he diſcharged his embaſſy to Philip II. of Spain: how learnedly he wrote ſeveral books in proſe and verſe, ſome of which made even the grave Lord Burghley, a Latin Poet as well as himſelf, in his commendation, may not only be ſeen partly in this dedication, but more largely elſewhere (10); while here we proceed to obſerve that our Author, among other agreeable addreſſes to his Reader, in the *Preface* of this *Collection*, ſays very jocoſely of himſelf, as to his equipments, or ſtock and change of apparel or furniture for his underſtanding, that truly 'this gentleman is of ſome circumſtance and 'condition, and has not been engaged in the *ſhifts* 'that ſome late *ſparks* were put to for their habili-'ments, who *ferret* all the *wit-brokers* in town; *tak-'ing up*, from *ſeveral* places, and *ſtrut* in a *ſecond-'hand finery*, patched up of the *ſcraps* and *remnants* of 'the *eminent* men of the *age*; for I muſt tell you, Sir, 'tho' his cloaths be but *plain*, yet they are his *own*, '*taken* up handſomely at one *place*, where he may have '*credit* for as much more when theſe are worn out.' It were eaſy, by many inſtances, in theſe *Letters*, &c. to point out the great ſpirit of vivacity and volubility in his *thoughts*; his drole and ſportive, his lepid and ludicrous vein: and in his *ſtyle*, ſometimes quaint, ſometimes florid, often comprehenſive and compact, ſome turns both of period and expreſſion, inclining to the elegant and ſententious, but commonly, through a humour naturally chearful, free and debonnair, not only pithy and poignant, but pleaſing and perſuaſive. Had the ſun-ſhine of his wit not been clouded ſo ſoon, but ſuffered by Death to have run a longer courſe, it would probably have brought to maturity, ſuch richer fruits of more ſolid and *ſerious ſubjects*, as would have preferred themſelves to the nicer, and more exquiſite taſte, of the moſt mature, ſerious, and *ſolid readers*. But in leſs than two years after the ſaid intercourſe of amorous epiſtles, Mr Farquhar was diverted from the publication of any more, by another fair lady who fell in love with him; and fearing no other impediment to her deſires of ſecuring him to herſelf, than the ſlenderneſs of her circumſtances, ſo contrived, that they were repreſented to him much more conſiderable than he at laſt found them. So he thought, before this diſcovery, that if Cupid's fire-arms would ſo effectually wound, when but ſingly loaden with the charming image of the fair, wherewith he had before been ſo deeply ſmitten; it were in vain now to think of eſcaping them when doubly charged, with beauty and fortune too. In ſhort, it ſeems his own inclination, as well as the proſpect of advantage, led him chearfully into the bands of matrimony; and we hear nothing to the contrary but they made a *Conſtant Couple*: nor is it otherwiſe objected to him, by the Poet who gave this unneceſſary caution:

(10) In Hakluyt's Voyages, Camden's Annals of Q. Eliz. Wood's Ath. Oxon. and others.

Bid *Farquhar*, tho' bit, to his conſort be juſt (11).

(11) Memoirs relating to the late famous Mr Thomas Brown; with a Catalogue of his Library, 4*to*, 1704; in the Poem at the end, p. 19.

For her affection ſo engaged his good nature, that he forgot the thoughts of that diſappointment; till afterwards another, from a noble or rather titled courtier, left him to increaſe the number of thoſe examples, which may convince the credulous, without the expence of a trial, that there may be ſome deluſions in *friendſhip*, more fatal than thoſe in *love*.

[*E*] *A few extracts thereof may not, in this article, be unwelcome.*] This *Diſcourſe upon Comedy* in reference to the *Engliſh Stage*, which is the laſt, printed in his collection of *Letters* beforementioned, conſiſting of about twenty-ſix pages, ſeems, by his mentioning at the entrance, his three firſt plays, to have been written in 1701. The uncommon ſucceſs which thoſe plays met with, having nettled ſome of the waſpiſh criticks, and provoked them to exert their little ſtings, he wrote it in juſtification of thoſe moderate irregularities, and other tolerable or compenſing liberties he had taken in them; but his allegations for them are ſo agreeably or plauſibly rational, that it is no wonder Mrs Oldfield ſhould prefer ſome parts thereof, as the moſt humorous of all other apologies for licence in this ſpecies (12) of the drama, equal to what is granted in all other branches of poetry, even tho' ſhe had received no previous impreſſion, from his engaging converſation, of partiality in his favour. For, in ſome places, his ſtyle and ſentiments are ſo adapted to his ſubject, and, againſt the auſterity of critical rules for the compoſition of *Comedy*, are ſo *comically* diſplayed, that he has left even thoſe pleaſed, whom he might not leave perſuaded: and in other parts, his ironical praiſe of *ancient rules*, for all ſyſtems of advice or reprehenſion, in our *modern modes* of corruption and vanity, contains ſome of the moſt delicate and refined ſpirit of *antient ſatire*. Indeed, he had briefly and blithly enough given us an abſtract of the uſual ſubject matter both in Tragedy and Comedy before, in a parley between LOVEWELL and LYRIC the Poet after this manner,

(12) Life of Mrs Oldfield, p. 49.

LOVE: What reliſh have you of Comedy?

LYR: No ſatisfactory one—My curioſity is foreſtalled by a fore-knowledge of what ſhall happen: for as the *Hero* in *Tragedy*, is either a whining cringing fool, that's always a ſtabbing himſelf; or a ranting hectoring bulley, that's for killing every body elſe: ſo the *Hero* in *Comedy* is always the *Poet*'s own *Character* (13).

(13) Which, by the way, is allowed to have been his own practice in this very play, and others; and Indeed, in divers places, when any thing in another is to undergo the diſcipline of ridicule, he very generouſly makes free with ſomething of his own to partake of it.

LOVE: What's that?

LYR: A compound of practical rake, and ſpeculative gentleman, who always bears off the great fortune in the play, and ſhams off the Beau and Squire with a Whore or Chambermaid: and as the Cataſtrophe of all Tragedies is *Death*, ſo the end of Comedies is *Marriage*.

LOVE: And ſome think that the moſt tragical concluſion of the two, &c. (14).

(14) See Farquhar's Love and a Bottle, Act 4, Scene 2.

But here in this profeſſed diſcourſe upon *Comedy* before us, our author ſaw reaſon to be more copious and explicit upon the topic; tho' after all when he comes to its definition, he makes no formal myſtery or frightful intricacy in it, but very freely and ſimply explains it to be no more at preſent than, *a well framed Tale, handſomely told, as an agreeable vehicle for cenſure or reproof:* which for ſenſible men qualified to uſe it, may be an explanation particular enough, and for ſtupid ones, any other which is more particular, would be only more puzzling. Among the points of doctrine laid down in this comic creed, or plan of his

ſtill, is one among thoſe letters, which he calls THE PICTURE, containing a deſcription and

his dramatic principles, we find not that he would have any other Poet more than himſelf, ignorant of the criticks rules, or is againſt their being read; but after that, he would have an able genius follow his own, or conform himſelf occaſionally to thoſe which are moſt ſuitable to his preſent ſubject, and ſuch perſons, as are to be inſtructed or entertained by it. He laments, that poetry alone of all other profeſſions, and chiefly the *Drama*, lies open to the inſults of all pretenders, and that this kind of all others muſt ſubmit to ſuch a variety of unequal judges. He allows without diſpute, that an author muſt endeavour to pleaſure that part of the audience, who can lay the beſt claim to a judicious and impartial reflection; but deſires he would firſt conſider, to what diviſion that claim does moſt properly belong, tho' he foreſees that ſcholars will be angry with him, for making this the ſubject of a queſtion; yet will not allow that ſuch meer readers of antient authors in their antient languages are the better ſort of judges in this caſe. However, he allows one of theſe profound ſcholaſtics, after having turned thro' Ariſtotle and all the old criticks, to have formed a regular play, with a ſingle plot, without ſong or dance, circumſcribed to three hours, and unity of place, with the allowance of an hundred and fifty pounds to dreſs it; then after all, the meager empty thing, blown up indeed with windy words, is found by the player to have no more operative matter for him to ſhew his art upon, than a carpenter can find in a piece of ſteel: 'Here is the lamp and the ſcholar in every line, but not a ſyllable of the Poet; 'here is elaborate language, ſounding epithets, flights 'of words that ſtrike the clouds, while the poor ſenſe 'lags after, like the lanthorn in the tail of a kite, 'which appears only like a ſtar, while the breath of 'the player's lungs has ſtrength to bear it up in the 'air.'——So that, 'the audience not meeting the 'diverſion they expected on the ſtage, ſhift for themſelves in the pit; every one turns about to his neighbour in a maſk, and for default of entertainment 'now, they ſtrike up for more diverting ſcenes when 'the play is done: and tho' the play be regular as '*Ariſtotle*, and modeſt as Mr *Collier* could wiſh, yet 'it promotes more lewdneſs in the conſequence, and 'procures more effectually for intrigue, than any *Rover*, *Libertine*, or *Old Bachelor* whatſoever. At 'laſt comes the Epilogue, which pleaſes the audience 'very well, becauſe it ſends them away, and terminates the fate of the Poet; the *Patentees* rail at him, 'the town damns him, and he may bury his copy *in* '*Paul's*, for not a Bookſeller *about it* will put it in 'print.' Hence he further proceeds to obſerve, how the town has been often diſappointed in theſe critical plays, and how authors who have been admired in their ſpeculative remarks, have been ridiculed in the practice; ſo adviſes his friend to lay aſide his ſuperſtitious veneration for antiquity, and the uſual objections that the preſent age is illiterate, or their taſte vitiated; that we live in the decay of time, and the dotage of the world; which he contradicts, and aſks him, why we ſhould be ſo hampered in our opinions, as if all the ruins of antiquity lay ſo heavily on the bones of us, that we could not ſtir hand or foot?

'Why ſhou'd the Poets be hoodwinked at this rate, 'and by what authority ſhould *Ariſtotle*'s rules of 'poetry ſtand ſo fix'd and immutable? Why?—By 'the authority of two thouſand years ſtanding—becauſe, thro' this long revolution of time, the world 'has ſtill continued the ſame—by the authority of 'their being received at Athens, a city, the very 'ſame with London in every particular; their habits 'the ſame, their humours alike; their publick tranſactions, and private ſocieties *a la mode de France*;—'in ſhort, ſo very much the ſame in every circumſtance, that *Ariſtotle*'s criticiſms may give rules to '*Drury-Lane*; the *Areopagus* give judgment upon a 'caſe in the *King's Bench*; and old *Solon* ſhall give 'laws to the *Houſe of Commons!*'

Then he proceeds by farther illuſtrations to ſhew, that we are not to form theſe modern and domeſtick entertainments, if we hope for ſucceſs, upon antient or foreign plans; with ſpecifying how eaſy it were out of Dr *Tillotſon*'s Sermons, to trump up a pamphlet upon the *art of preaching*, whence concluſions ſhall be drawn as from *Ariſtotle* in *Poetry*, that any ſermon whatever, either by a *Preſbyter* in *Geneva*, or a *Jeſuite* in *Spain*, that deviates from theſe rules, deſerves to be hiſſed, and the Prieſt kicked out of the pulpit.

Then he gives another inſtance—'I go down to '*Woolwich*, and there upon a piece of paper, I take 'the dimenſions of the *Royal Sovereign*, and from 'hence I frame a *Model* of a *Man of War:* I divide 'the ſhip into three principal parts, the *Keel*, the '*Hull*, and the *Rigging:* I ſubdivide theſe into their 'proper denominations, and by the help of a ſailor, 'give you all the terms belonging to every rope, and 'every office in the whole ſhip: will you from hence, 'infer that I am an excellent *Shipwright*, and that 'this model is proper for a trading *Junk* upon the '*Volga*, or a *Venetian Galley* in the *Adriatic* Sea?'

It is further from his arguments to be gathered, that, if Homer had ſubmitted to the rules of criticiſm, he had been more regular, but more enervate; more formally circumſcribed, but leſs copious and ſublime; more crude, contracted, barren, and debaſed, than he any where is; in a word, had finiſhed every thing off, with the niceſt and moſt artful declenſion of grandeur and magnificence; whence and from other parts, 'tis inferred, that a *Homer* cannot want the leading-ſtrings of an *Ariſtotle*, and that *Poets* derived not their *Art* from books of criticiſm, but criticks theirs, from thoſe of Poetry. And he thinks that, 'If Prince *Arthur* had been in 'the place of the *Iliad*, we ſhould have had other 'rules for *Epic Poetry*; and Doctor *Blackmore*, had 'carried the bays from *Homer*, in ſpight of all the 'critics in *Chriſtendom*.' In like manner, as the *Paradiſe Loſt* is not wholly confined to the dictates of that *Philoſopher*, other laws of *Epic Poetry* may be drawn out of *Milton* hereafter by another *Ariſtotle*. Then as for his rules of *Dramatic Poetry*; 'If they 'had been drawn from certain and immutable prin'ciples, and fix'd on the baſis of nature, (more con'vincingly than in thoſe generalities wherein it is the 'ſame in all nations) why ſhould not his *Ars Poetica* 'be as efficacious now, as it was two thouſand years 'ago? And a *ſingle Plot*, with perfect *Unity* of *Time* 'and *Place*, do as well in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, as at 'the Play-houſe in *Athens?*'

He further looked upon *Homer*, as a man of too great a knowledge in the immaterialities of his art, to preſcribe it materially and pedantically by Grammar rules, or in mood and figure, to the varieties of genius among mankind. 'He was too much a Poet to give rules to 'that, whoſe excellence he knew conſiſted in a free 'and unlimited flight of imagination; and to deſcribe 'the *Spirit of Poetry*, which alone is the true *Art of* 'Poetry, he knew to be as impoſſible, as for human 'reaſon to teach the *Gift* of *Prophecy* by a definition.'

He is for making *Æſop* the Father of Comedy, and thinks, 'we cannot now better ſeek for its foundation, than in his ſymbolical way of moralizing upon 'tales and fables, with this difference that his ſtories 'were ſhorter than ours. He had his tyrant *Lyon*, 'his ſtateſman *Fox*, his beau *Magpye*, his coward '*Hare*, his bravo *Aſs*, and his buffoon *Ape*, with all 'the characters that crowd our ſtages every day; with 'this diſtinction nevertheleſs, that *Æſop* made his 'beaſts ſpeak good *Greek*, and our Heroes ſometimes 'can't talk good *Engliſh*.' He goes on to ſhew how, by ſuch antient and modern practice, in Scripture *Parables*, and *Alluſions*, with other indirect, inſinuating, and moſt palatable, as well as expedient arts of ſchooling mankind into better manners, what was the primary *End* of *Comedy*, and would afford the juſteſt *Rules* for it. Thus having diſplayed the principal threads of his diſcourſe, he winds himſelf up in his concluſions.

'That our buſineſs lies not with a *French* or *Spaniſh* audience; that our deſign is not to hold forth 'to antient *Greece*, nor to moralize upon the vices 'and defaults of the *Roman* commonwealth: No, no; '*An Engliſh play is intended for the uſe and inſtruction* 'of an *Engliſh audience*; a people not only ſeparated 'from the reſt of the world by ſituation, but different 'alſo from other nations, as well in the complexion 'and temperament of the natural body, as in the 'conſtitution of our body politick: as we are a *mixture of many nations*, ſo we have the moſt unac-

'countable

and character of himſelf; which we ſhould not refrain from tranſcribing entirely, as what might contribute ſo properly and directly to the illuſtration of his life, if his works were a ſcarcity; but as they are not, we ſhall only here ſketch out a few of the ſtrongeſt, or moſt diſtinguiſhing and obſervable lineaments; that he may not be wholly unknown to thoſe who have not ſeen them, nor wholly forgotten by thoſe who have [*F*]. In 1703, came forth another diverting comedy of his, intituled THE INCONSTANT: *or, The Way to win Him*, which had merit enough to have been equally ſucceſsful with the reſt, but for the inundation of Italian, French, and other farcical interruptions; which, thro' the intereſt of ſome, and the depravity of others, broke in upon the ſtage, to the ſcandal, in being ſubmitted to, of our more refined taſte, which had preferred it's own genuine weighty ſterling, our true Engliſh humour, wit, and ſenſe, to ſuch coin as was baſe, light, and counterfeit.

Theſe

'countable *medley of humours* among us, of any peo-
'ple upon earth; theſe humours produce variety of
'follies, ſome of them unknown to former ages;
'theſe new diſtempers muſt have new remedies, which
'are nothing but new counſels and inſtructions; ſo
'begs, if our *utile*, which is the *end*, be different
'from the antients, that our *dulce*, which is the
'*means*, be ſo too; for to different towns there muſt
'be different ways, &c.

'Then, what ſort of *dulce*, which he takes for the
'pleaſantry of the tale, or the plot of the play, muſt
'a man make uſe of to engage the attention of ſo
'many different humours and inclinations? Will a
'ſingle plot ſatisfy every body? Will the turns and
'ſurpriſes that may reſult naturally from the antient
'limits of time, be ſufficient to rip open the ſpleen
'of ſome, and phyſick the melancholy of others;
'ſcrew up the attention of a rover, and fix him to
'the ſtage, in ſpight of his volatile temper, and the
'temptation of a maſk? *To make the moral inſtructive
'you muſt make the ſtory diverting:* the ſplenetic Wit,
'the beau Courtier, the heavy Citizen, the fine Lady,
'and her fine Footman, come all to be *inſtructed*, and
'therefore muſt all be *diverted*; and he that can do
'this *beſt*, and with moſt applauſe, *writes the beſt
'Comedy*, let him do it by what *rules* he pleaſes, ſo
'they be not offenſive to religion and good manners.'
Thus, his grand and general rule for our ſtage is, to be as generally inſtructive as he can, which cannot be, without making his work delightful to the generality. This ſecret of pleaſing ſo generally ſuch different taſtes in a modern audience, muſt be attained by ſtudying the humours of the moderns; ſo he prefers the models of *Shakeſpear*, *Fletcher*, and others of our own Poets, who made themſelves no ſlaves to the patterns or precepts of antiquity, before thoſe of *Plautus* and *Menander*. Not that he rejects, or deſpiſes all rules or decorum: he is not for having the *Engliſh Stage* a *State* of *Anarchy: No Sir,—For there are extreams in irregularity, as dangerous to an author, as too ſcrupulous a deference to criticiſm.* And hereof as he had given an inſtance of the one, ſo he alſo gives an example of the other. Concluding that, he is as little a friend to theſe rambling plays as any body; and that he has never eſpouſed their party by his own practice: yet cannot forbear ſome further vindication of the great *Shakeſpear* upon this head (*); and then, thus begs the critical carpers to let our old Engliſh authors alone.

(*) With a view to the rigid cenſures of Mr *Rymer*.

'If they have left vice unpuniſhed, virtue unre-
'warded, folly unexpoſed, or prudence unſucceſsful,
'the contrary of which is the *utile* of the Comedy,
'let them be laſhed to ſome purpoſe: if any part of
'their plots have been independent of the reſt, or
'any of their characters forced or unnatural, which
'deſtroys the *dulce* of plays, let them be hiſſed off
'the ſtage: but if, by a true decorum in theſe mate-
'rial points, they have writ ſucceſsfully and anſwered
'the end of *Dramatic Poetry*, in every reſpect, let
'them reſt in peace, and their memories enjoy the
'encomiums due to their merit, without any reflexi-
'on for waving thoſe niceties, which are neither in-
'ſtructive to the world, nor diverting to mankind;
'but are like all the reſt of the critical learning, fit
'only to ſet people together by the ears, in ridicu-
'lous controverſies, that are not one jot material to
'the good of the public, whether they be true or
'falſe.'

[*F*] *That he may not be wholly unknown, to thoſe who have not ſeen them, nor wholly forgotten by thoſe who have.*] Our author tells the Lady to whom this reſemblance of himſelf was ſent, (when he was aged about twenty three years) that he would challenge *Vandyck* or *Kneller*, to draw it more to the life; and if he had not ſome thoughts that the ſubſtance would fall to her ſhare, he would not part with the likeneſs; which he thus colours forth, in ſome of the principal features, under the title of

'THE PICTURE.

'My *Outſide*, is, neither better nor worſe than my
'*Creator* made it, and the *Piece* being drawn by ſo
'great an *Artiſt*, 'twere preſumption to ſay there
'were many *Stroaks* amiſs. I have a body qualified
'to anſwer all the ends of its creation, and that's ſuf-
'ficient.

'As to the *Mind*, which in moſt men wears as
'many changes as their body, ſo in me, 'tis generally
'dreſſed like my perſon, in black.——In ſhort, my
'conſtitution is very *ſplenetic*, and very *amorous*; both
'which I endeavour to *hide*, leaſt the former ſhould
'offend *others*, and that the latter might incommode
'*myſelf:* and my reaſon is ſo vigilant in reſtraining
'theſe two failings, that I am taken for an eaſy-na-
'tured man by my own ſex, and an ill-natured clown
'by your's.

''Tis true, I am very ſparing in my *praiſes* and
'*compliments* to a *Lady*, out of a fear, that they may
'affect myſelf more than her: for the idols which we
'worſhip, are generally of our own making; and
'tho' at firſt, men may not ſpeak what they think,
'yet truth may catch them on t'other hand, and make
'them think what they ſpeak.

'But moſt of all, I am cautious of *promiſing*, eſpe-
'cially upon that weighty article of *conſtancy*; be-
'cauſe, in the firſt place, I have never tryed the
'ſtrength of it in my own experience; and ſecondly,
'I ſuppoſe a man can no more engage for his *con-
'ſtancy*, than his *health*; ſince I believe they both
'equally depend upon a certain conſtitution of body;
'how far, and how frequently that may be liable to
'alteration, eſpecially in affairs of love, let the more
'judicious determine.

'I am ſeldom troubled with what the world calls
'*airs* and *caprices*; and I think it an idiot's excuſe
'for a fooliſh action, to ſay, '*twas my humour.—I
'can't reliſh the jeſt that vexes another in earneſt.*—
'I think it the worſt office in my nature to make *my-
'ſelf uneaſy* for what *another* ſhould be *puniſhed.*—
'I have ſo naturally a propenſity to *eaſe*, that I can-
'not cheerfully fix to any ſtudy that bears not a plea-
'ſure in the application, which makes me inclinable
'to *Poetry* above any thing elſe.

'I have very little *eſtate*, but what lies under the
'circumference of my *hat*; and ſhould I, by misfor-
'tune, come to loſe my *head*, I ſhould not be worth
'a *groat:* but I ought to thank providence, that I
'can, by *three hours ſtudy*, live *one and twenty*, with
'ſatisfaction to myſelf, and contribute to the *mainte-
'nance* of more *families*, than ſome, who have *thou-
'ſands* a *year*.

'I have many *acquaintance*, very few *intimates*,
'but no *friends*, I mean in the old romantic way.—
'Nor can I *love* after the old romantic diſcipline:
'I would have my *paſſion*, if not led, yet at leaſt,
'waited on by my *reaſon*; and the greateſt proof of
'my affection that a lady muſt expect, is this: I
'would run any hazard to make us both *happy*, but
'would not, for any tranſitory pleaſure, make either
'of us *miſerable*, &c.'

These foreigners made partizans among our treacherous countrymen, to depricate our dramatick, and other poetical writers, especially several whose compositions had been well received, and consequently our Author; whom we meet with in a *satire* of that kind, published the next year, thus spoken of [G]. It seems to have been so early as 1704, that the Farce called THE STAGE COACH, in the composition whereof he was jointly concerned, made it's first appearance in print: and it has always given satisfaction, both in England and Ireland; unless to some ungrateful fault-finders, and those who will seek matter to displease themselves in such things as might yield them pleasure. At this time Mr Farquhar had been about a twelve-month married, and it was at first reported, to a great fortune; which might not a little exasperate the invidious temper of those who grudged his prosperity. His next comedy, named THE TWIN RIVALS, which he dates at the bottom of the dedication, in December two years before that farce, might therefore be acted, and published, a year before it, as some have intimated it was; but, in several other accounts, it is spoken of as if it was neither played nor printed before 1705 (*d*). Our Poet was possessed of his commission in the army, when the Spanish expedition was made under the conduct of the Earl of PETERBOROUGH, tho' it seems he kept it not long after; and tho' Mr Farquhar was not embarked in that service, or present at the defeat of the French forces, and the conquest of BARCELONA; yet, from some military friends in that engagement, he received such distinct and compleat relations of it, in their epistolary correspondence, and more particular information upon the return of some others, that he wrote a copious poem upon the subject, wherein he has made the said Earl his hero. But it not being published till after our Poet's death, it is somewhat wanting in those corrections wherewith it would have been improved and ornamented, had his health allowed him a deliberate review (*e*). Some two or three years after it was written (*), the impression of it was addressed, by the Author's widow, to the said Nobleman: and because it was never reprinted with his other works, and is therefore now scarce, the epistle before it not being prolix, is here below preserved [*H*]. This poem is enough to prove that Mr Farquhar did

(*d*) The Life of Mr Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 173 and Mr Harris in his Additions to Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland, as before.

(*e*) See the Pref. to Mr Farquhar's *Barcellona*: a Poem, &c.

(*) In a MS. of this Poem now before us, there is no date; nor could we find any in the printed copy we have seen of the said Poem, consisting of six canto's, and 48 pages in 4to, the bottom of it's title-page being cut off.

[*G*] *Whom we meet with, in a satire of that kind, published the next year, thus spoken of.*] In this satire, among some other Poets, whose endeavours to please the town, had made them objects of the author's consideration, the omission of Mr Farquhar's, would have made him appear too inconsiderable; but as they had met with a reception more singularly successful, it may expose a singular deficiency as well in the author's genius as justice, to summon our Poet into the Court of *Apollo*, upon such insolid and ungrounded matter of accusation, how natural soever and unavoidable it may be, for a general esteem, to be sure of propagating some particular envy.

Therefore, after the said satirist has set Mr *Francis Manning*'s claim to the bays aside, for the defects of his own writings, but allowed him to adopt those of the Honourable Mr Charles Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery, he goes on thus:

Is it so then, said *Farquhar?* my matters are safe,
By Saint *Patrick*, my business is done;
For 'tis known, I have made Pit and Gallery laugh,
Without any one's help but my own.

My *Jubilee Dicky*, and airy Sir *Harry*,
Will vindicate what I have said;
And none, but myself, has a title to carry
The Laurels away on my head.

By your leave, Brother *Teague*, reply'd *Mac Fleckno*'s Ghost (†),
Our countrymen are better known;
The *Beauties* are borrow'd, of which you thus boast,
But the *Faults*, I dare swear, are your own.

Tho', the town may allow, what you'd have 'em all take
For granted, with no one you joyn;
Since none, but a man of your judgment, could make
Such language, to such a design.

And I can't but applaud the resolve you have ta'en,
In the present employ which you chuse;
For it's nobler in red, to make a Campaign,
Than to butcher an innocent Muse (15).

(†) Tho. Shadwell.

(15) The *Trial of Skill*: or a New *Session of the Poets*; calculated for the Meridian of *Parnassus*, &c. Printed for, 1704, p. 8.

[*H*] *The Epistle—is here below preserved.*] This Epistle is as follows.

To the *Right Honourable* CHARLES *Earl of* PETERBOROUGH and MONMOUTH.

My LORD,

'MY presumption, in dedicating to your Lordship this Poem, found among my dear deceased husband's writings, will I hope obtain, not only your Lordship's pardon, but favourable acceptance. For, to whom should this address be made, but to that Hero, who is the glorious subject of the song. Happy! could it by art represent, what was really done by your Lordship in that expedition, so surprising, as not only surpasses all *Poetic* description, but makes even *truth* itself romantic. The difficulties your Lordship had to encounter, in the different interests and opinions of your confederates, was not the least part of that undertaking. You were to convince, before you engaged, and your invincible reason was to confirm the assured conquest of your sword. MONJUICH, beyond obelisks and pyramids, will be the eternal monument of your fame; where, upon the fall of that great, tho' unhappy Prince of *Darmstad*, your Lordship heroically interposed, turned, and assured the fate of the *Austrian* Monarchy. BARCELLONA, became the rival of MADRID, and MADRID itself had received its natural Lord; and had not envy itself blasted the sure-laid design, my Lord MORDENT had rivalled the glory of the BLACK PRINCE himself, on the Theatre of *Spain*.

'Accept, great SIR, these laurels, planted by your transcendent valour, and reaped by your victorious arm. Accept that tribute, which is here offered, by an humble but sincere hand, to that magnificent vertue, which hath restored the foundation of the *Austrian Spanish* Monarchy, and which none but our great QUEEN can establish and confirm.

'That your Lordship may live, to see the effects of so glorious an undertaking ratified, in a sure and lasting peace; the *West-India* trade flowing into the *British* channel; and the good wishes of all good men, derived into lasting blessings upon your Lordship and noble family, is the hearty prayers of my Lord,

Your LORDSHIP's most devoted,
humble servant,
MARGARET FARQUHAR (16).

(16) *Barcellona*; a *Poem*: or The Spanish Expedition under the command of *Charles* Earl of *Peterborough*, until the Reduction of the City of *Barcellona* to the Obedience of Charles III. By *Geo. Farquhar*, Gent. 1to. In Epist. Dedic.

[*I*] *Of*

did not burn all his unprinted writings before his death, as the author of his Memoirs has intimated he did. There are two more of his plays to be ſpoken of, which have no leſs attracted the town, and been received with no leſs approbation, than any before mentioned; the one, his comedy called THE RECRUITING OFFICER; which, as we compute, was firſt acted in 1706; tho', in the printed regiſters of our dramatick writings, the firſt edition of it is dated in the following year: and the firſt impreſſion of his laſt comedy, intituled THE BEAUX STRATAGEM, is mentioned in thoſe regiſters to have been no earlier than three years after our Author was dead: whence they have alſo, very unconſequently, inclined ſome to fix the date of his death ſo many years later than it really happened (*f*). Of theſe plays, and the reſt before named, we ſhall refer to ſome few further remarks, here proper to be remembered [*I*]. But of our Comic Author's untimely end, which

(*f*) See Giles Jacob of him, in his Account of the Poets; and The Compl. Liſt of all our Engl. Dramatic Poets, and of all the Plays, &c. annexed to The Tragedy of *Scanderberg*, 8*vo*, 1747, p. 230. And the Life of Mr Wilks, 8*vo*, 1733, p. 19.

[*I*] *Of theſe Plays, ſhall refer to ſome few further remarks, here proper to be remembered.*] It has been with ſome difficulty, and not without ſome doubt, that we have ſettled the firſt appearance and publication of theſe plays, thro' the uſual blindneſs in all latter editions, and blunders of our poetical regiſters in thoſe particulars, as we have in this article above done; to ſupply the text with thoſe neceſſary links of chronology, which, as the writings of a Poet are generally the main actions of his life, would have been wanting in that principal chain, or capital part thereof, had we reſerved the ſaid dates to be ſhrunk into this, or any other limb of it. The general character that has been given of theſe Comedies, is that, 'the 'ſucceſs of moſt of them far exceeded the author's ex-'pectations; that he was particularly happy in the 'choice of his *ſubjects*, which he took care to adorn 'with variety of characters and incidents; his *ſtyle*, 'is pure and unaffected; his *Wit*, natural and flow-'ing; and his *plots*, generally well contrived. He 'laſhed the vices of the age, tho' with a merciful 'hand; for his Muſe was good-natured, not abounding 'over-much with gall, tho' he has been blamed for 'it by the critics: It has been objected to him, that 'he was too haſty in his productions; but I believe, 'by ſuch only, who are chiefly admirers of ſtiff and 'elaborate performances; ſince, with a perſon of a 'ſprightly fancy, thoſe things are often beſt, which 'are ſtruck off in a heat (17).' It has been alſo obſerved that his *humour*, being truly natural, makes all his plays very entertaining, and that, his principal *characters* in ſeveral of them, were generally copies of himſelf (18); which are gay, briſk, and vigorous; courtly, amorous and gallant, or intriguing parts; particularly 'tis ſaid, that, in his character of George Roebuck, a wild young rover, in his firſt play (19), newly come from *Ireland*, becauſe he would not, in obedience to his father, marry a woman, by whom he had twins at a birth there, who therefore follows him here to London, &c. it was thought, that the author has therein, or at leaſt in other incidents, ſketch'd out in ſome part, or ſome meaſure, his own ſtory. This is partly hinted at by a writer, of that time, who, ſpeaking of Mr *Thomas Browne*, ſays of him, and ſome other contemporary Poets, that 'had he been as hap-'py in his temper as in his genius, he had certainly 'been hoiſted up among the firſt rate wits of his time: 'his lewdneſs had been no blot in his ſcutcheon there: 'twas not *Tate*'s ſeeming ſanctity that preferr'd him 'to the bayes; nor *Congreve*'s chaſtity, to the opi-'nion of the quality: *Shadwell* had never been Lau-'reate in his latter days, but by being an early rake, 'and fixing his reputation with *Dorſet*, *Sidley*, and 'the reſt: it was not *Vanbrugh*'s modeſt plays that 'raiſed his eſteem among the ladies, nor *Motteaux*'s 'pretence of being a perſecuted brother, that exalted 'him, from a ſolitary garret, to the reputation of a 'current credit upon the exchange, and a place in 'the Poſt-office: *Rowe* had ſhewn more wit in keep-'ing his eſtate, than he has ſhown in all the plays he 'ever writ, eſpecially the laſt: and certainly Mr 'Farquhar knew how neceſſary lewdneſs was to eſta-'bliſh his reputation, when he expoſed *Roebuck* in 'the firſt play he writ, for his own character (20).' And yet his writings are not ſo diſagreeable in this reſpect, or corruptingly looſe as ſeveral of ſome other Poets here mentioned; his genteel gallants and ſlighty rakes have ſuch an airy volatile manner of carrying off any liberties in their ludicrous or jocular diſcourſe, that they are not ſo deeply affecting, nor leave ſuch pernicious impreſſions upon the imagination, as other figures of the like kind, more ſtrongly ſtampt, by more indelicate and heavier hands, have an untoward faculty of doing. In this our author's firſt play, Poet *Lyric* makes free with burleſquing ſome of *Nat Lee*'s Heroics, in his *Sophoniſba*, &c. 'Tis dedicated to *Peregrine* Marquis of *Carmarthen*, and the Prologue and Epilogue were written by *Joe Haynes*, a noted Player and Prologue-writer, of merry memory in thoſe times, who played *Pamphlet* the Bookſeller, and *Rigadoon* the Dancing Maſter, in this Comedy; and various other parts, not only on the ſmaller, but the larger ſtage of the world itſelf, in many other countries as well as *England*; diverting both Princes and people, wherever he went, Proteus and Camelion-like, in all ſhapes and colours: whether, as Mr *Joſeph Hains*, *Seignor Giuſippe Hains*, or *Monſieur Hains*; whether, as Secretary *Hains*, Preceptor *Hains*, Doctor *Hains*, Count *Hains*; or any other dignity whereto he was advanced, or title he aſſumed (21).

Mr *Farquhar*'s next Comedy (22) is dedicated to Sir *Roger Moſtyn*, of *Moſtyn-Hall* in *Flintſhire*. The author's friend who wrote the Prologue, ſays the ladies may ſafely ſmile; for there is neither ſcandal, ſmut, lewd-tongued beau, or *double entendre* in it; to which ſenſe, our author aſſerts in his preface that, 'he has not diſpleaſed the ladies, nor offended the 'clergy; both which were now pleaſed to ſay, that 'a Comedy may be diverting without ſmut or pro-'faneneſs.' The Epilogue was ſpoken by Mr *Wilks*, who acted ſo excellently the chief part, that our author, in that preface, ſays of him. 'Mr *Wilks* his 'performance has ſet him ſo far above competition, 'in the part of *Wildair*, that none can pretend to envy 'the praiſe due to his merit: that *he made the part*, will 'appear, ſays he, from hence, that whenever the 'ſtage has the misfortune to looſe *him*, Sir *Harry Wild-'air* may go the *Jubilee*.' But the Poet may be haply miſtaken in his prophecy, the ſource of theatrical merit may change its channel, and the *Part* in time, may make the *Player*, if it has not as yet altogether done ſo, equal to the original actor of it; ſeeing it has been always well received as often as it has been played, ſince death, for near theſe twenty years paſt, has denyed us his maſterly performance in it. And it were to be wiſhed, that this generous applauſe of that ſprightly and graceful actor's abilities, may not have tended to affect the character of our author's own; ſince it may ſeem, that, ſuch grateful encomiums upon the perfections of the Comedian, have promoted ſome ingratitude towards thoſe of the Comedy: for it is believed, that ſuch praiſes, by our author of his actors, have hinted, to ſome rivals for preheminence in the Muſes favour on the drama, who were jealous of any growing monopolies in that ſphere, ſome attempts to make a plauſible transfer of his praiſe, by attributing that which was due to the ſucceſs of Mr *Farquhar*'s Comedies, more to the merits of the Players than the Poet; more to the enlivening gaiety and gallantry of thoſe, by whom his characters were perſonated, than the intermixtures of that wit and humour, which uſually prepoſſeſs us in favour of ſuch characters in other plays (23); which illiberal artifice of Poets and other ingenious men, towards one another, is no novelty; for juſt ſo, not to mention other inſtances, Mr *Shadwell*, before had endeavoured the like alienation, by imputing the deſerved eſteem, and laudable reception of Mr *Otway*'s moſt approved Plays, not to any thing in the *Acts*, but the *Actors* of them (24). A later critick, who has alſo been a candidate for theatrical approbation, having in a uſeful work, which deſerves it, among others, drawn out the plot of this play,

(17) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, p. 5.

(18) Giles Jacob, &c.

(19) *Love and a Bottle.*

(20) Memoirs relating to the late Mr Thomas Browne, &c. Printed &c. by B. Bragg, 4*to*, 1704, p. 1, 2.

(21) See Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 879; and T. Thomas's Life of the late famous Comedian Jo. Haynes: containing his comical Exploits and Adventures at Home and Abroad, 8*vo*, 1701. But eſpecially The Reaſons of Mr Jo. Hains his Converſion and Reconverſion, in a Dialogue between Mr Bayes and Mr Hains: By Tho. Browne, in his Dialogues, 8*vo*, 1704, p. 203.

(22) The *Conſtant Couple*, &c.

(23) See The Tatler, edit. 8*vo*, 1713, p. 167. And Cibber's Apology, in 4*to*, as before, p. 336.

(24) See The *Tory Poets*: a Satire, 4*to*, 1682, p. 5.

which was so much regretted, in a person who had been so generally delightful, both in his writings

play, and called it a celebrated Comedy, full of contrivance; yet thinks, the plot not regular, or consisting of certain means, to compass a certain end; because the catastrophe appears as it were involuntary, and owing to the chance of incidents, more than to measures concerted with design (25); which, whether defective or commendable, we have not now leisure to examine, since, in some cases, the greatest *art*, is, artfully to conceal a *design*, under the appearance of *chance*. But here we are reminded of a little dialogue, which happened upon the great success of this play, between *Jubilee Dicky*, a noted part in it, and *Thomas Durfey* the Poet, or Poetaster, which you please; as we received it, from a late living Magazine of merry tales, jests, and other conceits of the noted wits and authors of his time. It seems *Durfey* wanted to bring a play upon the Theatre-Royal, and meeting little *Dicky* in the heighth of spirits, at the great resort to *Farquhar*'s Comedy, asked him, *When they should have some breathing time, to get up a play of his? What is it?* said Dicky. *Why don't you know the story of* Massianello, *the Prince of* Fishermen? *Ay, ay, but I fear his* Fish *will grow* stale *upon his hands, or make but insipid* entertainment *at our house, during this* Carnival *there. Why, will the humour in your* Constant Couple *last for* ever? *No, no, the* Trip *that is making in it* to this Jubilee, *will surely be at an* end *by the* Revolution *of the* next. But it scarcely was; for we are told, in one place, that it had a run for fifty two nights (26), and may learn from our author himself, that it so much filled the stage, for the greater part of that season, that it brought the Play-house some fifty audiences in five months (27): and immediately after, he was encouraged to bring on a continuation of it in another Comedy for the next season. In short, the fancy of the town was so engrossed even by the former of these Comedies, that *Durfey* soon carried his play to Mr *Betterton*'s company in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, and the tripping humour in both of them, endured so long, that, little *Jubilee Dicky*, in all common discourse, either with, or of him, lost his christian name ever after; and hundreds call'd him *Dicky*, as long as he lived, to one who called him *Henry Norris*.

(25) A Companion for the Theatre: or, a View of our most celebrated Dramatick Pieces: in which the Plan, Characters, and Incidents of each are particularly explained, &c. 8vo, Vol. I. 1747, p. 70.

(26) Memoirs of Mrs Oldfield, as before, p. 2.

(27) Pref. to Mr Farquhar's *Inconstant: or The Way to Win Him.*

This second part (28), is dedicated by the author to the Earl of Albemarle. His Prologue to it is founded upon the same sentiments, he soon after published more at large, in his *discourse on Comedy*, as we have before shown; and we see here in verse, as there in prose, that his general deduction is, to make his *Dramatic Entertainments* generally delightful, that they may be alike instructive, which could not be done without making them engaging to the generality; by taking greater licence than the antients have confined us to, and drawing the several new shapes and habits in modern life, for an *English* stage, not from the patterns of old *Greece* or *Rome*, but rather to make the living *Audience* his rule, than the dead letter of *Aristotle*. He found, by successful experience, the best *comic sport* to consist in springing and flushing the fresh wild game that lay before, or about him, and taking his aim there; at the fashionable gallantries, and modish extravagancies in real life; the new-fledg'd humours and manners, the full-plum'd vanities and affectations of the times; the ridiculous follies, seducing fallacies, the novel disguises and deceits of the town: this was the fat-fed game he was for catching as it rose, or shooting on the wing; as Mr *Pope* professedly prescribed and enjoyned himself to pursue afterwards (29): which was only to be done by more enlarged schemes in respect to the drama than were antiently limited, or are now descended to us. As for any formal and regular revival of the trite and thread-bare figures or characters of antiquity, he leaves them in possession of the Antients, and to the rumination of the grave and critical Antiquaries; as he says, in that Prologue himself.

(28) *Sir Harry Wildair*: being *The Sequel of The Trip to the Jubilee.*

(29) In his *Essay on Man.*

He leaves to learned pens, such labour'd lays,
You are the Rules by which he writes his Plays:
From musty books, let others take their view;
He hates *dull* reading, but he *studies you.*

Thus then, the *Pit* and *Boxes* are his *Schools*,
Your *Air*, your *Humour*, his *Dramatic Rules*, &c.

The fourth of these plays (30), he dedicates to his countryman and fellow collegiate, *Richard Tighe*, Esq; from whom he partly copied the character of young *Mirabell*, so well acted by Mr *Wilks*. It drew a splendid and crowded audience for six nights successively, till Lent intervened, tho' the Tumblers, Rope Dancers, French Dancing Masters, Dancing Dogs, French Strolers, and Italian Squallers, had now so much engrossed the town, that our author has, with no less good sense than good humour, very genteely rallied our depraved taste and extravagance at that time therein; as well he might, when that beardless songster *Sigismondo Fideli*, had twenty pounds a night for singing (31): Also in dancing, as Mr *Farquhar* observes, the charms of *Gallic* heels were too hard for an *English* head, and that no instruction in the moral of a play, could come in competition with that of a minuet. He owns that he took the hint of this Comedy from *Fletcher's Wild Goose Chase*; and that admired turn of the plot in the last act, which has drawn tears of joy from many bright eyes, was built upon a real adventure of the Chevalier *de Chastillon*, well known at *Paris*. There is an ingenious Epilogue to this play composed by *Nicholas Rowe*, Esq; and in the humorous Prologue, written by Mr *Motteaux*, the Farce, above named, which was written by him in conjunction with our author, being mentioned, seems to have been composed the same year by them, if not before, tho' it might not be printed till the next.

(30) The *Inconstant: or The Way to Win Him*, 1703.

(31) Hist. of the English Stage, as before, p. 135.

And that same year also, soon after the Comedy last mentioned, his fifth seems to have been brought on the stage (32). It is dedicated to *Henry Brett*, Esq; in December 1702, therefore printed the next year, as we presume, from the date of that satire next quoted in the margin; tho' some writers know not of its appearance till two years later. Our Poet having in the preface, ingeniously obviated such objections as had been made to it, owns himself obliged to Mr *Longueville* (†) for some expressions in the part of Teague; something in that of the Lawyer, and for his hint of the *Twins*, upon which the author formed his plot. After this acknowledgment, he adds, that few of our modern writers have been less beholden to foreign assistance in their plays, than he in the scenes of this. But how slender soever the assistance was that he had, 'twas enough to be snarled at by the little cynical satirists, who envying the success of his plays, had pronounced the beauties in them to be borrowed, but the blemishes to be his own; as was before related. Another of these satirists says of Mr *Farquhar*, with intent, perhaps, of fathering this play wholly upon the said Mr *Longueville*, and one of our famous Poets, from whom it is there said to be drawn, in these words,

(32) The *Twin Rivals*, 1703, 1705, &c.

(†) Who was, as we are told, our author's countryman, and a Fencing Master, as was also his son James; and that he long laboured to produce a Comedy, but without success.

His fame he built on mighty *D'avenant*'s wit,
And lately own'd a play, that he ne'er writ (33):

So names this, called the *Twin-Rivals*, in the margin. The reason why we have fixt the publication of the Farce before mentioned in the next year after the last play, is grounded on the authority of that author, who quotes two impressions of it in that year (34), tho' several others mention it, as if it was not published before our author had been three years in his grave.

(33) *Religio Poetæ*: or a *Satire on the Poets*, fol. 1703, p. 9.

(34) The *Stage Coach, a Farce*: Lond. 4to, 1704. Dublin, 4to, 1704. Mr Harris's Addit. to Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland, as before.

Between the publication of this and his next dramatic performance, our Poet had been in Shrewsbury, and other parts of Shropshire to recruit soldiers for his regiment or company; there he gathered matter for the plot and characters of his diverting Comedy upon that subject (35); and this as we compute, was acted in 1706, tho' it is not mentioned to have been printed before the next year. He dedicates it, for the hospitable reception he had there received, *to his friends round the Wrekin*, a noted hill in that county, which this play has made more so, by promoting a health in drinking to our friends so situated; 'a health that 'has the advantage over other celebrated toasts, of 'being a lasting beauty; old without age, and com-

(35) The *Recruiting Officer.*

'mon

writings and converſation, we can give but a melancholy, if not tragical account. For ſome debts, it ſeems, preſſing him to make his application to a certain noble courtier, who had beſtowed upon him moſt bountiful profeſſions of ſolid friendſhip, he was, by that plauſible patron, perſuaded to turn his commiſſion into the money he wanted, and this man of honour, by his intereſt, would get him another; but, when the *profitable* friend in his purſe was gone, he could not find the *honourable* one, truly at court, not in the courtier himſelf! which diſappointment, in this dependance on his courtly friend, with the other he had undergone in the fortune of that lady, whom he had eſpouſed for her love of him, now uniting to prey more eagerly on his mind, and tormenting it with the corroding reflections of ſome domeſtick difficulties, in the neceſſary accommodation of his family, made way to his heart, and, by a ſure, tho' no ſudden declenſion of nature, carried him off this worldly theatre, while his laſt play was acting, in the heighth of it's ſucceſs, at that in Drury-Lane: and tho' the audience all beſtowed their *plaudites* upon the performance, ſome could not conceal their tears for the approaching loſs of its author; which happened, in the latter end

'mon without ſcandal:' and in this dedication, excuſes Mr *Rich* for acting his play upon *Durfey*'s third night, for his *Wonders of the* Sun, or Kingdom of Birds, tho' it is not ſaid in our erroneous regiſters of plays, to have been acted till three or four years after this time; and then, that it was at the Theatre in the Hay-Market. Our author alſo tells us, 'that the Duke of *Ormond* 'encouraged him, and the Earl of *Orrery* approved 'the play: my *Recruits* were *reviewed* by my *General* 'and my *Colonel*, and could not fail to paſs *muſter*; 'and ſtill to add to my ſucceſs, they were *raiſed* 'among my friends round the Wrekin (*).' Mr Wilks played Captain Plume, and Mr Cibber, Captain Brazen, the two Recruiting Officers; Richard Eſtcourt, a celebrated Comedian and Mimic, played Serjeant Kite; and Sylvia the Juſtice's daughter was performed by Mrs Oldfield, whoſe name appears not in the *Dramatis Perſonæ* before any other Comedy of our author's earlier than this. Here again, as in the *Trip to the Jubilee*, we have been led to believe, that what ſupports the ſucceſs of the play in one of thoſe parts is, the proper ſenſe and obſervation of the player; that the humour is not conceived to be hit in Serjeant Kite, but is admirably ſupplyed by the action of Mr Eſtcourt (36). But a later writer who ſeems to have more particularly examined this play, and given us diſtinctly the plan, characters, and incidents of it, has been more regardful of its merits; and from its connected parts, concludes with this general character of the whole, where 'tis ſaid,— 'there are beſides the 'two grand deſigns, ſome leſſer ones, tending to gain 'recruits; yet, at the ſame time, are alſo conducive 'ſome way or other to the better carrying on the 'main buſineſs; ſuch as Serjeant *Kite*'s pretending to 'tell fortunes;—*Silvia*, in the habit of a man, mak-'ing love to *Roſe*, a pretty country girl;—Captain 'Plume, cajoling *Bullock*, *Coſtar Pearmain*, and *Tho-'mas Appletree*, with ſeveral other little incidents, 'which are extreamly diverting in the repreſentation, 'and altogether ſerve to render this Comedy as enter-'taining, as any one I know of, that the ſtage for 'many years has had to boaſt of; and I believe will 'always continue to be ſo; at leaſt while there are 'any military gentlemen in the kingdom; ladies who 'delight in a red coat and feather; or, in fine, while 'there remain any lovers of true nature in a Dramatic 'performance (37).' This Comedy has lately been tranſlated into French, under the title of *L'Officier en Recruë*, and it was acted the night before we are now writing of it (†) to a full audience, at the little Theatre in the Hay-maket, by the Engliſh company of *Antigallic* Players, with great applauſe: from whence it may be concluded, this Comedy, as would probably be found in others of this author, were they put to the ſame trial, has in it, ſuch intrinſic merits, that its ſucceſs neither depends on any particular actors, nor will relinquiſh it, even in a foreign language.

The ſeventh and laſt of our Author's Comedies (38), was certainly written in or towards the end of the ſame year with that laſt mentioned; however an edition of it, which might be printed four years later (†), may have miſled ſome writers of him to think it was then firſt acted; and the author's advertiſement at the beginning, expreſſing his illneſs, as the Epilogue at the end, his being ready to expire, while the play was in action, might ſtrengthen their opinion to an aſſertion that the Comedy was not played, and the Poet did not die, before the year in which that edition was dated. But by looking only into the ſecond page of the Comedy, we may ſee reaſon to judge, from what Boniface the Innkeeper ſays to Aimwell, of his ale, when he bid the tapſter broach him ſome of his *Anno Domini*, marked 1706, after having pretended to be ſtored with ſome that was ſmooth as oyl, &c. and juſt fourteen years old, on the fifth of next March, 'tis very apparent that the play was finiſhed before this day of that Month in the ſaid year: and this is explained by the ſame humour which Boniface uſes three leaves further, where his ſaid gueſt talks with him about eatables. He had all dainties in the houſe, that might be got ready for ſupper; but the gueſt could have nothing that he names, therefore bid the landlord bring what he would, that is, what he had. So we may conclude from this, as from other authorities hereafter mentioned, that the play tho' rehearſed ſome months before, was acted in April following and till the author made his exit, before the actors in it. Archer, a good ſociable character, and Mrs Sullen, who was ſociable to him, were very engagingly played by Mr Wilks and Mrs Oldfield (‡). It has been looked upon as an extraordinary teſtimony of the author's vigorous genius, that, tho' he was ſo crampt in time, as to have begun and ended this play in ſix weeks, and ſo depreſſed in ſpirits, by a ſettled ſickneſs upon him all the time, he has yet gained the reputation of having ſung herein like the ſwan, ſweeteſt when dying; the ſaid Comedy having been, as we may read, univerſally allowed to be his maſter-piece (39).

Many other particulars of theſe ſeven *Comedies*, &c. no leſs, or perhaps more material, muſt now be ſubmitted to the prohibition of Time: therefore we ſhall only here obſerve, that the firſt edition we have read of them printed with his *Poems* and *Letters* together, was in 1711 (40), and the firſt that we have ſeen of them was printed for Bernard Lintot, &c. in octavo 1714, which is adorned with a Sculpture before it, of Mr Farquhar, introduced, or led up by Ben. Jonſon to Apollo. They have ſo well maintained their credit ever ſince, as to arrive at eight (41) or nine editions at leaſt. But we cannot part with them, without obſerving one general defect in theſe, as well as almoſt all other modern editions of books; that all the dates, which would, were they faithfully preſerved, inform us when the ſeveral pieces in them were firſt ſeparately printed, are deſignedly ſuppreſſed, to give place in the title page, for that ſingle date of the year, in which they were all printed laſt together. This crippling uſage has been complained of, as a mercenary deceit in the proprietors of ſuch copies; tending to the obſcurity of their *authors*, the confuſion of thoſe editors and other *writers*, who are covetous of doing hiſtorical honour and juſtice to their memory, by a regular revival, or diſtinction of their performances; and conſequently, to the diſſatisfaction of all curious *readers*: and this only, it ſeems, to make ſuch books more vendible and taking, with ignorant and ſuperficial novices, by the greater air that is thus given them of novelty; leaſt ſuch ſhallow purchaſers ſhould diſreliſh them, for that which ſhould recommend them, by their having received the approbation or encouragement of more *judges*, than by ſuch ſuppreſſion of all chronological directions, as ſo many furrows in the face even of unwrinkled maturity, their cunning owners would have it thought they had ſtood the *teſt* of.

(*) Farquhar's Dedic. of the *Recruiting Officer*.

(36) Tatlers, Vol. I. No. 20.

(37) See A Companion to the Theatre, &c. Vol. II. p. 206.

(†) Feb. 9, 1749-50.

(38) The *Beaux Stratagem*.

(†) In 1710. See Giles Jacob; and The Life of Mr Wilks; 8vo, 1733, p. 19.

(‡) The Plot, Characters, and Incidents, of The *Beaux Stratagem*, are drawn out in *The Companion to the Theatre*, Vol. I. p. 24—32.

(39) Life of Mr Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 19.

(40) Mr Harris's Additions to Sir James Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, as before.

(41) The Works of the late ingenious Mr George Farquhar. Containing all his Poems, Letters, Eſſays, and Comedies, publiſhed in his life-time. The eighth edition. Printed for J. and P. Knapton, H. Lintot, &c. in 2 Vols, 12mo, 1742.

end of April in the year 1707, before he was thirty years of age; as may, by the authorities annexed, more convincingly appear [*K*]. Thus having attended our entertaining Dramatiſt o'er the contracted ſtage of his ſhort life, yet thro' the various characters, in ſome degree, which he acted on it, of the Player, the Lover, and the Huſband; the Soldier, the Critick, and the Poet, to his final cataſtrophe; it is here time to cloſe the ſcenes, and drop the curtain.

[*K*] *As may; by the authorities annexed, more convincingly appear.*] The particulars, relating to thoſe unhappy diſappointments which are ſaid to have haſtned the end of this ingenious Poet, and the time when he died, being drawn from the teſtimonies of ſuch as were acquainted with him, and coteſted by other authentic vouchers, are therefore the more credible, and leſs liable to doubt. We find, he had once the opinion, wherewith men of experience have ſometimes kindly appriſed many raw and credulous dependants upon their counterfeit patrons; and had ſome deſign, as we have heard, of diſplaying thoſe characters in their lively colours; of which, more hereafter may poſſibly be ſaid in another place. So long ſince, as in ſome of his early publications, he thus intreats his reader to admit him, with the uſual *forms* of civility — 'If you be a Courtier, you will ſhow your breeding; receive him with a *ſincere* ſmile; ſwear to do him *all the ſervice you can*; and you will certainly *keep your word*—as you uſed to do (42).' But now, it ſeems, he was more ſtrengthned in his faith of the ſincerity that there might be, without any guile or colluſion, in a Courtier's generous profeſſions; till his own fatal experience reſtored him to his former judgment, as we ſhall preſently ſee. Upon this part of our ſubject, one of thoſe writers before mentioned who knew him, thus expreſſes himſelf.

(42) Pref. to his Poems and Letters.

'His laſt Comedy, the STRATAGEM, he began and ended in ſix weeks, with a ſettled ſickneſs upon him all the time; nay, he even perceived the approaches of death, e'er he had finiſhed the ſecond act, and, as he had often foretold, dy'd before the run of his play was over. His other plays were dedicated to perſons of diſtinction, and he deſigned a dedication of this laſt to my Lord *Cadogan*; but his Lordſhip, for reaſons unknown, evaded it, tho' he made him a handſome preſent, with promiſes of his future favour; which probably, would have been fulfilled if our author had ſurvived; tho' he had but little reaſon to *rely on the promiſes of great men*; a certain great Courtier having prevailed on him to ſell his commiſſion, with ſolemn aſſurances of providing for him better, which he forgot to keep (43).' Here this author tells us, that Mr *Farquhar*, in one of his ſongs, ſeems to have pointed at that perſon, in the third ſtanza below recited; and this is all he quotes of that famous ſong; which conſiſts of thirteen ſtanzas: but becauſe the very firſt of them, and the two others, being upon the ſame topic, may partly as well concern or reſemble, and help to diſtinguiſh the ſaid great Courtier, as others of like features and complexion, they are here ſelected from the reſt, in the

(43) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, as above.

SONG of a TRIFLE.

A *Trifling Song* you ſhall hear,
Begun with a *Trifle*, and ended:
All *Trifling People* draw near
And I ſhall be *nobly* attended.

The Court is from Trifles ſecure,
Gold Keys are no Trifles, we ſee;
White Rods are no Trifles I'm ſure,
What ever their *Bearers* may be.

But if you will go to the place
Where Trifles abundantly breed,
The *Levee* will ſhow you his *Grace*,
Makes *Promiſes*, *Trifles* indeed.

A *Coach*, with ſix Footmen *behind*,
I count neither Trifle, nor Sin:
But ye Gods! how oft do we find
A *ſcandalous* Trifle *within*! &c (44).

(44) Sung by *Archer*, in the third act of the *Beaux Stratagem*.

Then the ſame author goes on, in relation to Mr Farquhar's other diſappointment in theſe words——'Tis ſuppoſed that, thus failing of his expectations, together with an unfortunate marriage, *ſhortned his days*. For his wife, by whom he had two daughters only, thro' the reputation of a great fortune, tricked him into matrimony. This was chiefly the fault of her love; which was ſo violent for him, that ſhe reſolved to leave nothing untry'd to gain him: Tho' ſome huſbands would have proved meer huſbands in ſuch a caſe, Mr Farquhar was ſo charmed with her love and underſtanding, that he entirely forgave her; therefore, when I ſay, an unfortunate marriage conduced, with other circumſtances, to the ſhortning his days, I only mean that his fortune being too ſlender to ſupport a family, led him into a great many cares and inconveniencies: for I have often heard him ſay that, *it was more pain to him, in imagining that his family might want a needful ſupport, than the moſt violent death that could be inflicted on him*. But his wife being long ſince dead, his good friend Mr Wilks has been highly inſtrumental in ſetting his children above want (45).' This piece of friendſhip, is thus explained elſewhere. 'Mr Farquhar left two orphan daughters. Mr Wilks gave each of them a benefit-play, to put them out apprentice to *Manteau-makers*: and his worthy friend and patron, to whom he dedicated his *Miſcellanies*, *Edmund Chaloner*, Eſq; procured them a penſion of twenty pounds a year, which they now enjoy (46).'

(45) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, as before, p. 5, 6.

(46) Memoirs of the Life of Mr Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 33.

As to our authority for his laſt play being rehearſed in 1706, and then, or in the beginning of 1707, acted, and that the author died this year, it is to be found in the characters both of it, and himſelf, publiſhed at thoſe times (†), in one whereof, the author has ſpoken thus of him, but the next month after that in which we aſſerted him to have died. 'All that love *Comedy*, will be ſorry to hear of the *death of Mr Farquhar*, whoſe *two laſt plays*, had ſomething in them that was truly humorous and diverting. 'Tis true, the critics will not allow any part of them to be regular; but Mr *Farquhar* had a *Genius* for *Comedy*, of which one may ſay, that it was rather *above* rules than *below* them. His *Conduct*, tho' not artful, was ſurprizing: his *Characters*, tho' not great, were juſt: his *Humour*, tho' low, diverting: his *Dialogue*, tho' looſe and incorrect, gay and agreeable; and his *Wit*, tho' not ſuperabundant, pleaſant: in a word, his plays have, in the *tout enſemble*, as the Painters phraſe it, a certain air of novelty and mirth, which pleaſed the audience, every time they were repreſented; and ſuch as love to laugh at the Theatre, will probably *miſs* him more than they *now* imagine (47).'

(†) See the Prologue at the opening of the Theatre in the Hay-Market, Oct. 15, 1706, 1 ſheet.

(47) The *Muſes Mercury*: or *Monthly Miſcellany*, 4to, for *May*, 1707, p. 123.

Laſtly, that we might omit no ſatisfaction to our reader that could be further procured, in confirmation of this authority, the books belonging to the Church of that Pariſh, wherein he was buried, having been, at our requeſt, ſearched for the date of his interrment, our reverend and worthy friend has returned this anſwer to the queſtion.

SIR,

'IN St *Martin*'s Regiſter, on May the 3d 1707, one Mr *George Falkwere* was buried, whom I look upon to be the Poet; though ſomewhat differently ſpelt from his name. The nearneſs of the ſound, and the difficulty of ſpelling names aright, by perſons who only take them from common pronunciation, and the ignorance of Pariſh Clerks in general, will eaſily account for the difference here, &c.' G

FASTOLFF (JOHN), Knight, and Knight-Banneret; a valiant and renowned General, Governor, and Nobleman in France, during our conqueſts in that kingdom, under King Henry IV, V, and VI, of England; and Knight-Companion of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter; has been fancied, from the title of his French barony, and from his name being ſo often corruptly mentioned in the French Hiſtories, by occaſion of his long reſidence, and many engagements in the wars there, to have been born in France, at leaſt of French extraction. Others, though allowing him a native of England, have no leſs erroneouſly fixed his birth-place in Bedfordſhire: But it is well known, in the real place of his nativity, that he was deſcended of an antient and famous Engliſh family in the county of Norfolk; which had flouriſhed there, as alſo in other parts of the kingdom, in very honourable diſtinction, from before the Conqueſt [*A*]: And from ſuch a train of illuſtrious anceſtors, many of them dignified, at leaſt with the honour of knighthood, inveſted with very eminent employments, and poſſeſſed of extenſive patrimonies, this Worthy is deſcended. But one of the moſt conſpicuous or principal branches of them being ſeated at *Caſtre* in *Fleg* near Great Yarmouth in that county, which eſtate deſcending to him, he afterwards adorned with a noble family ſeat (*a*), it is preſumed he was there born, or in Yarmouth itſelf. He was the ſon of John Faſtolff, Eſq; of that town, a man of conſiderable account in thoſe and other parts, both for his means and merits, eſpecially for his publick benefactions, pious foundations, *&c* (*b*). His mother was Dame Mary, the daughter of Nicholas Park, Eſq (*c*); and this their ſon was born in the latter end of King Edward the IIId's reign, as we have been particularly informed, by the author laſt cited, who is furniſhed with the materials that may ſpeedily, we hope, inform the public, as well in other neceſſary circumſtances, as the birth of this renowned Knight; which, according to his intelligence, could not happen later than 1377. It is not doubted but he was, by a ſtrict education, grounded as well, in that learning and other accompliſhments which afterwards, improved by his experience and ſagacity, rendered him ſo famous in war and peace, as is thoſe virtuous and religious principles, which governed his actions to the laſt. His father dying before he was of age, the ſafeguard of him and his eſtate were of that importance, that they were both committed to the care and direction of one of the firſt Noblemen in the kingdom. One author ſays, that he was ward to John Duke of Bedford, who was afterwards the moſt wiſe and able Regent of France we ever had there; and more expreſsly, that he was the laſt ward which that Duke had (*d*); but we have been otherwiſe informed, that he was trained up in the Norfolk family (†), which may not be improbable, to thoſe who know it was not unuſual in thoſe times, even for young Nobles themſelves, at leaſt under wardſhip, to be trained under others, eſpecially Miniſters of State, in their houſes and families, as in academies of behaviour, and as candidates for preferment

(*a*) Camd. Britan. *De Icenis. Caſtor Sedes quondam fuit Joannis Faſtolff, Militis celeberrimi.*

(*b*) J. Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, in the Table of Religious Houſes; and J. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, fol. 363.

(*c*) Hiſt. of Norfolk, by the Rev. Mr Francis Blomefield, &c. p. 348.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Norfolk.

(†) So in a Letter from Norwich, by the Rev. Mr Blomefield to the author of this article, dated Sept. 29, 1749.

[*A*] *In very honourable diſtinction from before the conqueſt.*] We are informed by an ingenious gentleman of no common curioſity, in his enquiries after our old Engliſh coins, that one of the *Faſtolffs* was *Maſter* of the *Mint*, under Edgar one of our moſt famous Saxon Kings (1): and by another eminent reſtorer of antiquities, that *Nicholas Faſtolff* held lands the ninth of Edward II. in Wychinton, Redham, *&c.* in Norfolk (2): and in that year two fines were levied, the firſt (3) between *John Faſtolff* Querent, *Thomas Faſtolff* Parſon of Fekenham, and *Nicholas Faſtolff* Deforciants of lands in Caſtre and Great Yarmouth; and by the ſecond, ſeveral lands in Yarmouth, and Fleg in Norfolk, and Reydon in Suffolk, were ſettled on the ſaid *John* and *Joan* his wife for their lives, the remainder to *Nicholas*, ſon of *John* and *Ida* his wife in tail, remainder in fee to the right heirs of *Joan*. *Nicholas* was Chief Juſtice of Ireland (4), in the firſt of Edward III. and was a Juſtice Itinerant in Nottingham (5). And this *Nicholas* (6), ſon of *John*, with *Ada*, his wife, ſettled lands in Caſtre, and other parts of Norfolk, and Reydon in Suffolk, on themſelves in tail; then, to the heirs of *Nicholas*; remainder to *John*, ſon of *John* in tail; remainder to *Thomas* and *Richard*, brothers to *John*. In the 20th year of that King, *Alexander* (7) held lands in Reppes; and in the 23d, *Thomas* ſon of *Alexander* held others in Yarmouth, and in the 35th this *Thomas* died, ſeized of large poſſeſſions. In the 48th *John Faſtolff* was looked upon as a man of ſuch abilities and fidelity, that he was ſent into foreign parts (8) upon ſome ſecret negotiation, of high concern to the King; in which year *Hugh Faſtolff* of Great Yarmouth, was Lieutenant to *William Nevil* the Admiral, as he had ten years before been to *William Herle* (9); which *Hugh* was brother of *John Faſtolff*. In the firſt of King *Richard* II. the Earl of Warwick, Admiral, makes Sir *John Faſtolff* of Yarmouth his Deputy, who had a protection in the third year (10), being then upon a naval expedition for the crown. Sir *Hugh Faſtolff*, his father dying the 5th of *Richard* II. (11), he obtained a confirmation of free-warren in his demeſne-lands of Caſtre and Thwayte (firſt granted in the 44th of *Henry* III. to *Robert* de Caſtre). Many other Knights and Eſquires of the name, might be produced, and their extenſive territories named, eſpecially in the two counties here ſpecified; among whom, as it has been ſaid, the branch whence our Knight deſcended, was ſeated at Caſtre, where *John* (12), ſon of *Nicholas* appointed himſelf to be buried, in the church of the *Holy Trinity*; where alſo there was a free chapel, dedicated to St *John the Baptiſt*; to which *John Faſtolff* the elder (13) preſented in 1377, and *John*, ſon of *Alexander*, in 1383, and our religious Knight himſelf, about four years after his final return from the wars of France (14). His mother Dame *Mary Faſtolff*, who after his father's death was married to Sir *Thomas Mortimer*, died May 2, 1406, and was buried in the chapel or choir belonging to the chantry of the Holy Croſs. Her memory was honoured with an obiit, anniverſary and tomb, and there was an anniverſary kept for her ſoul in the college of his houſe at Caſtre, the ſame day they ſung it at Attleburgh (15). There are ſtill in being ſeveral other preſentations, and laſt wills of many others of this family, which being ſo numerous, ſo divided into ſeveral branches under the ſame chriſtian names, with ſuch frequent interchange, and traverſes, or conjunction of ſettlement, that it becomes very perplexing to deduce the pedigree of our Knight in a direct line, as may be ſeen in the elaborate attempts of a late very able Herald and Antiquary (16), to whom we are much indebted for this part, and muſt be, for others of our Worthy's hiſtory, ſince the family-papers, which are in being, and have been promiſed to ſee the light, will not be ſo timely publiſhed, as further to enlarge now our proſpect, or leſs doubtfully in many ſteps direct our progreſs.

(1) Sir Andrew Fountain's Saxon Coins. Tab. 5, No. 10.

(2) Nomina Villarum, &c.

(3) Fines, 9 Edw. II. ex Collect. MS. Pet. Le Neve.

(4) Rot. Clauſ. 1 Edw. III. p. 2, M. 20.

(5) Dugdale's Chr. Series.

(6) Rot. Fin. 6 Edw. III. ex Coll. Pet. Le Neve.

(7) Auxil. ad primogen. Reg. Milit. faciend.

(8) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. VII. p. 33.

(9) Plac. Mich. 38 Edw. III. m. 20. 3 Feb.

(10) Rymer, Vol. VII. p. 257.

(11) Eſch. 5 Ric. II, N. 49.

(12) Liber Haydon, in Regiſtro Norwic.

(13) E. Regiſt. Epiſc. Norwic.

(14) In the Regiſt. of Norwich.

(15) Blomefield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, &c.

(16) In the Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, by John Anſtis, Eſq; Garter, &c. Vol. I. fol. 1724, p. 145, &c.

[*B*] *That*

ferment to the ſervice of their country, at home or abroad. But if he was under Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, while he enjoyed that title among us, as we ſhall find it elſewhere reported, it could be but one year, he being baniſhed the kingdom by King Richard II. in 1398 [*B*], though his younger ſon, who was reſtored to that title, many years after, might be one of Sir John Faſtolff's feoffees And it is pretty evident, that he was, but a few years after the baniſhment of that Duke, in ſome conſiderable poſt under Thomas of Lancaſter, afterwards Duke of Clarence, and ſecond ſon of the ſucceeding King Henry IV. This Thomas was ſent by his father ſo early, according to ſome writers, as the ſecond year of his reign, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*e*), which was in 1401. And it is not improbable but Faſtolff was then with him, for we are informed by an Hiſtorian who knew him, that in the ſixth and ſeventh years of the ſaid King Henry, that is, in 1405 and 1406, this John Faſtolff, Eſq; was continually with him (*f*). And the ſame Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was again there, upon his ſaid government in 1408, almoſt to the beginning of the next year, when alſo it is no leſs probable that Faſtolff was ſtill with him; becauſe that very year laſt mentioned, we find it aſſerted, that he was married in that kingdom, to a rich young widow of quality, named Milicent, Lady Caſtlecomb, daughter of Robert Lord Tibetot, and relict of Sir Stephen Scrope; the ſame perhaps who is mentioned, though not with the title of knighthood, by Sir P. Leyceſter, as above, to have been the ſaid Lord Lieutenant's Deputy of Ireland, during moſt of the intervals of his return to England, in thoſe years we have ſpoken of him in the ſaid government; which Deputy-Lieutenant died in his duty, alſo the ſaid year. This marriage was ſolemnized on the feaſt of St Hilary in Ireland, the year aforeſaid; and Faſtolff obliged himſelf in the ſum of a thouſand pounds, to pay her an hundred pounds a year, in the nature of pin-money during life; and ſhe received the ſame to the 24th year of King Henry VI (*g*). The lands in Wiltſhire and Yorkſhire which came to Faſtolff by this marriage with the ſaid Lady, deſcended to Stephen Le Scrope her ſon and heir. We may reaſonably believe, that this marriage in Ireland engaged his ſettlement in that country, or upon his eſtate at Norfolk in his own, till, in obedience to the commiſſion he received, his command of ſome forces, or poſt of truſt, under the Engliſh regency in France, ſoon after required his reſidence in that kingdom. For, according to the ſtricteſt calculation we can make, from the accounts of his early engagements in France, the many years he was there, and the time of his final return, it muſt be, not long after his ſaid marriage, that he left either England or Ireland, for that foreign ſervice: Being *employed abroad by King Henry IV* (*b*), *and had exerciſed Wars in France, Normandye, Angeoye, and in Mayne, as alſo in Gyen; having under the King, my Sovereigne Lord, Officees, and Governaunces of Countrees and Places; as of Caſtells, Fortraces, Citees and Townes, be* XXX *Yeer and more continyuid* (*i*); which agrees very well, with what our firſt Engliſh Printer has publiſhed, in his conciſe, yet comprehenſive character of him, but little more than twenty years after his death, where he ſpeaks of his *exerciſyng the Warrys in the Royame of Fraunce* and other Countrees, *&c. by Fourty Yeres enduryng* (*k*). So that, we cannot ſee any room, either in the time or the temper, in the fortunes or employments of this our Worthy, for him to have been a companion with, or follower and corrupter of Prince Henry, in his juvenile and diſſolute courſes; nor, that Shakeſpear had any view of drawing his Sir John Falſtaff, from any part of this Sir John Faſtolff's character; or ſo much as pointing at any indifferent circumſtance in it, that can reflect upon his memory, with readers converſant in the true Hiſtory of him. The one is an old, humorous, vapouring, and cowardly, lewd, lying, and drunken debauchee, about the Prince's Court, when the other was a young and grave, diſcreet and valiant, chaſte and ſober, Commander abroad; continually advanced to honours and places of profit, for his brave and politic atchievements, military and civil; continually preferred to the truſt of one government or other; of countries, cities, towns, *&c.* or as a General, and Commander of armies, in martial expeditions, while abroad; made Knight-Banneret in the field of battle; Baron in France, and Knight of the Garter in England: and particularly, when finally ſettled at home, conſtantly exerciſed in acts of hoſpitality, munificence, and charity; a founder of religious buildings, and

(*e*) Sir Peter Leyſter's Hiſtor. Antiquities, fol. 1673, p. 79.

(*f*) William of Wyrceſtre's Annals of Engliſh Affairs, MS. as quoted by Mr John Lewis in his Life of William Caxton, 8*vo*, 1737, p. 53, from Mr T. Hearne.

(*g*) The Regiſt. of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, *&c.* by John Anſtis, Eſq; Garter King of Arms, *&c.* Vol. I. fol. 141; and Dr Thornton's Northamptonſhire, fol. 104.

(*b*) So in the Letter from the Rev. Mr Blomefield, as before.

(*i*) Idem.

(*k*) Caxton's *Tully* as hereafter more fully quoted.

[*B*] *That Duke being baniſhed by King Richard* II. *in* 1398.] This *Thomas Mowbray* was created Duke of Norfolk, on September 29, being the 21ſt of *Richard* II. *Anno* 1397, as the Monk of St Albans records (17); and having charged *Henry* of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, with taxing the King of evil government, and he denying the ſame, a challenge enſued; which was ſo near being brought to a determination at Coventry, that they entred the liſts prepared at all points for the encounter; Duke *Thomas* his horſe was barbed with crimſon velvet, embroidered richly with his arms, in lions of ſilver, and with *Mulberry trees* for his *rebus*; to repreſent, according to the alluſive or ſymbolizing faſhion of thoſe days, his ſurname of *Mowbray* (18). But to prevent this combat, that Duke of Hereford was baniſhed, according to the Monk of St Albans, on the 13th of October 1398, for ten years; and this Duke of Norfolk, for life (19). But his adverſary being crowned a year after, by the name and title of *Henry* IV. the Duke of Norfolk died with grief at Venice, in the firſt year of the ſaid King's reign, *Anno* 1400 (20). So that, there is but a narrow ſpace of time that will admit our *Faſtolff* under the care, or in the ſervice of this Duke of Norfolk, while he held that title in England. As for his two ſons; the eldeſt named alſo *Thomas*, was never Duke of Norfolk; for being engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the King, he was five years after beheaded at York, with Archbiſhop Scroop (21): and his brother *John* was not reſtored to the title till the third of *Henry* VI (22). and yet might after that be, as we are informed he was, one of Sir *John Faſtolff*'s feoffees (23).

(17) Tho. Walſingham in *Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ*, p. 552. N. 16.

(18) Sandford's Genealog. Hiſt. of the Kings of England, edit. 1707, fol. 210.

(19) *Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ*, p. 551. N. 56.

(20) *Idem*, p. 552. No. 16.

(21) Sandford, p. 211; and T. Walſingham, p. 373.

(22) Ex Rot. Parliamenti tertii, apud Weſtmonaſt. An. 3 Hen. VI. m. 4. artic. 13.

(23) Letter from the Rev. Mr Blomefield, as before.

[*C*] *The*

and other ſtately edifices, ornamental to his country, as their remains ſtill teſtify; alſo a generous patron of worthy and learned men, and a publick benefactor to the pious and the poor; not only on this ſide, but even beyond his grave. In ſhort, the more we collate the circumſtances in this *Hiſtorical* character, with thoſe in that *Poetical* one, we can find nothing diſcreditable in the latter, that has any relation to the former, or that would miſlead an ignorant reader to miſtake, or confound them, but a little quibble, which makes ſome vicinity in their names, and a ſhort degree in the time wherein the one did really, and the other is feigned to live. And in regard to the Prince of Wales, or our Knight's being engaged in any wild or riotous practices of his youth, the improbabilities may alſo appear from the compariſon of their age, and a view of this Prince's commendable engagements [C], till

[C] *The improbabilities may alſo appear from the compariſon of their age, and a view of the Prince's commendable engagements, &c.*] This Prince *Henry*, born in ſouth Wales, 1388, was the eldeſt ſon of *Henry* of Bolingbroke, ſpoken of in the laſt note, afterwards King of England. This ſon, during his father's exile in 1398, was taken by *Richard* IId to Ireland, and impriſoned in the caſtle of Trim. He was afterwards ſome time a Student in Queen's College in Oxford, under his half uncle (24), *Henry Beaufort*, who was that year Chancellor of the ſaid Univerſity (25). *Richard* was depoſed, and the Prince's father, *Henry* IV. crowned in October 1399, and the Prince being arrived at the age of twelve years in 1400, had the ſucceſſion entailed on him in Parliament, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, Earl of Cheſter, and ſoon after Duke of Aquitaine. From Oxford, he was called to Court, where *Thomas Percy*, Earl of Worceſter, was his Governor, whoſe hoſtile attempts at the battle of Shrewſbury in July 1403, coſt that diſloyal Earl his head (26), and this Prince *Henry* almoſt his life; who, confronting the Percies in battle, was wounded in the face with an arrow; but this badge of honour and the overthrow of *Henry Percy*, by others called young Hotſpur, were hopeful tokens of his enſuing ſucceſs againſt *Owen Glendour* in Wales, whom he purſued to deſtruction, being then ſcarcely ſixteen; but if he purſued *Owen* to his death on the Welch mountains, it ſeems to have been beyond 1404, two or three years or more (27): Yet before he was miſled to any libertine courſes (however, on the ſtage, he is improbably repreſented in the height of them, before he was fifteen) and after *Faſtolff* was engaged in the ſervice of Prince *Henry*'s brother, *Thomas* of *Lancaſter* afterwards Duke of Clarence. *Falſtaff* in the play, appears to have been in the battle of Shrewſbury with Prince *Henry*; but *Faſtolff* in hiſtory, appears not there; being probably in Ireland, with, or by the appointment of, the ſaid *Thomas* of *Lancaſter* from his firſt going Lord Lieutenant thither; where our Knight ſhould then appear, in order to make out the *forty years ſervice* of Sir *John Faſtolff*, in France and other countries, as Caxton has above declared; and we compute, by the time that Prince *Henry* had appeaſed the tumults in Wales, and diſturbances in other countries, ſo as to be ſettled in any tolerable quiet or tranquillity at home, *Faſtolff* was married and ſettled in Ireland; ſoon after which, it muſt be allowed, that he was ſent by King *Henry* into France, to anſwer the *thirty years, and more*, he expreſſes himſelf above to have reſided in that kingdom. The interval between *Faſtolff*'s marriage in 1408, or departure to France, and the King's death in England 1412, is the only room we can ſee for the Prince's diſorderly excurſions; for it was not before he was of years beyond the command of tutors (28) however in the play he may appear in the midſt of them, before the battle of Shrewſbury: ſo that we ſee as little vacancy for our *Faſtolff*'s being a partaker of them, in hiſtory, or chronology, as there was probability he ſhould then, or any other time, be ſuch, in his more ſolid age and diſpoſition. He was at leaſt ten or eleven years older than the Prince; old enough to diſreliſh his youthful extravagancies; yet no ſuch diſparity in their age, as that he could be properly repreſented, by the old, gray-headed, unwieldy buffoon and debauchee, who appears ſuch a ſubject of deriſion on the ſtage. If *Faſtolff* had ever been a corrupter of the Prince, King *Henry* would never have preferred him to any poſts of honour, or truſt; nor would the Prince himſelf, when he came, reclaimed, to the Crown, have advanced him ſtill higher; but had diſcarded him with a ſum of money, or ſtipend, as he did the Libertines and Paraſites who had ſoothed him in his vices. His frolicks of robbing, in company with them, his own ſtewards, of his own money, and making them amends at the foot of their accounts (29); his attempt to reſcue one of his accomplices, whether Bardolf, or any other, in the Court of King's Bench, from the courſe of the law, and raſhly ſtriking the Chief Juſtice, Sir William Gaſcoyne, on the bench, for which he ſuffered impriſonment (30), were actions countenanced by men of other principles, diſpoſition, and conduct, than *Faſtolff*. But there are ſo many other diſagreements, which remove all ſimilitude between them, that the honours of the real Knight cannot be affected by the humours of the fictious one. That commitment by the ſaid Judge, of *Falſtaff* to the Fleet priſon in the play (31), was, when *Faſtolff* in hiſtory, had manifeſtly been a good while in France. In the play, *Falſtaff* is a man of mean, neceſſitous, ſhifting circumſtances throughout; *Faſtolff*, in record, was richly poſſeſſed of lands and eſtates in ſeveral places, from his youth. *Falſtaff* in the Poet's account, was near threeſcore before the battle of Shrewſbury (32). *Faſtolff* in hiſtory, not above twenty ſix; the theatrical *Falſtaff* ends his life, ſoon after his princely companion aſcends the throne, and before he goes into France (33), but the hiſtorical *Faſtolff*, in the accounts of the Heralds and Biographers, ſurvived that King *Henry* V. no leſs than thirty ſeven years. As to its being ſaid of the one, that he was a Page to the Duke of Norfolk (34), as we have before read, that the other was alſo trained up in the Norfolk family, there is nothing but what was reputable in that, ſince, in thoſe times, it was the cuſtom for Lords and Dukes themſelves to be ſo trained: nor does this ſeem a foundation ſo premeditated, ſo perſonally pointed at our Knight, ſo deeply or widely laid, as to intend the fixing a credit in ſo many falſe circumſtances, upon one that may be true; ſince it was probably, and might be as truly, ſaid of *Oldcaſtle* as *Faſtolff*: for the Poet firſt drew the character of his Sir *John Falſtaff*, in Sir *John Oldcaſtle*'s name; but being thereby thought to have diſpleaſed ſome deſcendants, or at leaſt, made too free with ſuch an early and eminent inſtrument, or advancer of, and ſufferer for our Reformation, the Poet was obliged to change the name, from one that might have well enough implyed the *old battered* bravo we ſee repreſented, to one that might as well expreſs other parts of the ſame character, by a *ſtaff* that was *falſe* in its ſoundneſs, or ſtrength for ſupport, and as little to be relied, or depended on, as a broken reed. Then, our *Faſtolff* appearing conſpicuous, tho' diſperſedly, in the old hiſtories of that Prince's time, yet thro' the want of diſtinct revival, being become much unknown to common fame in the Poet's days, might readily hint ſuch an eaſy variation, or tranſpoſition of the letters in his name, as would anſwer that purpoſe; but nothing in all his ſtory, that we have met with, could hint the character. That ſuch change of thoſe famous names in hiſtory, or ſubſtitution of one for the other, was made by the Poet, we may be ſatisfied from his own words; where he ſays, 'If you be not too much cloyed with fat 'meat, our humble author will continue the ſtory with 'Sir *John* in it, and make you merry with fair *Ca*'*tharine* of *France*; where for any thing I know, '*Falſtaff* ſhall die of a ſweat, unleſs already he be 'killed with your hard opinions; for *Oldcaſtle* died 'a martyr, and this is not the man (35).' And yet the freedom thought by ſome grave writers to have been taken with both, has given them offence, notwithſtanding that Sir *John*'s name in the play, is not according to the ſtrictneſs of the letter, to be found in hiſtory. 'The Comedian, ſays one author, is not 'excuſable by ſome alteration of his name, ſeeing the 'vicinity

(24) *In Vita Henrici Beaufort* Cardinalis.

(25) J. LeNeve's *Faſti Eccl. Angl.* fol. 1716, p. 442.

(26) Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ, p. 559.

(27) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, edit. fol. 1623, p. 776, *ad ann.* 1407.

(28) Sandford, fol. 278.

(29) *Titi Liviſ Foro Julienſis, Vita Henrici Quinti*, 8vo, 1716; and *John Speed*, p. 781.

(30) Sir *Thomas Elyot's Book named the* GOVERNOUR, 8vo, 1553. Sir *Francis Bionddy's* Civil Wars of England, fol. 1646. Edward Leigh's Choice Obſervat. of the Kings of Engl. 8vo, 1661, p. 125; and *The Britiſh Librarian*, 8vo, 1738, p. 267.

(31) Shakeſpear's Second Part of King Henry IV, Act. & Scen. ult.

(32) Firſt Part of King Hen. IV. Act 2, Scene 2.

(33) Henry V, Act 2. Scene 3.

(34) Second Part of Hen. IV. Act 3. Scen. 3.

(35) Shakeſpear's Epilogue to the Second Part of Henry IV.

till that ſpace of time in which he indulged his interval of irregularities, when the diſtanc of

' vicinity of ſounds intrench on the memory of that ' worthy Knight; and few do heed the inconſiderable ' difference in ſpelling their names (36).' Then in regard to the ſubſtitution of one perſon for the other, he ſays in one place, ' Stage Poets have themſelves ' been very bold with, and others very merry at, the ' memory of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*; whom they have ' fancied a boon companion, a jovial royſter, and yet ' a coward to boot; contrary to the credit of all chro- ' nicles, owning him a martial man of merit. The beſt ' is, Sir *John Falſtaff* hath relieved the memory of ' Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, and of late is ſubſtituted buf- ' foon in his place; but it matters as little what petu- ' lant Poets, as what malicious Papiſts have written ' againſt him (37).' In another place, the ſame au- thor again has theſe words of Sir *John Faſtolff*, ' To ' avouch him by many arguments valiant, is to main- ' tain that the ſun is bright; tho' ſince, the ſtage hath ' been over-bold with his memory, making him a ' thraſonical puff and emblem of mock-valour. True ' it is, Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was the make-ſport in all ' plays for a coward. It is eaſily known out of what ' purſe this black penny came; the Papiſts railing on ' him for a heretic (38), and therefore he muſt alſo ' be a coward; tho' indeed a man of arms every inch ' of him, and as valiant as any in his age. Now as I ' am glad that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* is put out, ſo I am ' ſorry, that Sir *John Faſtolff* is put in, to relieve his ' memory, in this baſe ſervice to be the anvil for every ' dull wit to ſtrike upon (39).' But as other Drama- tiſts before *Shakeſpear* had made free with *Oldcaſtle*, they ought to bear the firſt blame, and a larger ſhare of it, as they had taken greater liberties, tho' with leſs wit. For there was a play of *Henry* the V. before *Shakeſpear*'s, in which not only *Oldcaſtle* is in the gang of robbers with the Prince (40), but there is a ſcene in which the Prince ſtrikes the judge a box on the ear, whereas in *Shakeſpear*, this action is more modeſtly ſunk into a narrative. Then afterwards, as the ſame character ſerves, if you will, for *Faſtolff*, as well as it did for *Oldcaſtle*, this ſhows there was no particular ſatire in- tended by him upon one or the other. A late Poet Lau- reat, who firſt publiſhed *Shakeſpear* in a ſmall edition, is alſo for thinking him ſomewhat to blame, in this his ſecond choice of perſonating our Knight, Sir *John Fa- ſtolff*, being a name of diſtinguiſhed merit in the wars of France, &c. (41). tho' he afterwards found ſome colourable pretext for excuſing him, from the miſcon- ſtruction of a much-commended retreat he made to the preſervation of his army, as will be hereafter related: And a later author yet, has by ſome ſtrong reflections upon *Shakeſpear*'s picture of *Falſtaff*, taken the notion alſo, that our Knight was directly deſigned to be ex- poſed therein, where he inſtances that, ' As of old the ' reputation of *Socrates* was in his life-time ſullied by ' *Ariſtophanes*, in perſonating him on the ſtage; ſo the ' memory of our heroe, had in this laſt age, met with ' the ſame hard fate by interludes in plays (42);' then ſhews, how oppoſite to good manners and good nature, it is, to deride only the abſent, but how diſingenuous, unjuſt, and againſt the principles of humanity, to impair the fame of the dead; ſince the beſt and greateſt men have placed their reputation, in the next degree to their *ſouls*, as giving ſome ſhew of exiſtence and a ſort of immortality, whereby they ſurvive their *bodies*; a principle ſo far implanted by nature, that even the hea- thens have chearfully yielded up their lives, in con- templation of the glory of it (43). Yet a little fur- ther, owns that *Shakeſpear* cannot be charged with any premeditated ſpleen againſt the memory of our Knight, when he compoſed his Comedies, as he ſubſtituted Sir *John Faſtolff* for Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, which might be done at random, ſince his firſt deſign was evidently no more than to entertain the theatre with a fat, amorous, vain, cowardly, drunken old fellow, the corrupter of *Henry* V. while Prince, as the ſubject of mirth and ri- dicule: ' and it muſt be confeſſed, that he has performed ' his deſign with incomparable wit, and inimitable hu- ' mour, which have made ſuch laſting impreſſions on ' the generality of ſpectators, that they have been in- ' duced or bewitched into a belief, that this drollery was ' a piece of true hiſtory (44).' We might produce ſome grave poetry alſo, written by authors on this ſubject, who were in the ſame way of thinking. But as we have elſewhere quoted ſome of it, from an hiſtorical poem in MS. we ſhall here only add part of two other ſtanzas from the ſame, where, tho' ſcandal is believed, in this ſtage-mirth, to purſue the ſteps of honour, yet if truth may ſettle our opinion, we may be ſatisfied.

———Howe'er the Heaps
May crowd, in hungry expectation all,
To the ſweet *Nugilogues* of *Jack* and *Hal* (45).

And a little further, after having ſaid, what may ſuffice to do right to our Worthy, let the guilt fall where it may; ſince the election made by *Henry*, of his officers and miniſters was unqueſtionable; and judg- ment ſecured the honours he conferred, as well as the glory he acquired,

Then, from his bounty, blot out what may riſe,
Of comic mirth, to *Faſtolff*'s prejudice (46).

But perhaps, it has not been cautiouſly enough conſi- dered, whether there may not be ſome inadvertency in theſe applications? whether diſcredit may not be appropriated thereby, where it was never deſigned? Could it be ſuppoſed, that *Shakeſpear*'s natural candour and impartiality in other characters, had been warped in this, by any intereſt in, or reſpect towards, the *Shrewſbury* family, on account of ſome antiquated emu- lation or difference between *John* Lord *Talbot*, the moſt renowned anceſtor of that family, and Sir *John Faſtolff* in France; a man of that Poet's incomparable abilities could have made a *ſubſtantial ſatire* of it; could have burleſqued *Faſtolff*, as well as any body elſe, out of hiſtory, and transformed ſome incidents really grace- ful, into a character no leſs groteſque. But who does the horſing of a dead corps on *Falſtaff*'s back reflect upon (47)? whoſe honour ſuffers, in his being forced by the unexpected ſurpriſe of his armed plunderers to ſurrender his treaſure (48)? whoſe policy is impeached, by his creeping into a bucking baſket, to avoid the ſtorms of a jealous huſband (49): whoſe reputation ſuffers by his being buffeted in the diſguiſe of an old witch, or fortune-teller of *Brentford* (50)? or whoſe valour is to be called in queſtion, becauſe he cannot avoid being tormented by a ſwarm of little fairies in Windſor-foreſt (51)? If the good name of *Faſtolff* or any other man of honour, had ever been maliciouſly doomed to ſacrifice, to durable diſgrace or expoſure, in the character of *Falſtaff*, it would have been founded upon ſome important, ſome ſignificant tranſactions, ſome inſtances of flagitious and irreputable miſconduct, not ſuch odd, drole, inconſiderable circumſtances as theſe, the harmleſs iſſue of pleaſant wit and humour, or delightful union of nature and fancy; all ſo viſibly deviſed of the comic ſtrain, ſo deſigned only for inno- cent merriment and diverſion, without any perſonal re- flexion on this great man, or any other, that we be- lieve there is no real character to be read of in all *hiſ- tory*, that can be juſtly diſparaged by any application, diſcernably intended, of this imaginary one in *poetry*. But if, after this, ſucceeding readers or ſpectators whe- ther Antiquaries, Heralds, Hiſtorians, or Poets, will indulge the like auſterity with ſome of their predece- ſors, will ſtill captiouſly conceive that character to have been directly levelled at this Knight, and ſtill with more rigour than candour, equity, or reaſon poſ- ſeſs themſelves, that any ſterling coin, or plate of the true ſtandard, was ever meant to be any ways forged or imitated, by a piece of mettle of the moſt diſſimilar mixtures or allay; which, neither in weight or colour, form, ſtamp, or inſcription, bears any reſemblance; which pretends not to uſurp ſo much as the very name, but only borders upon it: if any I ſay, will cheriſh their credulity ſo far as this, and the *Falſtaff* of the Co- medians muſt be ſtill taken for the *Faſtolff* of Chrono- logiſts, inſtead of exclaiming ſeriouſly, or with ſober ſadneſs in hiſtory, againſt the *poetical injury*, let a re- paration be made by *poetical juſtice*; and for the falſe character impoſed under the name *Falſtaff*, let the real one appear, in the valiant and vigilant, truſty and incorruptible, politic and prudent, temperate and con- tinent

(36) Dr Fuller's Worthies of England, in Norfolk.

(37) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XV. An. 1414. See alſo Speed's Hiſt., p. 804.

(38) See Tho. of Walſingham. Alſo Father Parſons, in his Three Converſions of England, Vol. II. 8vo, 1604. And his *Review* of X Diſputations printed the ſame year.

(39) Fuller's Worthies, as before.

(40) See Mr Theobald's Notes on Shakeſpear, Vol. III. 8vo, 1733, p. 148, &c.

(41) Shakeſpear's Works, by N. Rowe, Eſq; 8vo, 1709, in his Life of the author, p. 9.

(42) Mr Anſtis, in his Memoirs of Sir John Faſtolff, in The Order of the Garter, as before, p. 131.

(43) Idem.

(44) Ibid. p. 133.

(45) Τριναχιάδα: The ſeveral Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, MS. 8vo, 1649, in Hen. V. Stanza 138.

(46) Id. Stanza 140.

(47) Firſt Part of Hen. IV. Act 5, Scene 10, &c.

(48) Id. Act 2, Scene 4.

(49) Merry Wives of Windſor.

(50) Idem.

(51) Ibidem.

of our Knight, will clear him from being a promoter of, or partaker in them. For it is apparent, that he had been ſome time entruſted with a command in France, before the death of King Henry IV; becauſe in 1413, the very firſt year of his ſon, who was now grown the reformed, and ſoon after proved the renowned, Henry V; it appears that Faſtolff had the caſtle and dominion of *Veires* in Gaſcoigne, committed to his cuſtody and defence (*l*): whence it is very reaſonably inferred, that he then reſided in the ſaid duchy, which at that time was poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. In June 1415, Faſtolff, then only an Eſquire, was returned by indenture, with ten men of arms, and thirty archers, to ſerve the King at his arrival in France (*m*). Soon after King Henry was arrived in Normandy, in Auguſt following, with above 30000 men (*n*), the Engliſh army having conquered *Harfleur*, the moſt conſiderable port in that duchy, Faſtolff was conſtituted Lieutenant thereof, by the Earl of Derby, as one Hiſtorian informs us (*o*); but as we find it in others, the King, upon this conqueſt, conſtituted his ſaid uncle Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorſet, Governor of Harfleur, in conjunction with Sir John Faſtolff, and having repaired the fortifications, placed therein a garriſon of two thouſand ſelect men, as *Titus Livius* numbers them; or of fifteen hundred men at arms, and thirty-five Knights, according to *Hall*'s account; to which number one of the French Hiſtorians alſo adds, a thouſand archers (*p*). Towards the latter end of October in the year laſt mentioned, he was dangerouſly engaged in the ever-memorable battle of *Agincourt*, where the Engliſh, under their Heroick Monarch, obtained one of the moſt glorious victories upon record throughout their Annals. And here it is ſaid that Faſtolff, among others, ſignalized himſelf moſt gallantly by taking the Duke Alençon priſoner (*q*). Though other Hiſtorians ſay, upon that Duke's deſperate encounter with King Henry himſelf, in which he cut off the crowned creſt of his helmet, he was ſlain upon the ſpot (*r*). However, Faſtolff at this, or ſome other battle, did take a French General of the firſt quality priſoner [*D*]. For his eminent ſervices in thoſe victories, he received, before the 29th of January following, the honour of knighthood, and had the mannor and demeſnes of *Fritenſe*, near Harfleur, then beſtowed upon him during life (*s*). In the year 1418, he was ordered to ſeize upon the caſtle and dominion of *Bec Creſpin*, and other mannors, which were held by James D'Auricher, and ſeveral other Knights; and had the ſaid caſtle, with thoſe lands, granted him in ſpecial tail (*t*), to the yearly value of 2000 *ſcutes* (*u*). In 1420 he was at the ſiege of *Monſterau*, as Peter Baſſet has remembered; and in the next year at that of *Meaulx-en-Brie*. About five months after the deceaſe of King Henry V, the town of *Meulent* having been ſurprized, in January 1422, *John* Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, and Sir *John Faſtolff* then *Grand Maſter* of his *Houſhold*, and *Seneſchal* of *Normandy*, laid ſiege to the ſame, and re-took it. In 1423, after the caſtle of *Cravent* was relieved, our Knight was conſtituted Lieutenant for the King and *Regent* in *Normandy*, in the juriſdictions of *Roan*, *Evreux*, *Alençon*, and the countries beyond the river *Seine*: alſo Governor

(*l*) Inter Collect. Rymer, ad finem, Vol. XVII.

(*m*) Rymer, Vol. IX. p. 270.

(*n*) Monſtrelet, and Juv. Des Urſins.

(*o*) *Liber de Actis Armorum & Conguſtûs Regni Franciæ, &c. Compilatus fuit, ad Nobilem virum*, Joh. Faſtolff, *&c.* 1459, *per* Pet. Baſſet, *Armig.* MS. in Officio Heraldorum.

(*p*) See T. Goodwin's Hiſt. of the Reign of Hen. V, King of England, fol. 1704, p. 72, from T. Livius, Pol. Virgil, Edw. Hall, and Monſtrelet.

(*q*) MS. Penes J. Anſtis, Armig. p. 286.

(*r*) Paradine, Monſtrelet, T. Goodwin, as before, *&c.*

(*s*) Rymer, Vol. IX. p. 329.

(*t*) Rot. Norman. 6 Hen. V. m. 36. m. 40.

(*u*) A gold coin, called by the French *Eſcue d'Or*, from the Latin word *ſcutum*, a ſhield, valued at 3 *s.* 4 *d.* See Judge Forteſcue *De Laud. Legum Angliæ*, p. 118. Alſo his Difference between an abſolute and limited Monarchy, p. 21.

tinent Sir *John Faſtolff*: In the brave and experienced ſoldier, the wiſe and able ſtateſman, the ſteady patriot, the generous patron, and the pious benefactor. It would be a labour that might ſurely well reward itſelf, were it judiciouſly executed, to produce a rich and ſolid figure, of ſuch an original, as might put all copies out of countenance; of ſuch native brightneſs, as would eclipſe all feigned luſtre, or detrimental efficacy in any effigial counterfeit; and ſublimely to eſſay, whether the fictitious *Falſtaff* of *Shakeſpear*, ſo admirably figured out by art, like *Spenſer*'s *falſe Florimel*, ſo artfully imaged out of ſnow, would ſhrink and diſſolve away at the preſence of the *true* one(*). But whether it be ever effected or not, we may ſafely let the name of *Falſtaff* preſerve its corruption, without impairing *Faſtolff*'s merit, as the name of Epicurus, tho' diſtorted to ſignify voluptuous gormandry, and carnal delight, yet injured not the man among the wiſeſt Philoſophers: We may let Sign-Painters draw the picture of Sir *John Falſtaff* before the doors of drinking-houſes, and if *Faſtolff*'s reputation ſuffers, it muſt be in nobler company; and let ſuch *hiſtorians* as will write the lives of *highwaymen*, make *Falſtaff* the Captain-General of them (†), which cannot in juſtice be done without diſplacing his gallant Prince, even any hiſtorical highwayman cannot rob *Faſtolff* of the honours, due to his long, toilſome, and ſignal ſervices.

(*) Spenſer's Fairy Queen, B. iii. Canto 8, *&c.*

(†) Capt. Johnſon's Hiſtory of Highwaymen, fol. 1732, p. 1.

[*D*] *Did take a French General of the firſt quality priſoner.*] It does not appear to have been that Duke of *Alençon*, who was taken priſoner by *Faſtolff*, now at the battle of *Agincourt*; becauſe, while King *Henry* after having killed two of his adverſaries, was fighting aſtride over his brother, *Humphry* Duke of *Glouceſter*, beaten to the ground, as one hiſtorian writes (52), or rather defending his uncle the Duke of York, and ſtooping to raiſe him according to others (53); ſo ſoon as *Alençon*, taking the advantage of that inclining poſture, had cleft, or cut off the creſt of his Majeſty's helmet, and battered it with the ſtroke into his brow, he was, notwithſtanding the diſcovery he made of himſelf, by crying out, who he was, and the King's deſire to ſave him, cut to pieces on the place, by the ſurrounding guards. There was another Duke of *Alençon*, in ſucceeding battles; but we find not, either in the French or Engliſh hiſtories, that he was taken priſoner by *Faſtolff*. But we are elſewhere informed, it was the Duke of *Bar* who was taken by him; and yet that could not be in this battle; for, we find that among the French Princes and Lords who fell in ſuch numbers there, *Edward* Duke of *Bar* and *John* his brother, were both ſlain in the field (54): yet there was another Duke of *Bar*, who, after the ſiege of *Orleance*, appears to have brought ſuccours to *Charles* VII. the young King of France (55); and this might be the priſoner meant by one of our Poets, in a grave hiſtorical work, tho' written in antient Engliſh verſe, where he is characterizing our old hardy warriors in the conqueſt of France, *&c.* and having briefly deſcribed the bravery of that ſtout Sir *Philip Hall* (56), who regained us *Crotoy*, and obtained ſuch an admirable victory over the proud *Clermont*, he makes this compariſon:

(52) Speed's Hiſt. of Britain, fol. 796.

(53) Monſtrelet, p. 231.

(54) Goodwin's Hiſt. of Hen. V, fol. 91.

(55) Father Daniel's Hiſtory of France, Vol. II. 8*vo*, 1726, p. 431.

(56) We read of Sir Philip Helle at the Succour of the Engliſh with Sir John Faſtolff at Orleance, in Stow's Annals, fol. edit. p. 369.

Strong *Faſtolff*, with this man compare we may;
By *Sal'ſbury* who, oft being ſeriouſly employ'd,
In many a brave attempt, the gen'ral foe annoy'd:
With excellent ſucceſs in *Maine*, and *Anjou* fought,
And many a bulwark there, into our keeping brought;
And choſen to go forth, with *Vaudemont* in war,
Moſt reſolutely took proud *Renate* Duke of *Barre* (57).

(57) Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, in the eighteenth *ſong*. See alſo, in *Pol. Virgil*; and *Speed*'s Hiſt. p. 837, of this Duke.

[*E*] *About*

vernor of the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and before the battle of *Verneuil* was created *Banneret* (*w*). About three months after, Sir *John*, being then Captain of Alençon, and Governor of the marches thereof, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Tenuye in Maine, as a French Hiſtorian informs us (*x*), which was ſurrendered to him; and in 1424 he was ſent to oppoſe the delivery of *Alençon* to the French, upon a diſcovery made that a *Gaſcoigner* had ſecretly contracted to betray the ſame (*y*). In September 1425, he laid ſiege to *Beaumont le Vicompt*, which ſurrendered to him (*z*). And then alſo he took the caſtle of *Sillie-le-Guillem*, from which he was dignified with the title of Baron: But this, revolting afterwards again to the French, was aſſaulted by the Earl of Arundel (*a*), and retaken about ſeven years after. In the year laſt mentioned, our active warrior took alſo *St Ouen D'Eſtrais* near *Laval*, as likewiſe the caſtle of *Gravelle*, with other places of ſtrength from the enemy; for which dangerous and indefatigable ſervices in France, he was about the ſame time elected in England, with extraordinary deference to his merits, *Knight* Companion of the Order of the *Garter* [*E*]. In 1426, John Lord Talbot was appointed Governor of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and for this purpoſe Sir John Faſtolff was removed to another place of command (*b*), which in all probability might be the foundation of that jealouſy, emulation, or competition between them, which never was cordially reconciled. In October 1428, he had a protection granted him, being then going into France (*c*); and there he performed an enterpriſe of ſuch bravery and conduct, as is ſcarce thought to have been parallel'd in ancient or modern hiſtory (*d*); for it ſeems that the Engliſh army, at the ſiege of Orleance, being in great want of proviſions, artillery, and other neceſſaries, Sir John Faſtolff, with another approved Commander or two, were diſpatched for ſupplies thereof, by W. de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, to the *Regent* at Paris; who not only provided him plentifully therewith, but allowed him a ſtrong guard at his return, that he might convey the ſame ſafely to the ſiege. The French, knowing the importance of this ſuccour, to prevent it, joined two armies of much more numerous force than he had, to meet him; and, whether by ſeveral divided encounters, or in a pitched battle, as the French themſelves allow it, he totally overthrew them; ſlew greater numbers than he had under him, not to mention the wounded and the priſoners; then calmly conducted his convoy ſafe to the Engliſh camp. And becauſe it was in the time of Lent, and he had, among his other proviſion, ſeveral of his wains and carriages, which he made a moſt artful uſe of, as ſo many fortifications, laden with many barrels of herrings, the French, with their uſual air of depreciating any defeat, have ever ſince called this victory in their Hiſtories, *The* BATTLE *of* HERRINGS [*F*]; chuſing rather to give the honour of it to the

(*w*) Mr Anſtis, in the Regiſt. of the Garter, as before, fol. 137.

(*x*) Chartier, en l'Hiſt. de Charles VII. p. 9.

(*y*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 589.

(*z*) Peter Baſſet, as before.

(*a*) Hiſt. de Char. VII. p. 62.

(*b*) Hollinſhed, p. 597.

(*c*) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 408.

(*d*) Mr Anſtis, as before, in the Memoirs of Sir John Faſtolff, p. 138.

[*E*] *About the ſame time elected Knight of the Garter.*] The Duke of Bedford did before or after Sir *John Faſtolff*'s election, in a very particular and perſuaſive manner, recommend to the Sovereign and other Knights of the Garter, the election of Sir *John Radcliffe* alſo into the ſaid order, for his martial valour and virtues, his long faithful and ſignal ſervices of his country; having *exerceyſed the Armys, the ſpace of* XXVIII *Wynters unreproched* (58): yet upon the vacancy of a ſtall at Windſor, by the death of the Earl of Weſtmorland, and a ſcrutiny made, on St George's Eve in the 4th of *Henry* VI. in which it was found, that Sir *John Faſtolff*, and Sir *John Radcliffe*, were not only nominated by a greater number before the other Knights of great merits, but by an equal number of votes, the ſaid Duke being then the King's deputy and preſident at that election, did yet of the two, tho' both as he ſaid were indeed undeniably deſerving of this honour, judge, Sir *John Faſtolff* to be moſt worthy of it; and, according to his authority, did declare him admitted into the place of the deceaſed (59), and *Radcliffe* was elected ſoon after upon another vacancy; which preferance to ſuch an extraordinary competitor, by ſuch an able and unblemiſhed, ſuch an honourable and unbiaſſed judge, muſt imply very high deſerts, in the receiver then abroad, of that exalted honour. In the *letter* ſent by, or in the name of King *Henry* VI. to Sir *John Faſtolff*, importing his election, there are theſe words:— '*Conſiderant, tans les bons, leaux, & honourable ſervices, que avez de pie cà faiz, en ſervice de noſtre tres redouté Scigneur & Pere, que Dieux aſſoille, & que faitez continuelement en noſtre; come pluſeurs autres deſertes d'onnour, que Dieuz a ſouffrert eſtre en vous, en tollerant toujours, comme bon & feal ſubject, les paines & travaulx de guerre, pour noſtre bon droit, & juſte querelle ſuſteiner, vous a eſleu un de noz compaignons du dit ordre* (60) &c.' As much as to ſay, 'In conſideration of your good, loyal, and honourable ſervices, heretofore performed, to our moſt redoubted Lord and Father, whom God abſolve, and which you are inceſſantly exerciſing under us; as well as for other deſerts of honour, wherewith God hath endowed you, and diſpoſed you, ſo conſtantly upon all occaſions, like a true and faithful ſubject, to endure the pains and toils of war, in ſupport of our full right and juſt quarrel; we have elected you one of our companions of the ſaid order, &c.' A commiſſion was alſo iſſued to the Earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, and Suffolk, to receive Sir *John*'s oath, and to inveſt him with the Garter; further directing, that he ſhould, with all convenient diſpatch, ſend over his helmet and ſword, to be hung up in the chapel at Windſor; and depute an honourable Knight of untainted character, to take poſſeſſion of his ſtall (61). Accordingly the *deputation* of Sir *John Faſtolff*, to Sir *Henry Inghouſe*, and Sir *William Breton*, appointing them jointly and ſeparately his Proctors, to take poſſeſſion of his ſtall; to offer his mantle, helmet, and ſword; and to take the oath required by the ſtatutes; as it was written in French, and dated from *Lancone*, the 3d of February, was ſent to them, and is alſo preſerved (62). And the Royal *Commiſſion*, directed to Sir *John Robeſſart* one of the Knights Companions of the Order, for the inſtallation of him, by Sir *Henry Inghouſe*, one of the ſaid Proctors, is dated from the King's caſtle of Wallingford, the 25th of February, 1426, and in the 5th year of the ſaid King *Henry* VI. wherein, to the character given again of Sir *John*, much in the ſenſe of the former, there is the addition made, of his *great ſenſe*, *courage*, and *experience* in *arms* (63). According to the tenor of theſe inſtruments (64), he was elected at the next inſtallation; and theſe are honourable teſtimonies of his perſonal qualifications and virtues; and of his fortitude, and merit in publick ſervices (65).

[*F*] *The Battle of Herrings.*] This battle is famous in hiſtory, antient and modern. A late French Hiſtorian, having recorded the death of that valiant *Thomas Montagu*, Earl of *Saliſbury*, who begun the ſiege of *Orleance*; and mentioned the other Engliſh Commanders, of greateſt diſtinction who lay before that town; ſuch as the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lords, *Talbot* and *Scales*; *Faſtolff*, and *Glacidas*, as he is called (†), whoſe merits, ſupplying the place of his birth, had

(58) See the Duke of *Bedford's Preſentation* of Sir *J. Radcliffe*, in the *Inſtitut. &c.* of the *Order* of the *Garter*, by *Elias Aſhmole*, Eſq; Windſor Herald, fol. 1672, p. 269.

(59) *Acta ſub Ann. Quarto Henrici Sexti*, in Mr Anſtis's Regiſt. of the Garter, called The *Black Book*, Vol. II. p. 96.

(60) *Aſhmole's* Order of the Garter, in the Appendix, No. 21.

(61) Id. No. 22.

(62) Ib. No. 50.

(63) Id. No. 51.

(64) Contained in the *Regiſtr. Chartac.*

(65) Mr Anſtis's Regiſter of the *Garter*, in *Memoirs* of the *Life* of Sir John Faſtolff, p. 132.

(†) By *Monſtrelet*, Father *Daniel*, &c. who ſay, that General *Glacidas* was killed at this ſiege, in 1429. But we know of no ſuch *Engliſh* name; nor could it be meant for Sir *Tho. Gargrave*, who was then alſo ſlain there; he being of an eminent family in Yorkſhire: but there was *William Gladſdale*, a Commander of great bravery, then likewiſe killed in defending a caſtle; whom we take to be this *Glacidas*: See *Stow's* Annals, fol. 370.

the interception of the dead fiſh, than the intrepidity of their living foes. But that the fortune of war is precarious, our Knight was a witneſs; who found it as neceſſary in his next adventure to exerciſe his conduct, as he did in the laſt his courage. For ſoon after the Engliſh army was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Orleance, though they received recruits from the Duke of Bedford, they were in no degree ſtrong enough to encounter the French army at *Patay*. At the battle which happened there in June 1429, many of the Engliſh, who were of moſt experienced and approved valour, ſeeing themſelves ſo unequal, and the onſet of the French ſo unexpected, that nothing but inevitable ruin would be the conſequence of a raſh reſiſtance, that all would be loſt; like thoſe who made ſuch a diſadvantageous oppoſition; therefore ſome ſaved themſelves, and among them, as it is ſaid, Sir John Faſtolff; who, with ſuch as could eſcape, retired to *Corbeil* (*e*). It ſeems he deemed it romantic, to encounter the torrent that ruſhed on them in ſuch a ſurprize, and ſo unprepared as his inferior forces were to repel it; but he being a principal Leader, it might well be expected that the overthrow of thoſe who ſtood up againſt it, would be imputed to his ſaid detachment, though the loſs would have probably been greater by his conjunction; ſo he might be thought reſponſible for the ill ſucceſs which happened, who would not have been accounted ſo, had it been worſe, and he either been killed, or with the great Lord Talbot, Lord Scales, Lord Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampſton, been taken priſoner of war. Here the French tales, which ſome Engliſh Hiſtorians have inconſiderately credited, contradict, or invalidate themſelves; for after having made the *Regent* moſt improbably, and without any examination, or audience of defence, diveſt Faſtolff

(*e*) *Jean Chartier's* Hiſt. de Char. VII. p. 26; and *Monſtrelet*, Vol. II. p. 46.

had raiſed him to the higheſt offices of command in the army; he proceeds to obſerve, that by reaſon of the diſcontinued, or piece-meal circumvallation, which the Engliſh had made about that town, the French were encouraged to ſteal their troops into it; and that this gave occaſion to a conſiderable action: 'For, the 'Count of *Clermont*, having got a body of troops at 'Blois, to guard a Convoy to *Orleance*, had information that *Faſtolff* was upon the road, conducting 'of proviſions from *Paris* to the camp. He gave notice of it to the Count of *Dunois*, and deſired him 'to make a ſally out of *Orleance*, and carry off that 'Convoy. The Count of *Dunois* came out accordingly with his horſe, paſſed the forts, and joined 'Count *Clermont*'s army, at *Jenville*; and, their 'troops being thus joined, amounted to *four thouſand men*. On the 12th of February, they ſet forward to 'meet *Faſtolff*, and came up with him at *Rouvray St 'Denis*. That *Engliſh* General had, only *two thouſand five hundred men* with him, and ranged his 'troops behind his carriages. The *French* immediately fell upon them with their cannon, and if they 'had continued in that manner, to ſhatter in pieces 'their waggons, which ſerved as entrenchments, they 'had been infallibly loſt; but the impatience of *John 'Stuart*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, and his brother *William*, was the cauſe of the ill ſucceſs that happened. 'They cried out, that it was now time to give battle, 'and lighting from their horſes, with the *Scotchmen* 'under their command, they marched up to the breach. 'The French were obliged to follow them; but, the '*Engliſh* Archers having ſuffered them to draw near, 'made their diſcharge upon them at a ſmall diſtance, 'and cut off moſt of thoſe who were placed in the 'firſt ranks. *Faſtolff*, at the ſame time, having or-'dered ſome of his battalions to advance with their 'ſwords and axes in hand, forced their aſſailants to 'retire. The horſe, which was to have ſuſtained the 'attack, inſtead of keeping their ground, when they 'ſaw the foot give way, betook themſelves to flight, 'and the *Engliſh* purſuing, utterly routed them. There 'were *five or ſix hundred French* and *Scots* left upon 'the field; the two *Stuarts* ſuffered the puniſhment 'of their imprudence, and were ſlain, with ſeveral 'other Lords and Gentlemen. The Count of *Dunois* 'was dangerouſly wounded; however, he got toge-'ther the remains of his routed army, and re-entered '*Orleance*, by paſſing between the intermitting forts, 'which had been built by the Engliſh. His arrival, 'a little recovered the townſmen from the conſterna-'tion they were in, upon the news of this overthrow, 'which the beſiegers had mightily augmented. This 'engagement was called, *The Battle of the Herrings*; 'becauſe, among the proviſions which *Faſtolff* was 'carrying to the camp, there were a great many bar-'rels of herrings (66).' But if there were ſome who enlarged, there were alſo others who leſſened this victory; and among them one of the old French Hiſtorians, who mentions only a much ſmaller number to have been ſlain at it than the foregoing, and other writers. By this author we are informed, that *Faſtolff* in his return with his ſaid Convoy from *Paris* to *Orleance*, was met near *Janville* and encountred by the Duke of *Bourbon*, and his army, which was much more numerous than the Engliſh. There they had very many and deſperate ſkirmiſhes. *Stuart* the Conſtable of *Scotland*, and the Sieur D'Orval were killed, '& 'environ deux cent hommes en leur compagnee,' and about *two hundred men in their company*: then *Faſtolff* and his troops proceeded on their march to *Orleance* (67). This account, which mentions but the death of *two hundred*, may very well agree both with the other before quoted, which reckons their loſs at *five or ſix hundred men*, and even with that, here under recited, which computes the ſaid loſs at near three times this number; if we but underſtand that the leſſer number which fell, was meant to have been in the particular regiments of *Stuart* and *D'Orval* only, the other, of the whole *French* and *Scotch* army in general. But there is an hiſtory compiled more diſtinctly of theſe times, by one who was then alive; was preſent at moſt of the important occurrences in them, and had greater advantages of knowing the full truth of this action, than any others who have written of it; this was *Peter Baſſet* ſometime gentleman of the bed chamber to King *Henry* V (68), who in his ſaid hiſtory, which was never printed, written alſo in the French tongue, tho' with a Latin title, has been much more accurate in ſome circumſtances of this engagement than the reſt. He agrees, it was in the time of Lent, that this Convoy was ſo reſolutely defended by *Faſtolff* thro' the French army to the Engliſh camp; which accounts for the great quantities of fiſh there were among the other proviſions in it. That Sir *Thomas Rampſton* with his ſoldiers were alſo joined to him in this charge, and likewiſe Sir *Simon Morheir*, Provoſt of *Paris*, with his band of croſs-bows, and a party of the Regent's houſhold-troops; but that in all, they were not more than *fifteen hundred* men of arms; and when they were departed from *Janville en Beauſſe*, upon a very froſty morning towards the ſiege, and were arrived near *Rouvroy*, they diſcovered the enemy approaching them to the number as well *French* as *Scots*, of about *nine or ten thouſand men*; where, among other Lords and Nobles, were *Charles* the eldeſt ſon of the Duke of *Bourbon*, Sir *William Stuart*, &c. whereupon *Faſtolff* drew up his men in battle array, planted before the archers a palliſade, or entrenchment of ſharp pointed ſtakes, to obſtruct the French cavalry from over-bearing them, and chained or bound all his loaded cars and carriages of proviſions and artillery together alſo, as a more ſubſtantial bulwark, or encloſure againſt the cannon of the enemy; who, when they were approached, received their certain death or diſablement with ſuch inceſſant and vigorous activity, that the French were totally defeated and diſperſed. Sir *William*

(67) *Jean Chartier*, Hiſt. Char. VII. p. 17.

(68) Vide Bale, et Pitzeus, de Scriptoribus Angl.

(66) Father Daniel's Hiſtory of France, Vol. II. *anno* 1429.

ſtolff of his honours [G], they no leſs ſuddenly reſtore him to them, *for*, as they phraſe it, *apparent cauſes of good excuſe* (*f*); though againſt the mind of the Lord Talbot; between whom, there had been, it ſeems, ſome emulous conteſts, and therefore it is no wonder that Faſtolff found him, upon this occaſion, an adverſary. 'Tis not likely that the Regent ever conceived any diſpleaſure at this conduct, becauſe Faſtolff was not only continued in military and civil employments of the greateſt concern, but appears more in favour with the Regent after the battle of Patay than before (*). It was but in 1430, that the Regent preferred him to the Lieutenancy of Caen in Normandy (*g*). In 1432 he accompanied the Regent into France, and was ſoon after ſent Ambaſſador to the Council of Baſil, and choſen, in the like capacity, to negotiate a final or temporary peace, with the adverſary of France (*h*). And that year, Faſtolff, with the Lord Willoughby, commanded the army which aſſiſted the Duke of Bretagne againſt the Duke of Alençon (*i*). Soon after which he was, for a ſhort ſpace, in England; for, in 1433, going abroad again, he conſtituted John Faſtolff of Olton, probably a near relation, his General Attorney (*k*). In 1434, or the beginning of the year after, he was again with the *Regent* of France; and, in 1435, he was again one of the Ambaſſadors to conclude a peace with the enemy of France (*l*). Towards the latter end of this year, the ſaid renowned *Regent* died at Rouen, *deſervedly reckoned among the greateſt men of his age*, ſays a late French Hiſtorian (*m*); and as the greateſt proof he could give of his truſt or aſſurance in the honour

(*f*) Edw. Hall's Chron. fol. 26. And Hollingſhed, fol. 601.

(*g*) Huet. Origin. de Caen. p. 50.

(*h*) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 525, 527, 530.

(*i*) Chartier, Hiſt. de Char. VII. p. 59.

(*k*) Rot. Fran. 12 Hen. VI. m. 5. 26 Jan.

(*l*) Rymer, Vol. X. fol. 642.

(*m*) Father Daniel's Hiſtory of France, A. D. 1435.

(*) So that, rather than any diſhonour here, can be allowed, the *Retreat* itſelf, as it is told, muſt be doubted.

liam Stuart and his brother, with abundance more, as well *French* as *Scots*, to the number of about *twenty five hundred*, were left dead in the field, and not one Engliſhman of any diſtinction or above the common rank loſt his life; but *Faſtolff* carried his troops, his proviſions, ammunition, *&c.* ſafe to the ſaid ſiege (69), and this battle has been very juſtly admired, no leſs for the extraordinary conduct of it, than its ſucceſs; it being almoſt incredible, as another has ſaid of it, that fifteen hundred Engliſh, under the fatigue of a march, encumbered with the charge of a large quantity of proviſions, ſhould gain a complete victory over nine or ten thouſand of the enemy who attacked them, under the conduct of the firſt perſons of diſtinction; and that by killing twenty five hundred of them on the ſpot, without the loſs of a ſingle ſoldier of reputation (70).

(69) Lib. de Actis Armorum, et Conqueſtûs Regni *Franciæ*, &c. Compilatus fuit ad Nobilem Virum *J. Faſtolff*, Baronem de *Cylyeguillim*, anno 1459; per *Pet. Baſſet*, Armig. &c. MS. in Officio Armorum.

(70) Mr Anſtis, in the Mem. of Sir J. Faſtolff, as before, p. 138.

[G] *Diveſt Faſtolff of his honours*] However ſome of our Hiſtorians have been unwarily miſled by French writers, this may certainly be accounted worthy of remembrance, among thoſe Retreats which have met with great applauſe from men of the greateſt military ſkill and experience (71). Leaders to a battle, often improve every ſtep they take, as in their obſervations, intelligence, and knowledge, ſo conſequently in their judgments, reſolution, and determinations. The very motion of an army into different poſitions, or more advantageous places; the ſurpriſe of an enemy, diſappointed of ſuccours or ſupplies; the inequality that attack him, which may fall ſo heavy upon one part of the army that the other cannot relieve it; the diſcovery of unexpected reſerves, ambuſcades, or new recruits, may give a commander good occaſion of new reſolves, that may reverſe his proceedings; ſo that even a precipitous retirement may be more honourable, than an obſtinate perſeverance to unavoidable ruin; and ſurely, unleſs in caſes of inevitable neceſſity, a General, whoſe courage is duly tempered with the caution it ought to be, will not hazard a general loſs without ſome apparent proſpect of advantage; but conclude that, a prudent retreat will be more commendable than a diſhonourable overthrow. That this was the caſe here is evident, in that, the Regent was ſo far from depriving Sir *John Faſtolff* of his *George* and *Garter*, before any examination, and reſtoring them after one, or any other way diminiſhing or degrading him of his honour, that he was continually to his death, making additions to it; and more frequently now, more ſignally after this conduct at the *Battle of Patay*, in which the Engliſh had ſuch a vaſt inferiority of ſo many thouſand forces, than before. This were enough to clear his reputation, without any other argument; but hear what an able judge of theſe matters has ſaid upon this occaſion.

(71) See Sir *Walter Ralegh's Hiſt. of the World*, lib. v. c. ii. ſect. 8. And *Geo. Chapman*'s Dedic. of his Tranſlat. of *Homer*'s Battle of the *Frogs* and *Mice*, to the Earl of *Somerſet*: Wherein, he celebrates the brave and memorable *Retreat* of Sir *John Norris*, before *Ghent*, with a thouſand men, thro' the whole *Spaniſh* army, under the Duke of *Parma*, for three miles together.

'A charge of ſo high a nature, and ſuch a ſevere animadverſion, ſhould have been vouched by authentick contemporary writers; and 'till ſuch ſhall be produced, let us conſider what abſurd conſequences are neceſſarily imply'd in this cenſure; and whether theſe do not afford us reaſonable preſumptions to doubt the truth of this tradition: and here, to omit that the image of St *George*, was not in all probability, a ſymbol of the Order in that age; and admitting that thoſe words of the later Hiſtorians ſhould be conſtrued only to mean that the *Croſs* of St *George*, an enſign of it, was taken from him; it will be however confeſſed, that this Duke, then *Regent of France*, could not conſtitute or *inveſt* any perſon with this Order, tho' by this action, if it ſhould be true, it muſt be allowed, that he had an abſolute power to *diveſt* a companion, and that, without the knowledge of the Sovereign, or any concurrence of the other Knights; and, which is the more incredible, that he actually exerciſed this power upon an information only, without hearing or examining into the truth of the charge, or complaint; which ſeems not conſiſtent with the honour, generoſity, and exalted character of this Regent, who had the greateſt reverence for this Order (72), and was a moſt punctual obſerver of its ſtatutes (73), as appears from ſeveral circumſtances: and it is very ſurpriſing, that this moſt heroic Duke, who eſteemed himſelf limited and circumſcribed to the ſtatutes, in the caſe of the election of our Knight, ſhould be on a leſs guard in depoſing him, and thereby caſting on him an indelible infamy, by a voluntary power not allowed by the ſtatutes then in being; for the degradation of a Knight who ſhould fly from battle, was an article firſt inſerted into the ſtatutes made by King *Henry* VIII. which too is there reſtrained: if it ſhould *pleaſe* the *Sovereign* and the *Company* in the next *chapter*.'

(72) In Regiſt. *Arundel*, apud *Windſor*, p. 90.

(73) Aſhmole's Hiſt. p. 269.

But taking it for granted, as the ſame author proceeds, that the Regent, upon the firſt repreſentation, ſhould have been ſo far warmed, as, under that impreſſion, to declare, that our Knight might in his opinion deſerve to be degraded for this his ſuppoſed demerit; or, in the higheſt extent, as theſe authors deliver it, the enſigns of the Order were actually demanded and taken from him, yet this haſty prepoſſeſſion of the Regent, cannot be conſtrued to be any diminution of the character of our Knight, ſince theſe ſame Hiſtorians inform us, that after an examination of this charge, thoſe enſigns were reſtored him, as they word it, for *apparent cauſes of good excuſe, tho' againſt the mind of the Lord Talbot*, who muſt have been a powerful adverſary. And tho' we have not the particulars of his vindication, or ſpecification of his conduct, yet ſuch an honourable acquittal, under theſe circumſtances, gives reaſonable grounds to preſume, that this ſudden accuſation had no pretence of foundation, but was a cauſeleſs defamation, and that his retiring was irreproachable. But it is the greateſt degree of evidence, that this *Regent* was fully convinced, and ſatisfied in the management of our Knight, in this critical nice juncture, in that he afterwards continued to employ him in military and civil adminiſtrations of the higheſt importance, *&c.*' (74) as we have inſtanced by many examples in the text above, which ſufficiently prove, that he never could have been preferred to thoſe honourable employments, commands in the army, and offices of truſt, if ever he had been ſo degraded, diſhonoured, or diſgraced.

(74) Anſtis, as before, p. 139, *&c.*

[H] *Became*

nour and integrity of Sir John Faſtolff, he made him one of the executors of his laſt Will (*n*). If any readers are inclined to ſuſpect, that theſe diſtinctions wherewith he honoured our Knight, were the product of any private or particular affection in the *Regent* towards him, let them obſerve, that Richard Duke of York, who ſucceeded in the Regency of France, made Faſtolff a grant of an annuity of twenty pounds a year out of his own eſtate, *pro notabili et laudabili ſervicio, ac bono conſilio: for his notable and laudable ſervices, and good counſel* (*o*). Which is ſufficient to ſhew this Duke's ſentiments alſo of his merits. In 1436, and for about four years longer, he ſeems to have been pretty well ſettled at his government in Normandy; after which, in 1440, he made his final return home, and, loaden with the laurels he had gathered in France, raiſed a new plantation of them in his native country; where he ſhone as bright in virtue as he had in valour, and became as illuſtrious in his domeſtic, as he had been in his foreign character [*H*]; peace having

(*n*) Regiſtr. *Chicheley*, Vol. I. p. 475.

(*o*) Clauſ. 19 Hen. VI. 12 May. And *Sandford's* Geneal. Hiſtory, fol. 386.

[*H*] *Became as illuſtrious in his domeſtic, as he had been in his foreign character.*] As his valour made him a terror in war, his humanity made him a bleſſing in peace: all we can find in this ſcene of his receſs, being elegant, hoſpitable, and generous, either as to the places of his abode, or thoſe perſons and foundations on which he ſhowered his bounty. The ſtreams of his treaſure, that fed this fountain of his munificence, were very numerous and plentiful; as may be ſeen, in the jury's return to the writ of enquiry, into the lands and eſtates whereof he was poſſeſſed at his death (75) in Norfolk, Suffolk, Yorkſhire, and Wiltſhire. He was a benefactor to both the Univerſities; bequeathing a conſiderable legacy to Cambridge, for building the ſchools of Philoſophy and Law (76), for which the firſt order under their Chancellor *Laurence* Biſhop of Durham, is dated in June 1458; and at Oxford, he was ſo bountiful to Magdalen-College, thro' the affection he had for his friend *William Wainfleet*, the founder thereof two years before, that his name is commemorated in an *Anniverſary* ſpeech: and tho' the particulars of his bounty are not now remembered, becauſe he *enfeoffed* the ſaid founder in his life-time; it is yet known, that the boar's head in Southwark, now divided into tenements, yielding *one hundred and fifty pounds yearly*, together with *Calcedot* mannor in Suffolk, were part of the lands he beſtowed thereon; and *Lovingland* in that county is conceived alſo, to have been another part of his donation (77). But, at *Caſtre*, the antient ſeat of his family, is to be ſeen the remains of his magnificent ſeat or manſion houſe, the hall whereof was fifty nine feet long and twenty eight broad (78). At one corner thereof ſtands a ruinated tower of brick, above one hundred feet high, and over one of the windows are carved his arms ſurrounded with the Garter. The current tradition, that this houſe was erected by a *French* Nobleman who was taken priſoner by our famous Knight, according to the model and architecture of his own caſtle in *France*, as the price of his ranſom, does appear very probable from what has been before related. He furthermore appointed there by his executors, a college to be built for a maſter, ſix prieſts, and ſeven poor men, and that they ſhould endow it with an annuity of an *hundred and twenty marks*; chargeable upon part of his eſtates, but by ſome accident it was reduced to a *Chantry* (†). He likewiſe built a ſplendid ſeat in *Yarmouth*, and a *Royal Palace in* Southwark (79). His liberality alſo extended to *Bicling* and *Pulham-Mary*, in Norfolk; the churches thereof being formerly adorned with his arms; and among the ornaments in the laſt of them, there was the effigies of Sir *John Faſtolff* (80), in gilt armour *anneiled* on one of the glaſs windows, with his *Creſt*, on a *Wreath*, *Azure*, and *Or*; a *Plume* of *Feathers*, *Argent*; and two Eſcutcheons, with the *Croſs* of *St George*, within the *Garter*; and his Lady kneeling, in her coat armour; *Argent*, a *Saltere*, *Gules*; with theſe words ſubſcribed, *Orate pro animabus Johannis Faſtolff, qui multa bona fecit tempore vitæ*, &c (81). In ſome old books of Heraldry, his arms have been erroneouſly blazoned; for *Faſtolff* bears *Or* and *Azure*, quarterly; on a bend *Gules*, three *Croſlets* Argent; and not *Scollops*, according to the deſcription we may meet with in ſome pedigrees of the family; as may be proved not only from ſeveral original ſeals of the *Faſtolff*'s ſtill in being, but in the old arms which remain carved in ſtone over a window of his houſe at *Caſtre* by *Yarmouth* (82). Some errors have alſo eſcaped the pens of learned men, in relation to that *William Wirceſter* above quoted. He was learned in Antiquities, and Heraldry, Phyſick, and Aſtronomy; and had a good genius, as well for Hiſtory as Poetry. He is called in old writings not only ſervant, and *Soget*, or *Segret*, to Sir *John Faſtolff*, but was his Purſuivant, and (*) Secretary. Many of his letters, as we underſtand in this capacity are ſtill in being (83). But that he was Sir *John*'s Herald, by ſuch a title, or diſtinction, as *Botoner*, from the Croſs Croſlets *Botonée*, in our Knight's arms, is a miſconjecture in one author (84), no leſs than it is in another, who fancies, becauſe this learned writer was converſant in medicinal ſtudies, that he was therefore called a *Botaner*, or Herbaliſt (85). Whereas we may gather from his own writings, that he was born at Briſtol; that his father's name was *Worceſter* and his mother's *Botoner*, hence he often names himſelf *William Wyrceſter*, alias *Botoner*; and hence aroſe the error in Pits (86), and others, of making two diſtinct perſons of the two names. He had been exerciſed in wars above 44 years (87); ſo eminent and faithful were his ſervices, under this great man, that in his will he left him one of his executors. He wrote many books, tho' we meet with but one that was printed, and that is his tranſlation from the French, of *Cicero de Senectute* which he addreſſed to *William Wainfleet*, Biſhop of *Winton*, and will be further quoted in the next note. He wrote *Antiquities of* England; *Abbreviations of the learned*; *Medicinal* collections; a book of *Aſtrology*; another of *Cities*, *Monaſteries*, *Abbies*, &c (†); likewiſe his *Itinerary*; all it ſeems, or moſt of them, in Latin; beſides a particular treatiſe, gratefully preſerving the *life* and *deeds* of his maſter, under the title of *Acta Domini Johannis Faſtolff*, which we hear is ſtill in being, and has been promiſed the publick; had it been publiſhed ſooner, it might have prevented ſome miſtakes, if not liberties, which ſome conceive to have been unreaſonably taken with the name and memory of our Worthy. The ſon of this *Worceſter*, among other things, alſo made a *collection* of ſeveral authentic inſtruments relating to the *Engliſh Wars* and *Government* in *France*; which he dedicated to King *Edward* IV. wherein is a catalogue of the Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Bannerets, Knights, and other perſons of eminence, who were of the *Regent's* court: Therein is remembered *Faſtolff*'s poſts of honour, and the places under his government; ſtiling him, Knight-Banneret, Baron of *Cilliguillim*; great Steward, or Grand-maſter of the *Regent*'s Houſhold; the King's Lieutenant of *Normandy* for one year, and after, Governor of *Anjou* and *Maine*, for many years; Captain of the City of *Mauns*, and the caſtles and towns of *Alançon*, *Mayn*, *Freſney le Vicont*, for fourteen years; likewiſe of *Cane*, *Verneiul*, and *Hunflue* ſome years. In this book are ſeveral publick memorials, concerning the grand articles and negotiations of peace and war; with ſome ordonnances as we remember, having ſeen a copy of this collection (88), which were compoſed in French and iſſued forth, by our no leſs politic, than heroic Knight; who, as well, penn'd thoſe things, which are worthy of being read, as performed thoſe, which merit to be recorded; being no leſs able to adviſe than to execute; and, as that collector remarks of him, if theſe his counſels, inſtructions, and admonitions, had been duly obſerved, they would have prevented many miſcarriages, which might conduce to our loſs of *France*.

(75) Eſch. 38 and 39 Hen. VI. N. 45.

(76) Lib. Procl. Univ. Cantab.

(77) Mr Anſtis, as before, p. 142, &c.

(78) *Will. de Wirceſtre* in *Itin.* MS. in C. C. C. *Cant.* p. 229.

(†) Mr Anſtis, as above, p. 143.

(79) Vincent MS. in Off. Arm. N. 18, p. 122.

(80) MS. inter Collect. Johan. Anſtis, Armig.

(81) Mr Anſtis, as above, p. 141, 142.

(82) Mr Blomefield's Hiſtory of Norfolk, p. 348.

(83) The Rev. Mr Blomefield's Letter, as above.

(84) In Mr Anſtis, p. 135.

(85) Mr J. Lewis's Life of William Caxton, 8vo, p. 53.

(86) De Illuſt. Script. p. 648, 861.

(87) Itin. W. Worceſter, MS.

(†) Tho. Fuller cites a book of *Botoner*'s containing all the *Ancient Gentry* in the county of Norfolk. *Worthies of Engl.* fol. 250. And ſomething in poetry, he alſo wrote, as that humorous ballad called *Comedia ad Monaſterium Hulmi, &c. directa ad Reformationem ſequentem, &c.* 1477. Alſo a long Chronographical *Epitaph* in verſe, on the Lady *Milicent Faſtolff*; in the poſſeſſion of *Richard Foley*, Eſq; late Prothonotary of the Common Pleas.

(*) Peter Baſſet, ut prius.

(88) In *Quarto*, ſome time in the cuſtody of the late Brian Fairfax, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms.

having her victories, no leſs glorious than thoſe of war. We have heard, there is ſtill in being, preſerved among the old family-writings, an *Inventory* of all the rich jewels, plate, furniture, &c. that he either had, or left in France, at his return to England. In 1443, he had licence granted him to employ ſome of his Majeſty's ſhips to convey materials for building, or furniſhing one of his manſion-houſes (*p*). In 1450, he conveyed to John Kemp, the Cardinal-Archbiſhop of York, and others, his manor of *Caſtre* in *Fleg*, and ſeveral other lands, in the deed of conveyance ſpecified (*q*). No retirement could obſcure his reputation, no infirmities weaken him in the exerciſe of generous actions, to the laſt. At length being arrived, in the year 1459, beyond the venerable age of fourſcore years [*I*], and ripe with the great honours of his good works, to be gathered from this world to a better, he diſpoſed himſelf in the moſt charitable and religious manner, to his appointed tranſlation. In that year, he ſays of himſelf, that he was *In good remembrance, albe it I am gretly vexid with ſickeneſſe, and thurgh age infebelyd* (*r*). He lingered under an hectic fever and aſthma for an hundred and forty-eight days (*s*); but before he departed he made his Will, on the fifth of *November* in that year (†), of which we ſhall give ſome extract below [*K*], and died the next day after, being that of St Leonard's feaſt, or the eve before

(*p*) Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 44.

(*q*) Clauſ. 29 Hen. VI.

(*r*) Mr Blomefield's Letter, from Norwich, beforementioned.

(*s*) MS. *Penes Dom. Hans Sloane, Baronet.*

(†) As is computed from the date in our copy of it, recited in the next note.

[*I*] *Beyond the venerable age of fourſcore years.*] As may be computed from the time of his birth at the beginning mentioned; however, for the ſake of an even number, two or three odd years are omitted in the following character and account, that was publiſhed before a tranſlation of *Cicero*, by our firſt Printer, of this excellent man, about twenty two years after his death, in theſe words.—— 'Whiche book 'was tranſlated, and thyſtoryes openly declared, by 'the ordenaunce and deſyre of the noble auncyent 'Knyght, Syr *Johan Faſtolff*, of the Countee of Norfolk, Banneret, lyvyng the age of fourſcore yere; 'exerciſyng the warrys in the Royame of *Fraunce*, 'and other countrees, for the diffence and unyverſal 'welfare of both Royames of *Englond* and *Fraunce*, 'by forty yeres endurying, the fayte of armes haunting, and in admynyſtryng juſtice, and polytique 'governaunce, under thre Kyngs; that is to wete, '*Henry* IV. *Henry* V. *Henry* VI. and was Governour 'of the Duchey of *Angeou*, and the Countee of *Mayne*; 'Capytayne of many Townys, Caſtellys, and Fortreſſys, in the ſaid Royame of *Fraunce*; havyng the 'charge and ſaufguard of them dyverſe yeres; ocupyeng and rewlynge thre hondred ſperes, and the 'bowes acuſtomed thenne; and yeldyng good acompt 'of the foreſaid Townes, Caſtellys, and Fortreſſes, to 'the ſeyd Kyngs, and to theyr Lyeutenauntes, Prynces of noble recommendacion; as, *Johan*, Regent 'of *Fraunce*, Duc of *Bedford*; *Thomas*, Duc of *Exeter*; *Thomas*, Duc of *Clarence*, and other Lyeutenantes (89).'

(89) *Tullius*'s Book of *Old Age*: printed by *W. Caxton*, fol. 1481, in the Prohem. Alſo *The Britiſh Librarian*, 8vo, 1738, p. 255.

[*K*] *Of his Will, we ſhall give ſome extract below.*] It was written in Latin, and a fair copy of it, not very correct, we have ſeen, as alſo a tranſlation or abſtract in Engliſh; but in neither is it expreſſed, who the witneſſes were, nor what the arms, or figure of the ſeal. It bears date, on the Sunday after the Feaſt of *All Saints*, in November 1459. ſetting forth, That the ſaid Sir *John Faſtolff*, Knight, of the County of Norfolk, and in the Dioceſe of Norwich, made and publiſhed this his laſt will and teſtament in his Manor of *Caſtre*, within the ſaid Dioceſe, in the following manner. Firſt, he commends his ſoul to *God*, to the Virgin *Mary*, and to all the *Saints*; and bequeaths his body to be buried after his death, in the conventual church of the Monaſtery of St *Bennet*, in the Holmes, in the ſaid Dioceſe, under the arch of the new chapel, which he lately rebuilt there, on the ſouth ſide of the choir or chancel, under a marble tomb, near the body of *Milicent* his former conſort, who lies interred there. He further ordains, that the Abbot, and the ſaid Convent, ſhall give ſecurity, before his interrment, that they will grant and confirm to *John Paſton*, and to ſuch others as ſhall be nominated by him, full power of granting the lands, &c. which the ſaid *John Paſton* and other Feoffees of the ſaid Sir *John Faſtolff*, or their Feoffees hold of the ſaid Abbot and Convent, to ſeven Monks, or Prieſts, and their Succeſſors, towards endowing and eſtabliſhing a College, within the Manor and Lordſhip of *Caſtre*; or ſo much of the land, as the ſaid Sir *John Faſtolff* ſhall think fit. Likewiſe orders, that all his debts ſhould be paid, and all forfeitures be fully compenſated, reſtored, and ſatisfied. He bequeaths towards the repair and ſupport of the harbour at *Great-Yarmouth*, and towards renewing and repairing the walls of the ſaid town, for the public benefit, or conſervation of the town, and the adjacent country, one hundred marks; on condition that, the Burgeſſes and Governors thereof, ſhall without delay, proceed to the ſaid reparations, that the inhabitants may pray for the repoſe of his ſoul. He gives to the pariſh churches of the ſeveral villages, wherein he had either ſeat, manor, lands or tenements, a ſilk gown, to celebrate maſs and pray for his ſoul in, and that there ſhould be erected in thoſe churches, his achievement of arms, embroidered at the diſcretion of his executors, and ſo as were moſt convenient to, or becoming thoſe churches. He bequeaths to his tenants and menial ſervants, a competent reward out of his goods and chattels, to the ſum of three hundred marks, according to their rank, condition, and merits; and ſo, as his gentleman or valets may have a proportion double to the reſt; more eſpecially regarding thoſe who conſtantly attended him, in all perils and dangers, in ſickneſs and health. Likewiſe gives to all the orders of religious and mendicant Friars, both in *Great-Yarmouth* and the city of *Norwich*, that they may offer their prayers for his ſoul, a ſufficient ſum, according to the diſcretion of his executors; on condition, that the partakers thereof have no property, but depend upon the alms and charity of good chriſtians for their ſupport. He bequeaths the reſidue of his goods, &c. after all debts, legacies, and charges are cleared, to his executors hereafter named; that they may diſtribute them according to diſcretion, and ſo as to promote the ſalvation of his ſoul, among the fitteſt objects of charity; the poor, infirm, lame, blind, thoſe confined to their beds, and who cannot maintain themſelves or their family. But ſtill to prefer his poor relations, neighbours, and thoſe who were known to him; or where he had any lordſhips, manors, lands, or tenements; and for repairing of churches, in the ſaid towns and villages; alſo the public roads and bridges, and other charitable uſes, eſpecially in Norfolk and Suffolk. And that, one thouſand marks or pounds be laid out, within a year, upon his funeral, his legacies and other charities aforeſaid. And that five hundred and thirty three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence, ſhall be laid out annually, ſo far as his goods, lands, &c. by ſale ſhall amount to, till they are fully diſpoſed of; and he exhorts in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, that this truſt be ſincerely and faithfully diſcharged by his executors; and as he would in conſcience, reaſon, and juſtice, do for them in like caſe; and as they will anſwer for the contrary at the tremendous tribunal of God. Then he conſtitutes *William* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *John* Lord de *Beauchamp*, *Nicholas* Abbot of *Langley*, *John Stokes*, Doctor of Laws, Friar *John Brackley*, Doctor of Divinity; *William Yelverton*, one of the King's Judges, *John Paſton*, Eſq; *Henry Filongley*, Eſq; *Thomas Howes*, Prieſt, and *William Worceſtre*, to be the executors of this his laſt Will. And the execution thereof he thus declares limited: that the ſaid *John Paſton*, and *Thomas Howes*, ſhall have the adminiſtration and diſpoſition of the moveable goods, money, &c. which ſhall ariſe from the ſale of his lands, and the produce thereof, and they only, to diſpoſe of the ſaid effects for the benefit of his ſoul; and none of the reſt to concern themſelves, in diſpoſing of his ſaid goods, &c. unleſs they

are

before, as it appears in the *Eſcheats* (*t*), being the 39th, or laſt year of King Henry the VIth's reign, and no leſs than thirty-ſix years beyond the extravagant retrenchment of T. Fuller (*u*). He was buried with great ſolemnity in a chapel of his own building, at the abbey-church of St Bennet at the Holm in Norwich, which was ruinated at the diſſolution (*w*); and ſo devoutly was he revered in the duſt, that John Beauchamp, Lord of Powyke, in his laſt Will dated the 15th of Edward IV (*x*), appointed a chantry, more eſpecially for the ſoul of Sir John Faſtolff. In one of Mr Aſhmole's choice old volumes of MSS. lately in the poſſeſſion of a noble Peer, to whom we have been beholden for many extracts out of it, there is a conciſe character of our Worthy, written in the reign of King Henry VII, by a Knight who was then King of Arms, wherein Sir John Faſtolff is called 'a rich Knight, and a grete bilder; having bilded *Caſter Hall* in *Northfolk*, 'a *Royal Palace* in *Southwork*, and another in *Yermouth*: a ſpeciall goode Maiſter to the 'Officers of Armes, and was moſt triumphantly brought in erthe, that I have heard of 'any man of his degre.' His arms are alſo there blazoned: *Or and Azure, quarterly*; *three Scollops* (*) *argent, in a Bend verd.* The creſt; *a Plume of Oſtridge Feathers*, of *various colours*: his cognizance; a *Book* with a *Pencil* in it; and a *Shield*, with a branch of *Laurel* flouriſhing out of it (*y*).

(*t*) In Mr Anſtis's Preface to The Regiſt. of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 21.

(*u*) Worthies of Engl. in Norfolk.

(*w*) Mr Blomefield's Letter, as before.

(*x*) In Cur. Prærog. Cant.

(*) Which is a miſtake, as was obſerved.

(*y*) Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley*'s Heraldical Collections of the Knights of the Garter, Bath, &c. adorned with Limnings of their Portraits, Arms, &c. fol. MS. in the Poſſeſſion of the late Duke of *Montagu*. See an Abſtract of this volume, in *The Britiſh Librarian*, 8vo, 1738, p. 323.

are requeſted to aid and aſſiſt them. And that none of the reſt, ſhall ſell, receive, or diſtribute any of his effects, without the conſent of thoſe two; nor any of them interfere in the adminiſtration while thoſe are alive; hoping they will not refuſe their aid, when it is requeſted. But if either of thoſe two decline, or refuſe to act and officiate, or ſhould die before the complete execution of his Will, then he of the two, who is willing to adminiſter, or does ſurvive, ſhall aſſociate one of the other executors, whom he thinks moſt fitting and capable. So, as often as one dies, or declines the truſt, the other ſhall elect one of the reſt. But where both ſhall refuſe to act, or both die, before a ſubſtitute is choſen, then ſuch two of the ſurvivors, as ſhall have a majority of ſuffrages among themſelves, are allowed to adminiſter; and the two thus choſen, may, as they ſee occaſion, conſult with the Biſhop of *Winton*, Lord *Beauchamp*, Abbot of *Langley*, Friar *Brackley*, *Yelverton*, *Filongley*, and *William Worceſter*. He further appoints *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Walter* Biſhop of *Norwich*, Maſter *Robert Popy*, Chancellor, and *Hugh Fen*, to be Supervifors of this his laſt Will; and deſires, that the two acting executors may receive ſuch recompence for their trouble, as the ſaid Biſhop of *Winton* and *John Stokes*, or the major part of the ſurvivors, ſhall think fit. He alſo ordains that the ſupervifors of his Will, and the other executors, ſhall receive ſuch reward for their trouble, as the two acting executors ſhall account fully proportionable thereto: and that, if any of the ſaid executors ſhall obſtruct, or moleſt the ſaid *John Paſton* and *Thomas Howes*, in the due execution of their truſt, or incur any of the offences before mentioned, they ſhall be diſcharged from having any concern therein: or if they are thus troubleſome before they ſhall be admitted to a ſhare in the execution, he wills and ordains, that every ſuch delinquent ſhall be declared, and held, incapable of ſuch truſt, and be excluded from any ſhare in it. Dated in the year, &c. abovementioned. G

FECKENHAM (JOHN DE) the laſt Abbot of Weſtminſter, was ſo called from his birth-place Feckenham-foreſt in Worceſterſhire, where his parents, who were poor cottagers, reſided; his right name being *Howman* (*a*). Shewing in his youth a very good genius, and a ſtrong propenſity to learning, the Prieſt of the pariſh inſtructed him ſome years; and then, by his own and other perſons intereſt, got him admitted into Eveſham monaſtery. After having continued ſome time there, he was, at the age of eighteen, ſent to ſtudy at Glouceſter-college in Oxford; an houſe for ſtudents of the Benedictine Order; where the monaſtery juſt now mentioned had an apartment (*b*). When he had ſufficiently improved himſelf in academical learning, he was recalled to his abbey, in order to give room for other ſtudents. That abbey being diſſolved among the ſmaller ones, Nov. 17, 1536, he ſubſcribed the reſignation with the reſt of his brethren, and had a yearly penſion of an hundred florins [*A*] allowed him during life (*c*). Whereupon, returning to his ſtudies at Oxford, he continued ſome years in Glouceſter-college (*d*): and in 1539, June 11, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*e*); being then Chaplain to Dr John Bell Biſhop of Worceſter (*f*). That Prelate reſigning his See [*B*] Nov. 17, 1543 (*g*), Mr Feckenham was entertained in the ſame quality of Chaplain, by Dr Edmund Bonner Biſhop of London, with whom he continued till 1549. But Bonner being then deprived of his biſhopric (*h*), by the Reformers; Feckenham was committed to the Tower of London [*C*]. Soon after, he was borrowed thence, as his own words are (*i*), to

(*a*) Cl. Reynerus Apoſt. Benedictin. in Anglia, Tract. I. p. 233. edit. Duaci, fol.

(*b*) A. Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 221; & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 338.

(*c*) Reyner, p. 233, 234.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. I. col. 62.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. by J. Le Neve, edit. 1716, fol. p. 298.

(*h*) See the article BONNER (EDMUND).

(*i*) Quaſi mutuatum accepit.

(1) Hiſt. of the Mitred Abbeys, Vol. I. p. 90.
(2) Church Hiſt. B. ix. p. 178.
(3) Additional volumes to the Monaſticon, edit. 1722, Vol. I. p. 288.
(4) Weſtmonaſterium, Vol. II. in the Lives of the Abbats, p. xxxvii.
(5) Fr. Godwin, de Præſulibus, edit. 1616, 4to, p. 522.

[*A*] *And had a yearly penſion of an hundred florins.*] That is about 22 or 23 *l.* a year. But Br. Willis, Eſq; ſays, it was only 10 *l.* per ann (1).

[*B*] *That Prelate reſigning his See*] T. Fuller ſays (2), that it was *after his death*, our author Feckenham became chaplain to Biſhop Bonner: which is a miſtake. — J. Stevens (3) hath run into the like, or a greater error; when he affirms, that Biſhop Bell dyed in 1539: and Mr Dart alſo (4), when he places his death three years after 1537.—Ant. Wood more properly expreſſes it, in the following words: 'that 'Biſhop giving up his place in few years after.' viz. after 1539.—Dr John Bell, as is ſaid in the text of this article, reſigned his See in 1543; and did not die till Aug. 11. 1556 (5). What induced him to this reſignation, is no where expreſſed. He was for ſome time a promoter of the Reformation. But in 1543, when the act for the advancement of true religion, &c. was brought into Parliament, he did but *faintly* promote it, tho' he had promiſed Archbiſhop Cranmer to be ſtrenuous therein (6). So that, either a diſlike of the Reformation, or fear of danger, were the motives of this his reſignation.

[*C*] *Feckenham was committed to the Tower of London.*] The reaſon of his commitment is not very exactly known. Dr R. Horne, Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſays, the cauſe of his impriſonment, was his promiſing firſt, and then refuſing, to adminiſter the Sacraments after the Proteſtant manner (7). But T. Stapleton, who is not much to be depended on, affirms, that it was his defending the faſt of Lent, and oppoſing juſtification by faith alone; and thoſe, he ſays, were the cauſes

(6) See Dr Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. i. p. 321.

(7) Anſwer to Feckenham's Declaration of Scruples, &c. Lond. 1566.

to dispute on the chief points controverted between the Protestants and Papists. The first disputation he engaged in, was at the Savoy in the house of Francis Russel Earl of Bedford: the second at Sir William Cecil's in Channel-row: and the third at Sir John Cheke's in White-Friers. Thence he was carried down to Worcestershire, where he still held a benefice; and had four solemn disputations with John Hooper Bishop of the diocese: the first at Pershore during that Bishop's visitation, and the last in the cathedral of Worcester (*k*) [*D*]. After that, he was remanded to the Tower, where he continued till the accession of Queen Mary I. to the crown in 1553. But being then released, he was called to Court, and made one of the Queen's Chaplains (*l*). He also became again Chaplain to Bishop Bonner [*E*], when restored to his bishopric, which was Sept. 5, 1553 (*m*). And, the 25th of January following, was collated by him to the prebend of Kentish-town, in St Paul's cathedral (*n*). The 10th of March next ensuing, he was elected Dean of the same church, in the room of Dr William May, deprived (*o*): and June 20, 1554, was collated to the rectory of Finchley in Middlesex, which he held only a few months (*p*). But the same year, on the 23d of September, he obtained the rectory of Greenford Magna in the said county (*q*). Before I proceed further, I must observe, that on the 10th of February 1554, he was sent by the Queen to the Lady Jane Gray (*viz.* two days before her execution) to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to Queen Mary's religion, as Mr Fox expresses it (*r*) [*F*]. In April, he was one of the Disputants, at Oxford, against Archbishop Cranmer, and the Bishops Ridley and Latimer, before they were inhumanly committed to the flames, and martyred for their strict adherence to the Protestant religion: but he said very little against them (*s*). He had also a conference, in 1555, with one Thomas Haukes, a Protestant; whom he endeavoured in vain to bring into a belief of Transubstantiation (*t*): and though he appeared warm upon that occasion, yet, if a just representation is given of him, it was contrary to his natural disposition. For, all Queen Mary's reign, he wholly employed himself in doing good offices to the afflicted Protestants, from the highest to the lowest. Francis Russel Earl of Bedford, and Ambrose and Robert Dudley, afterwards Earls of Warwick and Leicester, tasted of his kindness: as did also Sir John Cheke. Nay he even interceeded so earnestly with Queen Mary for the Lady Elizabeth's enlargement out of prison, that he incurred the Queen's displeasure for a while (*u*). In May 1556, the university of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, without performing any exercise; and the ensigns of that honour were ordered to be carried to him (*), being then in great esteem for his learning, piety, charity, humility, and other virtues (*w*). The September following he was made Abbot of Westminster-abbey, which was then restored by Queen Mary, and fourteen Benedictin Monks placed there under his government with episcopal power (*x*) [*G*]. Upon the death of Queen Mary in 1558, her successor Queen Elizabeth, not unmindful of her obligations to Dr Feckenham, sent for him [*H*], before her coronation,

(*k*) Reyner; Wood, Athenæ; and Stevens, ubi supra.

(*l*) Stevens, as above, p. 289.

(*m*) See the article BONNER (EDMUND). And Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 26, 48.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 171.

(*o*) Ib. p. 48.

(*p*) Ib. p. 605.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 615. He vacated it when made Abbat of Westminster.

(*r*) Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, edit. 1684, Vol. III. p. 25.

(*s*) Ib. p. 36, &c. 63, 67.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 217, &c.

(*u*) T. Fuller's Ch. History, B. ix. p. 178, 179; and his Worthies of England, in Worcestershire, p. 177.

(*) Wood, Fast. Vol. I. col. 85.

(*w*) Id. Athen. Vol. I. col. 222.

(*x*) Stevens, ubi supra, p. 278. Fuller's Worthies, in Westminster, p. 240.

causes alledged in the register of Archbishop Cranmer; who for that reason summoned Feckenham to appear at Lambeth before several commissioners, and he persisting in his opinion, Cranmer caused him to be committed; for the truth whereof Stapleton appeals to the said register (8).

[*D*] *And the last in the cathedral of Worcester.*] Some say, that J. Jewel Bishop of Salisbury was one of the opponents at this last disputation (9). But Ant. Wood thinks it is false (10). Th. Stapleton mentioning this disputation, says, Bishop Hooper acknowledged, he was thoroughly satisfied with Mr Feckenham's reasoning (11). But by this we may justly doubt of that writer's veracity. For Bishop Hooper was a man not easily satisfied in any respect, much less with so direct an opponent to that opinion, for which he afterwards suffered; and therefore it carries with it an air of too great improbability. But, notwithstanding, Reyner takes it from him, Wood from Reyner, and others from them both, without boggling at the absurdity (12).

(8) Horn-blast, &c. Lov. 1567.

(9) Stevens, ubi supra, p. 289.

(10) Athen. ubi supra.

(11) Horn-blast, &c.

(12) Dart's Westmonast. ubi supra.

[*E*] *He also became again Chaplain to Bishop Bonner.*] And, as T. Fuller expresses it in his whimsical way, he crossed the Proverb, *like master, like man*; the patron being cruel, the Chaplain kind, to such who in judgment dissented from him (13).

(13) Ch. Hist. B. ix. p. 178.

[*F*] *And to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to Queen Mary's religion, as Mr Fox expresses it.*] Part of the communication between them, according to that author, was as follows: '*Feck.* Why? what do you 'receive in that Sacrament? [viz. the Lord's Supper] 'Do you not receive the very Body and Blood of 'Christ? *Jane.* No surely, I do not so believe. I 'think that at Supper, I neither receive Flesh nor 'Blood; but Bread and Wine: which Bread when it 'is broken, and the Wine when it is drunken, put-'teth me in *remembrance*, how that for my sins the 'Body of Christ was broken, and his Blood shed on 'the Cross, and with that Bread and Wine, I receive 'the benefits that come by the breaking of his Body, 'and shedding of his Blood for our Sins on the Cross. '*Feck.* Why? Doth not Christ speak these words, '*Take, Eat, this is my Body.* Require you any plain-'er words? Doth he not say, it is his Body? *Jane.* 'I grant he saith so; and so he saith, *I am the Vine, I am the Door*, but he is never the more the Door 'nor the Vine. Doth not St Paul say, *He calleth 'things that are not as though they were?* God for-'bid, that I should say, that I eat the very natural 'Body and Blood of Christ: for then either I should 'pluck away my redemption, or else there were two 'Bodies, or two Christs. One Body was tormented 'on the Cross, and if they did eat another Body, then 'had he two Bodies: or if his Body was eaten, then 'was it not broken upon the Cross, or if it were 'broken upon the Cross, it was not eaten of his Dis-'ciples, &c (14).'

(14) Acts and Monuments, &c. as above, p. 25, 26.

[*G*] *And fourteen Benedictin Monks placed there under his government.*] They were brought in with some difficulty and opposition at first; for the Prebendaries of Westminster, legally settled in their places, would not resign them, till Cardinal Pole, partly by compulsion, partly by compensation, obtained their removal (15). What T. Fuller affirms in the same place, appears improbable; that 'fourteen Benedic-'tins only could be found in England, then extant 'since their dissolution, which were unmarried, un-'preferred to cures, and unaltered in their opinions.'

(15) Sanderus de Schism. Angl. l. ii. p. 305, edit. Col. Agr. 1610; and T. Fuller's Ch. History, ubi supra, p. 179.

[*H*] *Queen Elizabeth, not unmindful of her obligations to Dr Feckenham, sent for him.*] The first messenger, it seems, found him planting those elms which are now in the Prebendaries garden; and we are told, he would not go till he had finished his plantation (16). Whether to his honour, or discredit, let the reader judge!

(16) Reyner, ubi supra, p. 235. Dart, as above.

hation, to conſult and reward him; and, as tis ſaid, offered him the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, provided he would conform to the laws, but he refuſed (y). He appeared in her firſt Parliament, taking the loweſt place on the Biſhops form; and was the laſt mitred Abbat that ſat in the Houſe of Peers (z). During his attendance there, he proteſted and ſpoke againſt every thing tending to the Reformation. Namely, the 27th of February 1559, he diſſented to the bill, For reſtoring the Supremacy to the Imperial Crown of this realm: March 15, to the Proviſoes in the bill for reſtoring the Firſt Fruits and Tenths to the Crown: March 22, to the bill for reſtoring the Patentees of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's lands: April 6, to the bill, impowering the Queen, upon the avoidance of any archbiſhopric or biſhopric, to take the Temporal Poſſeſſions thereof, and recompenſe them with perſonages impropriate: April 17, to the bill for the Supremacy a ſecond time; and likewiſe when it paſſed, at which time he made an elaborate ſpeech againſt it: And May 5, to the bill for annexing certain religious houſes to the Crown (a). He alſo made a long ſpeech againſt the bill for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and ſervice in the Church (b) [I]. And offered zealouſly to be one of the Diſputants, at the ſolemn conference held at Weſtminſter, about religion, during this ſeſſion of Parliament; but was not admitted (c). This ſtrong oppoſition cauſing him to be looked upon with an evil eye, he was committed to the Tower in 1560 (d); where he continued till 1563, when he was taken thence, and put into the cuſtody of Robert Horne Biſhop of Wincheſter. But having written againſt each other about the oath of Supremacy, and now having frequent and warm diſputes upon that ſubject [K], he ſeems to have had but an uneaſy life there (e). And not altering his opinion, which ſeems to have been the end of his being put into the Biſhop's hand, he was remanded to the Tower in 1564. But, ſoon after, through the interceſſion of friends, he was removed to the Marſhalſea, where he had more liberty and air. Being alſo diſcharged from hence ſhortly after, he lived for ſome time in Holbourn, where he built an aqueduct (f). In 1571, he attended Dr John Story before his execution (g). We find him again in cuſtody in the year 1574; when he was releaſed upon bond of appearance (h). In 1578, he was in free cuſtody with Richard Cox Biſhop of Ely; whom the Queen had deſired, to uſe his endeavours to bring Dr Feckenham (being a man of learning and temper) to acknowledge her Supremacy, and to come to church: He was induced at length to acknowledge the Queen's ſupremacy in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, but could never be brought to a thorough conformity (i) [L]. Soon after, the reſtleſs ſpirit of ſome of the Roman Catholicks, and the frequent attempts upon the Queen's life, obliged her, for her greater ſafety, to have the moſt eminent and active of that profeſſion cloſely confined. Whereupon our author was impriſoned, among others, in Wiſbich-caſtle in the Iſle of Ely; in which town he built the croſs ſtill ſtanding there (k). He continued a priſoner the remainder of his life; which he ſpent in great piety and devotion, and in works of charity and beneficence. Dying in 1585, he was buried in Wiſbich church (l). He was a middle-ſized man, ſomewhat fat, round-fac'd, beautiful, and of a pleaſant aſpect, affable, and engaging in converſation (†). As to his character: Mr Camden calls him a learned and good man, that lived long, did a great deal of good to the poor, and always ſollicited the minds of his adverſaries to benevolence (m). T. Fuller ſtyles him, 'a man cruel to none, courteous and charitable to all 'who needed his help or liberality (n):' Dr Burnet, 'a charitable and generous man, 'that lived in great eſteem in England (o).' And Mr Dart concludes the account he gives of him in theſe words: 'though I cannot go ſo far as Reyner, to call him a martyr, 'yet

(y) Reyner, ubi ſupra, p. 235.

(z) J. Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 57. and Dart's Weſtm. ubi ſupra.

(a) See the Journals of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, publiſhed by Sir S. Dewes, under thoſe ſeveral days.

(b) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 75, 76.

(c) See Stevens, ubi ſupra, p. 289; and Strype, as above, p. 87, &c.

(d) Reyner, ubi ſupra; and Stevens, p. 289.

(e) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 494, &c.

(f) Stevens, ib.

(g) Pitſ. de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. ad ann. 1585, p. 786.

(h) J. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 329.

(i) Ibid. p. 525, &c. 641.

(k) Dart, as above; and Stevens, p. 289.

(l) Dart, ibid.

(†) Ibid. and Stevens, ubi ſupra.

(m) Camdeni Annales Reg. Eliz. ad ann. 1559.

(n) Worthies, in Weſtminſter, p. 240.

(o) Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 397.

judge! Sanders affirms, that the Queen would fain have had Monks in her new eſtabliſhment of religion; and, therefore, ſhe preſſed Feckenham and his Monks to continue in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and ſhe would ſecure them and their poſſeſſions, provided they prayed for her, and officiated according to her laws (17). But Sanders is an author of little credit.

(17) Sanderus de Schiſmate Anglic. p. 345.

[I] *He alſo made a long ſpeech againſt the bill for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c.*] Dr Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, had attributed this ſpeech to Archbiſhop Hethe (18). But Mr Strype hath reſtored it to its true author, from a MS. in the Cottonian Library (19), and publiſhed it at length in his Annals of the Reformation (20): where he obſerves (21), that in this ſpeech, Dr Feckenham made very unworthy and unbecoming reflections upon the foreign Proteſtants of greateſt eminence, as Luther, Melanchthon, Zuinglius, Martyr, for their different ſentiments about the Sacrament; and eſpecially upon two of our own Biſhops, Cranmer and Ridley.

(18) Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 393.

(19) Veſpaſ. D. 18. No. 3.

(20) Vol. I. Appendix, p. 24. No. ix.

(21) Chap. iii. Vol. I. p. 75.

[K] *But having written againſt each other about the Oath of Supremacy, &c.*] What Dr Feckenham writ upon that ſubject, was in the time of the Parliament holden January 12. *Anno* 1562-3. and it was occaſioned by the bill for aſſurance of the Queen's royal power; the Papiſts imagining thereupon, that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to exact from them the oath of ſupremacy. The title of his book was, *A declaration of ſuch ſcruples and ſtays of conſcience, touching the Oath of Supremacy, as Mr John Feckenham by writing did deliver unto the Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, with his reſolution made thereto.* See below note [M]. As for the ſubſequent diſputes between him and Biſhop Horne, you have an account of them in Mr Strype's Annals of the Reformation (22).

(22) Vol. I. p. 494, &c.

[L] *But could never be brought to a thorough conformity.*] His reaſons principally were theſe. 1. 'He 'did not find fault indeed with any thing ſet forth in 'the book of common ſervice: but deſired withal, 'that all the reſt of the old ſervice that was taken out, 'ſhould be reſtored again; as prayer to the Saints, 'and for the dead, the ſeven Sacraments, and exter-'nal ſacrifice. 2. He would not come to Church, 'becauſe he was not of our Church for lack of *Unity*; 'ſome being therein Proteſtants, ſome Puritans, and 'ſome of the Family of Love. 3. He would not con-'form, becauſe he could ſee nothing to be ſought, 'but by the ſpoil of the Church, and of Biſhops 'Houſes, and of Colleges Lands: which he ſaid 'made many to pretend to be Puritans, ſeeking for 'the fruits of the Church.' Theſe reaſons he gave in writing, with his name ſubſcribed, to Biſhop Cox above mentioned (23).

(23) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 500; and Vol. II. p. 526; and Appendix to B. ii. No. 29, p. 142.

'yet I can't gather, but that he was a good, mild, modeſt, charitable man, and a de-
'vout Chriſtian.' We need not take notice of the fulſome character given of him by J. Pits (p). For a liſt of his works ſee the note below [M].

(p) Ubi ſupra.

[M] *A Liſt of his Works.*] The few things he publiſhed, were theſe, 1. 'A Conference Dialogue-
'wiſe, held between the Lady Jane Dudley, and Mr
'John Feckenham, four days before her death, touch-
'ing her faith, and belief of the Sacrament and her
'religion.' Lond. 1554. 8vo. and 1625. 4to. There is a thing of the like nature in J. Fox's book of Martyrs (24), intituled, the Communication had between the Lady Jane and Feckenham. 2. Speech in the Houſe of Lords, 1553. 3. Two Homilies on the firſt, ſecond, and third articles of the Creed. Lond. 4to. 4. *Oratio funebris in exequiis Duciſſæ Parmæ, Caroli quinti filiæ, & Belgiæ Gubernatricis.* i. e. A funeral oration on the death of the Ducheſs of Parma, daughter of Charles V. and Governeſs of the Netherlands. 5. Sermon at the Exequy of Joan Queen of Spain, &c. on Deuter. xxxii. 28, 29. Lond. 1555. 8vo (25). 6. A Sermon at the funeral of Queen Mary, on Eccleſiaſtes iv. 2 (26). 7. 'A declaration of ſuch ſcruples
'and ſtaies of conſcience touching the Oath of Supre-
'macy, as Mr Feckenham delivered by writing to Dr
'Horn, Biſhop of Wincheſter.' Lond. 4to. 1566. Anſwered by Biſhop Horne in 1566. 4to. refuted by Thomas Stapleton the year following. This piece of Feckenham is printed in Reyner: who calls the Biſhop's anſwer thereto, an impious book, and full of lies; *librum impium, plenumque mendaciis.* 8. Objections or Aſſertions made againſt Mr John Goughe's Sermon preached in the Tower of London, 15 January 1570. 9. *Caveat Emptor.* Which ſeems to have been a caution againſt buying Abbey-Lands. He had alſo written Commentaries on the Pſalms; and a treatiſe of the Euchariſt, againſt John Hooper: which were loſt among other things (27).

(24) Vol. III. p. 25.

(25) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 222, 223.

(26) Stevens. p. 290.

(27) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Pits, p. 785.

C

FELL (JOHN) a learned and moſt excellent Biſhop in the XVIIth century, and ſon of Samuel Fell, D. D. Dean of Chriſt-Church [A], by Margaret his wife, daughter of Thomas Wyld of Worceſter, Eſq; was born at Longworth (a) in Berkſhire, June 23, 1625 (b). He received his education moſtly in the free-ſchool at Thame in Oxfordſhire, and in Chriſt-Church Oxon. where he was admitted Student in 1636, at the age of eleven years. On the 24th of October 1640, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c), and that of Maſter June 2, 1643 (d): about which time he was in arms for King Charles I, within the garriſon of Oxford, and afterwards was an Enſign. In 1648 he was turned out of his Student's place by the Parliament-Viſitors, being then in Holy Orders; and from that time till the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he lived in a retired and ſtudious condition, partly in the lodgings of the moſt famous Phyſician Tho. Willis his brother-in-law (e), in Chriſt-Church, and partly in his (f) houſe over-againſt Merton-college in Oxford; wherein he, and others (g), kept up the devotions and orders of the Church of England, and adminiſtred the ſacrament and other duties to numbers of Royaliſts, eſpecially Scholars that had been ejected in the year 1648 (h). After the King's Reſtoration he was made Prebendary of Chicheſter, and Canon of Chriſt-Church, (in the room of Ralph Button ejected) into which laſt he was inſtalled July 27, 1660 (i). On the 30th of November following he was inſtalled Dean of Chriſt-Church (k), being then one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary; and Doctor in Divinity (l) [B]. As ſoon as he was fixed in that eminent ſtation, he earneſtly applied himſelf to purge the college of all remains of hypocriſy and nonſenſe, which had but too much prevailed every where in the late times of confuſion: and to improve it in all ſorts of learning, as well as true religion; laying thoſe foundations that have rendered it ſo famous to poſterity, and will continue to make it ever flouriſh. Neither was he leſs diligent in reſtoring its diſcipline, than adorning it with magnificent buildings. For, by his own benefactions, and what he procured from others, he built the north ſide of the great Quadrangle [C], which had never been finiſhed before, though

(a) Some ſay, it was at Sunningwell, where his father was Rector. But ſee his epitaph below.

(b) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 795.

(c) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 283.

(d) Ibid. Vol. II. col. 33.

(e) He had married his ſiſter. Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, Vol. II. col. 549.

(f) *Viz.* the ſaid Mr Willis's.

(g) Eſpecially Mr John Dolben, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and ſometimes Mr Richard Aleſtry. Wood, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. col. 549, 792.

(h) Ibid. and col. 795.

(i) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, &c. edit. 1730, 4to, p. 450, by Br. Willis, Eſq;

(k) Ibid. p. 442; and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 795; & Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 256.

(l) Id. Faſti, Vol. II. col. 137.

[A] *Samuel Fell. D. D. Dean of Chriſt-Church.*] He was born in the pariſh of St Clement-Danes, London, elected Student of Chriſt-Church from Weſtminſter-School, in 1601, aged 17 years, took the Degrees in Arts, that of Maſter being compleated in 1608, elected Proctor of the Univerſity in 1614. admitted Bachelor of Divinity the year after, and about that time became Rector of Freſhwater in the Iſle of Wight. In May 1619, he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt-Church, and the ſame year proceeded in Divinity, being about that time domeſtic Chaplain to King James I. In 1626, he was made Margaret-Profeſſor, and ſo conſequently Prebendary of Worceſter, (which was about that time annexed to the Profeſſorſhip) he being then a Calviniſt. But at length leaving his opinion, he was, through Archbiſhop Laud's intereſt (1), made Dean of Lichfield, in 1637; and, the year following, Dean of Chriſt-Church, in the place of Dr Duppa (2). He was a perſon of a moſt publick ſpirit, as will be always remembered by the many ſtately works he carried on in his college; as namely, finiſhing the wainſcott of the Choir, paving the Cathedral, and glazing the windows with painted glaſs, which his Predeceſſor Duppa had begun. He alſo laid out conſiderably on his lodgings, and compleated Peckwater, and the noble ſtaircaſe leading up to the hall; and began building the north ſide of the great Quadrangle, which he would ſoon have perfected: and, had not the times prevented it, endeavoured doing more. But having by his loyalty to his Prince, and zeal for the Church of England, exaſperated the rebels, who ſought his life, he was ejected, *Anno* 1647, and being threatned to be murdered, was forced to abſcond, and dying heart-broken February 1, 1648 (the day he was made acquainted with the murder of his Royal Maſter King Charles I.) he was buried in the chancel of Sonningwell-Church near Abingdon in Berkſhire, (where he had been Rector and built the front of the parſonage houſe) with only this ſhort memorial, on a ſmall lozenge of marble, laid over his grave: *Depoſitum* S. F. February 1648 (3).

[B] *And Doctor in Divinity*] He was created ſo, October 3. 1660 (4).

[C] *He built the north ſide of the great Quadrangle.*] It was begun to be built in a manner ſuitable to the reſt of the Quadrangle, by his father Dr Samuel Fell; and was by him, the College, and ſeveral benefactors, carried on to the top, and had all the frame of timber belonging thereunto laid. But before the inſide could be finiſhed, and the top covered with lead, the civil wars began: ſo it continued expoſed to the weather, till the Preſbyterians became maſters of the Univerſity; who minding their own private concerns more than the public good, took the timber away, and employed it for their own uſe. But after the Reſtoration, Dr Fell, by his own benefaction, and thoſe of the then Canons, and

(1) A. Wood ſays, in his ſnarling ill-natured way, that 'he
'became after
'great feckings
'and cringings, a
'creature of Dr
'Laud Archbi-
'ſhop of Canter-
'bury.
Athen. ut ſupra, Vol. II. col. 118.

(2) Ibid. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, in the years 1645, 1646, and part of 1647. Id. Faſti, Vol. II. col. 45, &c.

(3) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; as above, p. 441.

(4) Wood, Faſt. ubi ſupra, col. 137.

though begun by the renowned Cardinal Wolſey. Next he rebuilt part of the lodgings of the Canon of the ſecond ſtall, and the eaſt ſide of the Chaplain's quadrangle, both which were finiſhed in 1672; and a handſome range of buildings thereto adjoining, fronting the meadows, finiſhed in 1677 and 1678 [*D*]. The next fabrick erected by his care, were the lodgings belonging to the Canon of the third ſtall, near the paſſage leading from the great Quadrangle into Peckwater; finiſhed about the year 1674. And, finally, he built the ſtately tower over the principal gate of the college, begun on the old foundation (laid by Cardinal Wolſey) in June 1681, and finiſhed in November 1682, moſtly with the monies of benefactors, whoſe arms are carved on the ſtone roof of the gateway (*m*) [*E*]. He alſo made the elegant long walk in the meadow (*n*). In the years 1666, 1667, 1668, and part of 1669, he was Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity; and whilſt he continued in that office, took great care to have perſons of all degrees go in their proper habits. He likewiſe looked narrowly to the due performance of the publick exerciſes in the ſchools; and reformed ſeveral abuſes therein. That he might keep up the credit of them, and of the whole univerſity, he frequently attended himſelf the diſputations in the ſchools, the examinations for degrees, and the publick lectures of Profeſſors, and others; and by his preſence rendered them more conſiderable, and cauſed them to be better performed than they were before, or have been ſince (*o*). In a word, he was a moſt excellent Diſciplinarian: and kept up the exerciſes in his own college alſo with great ſtrictneſs; was admirable in training up youth of noble extraction, had a faculty in that peculiar to himſelf, and took great delight in it. Several mornings in the week conſtantly, he went round his college to the chambers of Noblemen and Gentlemen-Commoners, to examine and ſee what progreſs they made in their ſtudies. No one was a greater encourager and promoter of learning in the univerſity, and all publick works belonging thereunto, than himſelf; witneſs not only the edifices beforementioned, but alſo the Sheldonian Theatre, which was built chiefly by his ſollicitation. He likewiſe advanced the preſs, and improved printing in Oxford in ſuch a manner as it had been deſigned before by that publick-ſpirited perſon Archbiſhop Laud; by whom it would certainly have been effected, as well as other matters of greater concern relating to religion and learning, had not he been prevented by the iniquity of the times. He was an eager defender and maintainer of the univerſity and its privileges, eſpecially while he executed the office of Vice-Chancellor, and always endeavoured to advance its liberties; for which he often gained the ill opinion of the citizens of Oxford (*p*). So worthy and illuſtrious a perſon did well deſerve to be advanced to the higheſt dignities in the Church: Accordingly (upon the tranſlation of Dr Henry Compton to the See of London) he was nominated Biſhop of Oxford; elected January 8, confirmed February 5, and conſecrated Febr. 6, 1675-6 (*q*). At the ſame time he had leave to hold his deanery *in commendam*, purpoſely to keep him in the college, that he might do farther good therein, and in the univerſity. No ſooner was he ſettled in his See, but he undertook the rebuilding of the epiſcopal palace at Cuddeſden in Oxfordſhire: the outſide of which was finiſhed in 1679, and the inſide ſoon after (*r*). Holding alſo the Maſterſhip of St Oſwald's hoſpital at Worceſter, he rebuilt that in a ſumptuous manner, beſtowing all the profits of his income there, in augmenting it, and recovering its eſtates. And part of the revenues of his biſhopric ariſing from the impropriation of the diſſolved prebend of Banbury (*s*), he liberally gave five hundred pounds to repair that church; which being the largeſt in Oxfordſhire, and much out of repair, would otherwiſe have fallen down. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed daily prayers at St Martin's, *alias* Carfax, the principal city-church in Oxford, at eight in the morn-

(*m*) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 442; and Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Br. Willis, ibid.

(*o*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 796.

(*p*) Ibid. col. 797.

(*q*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 435.

(*r*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 797; and Vol. I. col. 740.

(*s*) In Oxfordſhire; formerly in the church and dioceſe of Lincoln.

and many generous perſons that had been formerly members of the College, and of others (5), quite finiſhed that building, *for the uſe of two Canons*; together with the part between the then imperfect building on the north ſide of the great gate, and the north-weſt corner of that Quadrangle (6). Towards this building, Dr J. Fell gave no leſs than five hundred and fifty pounds (7).

(5) See a Liſt of them, and of what they gave, in Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 285.

(6) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 795, 796.

(7) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. ut ſupra.

[*D*] *Next he rebuilt part of the lodgings of the Canon of the ſecond Stall, and the eaſt ſide of the Chaplains Quadrangle——and a handſome range of buildings thereto adjoining, fronting the meadows*——] In the place where this laſt-mentioned range of buildings ſtands, Philip King, Auditor of Chriſt-Church, had built, about the year 1638, very fair lodgings of poliſhed free-ſtone. But they were burnt by careleſſneſs, Nov. 19. 1669, and with them the ſouth-eaſt corner of the Chaplain's Quadrangle, beſides part of the lodgings of the Canon of the ſecond Stall, which was blown up with gun powder, to prevent the ſpreading of the fire towards the Library, Treaſury, and Church. But they were ſoon rebuilt by our worthy Dean's care, particularly the eaſt ſide of the Chaplain's Quadrangle, with a ſtraight paſſage under it, leading from the Cloiſter into the field, as it now is, which was finiſhed in 1672 (8).

(8) Ibid.

[*E*] *And, finally, he built the ſtately Tower over the principal gate of the College, &c.*] Into this Tower he cauſed to be removed, *Anno* 1683, out of the *Campanile* (or ſteeple) in the Cathedral, the bell called *Great Tom of Chriſt-Church*; ſaid to be brought thither with the other bells from Oſeney-Abbey; which Biſhop Fell took care to have recaſt with additional metal, inſomuch, that it is now by far the biggeſt bell in England. Round it is this inſcription: *Magnus* Thomas Cuſius Oxonienſis, *renatus* April VIII. MDCLXXX, *regnante* Carolo Secundo, Decano Johanne Oxon. *Epiſcopo, Subdecano* Gulielmo Jane S. S. *Theol. Profeſſore, Theſaurario* Henrico Smith S. S. *Theol. Profeſſore, Curâ & Arte* Chriſtoferi Hodſon. The dimenſions of it are as follows, Diameter ſeven feet one inch; from the crown to the brim five feet nine inches; thickneſs of the ſtriking place ſix inches; weight of the whole bell near ſeventeen thouſand pounds; and of the clapper three hundred and forty two pounds; ſixteen men are required to ring it. It firſt rung out May 29. 1684, from which time to this, it is knolled every night, *a hundred and one times*, agreeable to the number of Students in the College, as 'tis ſaid; as a ſignal to all ſcholars to repair to their reſpective colleges and halls; and ſo it uſed to be, while it hung in the Campanile aforeſaid (9).

(9) Wood, ibid. col. 796; and Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 408, 409.

morning, and eight at night. In a word, he expended his whole ſubſtance in works of piety and charity. Among his other benefactions to his college, it muſt not be forgot, that the beſt rectories belonging to it, were bought with his money. And as he had been ſo bountiful a patron whilſt he lived, and as it were a ſecond founder of that college, ſo he left to it at his death an eſtate for the maintenance of ten or more exhibitioners for ever; who are, as vacancies happen, to be elected every firſt day of November; when there is a publick ſpeech ſpoken in the Refectory in commemoration of him (*t*). Thus this pious, learned, and zealous perſon, employed himſelf wholly in doing good. At length having brought his body to an ill habit, and waſted his ſpirits by too much zeal for the publick, and by forming too many noble deſigns: All theſe things contributed, with the unhappy turn of religion which he dreaded under King James II, to wear him quite out and ſhorten his life. So that he died July 10, 1686, to the great loſs of learning, of the whole univerſity, and of the Church of England (*u*). We may ſuppoſe that ſo active a man as he was, had not much time for contemplation. However, in general, what he publiſhed was excellent [*F*]. As to his character, beſides what hath been already ſaid of him above; He was the moſt zealous man of his time for the Church of England; and none went beyond him, in the performance of the rules belonging thereto. He conſtantly frequented divine ſervice in publick four times a day; and had, beſides, prayers twice every day in his own family. He was a perſon of ſtrict morals and great virtues. In particular he was a man of a moſt generous ſpirit, undervalued money, and diſburſed it ſo freely, upon learned, pious, and charitable uſes, that he left ſometimes for himſelf and his private uſe little or nothing. His charity was ſo great, that he was a huſband to the afflicted widow, a father to the orphan, and a tender parent to poor children (*w*) [*G*]. In his epiſcopal capacity, he was an excellent judge of men and merits, an exemplary ſupervifor of his clergy, and a diligent aſſerter of the rights of the Church (*x*). To conclude his character; He was a bold and reſolute man, and did not value what the generality ſaid or thought of him, ſo as he could accompliſh his juſt and generous deſigns: which being too many to effect was the chief cauſe of ſhortening his days (*y*). In this one thing he was particular, that he was no admirer of the Royal Society (*z*). He was buried July 13, in the Divinity-chapel, or north iſle adjoining to the choir of Chriſt-church cathedral (*a*). Over his tomb, which is a plain decent marble, is an elegant inſcription, compoſed by the learned and polite Dean Aldrich, his ſucceſſor. He was never married.

(*t*) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 435, 443.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 443; and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 799.

(*w*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 797.

(*x*) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 435.

(*y*) Wood, as above, col. 797.

(*z*) Ibid. col. 562.

(*a*) Ibid. col. 799.

[*F*] *In general, what he publiſhed was excellent.*] It is as follows. I. 'The Intereſt of England ſtated: 'or a faithful and juſt account of the aims of all par-'ties now pretending; diſtinctly treating of the de-'ſignments of the Roman-Catholick, Royaliſt, Preſ-'byterian, Anabaptiſt, &c. 1659. 4to. two ſheets.' But 'tis not certainly known, whether he was the author of this (10). II. 'The life of the moſt learned 'reverend and pious Dr Henry Hammond, who died 'April 25. 1660, &c.' Lond. 1660. 8vo. reprinted afterwards, with additions, at the head of Dr Hammond's works. III. He publiſhed, *Alcinoi in Platonicam Philoſophiam Introductio.* Oxon. 1667. 8vo (11). IV. *In laudem muſices carmen Sapphicum.* A ſapphic ode in praiſe of muſic. Deſigned undoubtedly for ſome of the public exerciſes in the Univerſity; for a copy of it, now by me, was ſet to muſic. It is very beautiful and elegant. V. He publiſhed, *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, duobus voluminibus comprehenſæ.* Oxon. 1674. fol. beautifully printed. i. e. The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity of Oxford, &c. written by Antony à Wood in Engliſh: and tranſlated, at the charge of Dr Fell, by Mr Chriſtopher Waſe, and Mr Richard Peers, beſides what he did himſelf. And he alſo was at the expence of the printing. But Mr Wood tells us, 'That Dr Fell tak-'ing the liberty of putting in and out ſeveral things, 'according to his own judgment, and thoſe he em-'ployed being not careful enough to carry the whole 'deſign in their head as the author would have done; 'he *deſireth therefore*, that the author might not be 'accountable for any thing which was inſerted by 'him; or be cenſured for any uſeleſs repetitions or 'omiſſions of his agents under him (12).' At the end of it there is a Latin advertiſement to the reader; containing an anſwer to a letter of T. Hobbes, wherein he complained, that Dr Fell had cauſed ſeveral things to be omitted or altered, which A. Wood had written in that book in his praiſe. VI. 'The vanity of 'ſcoffing; in a letter to a gentleman.' Lond. 1674. 4to. VII. He publiſhed, S. Clement's two Epiſtles to the Corinthians, in Greek and Latin: with notes at the end. *Oxoniæ* 1677. 12mo. VIII. 'Account of 'Dr Richard Alleſtry's life.' Being the preface to the ſaid Doctor's Sermons publiſhed by our author. IX. 'Of the Unity of the Church.' Tranſlated from the original of St Cyprian. Oxford 1681. 4to. X. He publiſhed a beautiful edition of St Cyprian under this title, *Sancti Cæcilii Cypriani Opera recognita & illuſtrata per Johannem Epiſcopum Oxonienſem.* Oxon. 1682. fol. XI. He publiſhed ſeveral Sermons, as 1. 'The character of the laſt days,' preached before the King, on 2 Pet. iii. 3. Oxon. 1675. 4to. 2. 'A 'Sermon preached before the Houſe of Peers on De-'cember 22. 1680. Being the day of ſolemn humi-'liation.' Mat. xii. 25. Oxford 1680. 4to. XII. He alſo publiſhed, or reprinted, every year while he was Dean of Chriſt-Church, viz. from 1661, to the time of his death, a book, commonly a claſſical author, againſt New-year, to diſtribute among the Students of his houſe: to which books he either put an Epiſtle, or running notes, or corrections. XIII. He publiſhed the following pieces, written by the author of the Whole Duty of Man, with proper prefaces, and the contents, or marginal abbreviations. Namely, *The Ladies calling*; *The Government of the Tongue*; *The Art of Contentment*; and *The Lively Oracles given unto us*, &c. Oxford 1675, 1678, &c. The general preface before the *folio* edition was written by our pious and learned author (13).——He was, with regard to his learning, accounted an excellent Grecian, Latiniſt, Philologiſt, and an accompliſhed divine (14).

(10) See Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 798.

(11) Ib. col. 227.

(12) Ib. col. 799.

(13) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 798.

(14) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 435.

[*G*] *And a tender parent to poor children.*] He conſtantly allowed a yearly penſion to a poor man of St Thomas's pariſh near Oxford, purpoſely that he ſhould teach *gratis*, twenty or twenty four poor children of that pariſh to read, ſome of which he afterwards bound apprentices, or made ſcholars (15).—— And ſo eminent was he for charity, the moſt lovely and eſpecial duty of Chriſtianity, that he became a treaſurer or almoner for the charity of others, and had frequently great and conſiderable ſums put into his hands, to be diſpoſed of by him as he thought fit (16).

(15) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 797.

(16) Willis, p. 435.

FENTON (EDWARD) a bold adventurer for diſcoveries, an experienced ſeaman, and a gallant officer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was deſcended from an antient family in the county of Nottingham, and had ſome eſtate there (*a*), which he ſold, as did alſo his younger brother Geoffrey, afterwards Secretary of State for Ireland, being more enclined to truſt to their own abilities, than the ſlender hereditary patrimony deſcending to them from their anceſtors; and they were among the very ſmall number of thoſe, who take ſuch daring reſolutions in their youth without living to repent of them in their own old age. He was a perſon of very quick and lively parts, which had been improved by a good education (*b*); but as his brother's turn was to ſtudy and books, ſo his inclination lead him rather to a military and active life, which induced him to court the favour, and by degrees procured him the protection, of the two potent brothers Warwick and Leiceſter (*c*). He ſerved ſome time with great reputation in Ireland, but upon Sir Martin Frobiſher's report of the probability of diſcovering a North-Weſt Paſſage into the South-Seas, he reſolved to engage with him in his ſecond voyage, and accordingly was appointed Captain of the Gabriel, a bark of twenty-five tons, in which he accompanied that famous ſeaman in his voyage to the ſtreights which bear his name, in the ſummer of the year 1577; but in their return he was ſeparated from Sir Martin in a ſtorm, notwithſtanding which he had the good fortune to arrive ſafe at Briſtol (*d*). In the third expedition undertaken in 1578, he commanded the Judith, one of the fifteen ſail which compoſed Sir Martin Frobiſher's ſquadron, and had the title of Rear-Admiral (*e*). It is very certain that ſcarce any expedition was undertaken during that reign with greater expectation, or proſecuted with leſs effect; which misfortune put an end, for that time, to all endeavours of the like nature [*A*]. Captain Fenton, however, was very far from being convinced

(*a*) Thoroton's Hiſt. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 415.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies, P. ii. p. 318.

(*c*) This appears from the inſtructions given him, on his undertaking his laſt voyage.

(*d*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 757.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

[*A*] *To all endeavours of the like nature.*] It is a queſtion that has been more than once ſtarted, but hardly ever diſcuſſed, *why ſo many great attempts for diſcovery were made in the reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *when the art of navigation was ſo imperfectly underſtood, in compariſon of what it now is, and when our ſhipping was ſo inconſiderable as on all hands it is at that time allowed to have been?* For this there may be various reaſons aſſigned, ſuch as, that it was an age of diſcoveries, the Spaniards and Portugueſe had led the way, and almoſt every nation in Europe that had ſhips or could build them, was for making ſome trial, which excited that ſpirit of emulation, which effectually brings to light the hidden powers of genius, and this it was that enabled the Engliſh to diſplay their natural advantages which in this reſpect, were many beyond other nations. Another motive was the Queen's encouragement to all enterprizes of this ſort, for from the beginning of her reign, ſhe had nothing more at heart than raiſing a force at ſea, and beſides, it was found in proceſs of time, that there was no better method than this, of employing reſtleſs and impatient ſpirits, that might have been otherwiſe troubleſome at home. A third cauſe was the number of gentlemen, that addicted themſelves to the ſea ſervice, who from an innate ſpirit of generoſity and activity, were moſt ready to ſet on foot and proſecute ſuch expeditions as tended to raiſe their reputations, by affording them frequent opportunities of diſplaying both their conduct and their courage. In reference to this particular diſcovery of a North-Weſt paſſage into the South-Seas, there were beſides the general motives, ſome that were peculiar to thoſe times, as for inſtance, this was looked upon as a point, in which the honour of England was highly intereſted, on account of the attempts made by the two Cabots, from whence, if it could have been perfected, we had an indubitable right to the title of firſt diſcoverers. In the next place, the great thing aimed at in thoſe days, was to come at a ſhare in the Eaſt-India trade, which at the time Captain Fenton made his two voyages, was altogether unknown to the Engliſh Nation, but was indeed, preſently after opened to us by Sir Francis Drake. Add to all this, that a new paſſage was ardently deſired from the difficulties, that were apprehended in proceeding by the old track of the Cape of Good Hope, which voyage its tedious length, and the great conſumption made thereby amongſt the ſeamen, had brought into diſcredit. A third queſtion of as great importance as any of the reſt may be moved, which is, *why after all the pains taken about it, all thoughts of this* diſcovery *were laid aſide even in this reign?* To anſwer this fully would require a great deal of room, but poſſibly the notions contained in the following remarks of Sir William Monſon, might ſomewhat contribute thereto (*i*). 'If (ſays he) by the North-Weſt 'there be ſo quick a paſſage, and ſo ſhort a way to go 'and come as is deſired, I ſay, the trade in a few years 'will be overlaid, for as it is now by the Cape of Good 'Hope; ſince we and the Hollanders have had traffick in the Eaſt-Indies, pepper is brought from two 'pence to four pence there, and when it increaſes in 'price where it ſhould leſſen, and falls where it ſhould 'increaſe, what think you in time, this voyage will 'come to if followed, either the one way or the 'other? Let us likewiſe conſider, what needleſs commodities they bring from thence. I ſee not but this 'country may live as well without ſpices as our forefathers have done, neither are they to be had in 'truck of our home commodities, as cloth, lead, and 'tin, but if the merchant make gain by this trade, 'the chiefeſt ſtock he employs muſt be in ſilver, which 'has, and will in time make ſuch a dearth of money 'in England, as all men in general will rue it: and 'as I have ſaid before, we ſhall have the leſs money, 'and the greater quantity of thoſe needleſs commodities, if the navigation ſhould prove ſhort and eaſy. 'If a man will ſpeak truly and indifferently of the 'trade of the Eaſt-Indies, it is not ſo fit for any King 'or Prince, as the King of Spain, who has other Indies to ſupply the ſilver that goes out of his country, 'then what hope have we to perſevere in that voyage, who have no mines or means by traffick to 'bring money into this kingdom? For this, take for 'an infallible argument, that country which receives 'more commodities than it vends, the overplus muſt 'of neceſſity be of money: and by reaſon of our 'waſteful expence in ſuch needleſs and ſuperfluous 'things, as ſilks, lawns, ſpices, wine, tobacco, ſugar, and a hundred ſuch vanities, we muſt confeſs 'there comes in much more of theſe commodities, 'than goes out of the realm in truck for them: and 'then let us conſider the benefit of this trade, and 'how long it is like to continue good for the benefit 'and profit of this kingdom. The miſchief that is 'befallen us by exhauſting our ſilver, was foreſeen 'long ſince by Charles the Fifth, Emperor, who beholding the greedy gain of the Portugueſes in their 'trade to the Eaſt-Indies, was wont to ſay, they were 'enemies to Chriſtendom, by carrying their treaſure 'from Europe to enrich the heathens.' In thoſe days ſuch ſuggeſtions as theſe muſt have been very plauſible, but we know from experience that there is nothing in them. Both the Engliſh and Dutch have proſecuted their trade to the Eaſt-Indies by the ordinary courſe, and have as Sir William ſays, carried prodigious quantities of ſilver to the Eaſt-Indies, but notwithſtanding this, the trade has been very profitable to them, by furniſhing them with vaſt quantities of rich goods, which they have exported and ſold with large profit,

(*i*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 433.

ſo

convinced by this miſcarriage that the deſign was impracticable; but, on the contrary, ſuggeſted from time to time, that the diſcovery of a North-weſt paſſage was a point of very great importance to the commerce and navigation of England, and might, notwithſtanding former diſappointments, be reſumed with reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. His importunate ſollicitations for ſeveral years, joined to the intereſt of his noble patron the Earl of Warwick, procured him at length another opportunity of trying his fortune at ſea, and that in a way, and with a force, ſufficient to gratify his ambition (*f*), and for the ſpeedy execution of which he immediately betook himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, to make all the preparations poſſible. Of this voyage we have ſeveral authentick accounts, and yet it is not eaſy to apprehend the true deſign of it (*g*). The inſtructions given by the Privy-Council to Mr Fenton, and which are ſtill preſerved, ſay expreſsly, That he ſhould endeavour the diſcovery of a North-Weſt paſſage, but by a new route which is laid down to him, *viz.* he was to go by the Cape of Good Hope to the Eaſt-Indies, and, being arrived at the Moluccas, he was to go from thence to the South-Seas, and to attempt his return by the ſuppoſed North-Weſt paſſage, and not by any means to think of paſſing the Streights of Magellan, except in caſe of abſolute neceſſity (*b*) [*B*]. Notwithſtanding

(*f*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 402.

(*g*) See this explained in note [*C*].

(*b*) See theſe articles in the note.

ſo that the carrying out of ſilver, tho', at firſt ſight, it has a ruinous appearance, is in reality a right policy, becauſe by carrying it out we acquire the means of bringing larger quantities in. What the conſequence may be to Europe in general, is another conſideration, which however does not affect us, for while we thrive by the Eaſt-India trade, it would be madneſs, from ſpeculative conſiderations, to entertain the leaſt thoughts of reſtrictions. But if, by degrees, we ſhould be rivalled in that trade, then to be ſure reviving Captain Fenton's project, and trying to preſerve it by a new paſſage, would be a meaſure not rational only, but requiſite; neither, perhaps, is that period, which demands ſuch a conſideration, at ſo great a diſtance as ſome may imagine.

[*B*] *Except in caſe of abſolute neceſſity.*] The inſtructions given to Edward Fenton, Eſquire, by the Right Honourable the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council, were dated April the ninth 1592, and are in all appearance extreamly preciſe (*z*). According to theſe inſtructions Mr Fenton is declared to be Captain-General in this expedition, the number of men to be employed therein is limited to two hundred, the gentlemen, miniſters, ſurgeons, factors, and their ſervants included. The following perſons were appointed to be the General's Council, *viz.* Captain Hawkins, Captain Ward, Mr Nicholas Parker, Mr Maddox, Mr Walker, Mr Evans, Randolph Shaw, and Matthew Talboys, and he was reſtrained from doing any thing of moment, without the conſent of at leaſt four of theſe aſſiſtants. Mr Maddox the miniſter was appointed Secretary, and directed to keep a fair journal-book of the meetings of this council, and of the tranſactions therein, which was to be preſented by them at their return to the Queen. In reference to the power of puniſhing, there is a very large and ample proviſion made, which becauſe it is more than probable, that ſomething of the like kind was put into all inſtructions, and as it gives great light into the method which Sir Francis Drake took upon the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt himſelf, it is more than probable the reader will be glad to ſee at large. This article, I the rather tranſcribe, becauſe it ſhews how men were reſtrained and kept to their duty, before martial laws received the ſanction of the legiſlature, whence it will appear, that regulations in thoſe days were nothing leſs than arbitrary, and that when Queen Elizabeth, by the advice of her Council, eſtabliſhed rules for diſcipline in virtue of her prerogative royal, that prerogative was a fence to the law, and ſecured the perſons ſuſpected, the invaluable privilege of being tried by a jury.

(*z*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 755.

'V. Item, If there happen any perſon or perſons employed in this ſervice, of what calling or condition he or they ſhall be, ſhould conſpire or attempt privately or publickly, any treaſon, mutiny, or other diſcord, either touching the taking away of your own life, or any other of authority under you, whereby her Majeſty's ſervice in this voyage might be overthrown or impugned, we will therefore, that upon juſt proof made of any ſuch treaſon, mutiny, or any other diſcord, attempted as aforeſaid, the ſame ſhall be puniſhed by you or your Lieutenant, according to the quality and enormity of the fact.' 'Provided always, and it ſhall not be lawful either for you or for your Lieutenant, to proceed to the puniſhment of any perſon, by loſs of life or limb, unleſs the party ſhall be judged to have deſerved it, by the reſt of your aſſiſtants as is before expreſſed, or at leaſt by four of them. And that which ſhall concern life, to be by the verdict of twelve men of the company employed in this voyage, to be impannelled for that purpoſe, with the obſervation of the form of our country laws in that behalf, as near as you may. Provided if it ſhall not appear, that the forbearing of the execution by death, ſhall miniſter cauſe to increaſe the fact of the offender, then it were better to convince the party of his fact, by the oaths of twelve indifferent perſons, and to commit him to hard impriſonment until the return. And as well of the facts committed by any, as alſo of the proof thereof, and of the opinions of you and your aſſiſtants, and the manner of the puniſhment, the regiſter ſhall make a particular and true note in the book of your conſultation as is before appointed.'

He was reſtrained from removing Captain William Hawkins, who was to command his own ſhip, Captain Luke Ward, who was to command the ſecond ſhip, or Captain Carliſle, who was to have the command of the land forces. As to the nature and deſign of the voyage, the reader will be pleaſed to peruſe the three following articles, which will at leaſt ſhew *him*, in what light the Privy-Council deſired to repreſent them.

'VIII. You ſhall make a juſt and true inventory in every ſhip and veſſel appointed for this voyage, of all the tackle, munition, and furniture, belonging to them at their ſetting forth hence, and of all the proviſions whatſoever, and one copy thereof, under your hand, and under the hands of your Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant, to be delivered to the Earl of Leiceſter, and the other to the Governor of the Company for them, before your departure hence; and the like to be done at your return home, of all things then remaining in the ſaid ſhips and veſſels, with a true certificate how, and by what means, any parcel of the ſame ſhall have been ſpent or loſt.

'IX. Item, You ſhall uſe all diligence poſſible to depart from Southampton, with your ſaid ſhips and veſſels, before the laſt of this preſent month of April, and ſo go on your courſe by Cape de buena Eſperança, not paſſing by the ſtreight of Magellan, either going or returning, except upon great occaſion incident, that ſhall be thought otherwiſe good to you, by the advice and conſent of your ſaid aſſiſtants, or four of them at the leaſt.

'X. Item, You ſhall not paſs to the North-Eaſtward, of the fortieth degree of latitude at the moſt, but ſhall take your right courſe to the Iſles of the Malucos, for the better diſcovery of the North-Weſt paſſage, if, without hindrance of your trade, and within the ſame degree, you can get any knowledge, touching that paſſage, whereof you ſhall do well to be inquiſitive, as occaſion in this ſort may ſerve.'

The remaining articles in theſe inſtructions are not very material, whereas, thoſe that we have cited deſerve to be well conſidered, ſince whatever the literal

import

ſtanding theſe inſtructions, Sir William Monſon tells us plainly, that Mr Fenton was ſent to try his fortune in the South-Seas (*i*), and ſo himſelf underſtood it. In the month of May 1582, Mr Fenton left the Engliſh coaſt, with three ſtout ſhips and a bark. With theſe he ſailed firſt to the coaſt of Africa, and then for that of Brazil, directly from whence he intended to have ſailed for the Streights of Magellan; but hearing there that the King of Spain, who had better intelligence it ſeems of his project and intentions than if he had read his inſtructions, had ſent Don Diego Flores de Valdez, with a ſtrong fleet into the Streights to intercept him, he, upon mature deliberation, reſolved to careen (*k*). Putting into a Portugueſe ſettlement for that purpoſe, he there met with three of the Spaniſh ſquadron, one of which was their Vice-Admiral, which he ſunk after a very briſk engagement, and then put to ſea in order to come home (*l*) [C]. His Vice-Admiral, Captain Luke

(*i*) Naval Tracts, p. 402.

(*k*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 726.

(*l*) Sir W. Monſon's Tracts, p. 402.

import of them might be, it is pretty certain that Mr Fenton underſtood, that his buſineſs was to go into the South-Seas, and that by the Streights of Magellan; and, as we have hinted in the text, the Spaniards were in good time apprized of this alſo. It is very likely, that the ſcheme expreſſed in theſe inſtructions, was that originally propoſed by this gentleman, and indeed a more probable way of finding the North-Weſt paſſage could not be deviſed, for which reaſon it is not at all impoſſible, that this old ſcheme may be ſome time or other reviewed, revived, and carried into execution. But whatever Mr Fenton's notions might be, my Lord of Leiceſter was for joining a little profit with the honour, and going through the fore-door into the South-Seas, as the ſhorteſt and moſt likely way to find a back door out of them; in a word, our General had his ſmall ſquadron equipped, manned, victualled, and ſupplied with goods proper for the coaſts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and after diſpoſing of theſe, if he could find a North-Weſt paſſage it would do him honour, if not, he was to get home again as well and with as much wealth as he could.

[C] *In order to come home.*] As for the ſtrength which Captain Fenton had under his command, it was for thoſe times very conſiderable (*), conſiſting of two ſhips and two barks. The biggeſt of the ſhips was called originally the Bear, but upon occaſion of this voyage was new named the Leiceſter Gallion, of the burthen of four hundred tons, on board of this veſſel went General Fenton, having under him, Captain William Hawkins, and Mr Chriſtopher Hall. The other ſhip was the Edward Bonaventure of three hundred tons, of which Captain Ward was the Commander, and the Maſter one Thomas Perry, the Bark Francis of forty tons, was under the command of Captain John Drake, and the Elizabeth of fifty tons had in her, Captain Thomas Skevington. They were kept upon the Engliſh coaſt, by foul weather and contrary winds, all the month of May, but at length they put to ſea, being bound, as Captain Ward ſays, for China; on the third of *Auguſt* they came to an anchor upon the coaſt of Guinea, where they began to trade with ſome profit, then they went to the coaſt of Brazil, and upon enquiring of the General what courſe they ſhould ſteer in caſe of being ſeparated, it was agreed firſt to make the beſt of their way to the river of Plate, and then to the Streights of Magellan. Upon that coaſt they took a ſmall veſſel, with an officer or two and ſome Friars on board, from whom they had the firſt news of a Spaniſh Fleet in thoſe ſeas, and after they diſmiſſed them, they likewiſe gave the firſt intelligence to the Spaniſh Fleet of thoſe Engliſh ſhips being upon that coaſt. On the 20th of December, a Council was held on board the Gallion Leiceſter, in which Captain Fenton demanded their opinions, whether, notwithſtanding the Spaniſh Fleet was in thoſe ſeas, they ſhould continue to make the beſt of their way to the Streights, or whether it might not be better to winter ſome where elſe, and where? Upon this the opinons of Captain Hawkins and Captain Drake were defired, becauſe they had paſſed the Streights before, but it ſeems, they could not well agree, and after hearing them, the Council were of opinion, that it might be very dangerous in the condition they were in, and the ſtrength of the enemy conſidered, to continue their voyage to the Streights of Magellan, and that therefore it would be but prudent to put into the Port of St Vincent in Brazil, or to ſail for the river of Plate, with all imaginable expedition. This produced a new conſultation, as to which of thoſe places ſhould be preferred, and at laſt, after much debate, it was agreed to go to Port St Vincent, there to refit and gain intelligence, of which notice was preſently given to the crews of their reſpective ſhips, that they might not apprehend the General had abandoned his deſign; on the 20th of January they came in ſight of St Vincent, and on the 24th in the morning, there was a Council held on board the Leiceſter, where, upon the propoſition of Captain Luke Ward, it was agreed to uſe the Portugueſe as friends, and to make ſatisfaction for what they might have occaſion for. The Spaniſh Fleet that had been ſent, as well to hinder the Engliſh from paſſing the Streights, as to ſettle and build a town there (3), was prodigiouſly ſtrong, conſiſting of no fewer than twenty three ſail of large ſhips, with three thouſand five hundred men on board, but never did a more unfortunate Fleet ſail from the coaſt of Spain, or from any other country, for five of their largeſt ſhips with eight hundred men were loſt upon their own coaſts, two more were diſabled, and the other ſixteen arriving on the coaſt of Brazil wintered in the Rio de Janeiro. There he had intelligence of Captain Fenton's being at ſea, upon which he reſolved to proceed earlier than he intended for the Streights. But meeting with a ſtorm, he ſent three of his largeſt but weakeſt ſhips, with his infirm men, and moſt of the women, on board, to remain in ſafety at Port St Vincent, not having the leaſt ſuſpicion that the Engliſh were there. Theſe three Spaniſh ſhips attempted to enter the Port the afternoon of the ſame day, on which the Council was held which has been beforementioned. As theſe ſhips were very large, and had ſix hundred men on board, they fired upon the Engliſh immediately. General Fenton who did not expect this, and was embaraſſed by his inſtructions, was not very haſty to engage, upon which two of the ſhips attacked the Edward Bonaventure very briſkly, upon that the General ſeeing there was nothing to be done but by force, came in to her aſſiſtance, and behaved himſelf very gallantly till darkneſs put an end to the fight; the next morning it appeared, that the Spaniſh Vice-Admiral was ſunk, and moſt of her crew loſt, the Spaniards themſelves agree that he might have ſunk the other two, but he did not. After the fight the Engliſh ſhips put to ſea, and on the 29th of January, the Edward Bonaventure loſt ſight of the Admiral. Captain John Drake in the Francis had been ſeparated ſome time before, and ſailed for the river of Plate where he loſt his ſhip, but himſelf and his men got on ſhore. After this, General Fenton with the Leiceſter Gallion and the Elizabeth, ſailed to Spirito Santo in Brazil, where they victualled and refitted, and then returned to England. This account is ſufficient to convince the reader, of the truth of what we advanced in the former note; but if he has any ſcruples remaining, they will be entirely taken away by the peruſal of Sir William Monſon's ſhort Relation of this expedition (4). 'In the year 1582, and two years after Drake's return, her Majeſty ſent two ſhips and two pinnaces under the command of Mr Edward Fenton, to try his fortune in the South-Sea, which the King of Spain hearing, he employed Diego Flores de Valdes, who was after General of the Caſtile Squadron for England in 1588, to way-lay Fenton as he paſſed the Streights of Magellan, which Mr Fenton being informed of when he arrived at Brazil, and in the ſame Port where two of Flores's ſhips had ſtay'd, and with whom he had a ſmall encounter, and perceiving it was in vain to proceed any further, he returned home without ſeeing the Streights.'

(*) Ibid. p. 757.

(3) See the Account of Lopez Vaz, in Hakluyt.

(4) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 402.

Luke Ward, who commanded the Edward Bonaventure of three hundred tons, was ſeparated from the Admiral ſoon after the action, and perceiving no hopes of rejoining him, proceeded homewards as well as he could, and, not without enduring great hardſhips, and paſſing through many difficulties, arrived at length ſafely at Plymouth, towards the latter end of the month of May 1583 (*m*). It is from this Captain Ward that we have an account of this voyage, which ſeems to be very fairly and honeſtly written, though it does not appear that he was in any degree in the ſecret of the deſign, or acquainted with the real intentions of his Admiral, either as to trade or diſcovery (*n*) [*D*]. As to Capt. Edward Fenton, he too returned ſafely into England, and does not ſeem to have loſt any credit by the diſappointment he met with in this expedition. It may be his patrons were ſatisfied with his conduct, and with the reaſons that he gave them for his return; which ſeems the more probable, ſince we find him at ſea again in 1588, and entruſted with the command of one of her Majeſty's ſhips. In ſome of the accounts of that glorious action, he is ſaid to have commanded the Antelope (*o*); yet Sir William Monſon (*p*) makes him Captain of the Mary Roſe; but, in which ever ſhip he was, it is unanimouſly agreed, that he behaved like a man of honour, and had a very diſtinguiſhed ſhare in thoſe actions, the fame of which will laſt as long as Hiſtory remains. We know little or nothing of his future courſe of life, except that he ſpent the remainder of his days, at, or near Deptford, it may be at Says Court, afterwards the ſeat of Sir Richard Brown, and now in the poſſeſſion of Sir John Evelyn as his deſcendant, where he died in the ſpring of the year 1603, and was buried in the pariſh-church at Deptford (*q*). A monument was there erected to his memory, by the pious care of Richard Earl of Cork who married his niece, with a ſuitable inſcription thereon (*r*), which, becauſe it is not only elegant but ſuccinct, the reader will find in the notes [*E*]. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that one Edward Fenton

(*m*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol III. p. 768.

(*n*) As appears from his relation.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 747.

(*p*) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 171.

(*q*) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 97.

(*r*) Fuller's Worthies, P. ii. p. 318.

[*D*] *Either as to trade or diſcovery.*] What we have delivered in the laſt note, is from Captain Ward's journal of this voyage, which is remarkably full and clear. He tells us amongſt other things, that General Fenton and his Lieutenant Hawkins could never agree, but who was in the fault does not at all appear. Another writer, and a man of great character (5), thinks they were all to blame, and lets us into a particular of this expedition, of which there is not a word mentioned elſewhere, and that is this, tho' other noblemen countenanced and forwarded the deſign, yet that noble Peer the Earl of Cumberland, was at the greateſt part of the expence. The ſame writer ſays, that the expedition was ruined by General Fenton's being perſuaded by ſome ignorant people to think of wintering in Brazil, 'for look, ſays he, and you'll find, that whoever turns but one foot back, never gets forward any more. But our buſineſs here, is to give an account of Captain Ward's return (6). As ſoon as he found himſelf parted from the Admiral, he propoſed to his officers and ſhip's company to rejoin him, but they poſitively declared the thing was impracticable, and that returning to Port St Vincent was running into the mouths of the Spaniards, ſo that they convinced, or rather put him under the neceſſity, of returning home. Accordingly on the firſt of February they ſhaped their courſe for England, they landed on the 11th of March on the iſland of Fernando, where ſome of their men through the treachery of the inhabitants were ſeized on ſhore; however, they had the good luck to fill three caſks of water which was of great conſequence to them, having now but very little of that, or of any other neceſſaries, and were ſo weakly manned, that they were afraid of touching any where elſe. On the 27th of May they had ſight of the lands end in England, and on the 29th in the morning brought the Ramhead to bear North of them, but the weather being thick and little wind, by a miſtake in their ſounding, they ran aſhore and were in great danger of being loſt in ſight of Plymouth, however they were afloat again at the next tide of flood, and then came in ſafely. We have no farther account of Captain John Drake, except that in an engagement with the Savages, he loſt five of his eighteen men, and with the other thirteen was taken priſoner. In this condition he continued fifteen months, when one Richard Fairweather, who had been maſter of his pinnace, perſuaded him and a young man who was with him, to attempt croſſing the river tho' it was nine leagues broad in a ſmall canoe in order to get to the Spaniards; but when with much difficulty and danger they had reached the oppoſite ſhore, they were ſo weak and faint, that they were able to proceed no further, however meeting with ſome Indians, ſervants to the Spaniards, they gave them cloaths and meat, and a Spaniſh Captain being informed of their adventure, ſent four horſemen to bring them to his houſe and there he entertained them very kindly, intending to have ſent them back to Europe at his own expence; but the Viceroy of Peru, being acquainted with what had paſſed, ſent for them, upon which Captain Drake was diſpatched to Lima, but the other two men being married remained where they were (7). We will cloſe all with this remark, that the event plainly ſhews, if Mr Fenton had purſued his voyage to the Streights, he might have paſſed them without danger, and have executed his whole deſign.

(5) Obſervations made by Sir Richard Hawkins in his voyage into the South-Seas, p. 87.

(6) This from the latter part of Capt. Luke Ward's Journal.

(7) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 727.

[*E*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] The inſcription mentioned in the text runs thus (8).

Memoriæ perenni Edwardi Fenton, Reginæ Elizabethæ olim pro corpore Armigeri, Jano O-Neal, ac poſt eum Comite Deſmoniæ, in Hibernia turbantibus, fortiſſimi Taxiarchi, qui poſt luſtratum improbo auſu, ſeptentrionalis Plagæ Apochryphum mare, & excuſas variis peregrinationibus inertis naturæ latebras, anno 1588, in celebri contra Hiſpanos Naumachia, meruit navis prætoriæ Navarchus.

Obiit Anno Domini 1603.

(8) Fuller's Worthies, P. ii. p. 318.

In Engliſh thus.

To the never fading memory of Edward Fenton heretofore, Eſquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, a gallant Commander during the troubles of Ireland, firſt againſt Shane O-Neal, and then againſt the Earl of Deſmond, who after having explored the hidden paſſages of the Northern Seas, and in other hazardous expeditions viſited remote and ſcarce known places, merited the command of a royal ſhip in that glorious ſea fight againſt the Spaniards in the year 1588.

He died in the year of our Lord 1603.

The reverend Dr Fuller tells us, that this gentleman breathed his laſt ſome days after Queen Elizabeth, upon which he makes the following remark (9). 'Obſerve, by the way, how God ſet up a generation 'of military men both by ſea and land, which began 'and expired with the reign of Queen Elizabeth, like 'a ſuit of clothes made for her and worn out with 'her: for Providence deſigning a peaceable Prince to 'ſucceed her, in whoſe time martial men would be 'rendred uſeleſs, ſo ordered the matter, that they all 'almoſt attended their miſtreſs, before or after, within 'ſome ſhort diſtance, unto her grave.' He who conſiders that the famous Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral; Sir Charles Blount, Earl of Devonſhire, Sir George Carew, Earl of Totneſs, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Monſon, Sir Robert Manſel, and many more great officers by ſea and land ſurvived Queen Elizabeth, may poſſibly doubt, whether the Doctor formed

(9) Id. ibid.

Fenton publiſhed a book tranſlated from the French, intituled (*s*), *The Wonderful Secrets of Nature*, collected from various authors, divided into forty-one chapters, and dedicated to the Lord Lumley; but it is generally agreed by the learned, that he was a different perſon from the Gentleman of whom we have been ſpeaking; and, indeed, conſidering the nature of this treatiſe, and comparing it with the character of Captain Fenton, one cannot well doubt the truth of this opinion (*t*).

(*s*) Tanneri Bibliothec. Britanno-Hibernica, p. 277.

(*t*) If our Capt. Fenton had been an author, he would probably have furniſhed Mr Hakluyt with his own voyage.

formed a right judgment of the intention of Providence. This is certain that the reign of that Princeſs ſtands in no need at all of rhetorical flouriſhes; plain language, accuracy in facts, and impartiality in relating them, will ſet the hiſtory of it, above any thing with which even an ingenious fancy can adorn romance. E

FENTON (Sir GEOFFREY) a learned and elegant Writer, an active and able Stateſman, Privy-Counſellor, and Secretary of State in the kingdom of Ireland, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. He was deſcended from a very ancient family in Nottinghamſhire, and born in that county to a ſmall eſtate, towards the middle of the XVIth century (*a*). We have no diſtinct account of the place of his education, notwithſtanding which there is good reaſon to believe that he was very well brought up, ſince it is certain, that, while a young man, he gave very pregnant inſtances of his acquaintance with ancient and modern learning, as well as of his being perfectly verſed in the French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages (*b*), as is evident from his tranſlations, which procured him great reputation, and the countenance of ſeveral perſons of great quality, being very highly eſteemed (as indeed they deſerved to be) at the time they were publiſhed (*c*) [*A*]. What the inducements were which engaged him to leave his

(*a*) Thoroton's Hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire, p. 415.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies, Nottinghamſhire, p. 319.

(*c*) Ware's Engliſh Works, Vol. III. p. 328.

[*A*] *At the time they were publiſhed.*] It cannot but be acceptable to the judicious and inquiſitive reader, that we draw out of obſcurity, the hiſtory of ſuch worthy perſons as have made their way to conſiderable poſts in the government, by their polite accompliſhments. Whoever conſults either T. Fuller, or Lloyd who tranſcribed him, will find very high commendations of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, but will be at a loſs to know how he deſerved them, otherwiſe than by knowing he tranſlated an Italian book, and became Secretary of State for Ireland. We will endeavour to ſet this in a better light, by giving an account of moſt, if not all the writings that fell from his pen, and were made publick, from which the reader will receive ſeveral hints of the motives to his advancement, which could not have been obtained any other way, and will be alſo enabled to form ſome idea of his abilities.

I. *An Epiſtle or godly admonition ſent to the* Paſtors *of the* Flemiſh Church *in* Antwerp, *exhorting them to concord with other miniſters written by* Anthony de Carro. Lond. 1578. 8vo. A Tranſlation.

II. *An Account of a Diſpute at* Paris, *between* two Doctors *of the* Sorbonne *and two* Miniſters *of* GOD's Word. Lond. 1571. 4to. A Tranſlation.

III. Golden Epiſtles; *containing variety of diſcourſes both moral, philoſophical, and divine, gathered as well out of the remainder of* Guevara's *works as other authors,* Latin, French, *and* Italian. *By* Geoffrey Fenton, *newly corrected and amended.* Mon heur viendra. Lond. 1577. 4to.

In order to underſtand this title page clearly, it is requiſite to inform the reader, that the familiar Epiſtles of Anthony Guevara had been publiſhed in Engliſh, by one Edward Hellowes, ſo that this work of Mr Fenton's, conſiſted of ſuch pieces of the ſame author as were not contained in that work. The Epiſtle dedicatory is, to the Right Honourable and vertuous Lady Anne, Counteſs of Oxenford, and is dated from the author's chamber in the Black Friers, London, February the 4th 1575. This Lady was the daughter of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and, from the following paſſage in the dedication, it will appear that noble perſon was our author's beſt patron, and that one great intention of Mr Fenton in tranſlating and publiſhing this work, was to teſtify his warm zeal and abſolute attachment to that great Miniſter. In the firſt part of his dedication he ſets forth the advantages, which the ſtudy of the ſciences bring to thoſe who are in an exalted ſtation, and having done this briefly, he proceeds thus. 'Theſe happy fruits of ſcience and 'learning, raiſe noble perſonages into merit and dig'nity, and ſet to work excellent wits, to record the 'reputation of their greatneſs and virtues, dividing 'the doings of their life, ſome into warnings to 'avoid harms and miſeries, and ſome into precepts 'the better to eſtabliſh examples and draw to imita'tion. And as above all others of our time, your 'Honour hath been always right worthily noted a 'diligent follower of thoſe arts and ſtudies, which 'beſt ſerve to the declaration and glory of true virtue 'and piety; ſo at the contemplation of the ſame, I 'am bold to bring forth, under the protection of your 'Ladyſhip, this treatiſe, containing a moral diſcourſe 'ſorted with Philoſophy and ſome texts of Divinity: 'not that I hold it worthy your view and judgment, 'but according to good meaning to uſe it as an inter'preter of the devotion and ſervice wherein I am 'vowed to your Ladyſhip, and your honourable houſe 'and parents. And wherein the intentions of the 'writers in theſe days, this is a lamentable error that 'they conſider not thoſe cuſtoms and good doctrines, 'agreeing with holy virtues and commandments of 'the law of God, but think it is a great teſtimony of 'their ſingularity and excellency, to publiſh under 'forms of ſpeech, matter either merely vain in itſelf, 'or at leaſt unfruitful to the uſe and inſtruction of 'life, I thought good by the experience of their wri'tings, not to be ſo curious to ſet out this work with 'elegancy of phraſe and rhetorick, as to exhibit pre'cepts to live well, joining to that ſmall eloquence of 'words, I have uſed a diligence withal to dreſs and 'inſtitute converſation and manners, the ſame being 'the direct line that leads to virtue, which without 'this, is but the figure and image of that it ought to 'be. Wherein having reſpect to modeſty, I am far 'here from meaning to challenge the labours of others, 'and much leſs ſeek to obtrude upon mine own any 'dignity or merit, but refer me and my travel to the 'opinion of your Ladyſhip, whom I humbly beſeech, 'as touching the order and parts of art in the book, 'to judge them with that property of favour, which 'is wont to conſtrue nothing to blame, and for the 'texts and precepts, whether moral, civil, or of di'vinity, your Ladyſhip, in all the works you ſhall 'read, cannot find better doctrine than in the life of 'your honourable father, in whoſe manner and ac'tions is fulfilled a more full example of virtue, than 'in all the rules and ſimilitudes which my pen can 'deliver. And as ſtones of rare and precious price, 'expreſs their luſtre better in gold than in any other 'metal; ſo good and well qualified diſcourſes are 'holden ſo much the more noble and dear, by how 'much are worthy and excellent the perſons to whom 'they are preſented, the dignity of the one ſupport'ing and amplifying the nobility of the other. And 'as trees tranſplanted or removed out of their natu'ral ſtock into a better, become both more fair and 'goodly to behold, and yield a fruit more pleaſing 'the

his own country in order to ſerve the Queen in Ireland, cannot, at this diſtance of time, be recovered; it is however certain that he went thither well recommended, and that being in particular favour with Arthur Lord Grey, then Lord-Deputy in that kingdom, he was ſworn of the Privy-Council about the year 1581 (*d*). It is more than probable that his intereſt might be conſiderably ſtrengthened by his marriage with Alice, the daughter of Dr Robert Weſton, ſome time Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Dean of the Arches in England, a man of great parts, and who had no ſmall credit with the Earl of Leiceſter (*e*), and other Stateſmen in the Court of Queen Elizabeth; and when he was once fixed in his office of Secretary, his own great abilities and ſuperior underſtanding made him ſo uſeful to ſucceeding Governors, that none of the changes to which that government was more than enough ſubject in thoſe days, wrought any alteration in his fortune (*f*). One thing indeed might greatly contribute to this, which was the ſtrong intereſt he found means to raiſe, and never was at a loſs to maintain, in England; ſo that whoever was Lord-Deputy or Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland, Sir Geoffrey Fenton continued Queen Elizabeth's Counſellor there, as a man upon whom ſhe depended, from whom ſhe took her notions of the ſtate of affairs in that iſland, and whoſe credit with her was not to be ſhaken by the artifices of any faction whatever (*g*). He it was that infuſed into the Queen's breaſt that ſtrong averſion to Hugh O-Neile, whom ſhe had created Earl of Tyrone, and who, notwithſtanding that and numberleſs other obligations, remained ever a faithleſs rebel to the Queen, and an implacable enemy to the Engliſh nation. He it was that perſuaded the Queen, that the Iriſh were to be held in obedience by doing them, on all occaſions, ſtrict juſtice; but never to be won to a loyal affection for her government, by unneceſſary acts of indulgence. He it was that convinced her, the ſafety as well as glory of her government in that iſland, depended upon the flouriſhing of the Engliſh intereſt, as this again muſt do, upon the ſecurity which the Engliſh inhabitants had of enjoying their property under the protection of the laws, and without being expoſed to the caprices of great men, who might entertain too high notions of their own authority (*h*). The ſenſe that wiſe Princeſs had of Sir Geoffrey Fenton's wiſdom and fidelity, induced her to ſend for him frequently over into England, that ſhe might receive full and true accounts of the ſtate of things in Ireland, and take thereupon ſuch meaſures as appeared to her and her Council moſt expedient. Of this we have a very ſingular inſtance in the year 1585 (*i*), of which the reader will find an account at the bottom of the page [*B*]. But notwithſtanding Sir Geoffrey's ſentiments in reſpect to Tyrone, ſeveral

(*d*) Letter to Sir E. W. amongſt Burleighan MSS.

(*e*) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies.

(*f*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 661.

(*g*) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Corke, in this Dictionary, note [*Q*].

(*h*) Collected from Letters to Lord Burleigh about this time.

(*i*) See this explained in the note.

' the taſte; in like ſort a work of learning, drawn out ' of his proper author, and recommended to ſome no- ' ble and vertuous perſonages, becomes ſo much the ' better received, and with a fruit more liked, by how ' much it is incorporate in the virtues and name of ' an excellent patron. In which reſpect knowing that ' there ſhines in your Ladyſhip, a virtue of learning ' and judgment, as doth the pearl in the gold, and ' that your mind is divinely inclined to the contem- ' plation of vertuous ſtudies, I beſeech you let this be ' admitted amongſt the publick monuments of your ' virtue, tho' far unworthy of your noble deſire, yet ' being covered with the wings of your authority and ' name, it may be holden ſo much the more perfect ' and plauſible, by how much it is an imp graffed in ' the ſoil of your greatneſs, and inriched with the ' gold of your name and virtues, referring the faults ' rather to the infirmity of my ſkill and knowledge, ' than to my deſire and will, which is wholly dedi- ' cated to the ſervice of your right honourable father ' and his houſe.'

IV. *The Hiſtory of the Wars of* Italy, *by* Francis Guicciardini, *in twenty books.* Lond. 1599, folio.

This work is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and the dedication bears date January the ſeventh, 1578, from the author's chamber near the Tower of London. By comparing theſe two laſt dates it ſeems highly probable, that, in the edition which is now common, there is a new title page, and that, in reality, the book was publiſhed in 1579. He mentions his having wrote other pieces in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, as to which ſome writers expreſs great incertainty, but it is probable they are thoſe abovementioned; nor is it unlikely that Lord Burleigh adviſed him to go to Ireland, where that moſt vigilant Miniſter never wanted ſome perſon in his confidence, who ſent him from time to time advices of the true ſtate of that country.

[*B*] *At the bottom of the page.*] In order to juſtify what has been ſaid in the text, and to ſatisfy the reader of the great favour which Sir Geoffrey Fenton enjoyed in the Engliſh Court, through the recommendation of his patron the Lord Burleigh, we will cite but one paſſage, from many that might be quoted, from the Iriſh Hiſtory (1). ' But Secretary Fenton, who ' was one of the beſt ſervitors the Queen had in Ire- ' land, and much confided in by her Majeſty, or, as ' others word it, was a moth in the garments of all ' the Deputies of his time, was frequently, as at this ' time, ſent for into England, to inform the Queen of ' the true ſtate of that kingdom. What diſcovery he ' made of the miſcarriages of the government I do ' not find, but they may be eaſily traced from the in- ' ſtructions he carried back, which bore date in De- ' cember 1585, and were to this effect: That the ' Lord-Deputy, and the late Juſtices and Officers of ' the Exchequer, ſhould anſwer. 1. What became of ' the fines, recognizances, forfeitures, wards, marri- ' ages, and reliefs, belonging to her Majeſty, and of ' what value they were, ſince March 1579, and by ' whoſe warrants were they reſpectively given, par- ' doned, or diſpoſed of. 2. What leaſes have been ' made of the crown lands in that time, with, or with- ' out, fine, and what fine, what rent? 3. What ' debts were due to the Queen at Michaelmas 1579, ' or ſince, and by whoſe fault they remain unlevied? ' 4. That the faulty officers may be ſuſpended, and ' the recoverable debts immediately levied, and a liſt ' of the deſperate debts returned. 5. What debts ' have been remitted on account of the land being ' waſted, and what proof there was of ſuch waſte. ' 6. What profits and caſualties have been anſwered ' on Sheriffs accounts ſince Michaelmas 1579, and ' what ſums have been by warrants called *Mandamus*'s ' divided amongſt the Barons and Officers of the Ex- ' chequer, *&c.* Beſides theſe, he had other inſtruc- ' tions to communicate to the Deputy, *viz.* that ſince ' the kingdom was in peace, ſome of the army, being ' 1900 ſtrong, might be diſcharged. 2. That the ' Deputy ſhould certify, whether it were better to give ' the ſoldiers ſterling pay and no victuals, in which ' caſe he is to take nothing from the country without ' payment at ſuch reaſonable rate, as the government ' ſhall aſſeſs, or to continue victuals, and the old Iriſh ' pay, for the Queen will no longer allow both victuals ' and the encreaſed pay. 3. That the contribution ' of

(1) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 389.

ſeveral of the chief Governors of Ireland, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable men there were inclined to favour him, and to procure repeated acts of pardon for his repeated treaſons, and notwithſtanding theſe were, by conſtant experience, found altogether ineffectual, yet General Norris, who was Lord-Preſident of Munſter, and ſent over on purpoſe to reduce him, procured a commiſſion from the Queen directed to himſelf and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, dated May 9, 1595, empowering them to make a final treaty with the rebels (*k*). Accordingly, on the 24th of April 1596, they concluded ſuch a treaty with the Earl of Tyrone, who promiſed ſubmiſſion, ſwore obedience, and had a full pardon granted him, dated the 12th of May (*l*). Soon after this, General Norris and Secretary Fenton were appointed Commiſſioners to ſettle the province of Connaught, in which they were very ſucceſsful (*m*); but had not the ſame good fortune in a renewed conference with Tyrone, who was again in rebellion, and with whom, at the requeſt of General Norris, they entered into a freſh negotiation (*n*). In this ſtrange ſituation the affairs of Ireland continued, or rather grew worſe and worſe, till the great Earl of Eſſex was ſent over Lord-Lieutenant, and ſworn into that high office April 15, 1599 (*o*). He ſoon fell into the old track of negotiating with the rebels he was ſent to ſubdue, which proved his ruin (*p*). Upon his return to England, which was followed by the death of Sir Thomas Norris Lord-Preſident of Munſter, the affairs of that iſland became in a manner deſperate, but ſoon changed their appearance upon the coming over of Charles Lord Montjoy, with the title of Lord-Deputy, and Sir George Carew who was appointed Preſident of Munſter (*q*). With theſe noble perſons Sir Geoffrey Fenton entered into a ſtrict friendſhip, and, at their requeſt, came over to England in the ſummer of 1600, in order to procure the neceſſary ſupplies of men and money for the ſervice in Ireland, and his credit in England was ſo great, that he very ſpeedily obtained all that he could reaſonably expect, two thouſand old troops being that very year ſent into Ireland (*r*), which vigorous meaſure was quickly followed by the extinction of the rebellion, and total reduction of the kingdom (*s*). Upon the return of Sir Geoffrey Fenton into Ireland, he contributed as much as in him lay to the ſettling of publick affairs, and to the ſtrengthening the Engliſh Proteſtant intereſt, in which he proceeded with great ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the Iriſh were well enough inclined to have revolted upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, if their late loſſes, their terror of the Lord-Deputy Montjoy, and Tyrone's having ſurrendered himſelf, had not rendered ſuch an attempt extreamly dangerous, or rather abſolutely impracticable (*t*). In 1603, that noble perſon being conſtituted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had leave given him to come over to England, Sir George Carew, afterwards Earl of Totneſs, being ſworn Lord-Deputy in his abſence (*u*). At this time Sir Geoffrey Fenton married his only daughter Katherine to Mr Boyle, afterwards the great Earl of Cork (*w*), which proved to him a ſource

(*k*) Monſon's Affairs of Ireland, p. 37.

(*l*) Lib. M. inter MSS. Lambeth.

(*m*) Monſon, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 775.

(*o*) Table of the Principal Governors of Ireland.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 792.

(*q*) Pacata Hibernia.

(*r*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 203.

(*s*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 893.

(*t*) Sir John Davis's Diſcovery why Ireland was never thoroughly ſubdued, p. 260.

(*u*) Table of the Chief Governors of Ireland.

(*w*) Thoreſby's Antiquities of Leeds, p. 64.

' of 2100 l. per annum in lieu of ceſs, purveyance, ' &c. be revived. 4. That Captain Norris be made ' Vice-Preſident of Munſter, with all the uſual allow- ' ance, except the ſalary of two hundred marks *per* ' *annum*,' which muſt be reſerved for his brother ' the Lord Preſident, and that the Vice-Preſident's ' penſion of twenty ſhillings a day be immediately ' ſtopped. 5. That the Queen's orders be publickly ' read in Council, except they require ſecrecy, and ' then to be communicated to ſuch of the Engliſh ' Council as are ordinarily attending on the ſtate. ' 6. That all offices be given to fit perſons, who are ' perſonally to officiate, except in ſpecial caſes. 7. ' That the courts be removed out of the caſtle. 8. ' That the Secretary of State keep the ſignet, as in ' England, and that he make all bills, warrants, and ' writings, that require ſignature, and that he keep a ' regiſter thereof, and have his fees for the ſame. ' 9. That the Parliament being ended, Ulſter might ' be ſo ſettled that the Deputy might repair into Mun- ' ſter, to watch the motions of Spain. 10. That ſuſ- ' pected perſons be ſecured, and that the ſuſpected in- ' habitants in towns be diſarmed, and that the loyal ' townſmen be armed and diſciplined, and that thoſe ' that were lately rebels be enjoyned to keep at home; ' and if the Spaniards land, that the forage be de- ' ſtroyed, and the cattle removed up into the country. ' The Queen alſo gave Secretary Fenton particular in- ' ſtructions about the plantation of Munſter, and de- ' viſed a plot to this effect: that the undertaker for ' twelve thouſand acres ſhould plant eighty ſix families ' upon it, *viz.* his own family ſhould have ſixteen ' hundred acres, one chief farmer four hundred acres, ' two good farmers ſix hundred acres, between them; ' other two farmers two hundred acres a piece, four- ' teen freeholders each three hundred acres, forty ' copyholders each one hundred acres, and twenty ſix ' cottagers and labourers eight hundred acres, between ' them; and ſo proportionably for a leſſer ſigniory: ' and ſhe ordered, that, if any unforfeited lands be ' intermixed with the forfeited, that the party ſhould ' be compounded with to his content, and bought out, ' that ſo the undertaker might have his manor entire; ' and ſhe alſo ordered a better ſurvey to be made of ' the eſcheated lands, for the direction of the com- ' miſſioners in ſetting them out to the undertakers.' It is very probable, that theſe marks of confidence in the Secretary were not highly pleaſing to the chief governors in Ireland, but it was what the Queen could not well avoid, many of the governors being much more concerned how to promote their own power, and augment their own fortunes, than to reduce the rebels, and extend the Queen's authority, which if they had ſteadily purſued, might certainly have been brought to paſs (2). We are told, that Sir William Fitzwilliams, who was many times Chief Governor of Ireland, by different titles, behaved there always extremely well, except when he was laſt in power, which is aſcribed to a very indiſcreet expreſſion of a great Miniſter, upon his ſolliciting ſome reward from the Queen for his many years ſervices in Ireland, who told him that his demand was ill founded, *for the government of* Ireland *was not conſidered as a* ſervice *but as a* preferment (3). Sir William having had time to reflect upon this court notion, he carried it into execution when he went over the laſt time in 1588, with the title of Lord-Deputy; ſo that we need not wonder that grounds of complaint were continually found againſt theſe great men, and tranſmitted into England, where, if ſupported by proofs, they were ſure of being heard and redreſſed. One thing appears much to the honour of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, which is, that, in the diſtribution of that vaſt plantation of Munſter, when large eſtates coſt little more than the aſking for, he deſired none for himſelf; neither was he in that commiſſion granted in the year 1587, which gave ſuch offence to the Lord-Deputy Fitzwilliams, but contented himſelf with diſcharging the duties of his own office, except, when by her Majeſty's, or the chief governor's, command, he was put upon other ſervices.

(2) Sir John Davis's Diſcovery, &c.

(3) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 397.

ſource of great ſatisfaction, though he did not live to ſee his ſon-in-law reach the zenith of his fortunes, but he ſaw him entering the road to the higheſt preferments, and, what muſt have added to his pleaſure, ſaw this in ſome meaſure owing to his own intereſt and powerful recommendation [C]. His known zeal and great ſervices ſecured him a ſufficient intereſt in the new Court, and upon the coming over of Sir Arthur Chicheſter to exerciſe the office of Lord-Deputy of Ireland in 1604, Sir Geoffrey Fenton found a new friend, who had as great confidence in him (x) as his two predeceſſors; ſo that in full poſſeſſion of his credit and authority, and, with a very fair proſpect in reſpect to the happineſs of his poſterity, he paid that great debt which all men muſt pay, at his houſe in Dublin, October 19, 1608 (y), and with much funeral ſolemnity was interred at the cathedral church of St Patrick, in the ſame tomb with his wife's father the Lord Chancellor Weſton (z), leaving behind him the character of a polite Writer, an accompliſhed Courtier, an able Stateſman, and a true friend to the Engliſh nation, and Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland. At the time of his demiſe Sir Geoffrey Fenton left a ſon, Sir William Fenton, who ſurvived him ſeveral years, but whether he left any poſterity or not is more than, at this diſtance of place and time, we are able to determine.

(x) Earl of Cork's True Remembrances.

(y) Fuller's Worthies, Nottinghamſhire, p. 319.

(z) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 661.

[C] *To his own intereſt and powerful recommendation.*] We have in another part of this work touched upon this matter, and of what fame has whiſpered of the ſecrets that were between theſe two great men, who certainly were not more cloſely related by alliance, than by their tempers, and the maxims which governed their reſpective conducts (4). We reſerved however for this note, ſome very curious paſſages in the Earl of Cork's (5) True Remembrances. After ſetting down his voyage to England, of which an account is given in the article relating to his life, he proceeds thus. 'Then I returned into Ireland with my Lord-'Preſident's licence to repair to Court, where in his 'way to Dublin where he propoſed to embark, he 'dealt very nobly and father-like by me, in perſwa-'ding me it was high time for me to take a wife, in 'hopes of poſterity to inherit my lands, adviſing me 'to make choice of Sir Geoffrey Fenton's daughter, 'and that if I could affect her, he would treat with 'her parents to have the match between us, wherein 'he prevailed ſo far as the 9th of March 1602, I 'was in his Lordſhip's preſence contracted to her in 'her father's houſe at Dublin. The 25th of July '1603. I was married to my ſecond wife, Mrs Ka-'therine Fenton, the only daughter of Sir Geoffrey 'Fenton, Principal Secretary of State, and Privy-Coun-'ſellor in Ireland, with whom I never demanded any 'marriage portion, neither promiſe of any, it not be-'ing in my conſideration; yet her father, after my 'marriage, gave me one thouſand pounds in gold with 'her. But that gift of his daughter unto me, I muſt 'ever thankfully acknowledge as the crown of all my 'bleſſings, for ſhe was a moſt religious, virtuous, lov-'ing, and obedient wife unto me all the days of her 'life, and the happy mother of all my hopeful chil-'dren, whom with their poſterity I beſeech God to 'bleſs.'—— 'I Richard Earl of Corke, was knighted 'by Sir George Carew, Lord-Deputy of Ireland at 'St Mary's Abbey near Dublin, the 25th of July '1603, being St James's day, and the very day that 'I was married to my ſecond wife, Mrs Katherine 'Fenton. I was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor to King 'James for the province of Munſter, at the Council-'table at Dublin, by the Lord Chicheſter, then Lord-'Deputy of Ireland, the 12th of March 1606, with 'commandment from the Lord-Deputy and council 'to Henry Dunkard, then Lord-Preſident of Munſter, 'to admit me into that council, who upon former 'direction from this ſtate had refuſed either to ſwear 'or admit me a Counſellor of that province.' In the life-time of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, there were born of this marriage a ſon Roger, and a daughter Alice, the Earl of Corke named his third ſon Geoffrey after his grandfather but he died young, the Counteſs of Cork dying in 1629, ſhe was buried in the choir of St Patrick's church in Dublin, in the ſame tomb with her father and grandfather. E

(4) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Cork, note [Q].

(5) A copy of which was in the poſſeſſion of the late Mr Smith, Apothecary in the Strand.

FERRARS (GEORGE) a learned Lawyer, a grave Hiſtorian, a celebrated Poet, and a moſt accompliſhed Courtier, in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He was deſcended from an antient family ſeated in Hertfordſhire (a), and was born there in a village not far from St Albans about the year 1510 (b). He was bred at the univerſity of Oxford, but in what particular Hall or College, even the moſt indefatigable Anthony Wood himſelf, has not, with all his induſtry, been able to diſcover (c). He removed from thence to Lincoln's-Inn, where he applied himſelf with ſuch vigour and diligence to the ſtudy of the Laws, as very ſoon rendered him eminent in his profeſſion (d), ſo that he made a conſiderable figure in Weſtminſter-Hall as an Advocate, at the ſame time that he was much admired in the Royal Court for his ſprightly wit and good breeding. His firſt riſe in his profeſſion, and at Court, was owing to the King's great Miniſter Cromwell Earl of Eſſex, who was himſelf a man of great parts and ſtrong paſſions, roſe purely by his abilities, and countenanced men of capacity as long as he continued in favour; neither does it appear that his misfortunes affected them in their progreſs at Court, but in the buſineſs of equity it happened otherwiſe, and it ſeems ſuch as had his countenance, were not ſo fortunate with reſpect to his ſucceſſors, which was the caſe of Mr Ferrars (e). He was the King's menial ſervant, whom he attended in war as well as peace, and ſerved, not with his pen only, but his ſword; in ſhort, he was a very gallant man in all the ſenſes of the word, which entitled him to ſo large a ſhare in that Monarch's favour, that, to manifeſt his affection for him, he made him a very conſiderable grant in his own native county, and that out of his proper and private eſtate (f). [A]. This was in the year 1535,

(a) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 193.

(b) From MS. notes on the Art of Poetry.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 193.

(d) Bale, de Script. P. ii. p. 108.

(e) See the Poem in note [I].

(f) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 567. a.

[A] *And that out of his proper and private eſtate.*] It appears from the roll of the gentlemen, able to ſpend ten pounds a year reſident in this county, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, that one Mr John Ferrars of St Albans, had an eſtate in the hundred of Caiſhow, and from him, in all probability, our author was deſcended; and it is alſo very likely, that he had himſelf an eſtate in this county, deſcended to him from his anceſtors, before King Henry the Eighth made him a grant of the manor of Flamſtead. This place is by ſome writers ſuppoſed to have been antiently called Verlamſted (1), from the river Verlam

(1) Norden's Deſcription of Hertfordſhire, p. 15.

1535, and yet within ſeven years afterwards, either through want of œconomy, or by too great confidence in his friends, he ſeems to have brought his affairs into a very untoward ſituation, which might perhaps be one reaſon, why he procured himſelf to be choſen a Member for the borough of Plymouth in the county of Devon (g), in the Parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſecond of January, in the thirty-third year of that King's reign, where, during the ſeſſions, he had the misfortune to be taken in execution, by an officer belonging to the Sheriffs of London, and carried to the Compter, then in Breadſtreet (h), the news of which being carried to the Houſe of Commons occaſioned ſuch a diſturbance there, as not only produced his diſcharge (i), but a ſettled rule with reſpect to privilege; which, with the proceedings therein before the King, Lords, and Commons, make his caſe not only extreamly curious and entertaining, but of great uſe and importance, for which reaſon it will be found at the bottom of the page [B]. But notwithſtanding

(g) Willis's Notitia Parliam. Vol. II. p. 295.

(h) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1255.

(i) Lex Parliamentaria, p. 263.

Verlam which riſes in it, and that by degrees it was ſoftened in the pronunciation into Flamſtead; tho' others will have it, that it received this denomination from its being the ſeat, which the Flamins held in the time of the Britons (2). However this matter may be, it is certain, that it was part of the poſſeſſions of the Monaſtery of St Alban's in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, and was granted by Leofſtane, Abbot of that Monaſtery, to three Knights, to defend the country from thieves (3). It was taken from them by William the Conqueror, and given to Ralph de Tony (4), or as it is in Domeſday book, de Todeny, who was ſtandard-bearer to that Prince at the battle of Haſtings, and continued in his family, till, through the failure of heirs male, it came by the marriage of Alice Tony into that of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, and, with the reſt of their lands, was held by Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, in right of Anne his wife; from her it was taken by Act of Parliament, and ſettled upon her two daughters, Iſabel and Anne, the former married to George Duke of Clarence, and the latter to Richard Duke of Glouceſter (5), afterwards King Richard the Third; but, in the third year of King Henry the Seventh, the old Counteſs of Warwick was reſtored to her whole eſtate by a new Act of Parliament, with power to alienate the ſame, or any part thereof, and ſhe conveyed it to the King, entailing it upon the iſſue male of his body, with the remainder to herſelf and her heirs (6), and it continued in the Crown, till, as we have mentioned in the text, it was granted by King Henry the Eighth to George Ferrars, Eſq; and his heirs, and in their line it continued, till, by the marriage of Catherine Ferrars, it came to Thomas Lord Viſcount Fanſhaw of the kingdom of Ireland, by whom it was ſold to Edward Peck, Serjeant at Law (7). This manor has Court Leet and Baron, conſiſts of between ſix and ſeven hundred acres of demeſne, and ſeveral copyholds, fineable at the will of the Lord; ſo that it was a very conſiderable grant in point of profit, excluſive of the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation, and the wholeſomeneſs of its air, for which it is deſervedly famous.

(2) Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, p. 75.

(3) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 564.

(4) Domeſd. fol. 38. n. 22.

(5) Rot. Parl. 14 Edw. IV.

(6) Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. VII.

(7) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 567.

[B] *At the bottom of the page.*] A certain author has given us a very large account of this whole affair, under the title of *Ferrer's caſe* (8), without any mention of the author from whom it is taken, and alſo with ſome omiſſions; we will therefore ſet it down exactly here. For if it deſerved to take up ſo much room (as certainly it did) in a general hiſtory of England (9), the more reaſon there is that it ſhould be fully and truly ſtated in ſuch an article as this. In Hollinſhed it ſtands thus:

(8) Petyt's Miſcel. Parliam. p. 1.

(9) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 955.

'In the Lent ſeaſon, whilſt the Parliament yet continued, one George Ferrars, gentlemen, ſervant to the King, being elected a burgeſs for the town of Plimouth in the county of Devonſhire, in going to the Parliament houſe, was arreſted in London by a proceſs out of the King's-Bench, at the ſuit of one White, for the ſum of two hundred marks or thereabouts, wherein he was late afore condemned, as a ſurety for the debt of one Weldon of Saliſbury; which arreſt being ſignified to Sir Thomas Moils, Knight, then Speaker of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgeſſes, their order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called St John, ſhould forthwith repair to the Compter in Breadſtreet, whither the ſaid Ferrers was carried, and there demand delivery of the priſoner.

'The Serjeant, as he had in charge, went to the Compter, and declared to the Clerks there what he had in commandment. But they, and other officers of the city, were ſo far from obeying the ſaid commandment, as, after many ſtout words, they forcibly reſiſted the ſaid Serjeant, whereof enſued a fray within the counter gates, between the ſaid Ferrars and the ſaid officers, not without hurt of either part, ſo that the ſaid Serjeant was driven to defend himſelf with his mace of arms, and had the Crown thereof broken by bearing off a ſtroke, and his own man ſtricken down. During this fray the Sheriffs of London, called Rowland Hill and Henry Suckliffe, came thither, to whom the Serjeant complained of this injury, and required of them the delivery of the ſaid Burgeſs as afore. But they, bearing with their officers, made little accompt either of his complaint or of his meſſage, rejecting the ſame contemptuouſly, with much proud language, ſo as the Serjeant was forced to return without the priſoner; whereas, if they had obeyed authority, and ſhewed the ſervice neceſſarily required in their office and perſon, they might, by their diſcretion, have appeaſed all the broil, for wiſdom aſſwageth the outrage and unreſtrainable furiouſneſs of war, as the Poet ſaith,

Inſtrumenti feri vincit ſapientia belli.

'The Serjeant, thus hardly intreated, made return to the Parliament houſe, and finding the Speaker and and all the burgeſſes ſet in their places, declared unto them the whole caſe as it fell, who took the ſame in ſo ill part, that they altogether, of whom there were not a few, as well of the King's Privy-Council, as alſo of his Privy-Chamber, would ſit no longer without their Burgeſs, but roſe up wholly, and repaired to the Upper Houſe, where the whole caſe was declared by the mouth of the Speaker, before Sir Thomas Audley, Knight, then Lord-Chancellor of England, and all the Lords and Judges there aſſembled, who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the puniſhment thereof to the order of the Common Houſe. They returning to their places again, upon new debate of the caſe, took order, that their Serjeant ſhould repair to the Sheriff of London, and require delivery of the ſaid Burgeſs without any writ or warrant had for the ſame, but only as afore. And yet the Lord-Chancellor offered them to grant a writ, which they of the Common houſe refuſed, being in a clear opinion, that all commandments, and other acts of proceeding from the Nether Houſe, were to be done and executed by their Serjeant without writ, only by ſhew of his mace which was his warrant. But before the Serjeant's return into London, the Sheriffs, having intelligence how heinouſly the matter was taken, became ſomewhat more mild, ſo as, upon the ſaid ſecond demand, they delivered the priſoner without any denial. But the Serjeant having then further in commandment from thoſe of the Nether Houſe, charged the ſaid Sheriffs to appear perſonally on the morrow by eight of the clock, before the Speaker, in the Nether Houſe, and to bring thither the Clerks of the Compter, and ſuch officers as were parties to the ſaid fray; and, in like manner, to take into his cuſtody the ſaid White, which wittingly procured the ſaid arreſt, in contempt of the privilege of the Parliament.

'Which commandment being done by the ſaid Serjeant, accordingly, on the morrow, the two Sheriffs, with one of the Clerks of the Compter, which was

'the

ſtanding the ſolemnity of this judgment, there have not been wanting ſome who have queſtioned the validity, or at leaſt the equity of it, and theſe have ſuggeſted, that there were ſome private and particular reaſons, which induced the King and the Houſe of Lords to ſuffer things to be carried ſo very high upon this occaſion (*k*); neither have there been wanting ſome, even of the great Sages of the Law, who have publickly expreſſed their doubts upon his caſe (*l*); notwithſtanding which it has continued to be taken for a precedent, though it has been very ſeldom mentioned, but thoſe ſuggeſtions and theſe opinions have been mentioned likewiſe [C]. He continued in high favour with King Henry

(*k*) Gurdon's Hiſt. of the High Court of Parliament, Vol. II. p. 365.

(*l*) Moore's Reports, fol. 57. n. 163.

' the chief occaſion of the ſaid fray, together with the ' ſaid White, appeared in the Common Houſe, where ' the Speaker charging them with their contempt and ' miſdemeanor aforeſaid, they were compelled to make ' immediate anſwer, without being admitted to any ' counſel, albeit, Sir Roger Cholmley, then Recorder ' of London, and other of the council of the city there ' preſent, offered to ſpeak in the cauſe, which were ' all put to ſilence, and none ſuffered to ſpeak but the ' parties themſelves, whereupon, in concluſion, the ' ſaid Sheriffs, and the ſame White, were committed ' to the Tower of London, and the ſaid clerk, which ' was the occaſion of the fray, to a place there called ' Little Eaſe; and the officer of London which did the ' arreſt, called Tailour, with four other officers, to ' Newgate, where they remained from the eight and ' twentieth, until the thirtieth of March, and then ' they were delivered, not without humble ſuit made ' by the Mayor of London, and other their friends.

' And for ſo much as the ſaid Ferrers, being in exe- ' cution upon a condemnation of debt, and ſet at large ' by privilege of Parliament, was not by law to be ' brought again into execution, and ſo the party, with- ' out remedy for his debt, as well againſt him as his ' principal debtor. After long debate of the ſame by ' the ſpace of nine or ten days together, at laſt they ' reſolved upon an Act of Parliament to be made; and ' to revive the execution of the ſaid debt againſt the ' ſaid Weldon which was principal debtor, and to diſ- ' charge the ſaid Ferrars. But before this came to ' paſs, the Common Houſe was divided upon the ' queſtion; howbeit in concluſion the act paſſed for ' the ſaid Ferrars, by fourteen voices.

' The King then being advertiſed of all this pro- ' ceeding, called immediately before him the Lord- ' Chancellor of England and his Judges, with the ' Speaker of the Parliament, and other of the graveſt ' perſons of the Nether Houſe, to whom he declared ' his opinion to this effect: Firſt commending their ' wiſdoms in maintaining the privileges of their Houſe, ' which he would not have to be infringed in any ' point; he alledged, that he being head of the Par- ' liament, and attending in his own perſon upon the ' buſineſs thereof, ought, in reaſon, to have privilege ' for him and all his ſervants attending there upon him. ' So that, if the ſaid Ferrars had been no Burgeſs, ' but only his ſervant, yet, in reſpect thereof, he was ' to have the privilege as well as any other. *For I* ' *underſtand*, quoth he, *that not only for your own* ' *perſons, but alſo for your neceſſary ſervants, even to* ' *your cooks and horſe keepers, enjoy the ſaid privilege;* ' *inſomuch, as my* Lord Chancellor *here preſent hath* ' *informed us, that he being* Speaker *of the* Parliament, ' *the Cook of the* Temple *was arreſted in* London, ' *and, in execution upon a ſtatute of the ſtaple. And* ' *for ſo much as the ſaid Cook, during all the Parlia-* ' *ment, ſerved the* Speaker *in that office, he was taken* ' *out of execution by the privilege of the* Parliament. ' *And further we be informed by our* Judges, *that we* ' *at no time ſtand ſo highly in our* Eſtate Royal, *as in* ' *the time of* Parliament, *wherein we, as head, and* ' *you, as members, are conjoined and knit together into* ' *one body politick, ſo as, whatſoever offence or injury* ' *during that time is offered to the meaneſt member of* ' *the Houſe, is to be judged as done againſt* our perſon, ' *and the whole* Court *of* Parliament. *Which prero-* ' *gative of the Court is ſo great (as our learned Coun-* ' *cil informeth us) as all acts and proceſſes coming out* ' *of any other inferior courts, muſt, for the time, ceaſe,* ' *and give place to the higheſt. And touching the party,* ' *it was a great preſumption in him, knowing our ſer-* ' *vant to be one of this* Houſe, *and being warned there-* ' *of before, would, nevertheleſs, proſecute this matter* ' *out of time, and thereupon was well worthy to have* ' *loſt his* debt, *which I would not wiſh, and there-* ' *fore do commend your* Equity, *that having loſt the* ' *ſame by* Law, *have reſtored him to the ſame againſt* ' *him who was his* debtor. *And if it be well conſi-* ' *dered, what a* charge it *hath been to* us *and* you all, ' *not only in expence of our ſubſtance, but alſo in loſs* ' *of time, which ſhould have been imployed about the* ' *affairs of our* Realm, *to ſit here welnigh one whole* ' *fortnight about this one private caſe, he may think* ' *himſelf better uſed than his deſert. And this may be* ' *a good example to others, to learn good manners, and* ' *not to attempt any thing againſt the* Privilege *of this* ' Court, *but to take their time better. This is mine* ' *opinion, and if I erre I muſt refer myſelf to the* judg- ' ment *of our* Juſtices *here, and other* learned *in our* ' Laws.

' Whereupon Sir Edward Montacute, Lord Chief ' Juſtice, very gravely told his opinion, confirming, ' by divers reaſons, all that the King had ſaid, which ' was aſſented unto by all the reſidue, none ſpeaking ' to the contrary. The act, indeed, paſſed not the ' Higher Houſe, for the Lords had not time to con- ' ſider of it, by reaſon of the diſſolution of the Par- ' liament, the feaſt of Eaſter then approaching. Be- ' cauſe this caſe hath been diverſly reported, and is ' commonly alledged as a precedent for the privilege ' of the Parliament, I have endeavoured myſelf to ' learn the truth thereof, and to ſet it forth, with the ' whole circumſtance at large, according to their in- ' ſtructions who ought beſt both to know and remem- ' ber it.'

[C] *Have been mentioned likewiſe.*] As, in the foregoing note, the reader is in full poſſeſſion of the caſe, we ſhall in this diſcuſs what has been obſerved thereupon by ſome very eminent writers; and firſt, let us obſerve, that a modern Author (10), whoſe emi- nent ſkill in our hiſtories and antiquities have very juſtly gained him a high reputation, makes ſome very bold remarks upon theſe proceedings, which we will report in his own words. ' From this time the power ' and privilege of the Houſe of Commons took a pro- ' greſſive increaſe, and this precedent was gained by ' the King's want of an aid, who, at that time, ex- ' pected the Commons would voluntarily offer him a ' ſubſidy, the Miniſtry in the Houſe of Lords know- ' ing the King's Will, gave the Commons the compli- ' ment to puniſh thoſe that impriſoned one of their ' members.' Theſe are facts, and it is to be wiſhed that ſome authority had been ſuggeſted in ſupport of them. It is true, our author ſeems to have been led by his reading, what another perſon reports as the opinion of the Lord Chief Juſtice Dyer, we ſhall come to that hereafter, but, in the mean time, we will en- deavour to explain what is hinted at above from the works of a noble Hiſtorian (11). ' During this ſeſ- ' ſion of Parliament ſome wrong was offered, as our ' hiſtories ſay, to their antient privileges; a Burgeſs ' of theirs being arreſted: whereof the King under- ' ſtanding, not only gave way to their releaſing him, ' but puniſhment of the offenders, inſomuch, that the ' Sheriffs of London were committed to the Tower, ' and one delinquent to a place called Little Eaſe, ' others to Newgate. By which means the King, ' whoſe maſter piece it was to make uſe of his Parlia- ' ments, not only let foreign Princes ſee the good in- ' telligence betwixt him and his ſubjects, but kept ' them all at his devotion: which alſo he ſo induſtri- ' ouſly procured, that rather than he would ſeem to ' require more at this time than they had lately given, ' he borrowed divers ſums of money of men above ' fifty pound yearly in his books, which he looked on ' often, giving them in lieu thereof Privy-Seals, as ' ſecurity for their repayment in two years; by this ' means, ſuffering his Parliament rather to take notice

(10) Gurdon's Hiſtory of the High Court of Parliament, Vol. II. p. 365.

(11) Lord Her- bert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII.

' of

Henry all his reign, and ſeems to have ſtood upon good terms with the Lord Protector Somerſet, in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, ſince it appears that he attended the Protector, in quality of one of the Commiſſioners of the army, in his expedition into Scotland in 1548 (*m*), which perhaps might be owing to his being about the perſon of Prince Edward in his father's life-time, and conſequently one for whom that young Prince had a ſingular kindneſs [*D*]. Another inſtance of this happened about four years afterwards,

(*m*) Patten's Journal of the Scotiſh Expedition, p. 13.

' of his wants than to ſupply them, which yet ſerved ' to prepare them for his next occaſion. We have ' the ſame thing, tho' in fewer words, ſet down by ' Stowe, who tells us, that the Sheriffs were obliged to ' pay twenty pounds for their fees, before they were ' diſcharged; and that, in May following, the King ' took a Loan of all ſuch as were rated at fifty pounds ' and upwards in the ſubſidy book.' We will now proceed to what has been alledged as the ſentiment of the Lord Chief Juſtice Dyer (12), who lived in thoſe days, and whoſe authority, in a point of this nature, would be of the greateſt weight. ' It was ſaid ' by Dyer, that if a man be condemned in debt or ' treſpaſs, and is choſen one of the Burgeſſes or Knights ' of Parliament, and afterwards is taken in execution, ' he cannot have the privilege of Parliament, and ſo ' it was held by the ſages of the Law in the caſe of ' one Ferrers, in the time of King Henry the Eighth; ' and tho' the privilege at that time was allowed him, ' yet it was unjuſt.' But ſuppoſe, after all this, we ſhould reſort to Sir James Dyer himſelf, and in his Reports we ſhall find, that in the thirty-ſixth of Henry the Eighth, there was a caſe in the King's Bench, which brought the matter of Parliamentary privilege into queſtion, and that caſe was this (13). One Trewynard was taken upon an Exigent, at the ſuit of one Skewis, and being in execution, a writ of privilege iſſued from the Parliament to R. Chamond, then Sheriff of Cornwall, reciting, that Trewynard was a Burgeſs, and therefore entitled to the privilege of Parliament; in obedience to which writ the ſaid Sheriff, in the time of the laſt ſeſſion of the laſt Parliament, held in the thirty-fifth of the King, ſuffered him to go at large, and, upon this, an action of debt was brought by the ſaid Skewis againſt the ſaid Chamond. ' In ' this caſe three points are to be conſidered, firſt, ' whether privilege is to be granted to a Burgeſs of Par' liament, taken upon a writ of execution; ſecondly, ' if the privilege be grantable, whether the party, ſo ' enlarged, is diſcharged of the execution for ever, or ' only during the time of the Parliament: and, thirdly, ' admitting that the privilege is not allowable in this ' caſe, yet, whether the Sheriff, by this writ, iſſuing ' from the Parliament, ſhall be held ſufficiently ex' cuſed and diſcharged againſt the Plaintiff, in debt?' In reaſoning on the firſt head, he obſerves, ' that it ' ſeems the privilege is allowable; for the proof of ' which he ſays, it is neceſſary to conſider the ſtate of ' Parliaments, which conſiſts of three parts; the King, ' as the chief head; the Lords, as the principal mem' bers of the body; and the Knights, Citizens, and ' Burgeſſes, as the inferior members; he next men' tions the ceremony and ſolemnity attending elections; ' and then goes on thus: after that the members are ' returned, their attendance is ſo neceſſary to the Par' liament, that they ought not, for any buſineſs, to be ' abſent; and no one perſon can well be miſſed, for ' that he is a neceſſary member, and therefore if any ' die before the Parliament, a new one ſhall be choſen ' in his place, ſo that the entire number may not fail; ' and then, it follows, that the perſon of every ſuch ' member ought to be privileged from arreſt at the ' ſuit of any particular perſon, during the time that ' he is buſied in the affairs of the King and the Realm; ' and ſuch privilege has uſually been granted at all times ' by the King to the Commons, at the requeſt of the ' Speaker of the Parliament, the firſt day, *&c.* Com' mon reaſon will perſuade, that, for as much as the ' King, and his whole Realm, have an intereſt in the ' body of every one of its members, it ſeems that the ' private commodity of any particular man, ought not ' to be regarded. Then, as to the firſt point, he con' cludes that the Court of Parliament is the higheſt ' Court, and has more privileges than any Court of ' the Realm, for which, it ſeems, that, in every caſe, ' without any exception, every Burgeſs is privileged, ' when arreſt is only at the ſuit of the ſubject; and ' the preſent caſe is ſo much the better, inaſmuch as ' the execution was ſued out during the ſitting of Par' liament, in ſuch a caſe, as the Plaintiff was at his ' free election to ſue out an execution againſt his body, ' or againſt his eſtate or goods.' He then proceeds to the ſecond point, as to which he ſays, ' it ſeems to ' him the party is not diſcharged from the execution ' for ever, but only for a certain time,' for which he gives many reaſons. In reference to the third point, he ſays, ' it ſeems that the Sheriff is not chargeable, ' becauſe, if no default or offence in his office there ' is no reaſon to charge him, and there ſeems to be ' none in him, becauſe the office of a Sheriff lies chiefly ' in the execution and ſerving of writs and proceſs in ' the Law, for the doing of which he is the imme' diate officer, and to do which he is ſworn. For this ' reaſon he is required, by his office and oath, to ' make juſt return, and the Law intends and conſiders ' him as a lay perſon, and not to have any cognizance ' of the ſcience of the Law; and therefore, where a ' writ comes to him, whether it comes with or with' out authority, is not a point for him to diſpute; on ' this head he offers ſeveral reaſons, all tending to ' prove, that the Sheriff might think it right to exe' cute that writ of privilege. He then puts this queſ' tion, and now let us ſee, in caſe the Sheriff diſobeyed ' this writ, what damage he would ſuſtain? Truly, ' he would be in danger of perjury, and alſo of im' priſonment and ranſom at the King's will, and this ' was done in the ſame Parliament, in reſpect to Hill ' and Stukely (this ſhould be Suckliffe) the Sheriffs of ' London, who were committed to the Tower for ' their contempts, for that they would not ſuffer George ' Ferrers, who was arreſted upon an execution, to go ' at large, when the Serjeant at Arms came for him ' without any writ; ſo that, probably, Chamond ' might be terrified by this precedent from diſobeying ' the writ of Parliament, which is the higheſt Court ' of the Kingdom. And it plainly appears by the ' writ, that it was clear in Parliament, that the party ' ought to have his privilege in this caſe, for other' wiſe the writ ſhould have been a *Habeas Corpus cum* ' *Cauſa*, which writ is often granted before the Judges ' are ſatisfied whether privilege lies in any caſe or not; ' and if they find that it does not lie, then they re' mand the matter by *Procedendo*, &c. and tho' the ' Parliament do err in the grant of a writ of privilege, ' yet it is not reverſible in another Court, and there' fore there can be no fault in the Sheriff.' I have ſtated this matter at large from Dyer's Reports, that the reader might ſee the reaſoning of that great man, who, in time, became himſelf Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, upon ſo nice a ſubject. It is true Sir Edward Coke, when Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the thirty fifth of Elizabeth, delivered his opinion to the Houſe in theſe words (14); ' as for Tre' wynard's caſe, recited in my Lord Dyer, I have ' heard great learned men ſay, that that cauſe is no ' good Law, and that the Houſe did more than was ' warrantable.' But to put an end to all diſputes of this kind, in the firſt year of King James it was provided for by a ſtatute (15), that the diſcharging a perſon out of execution by privilege of Parliament, ſhould not void the judgment, in which the Legiſlature ſeem not to approve my Lord Coke's Law, ſo much as they did that of Lord Dyer.

(12) Moore, fol. 57. n. 163. Crompton's Jur. p. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

(13) Dyer, fol. 61.

(14) Dewes's Journal of the Parliaments of Queen Eliz. p. 516.

(15) Stat. 1 Jac. I. c. xiii.

[*D*] *Had a ſingular kindneſs*] It appears ſufficiently from all our hiſtories, that Edward the Sixth, in his infancy, was very weakly, and therefore the King his father was very anxious for the preſervation of his health, in reſpect to which, at the perſuaſion of this gentleman, he was ſent to the Priory of St Giles's (16) in the Wood, then the houſe of Sir Richard Page, Knight, Lieutenant of the Band of Penſioners given him by the ſaid King, and this for the ſake of its excellent air, ſtanding alſo very near Flamſtead. That eſtate came afterwards, by marriage, to the family of Saunders,

(16) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 571.

wards, at a very critical juncture, for, when the unfortunate Duke of Somerſet lay under ſentence of death, and it was obſerved on the one hand, that people murmured and gave open teſtimonies of diſcontent; and, on the other, that the King himſelf was very uneaſy and melancholy, thoſe who were about him thought it their intereſt to ſtudy any method to quiet and amuſe the one, and, if poſſible, to entertain and divert the other (*n*). In order to this, at the entrance of the Chriſtmas holidays, George Ferrars, Eſq; was proclaimed LORD of MISRULE, that is, a kind of Prince of ſports and paſtimes, which office he diſcharged for twelve days together at Greenwich, with great magnificence and addreſs, and entirely to the King's ſatisfaction. In this character attended by the politeſt part of the Court, he made an excurſion to London, where he was very honourably received by officers created for that purpoſe, ſplendidly entertained by the Lord Mayor, and, when he took his leave, had a preſent made him in token of reſpect (*o*) [*E*]. But notwithſtanding he made ſo great a figure in the diverſions of a Court, he preſerved at the ſame time his credit with all the learned world, and was no idle ſpectator of political affairs, as appears from the Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen Mary, which, though inſerted in the Chronicle, and publiſhed in the name of Richard Grafton (*p*), was in truth penned by our author, as we are told by honeſt John Stowe (*q*), an author of inconteſtible authority in ſuch caſes. To this circumſtance, if a certain critical writer had any way adverted, he would certainly have mentioned it amongſt many leſs curious and leſs uſeful particulars (*r*). This method of ſending works into the world under other mens names, who were benefited by it, was a thing in thoſe days very common, and indeed a great part of another General Hiſtory of England was compoſed in this manner; neither are the learned at a loſs for the names of the true authors of moſt of the reigns, as will be ſhewn in another place (*s*). Our author, Ferrars, was an Hiſtorian, a Lawyer, and a Politician, even in his poetry, as evidently appears from thoſe pieces of his that are inſerted in the MIRROR *for* MAGISTRATES (*t*), and which are ſcarce inferior to any thing that have found a place in that collection [*F*]. He wrote likewiſe, in the earlier part of his life,

(*n*) Stowe's Annals, p. 608.

(*o*) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1317.

(*p*) Printed for Richard Tottle and Humphry Toye, 1569, fol.

(*q*) Annals, p. 632.

(*r*) Nicholſon's Engl. Hiſtorical Library, p. 87.

(*s*) See the article of SPEED (JOHN) in this Dictionary.

(*t*) Lond. 1559, 4*to*.

Saunders, who pulled down the old fabrick and built a new and very elegant houſe, in which, however, a bed very richly embroidered with the arms of England was preſerved, on account of the tradition that he had ſlept in it, and ſeveral panes of glaſs, in which the royal arms were alſo painted, found, for the ſame reaſon, admittance into the new houſe (17). We need not therefore at all wonder, that King Edward ſhould ſhew a particular liking to Mr Ferrars, whom he had known ſo long; and who, from the pleaſantneſs of his temper, was very likely to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of a young Monarch, allowed to have parts much ſuperior to his years.

(17) MS. Remarks on the Art of Engliſh Poetry.

[*E*] *In token of reſpect.*] We have this ſtory, and the occaſion of it, largely enough related by ſeveral of our Hiſtorians; it is not therefore of any great conſequence, the rather, ſince they tranſcribe each other, from which we take it. Honeſt John Stowe (18) tells it thus: 'The King kept his Chriſtmas with open houſe-'hold at Greenwich, George Ferrers, gentleman, of 'Lincoln's-Inne, being Lord of the merry diſports all 'the twelve days, who ſo pleaſantly and wiſely be-'haved himſelf, that the King had great delight in 'his paſtimes. On Monday the fourth of January, 'the ſaid Lord of Merry Diſports came by water to 'London, and landed at the Tower-Wharfe, entered 'the Tower, and then rode through Tower-Street, 'where he was received by Serjeant Vawce, Lord of 'Miſrule to John Mainard, one of the Sheriffs of 'London, and ſo conducted through the city with a 'great company of young Lords and Gentlemen, to the 'houſe of Sir George Barne, Lord Mayor, where he, 'with the chief of his company, dined, and after 'had a great banquet, and at his departure the Lord 'Mayor gave him a ſtanding cup, with a cover of ſil-'ver and gilt, of the value of ten pounds, for a re-'ward, and alſo ſet a hogſhead of wine, and a barrel 'of beer, at his gate, for his train that followed him, 'the reſidue of his gentlemen and ſervants dined at 'other Aldermens houſes, and with the Sheriffs, and 'ſo departed to the Tower-Wharfe again, and to the 'Court by water, to the great commendation of the 'Mayor and Aldermen, and highly accepted of the 'King and Council.' Grafton obſerves (19), that this was ſo acceptable to the young King, that he made it ſufficiently appear by his princely liberality in rewarding the ſervice; but he does not tell us what that reward was. I have found it ſome where ſuggeſted (20), that it was a large grant of Abbey-Lands, but I believe this muſt be a miſtake, for this grant was in the ſecond year of the King, and conſiſted of the Priory of Mergate, or Markiate, now called Market-Street, lying at a ſmall diſtance from Flamſtead, but in the county of Bedford, and valued at the time of the Diſſolution at the annual rent of one hundred forty three pounds one ſhilling and three pence (21). It is true it may be ſuggeſted, that there might be two grants, one in reward of his ſervices in Scotland, and the other upon this occaſion; but we may fairly alledge, in anſwer to this, that gifts of ſuch lands are ſo duly recorded, that it would be ſcarce poſſible to miſs finding ſome notice of it, if ſuch a ſubſequent grant there had ever been.

(18) Annals, p. 608, 609.

(19) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1317.

(20) Notes on the Art of Engliſh Poetry.

(21) Speed.

[*F*] *In that collection.*] The firſt edition of this book, in which edition were many of our author's pieces, was printed in 1559; the ſecond, into which the reſt of his Poems are inſerted, after his death in 1587; and the third, which was alſo not barely reprinted, in 1610, but with many additions; all in Quarto. The title of the ſecond edition, at large runs thus:

The Mirour *for* Magiſtrates, *wherein may be ſeen, by examples paſſed in this* Realm, *with how grievous plagues vices are puniſhed in great Princes and Magiſtrates, and how frail and unſtable worldly proſperity is found, where fortune ſeemeth moſt highly to favour.* Newly imprinted, and with the addition of divers tragedies enlarged.

The firſt edition of this book was publiſhed by William Baldwin, who prefixed an epiſtle before the ſecond part of it, wherein he ſignifies, that it was intended to reprint the *Fall of Princes*, by Boccace, as tranſlated into Engliſh by Lidgate the Monk; but, that upon communicating his deſign, to ſeven of his friends, all of them ſons of the Muſes, they diſſuaded him, propoſing to look over the Engliſh Chronicles, and to pick out of them ſuch ſtories as were moſt entertaining, and at the ſame time not void of inſtruction, which they undertook to adorn each with a robe of poeſy. Amongſt theſe friends of his, none more ready in promiſing, none more willing in performance, than our Mr George Ferrers, who furniſhed Mr Baldwin with four ſtories for that edition of the Mirour, &c. the titles of which follow:

1. *The fall of* Robert Treſilian, *Chief Juſtice of* England, *and other his fellows, for miſconſtruing the* Laws, *and expounding them to ſerve the* Princes *affections.*

2. *The* Tragedy, *or* unlawful Murder, *of* Thomas *of* Woodſtock, *Duke of* Glouceſter.

3. *Tragedy of King* Richard II.

4. *The*

life, ſome pieces in his own profeſſion, which gained him great reputation, and which manifeſtly ſhews, that he was not ſo great a Courtier as to prefer the prerogative of the Crown to the rights or property of the ſubject, but one who well underſtood, that the welfare of this nation muſt depend upon maintaining, in it's full vigour, our moſt excellent conſtitution [G]. It very rarely happens, that, where a man ſo often changes his courſe of life as Mr Ferrars did, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, was forced to do, that he maintains himſelf without blemiſh in the world's good opinion; and yet ſuch was his happy fortune, that change in his ſtation wrought none in his credit, but in all the variety of ſcenes through which he paſſed, and from the earlieſt to the lateſt day of his life, he was beloved, admired, and careſſed, by all who knew him, and more eſpecially reſpected by the learned, who conſulted him upon their labours as a candid Critick and a generous friend (*u*). For theſe circumſtances, notwithſtanding that deluge of oblivion which has ſwept away the remembrance of many great things done in thoſe times, we have with ſome pains been able to recover; though without queſtion much more might have been ſaid, if Leland had lived to perfect thoſe works which he began, or if his unhappy fate had not deterred others from attempting to preſerve the perſonal memoirs of thoſe illuſtrious and ingenious men, who flouriſhed in thoſe days [H]. Yet to that great man,

(*u*) Art of Engliſh Poetry.

4. *The* Story *of* Dame Elianor Cobham, *Ducheſs of* Glouceſter, *&c.* which is much altered, and greatly augmented, in the ſecond edition.

In the *ſecond edition* are added to thoſe four,

5. *The* Story *of* Humphry Plantagenet, *Duke of* Glouceſter, *Protector of* England.

6. Tragedy *of* Edmund *Duke of* Somerſet.

Amongſt theſe the complaint of *Elianor Cobham*, Ducheſs of *Glouceſter*, who was baniſhed for her conſulting conjurers and fortunetellers about the life of King Henry the Sixth, and whoſe exile quickly made way for the murder of her huſband, has, of all his compoſitions, been moſt admired; the reader perhaps, will not think his time miſpent in the peruſal of a few ſtanzas (22); that Lady ſpeaks.

(22) Mirour for Magiſtrates, fol. 144.

The Iſle of Man was the appointed place
To penance me for ever in exile;
Thither, in haſte, they poaſted me apace,
And doubting ſcape they pin'd me in a pyle,
Cloſe by myſelf; in care, alas, the while
There felt I firſt poor priſoners hungry fare,
Much want, things ſkant, and ſtone walls hard and bare.

The chaunge was ſtraunge from ſylke and cloth of gold
To rugged fryze, my carcaſs for to cloath;
From Princes fare, and dainties hot and cold,
To rotten fiſh, and meates that one would loath:
The diet and dreſſing were much alike boath:
Bedding and lodging were all alike fine,
Such Down it was as ſerved well for ſwyne.

Neither doe I mine own caſe thus complayne,
Which, I confeſſe, came partly by deſert,
The only cauſe which doubleth all my payne,
And which moſt neer goeth now unto my hearte,
Is that my fault did finally revert,
To him that was leaſt guilty of the ſame,
Whoſe death it was, though I abode the ſhame:

Whoſe fatal fall when I do call to minde,
And how, by me, his miſchief firſt began;
So ofte I cry on fortune moſt unkinde,
And my miſhap moſt utterly doe banne,
That ever I to ſuch a nobleman,
Who from my crime was innocent and cleare,
Should be a cauſe to buy his love ſo deare.

Oh! to my heart how greevous is the wounde,
Calling to minde this diſmal deadly caſe,
I would I had been dolven under ground
When hee firſt ſaw or looked on my face,
Or tooke delight in any kind of grace;
Seeming in mee that him did ſtir or move,
To fancy me or ſet his heart to love.

Farewell Greenwych, my Pallace of delight,
Where I was wont to ſee the chriſtall ſtreames
Of royal Thames, moſt pleaſaunt to my ſight,
And farewell Kent right famous in all realmes,
A thouſand times I minde you in my dreames,
And when I wake moſt griefe it is to mee
That never more agayne I ſhall you ſee.

[G] *Our moſt excellent conſtitution.*] We have already obſerved, that the fall of his patron, Thomas Cromwell Earl of Eſſex, induced him pretty early to quit the publick exerciſe of his profeſſion as a Counſellor at Law, but not before he had given publick teſtimonies of his great knowledge and reading, as appears from

The double tranſlation of Magna Charta *from* French, *into* Latin *and* Engliſh. *Imprinted by* Elizabeth, *Widow to* Robert Redman, 12mo.

Other Laws enacted in the times of Henry *the* Third, *and* Edward *the* Firſt, *tranſlated into* Engliſh. But when or where printed does not appear.

[H] *Who flouriſhed in thoſe days.*] There is no doubt, that many of the Poems penned by our author in the earlier part of his life, and by which he recommended himſelf to the favour of his gracious Sovereigns Henry and Edward, are now loſt. Mr Wood mentions an Epitaph made on Dr Phayer (23), a very learned Phyſician, which is not now to be met with. The learned Mr Leland has entered amongſt his notes one, which ſhews the reſpect he had to our author's judgment, in theſe words (24). 'Mr Ferrars told 'me, that Gower the Judge could not be the man 'that write the bookes yn Engliſch, for he ſaid that 'Gower the Judge was about Edward the Secundes 'time.' His remarks upon the Engliſh Hiſtory, in the proſe part of the Mirror of Magiſtrates, are very judicious, and ſhew that he was perfectly maſter of the ſubject, that he had ſtudied it long and carefully, and had made diligent enquiry into the ſecret ſprings of great events, which might have qualified him to have undertaken the writing any part of our hiſtory with reputation. Of this, what he has written, *viz.* the reign of Queen Mary, is another good proof; and John Stowe (25), who loved not Grafton, and in truth had no reaſon to love him, might very probably let us into the ſecret of this reign being written by Mr Ferrars, purely to prevent Richard Grafton from having the credit of it, and indeed it is very unlike the reſt of his work, which, if a certain Prelate's judgment (26) will influence the reader, deſervedly procured him, from George Buchanan (27), the character of a very heedleſs and unſkilful writer. None of the authors we have met with deliver any thing as to Mr Ferrar's religion, but it is highly probable, if not certain, that he was a ſettled, and it may be a zealous, Proteſtant, not upon account of his receiving grants of Abbey Lands, for that might be but a precarious proof, but from his coming into the world under the protection of Thomas Lord Cromwell, a man certainly perſuaded of the truth of the Proteſtant Religion, whatever errors he might fall into in the practice, and from the high credit in which he ſtood with the

(23) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 135.

(24) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 46.

(25) Annals, p. 608.

(26) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 71.

(27) Hiſt. Scot. l. viii.

man we ſtand indebted for ſeveral particulars of our author's hiſtory, occaſionally ſet down in his valuable papers that are yet preſerved (*w*), as well as for that excellent poem which he addreſſes to Mr Ferrars, and which alone had been ſufficient to have tranſmitted his memory to poſterity with honour, if all other helps had been wanting [*I*]. With reſpect to the time of our author's death we are not exactly informed, all we know is, that he died in the year 1579, at his houſe at Flamſtead in Hertfordſhire, and was buried in the pariſh-church; for, as Mr Wood informs us, on the 18th of May the ſame year, a commiſſion was granted from the Prerogative, to adminiſter the goods, debts, chattels, &c. of him the ſaid George Ferrars, then lately deceaſed (*x*). There flouriſhed alſo at the ſame time with him one Mr Edward Ferrars, a Warwickſhire Gentleman of a good family, bred, as well as our author, at Oxford, a celebrated Poet likewiſe, and much in the good graces of Henry VIII, to whom a certain writer who lived near thoſe times aſcribed many of the pieces written by our author, and thereby miſled (*y*) Mr Wood in his firſt edition, but he afterwards corrected that miſtake from our author's poems (*z*). This Edward Ferrars died in 1564, and lies buried in the church of Badeſly Clinton, in the county of Warwick.

(*w*) Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 46.

(*x*) Athen Oxon. Vol. I. col. 193.

(*y*) Meer's Wits Commonwealth, P. ii. p. 646.

(*z*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 146.

the Lord Protector Somerſet and King Edward the Sixth, to which it is ſcarce poſſible he ſhould have attained, if he had not been ſo. In his hiſtory alſo of the reign of Queen Mary, tho' written with much caution and wonderful moderation, and wherein he ſpeaks highly of the perſonal virtues of that Princeſs, yet he ſhews himſelf clearly of the reformed religion, more eſpecially in the large account he gives of the death of Archbiſhop Cranmer (28), and of Sir Thomas Wiat's inſurrection; and, indeed, in all other paſſages where it could be expected, referring for further particulars, to the Acts and Monuments written by John Fox.

(28) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1350, 1351.

[*I*] *If all other helps had been wanting.*] What is ſaid in the text is no more, than what is juſtly due to the pains taken by that incomparable Antiquary John Leland, whoſe elegies in praiſe of the worthy perſons who flouriſhed in his time, are many of them ſhort hiſtories of their lives and actions, as the reader will perceive by the following Poem, the beginning of which alludes to Mr Ferrar's ſeat at Verlamum or Flamſtead, and is a very elegant complement. The late learned Biſhop Tanner thought, that the laſt lines related to the Duke of Somerſet's expedition into Scotland; but perhaps they may be with more juſtice referred to his expedition into that kingdom, when Earl of Hertford, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth; nor is it at all improbable, that Mr Ferrars might attend him in the firſt, as he certainly did in the laſt. Mr Leland's Poem runs thus (29):

(29) Principum ac Illuſtrium aliquot & Eruditorum in Anglia Virorum, Encomia, Trophæa, Genethliaca, et Epithalamia. A Joanne Lelando Antiquario conſcripta. Lond. 1589, p. 99.

Ad Georgium Ferrarium.

Si modo Verlamum vetus urbs victoribus olim
Cognita Romanis tota niteret ovans:
Te niveis certe inſigniret grata lapillis,
Texeret ac facili florea ſerta manu:
Queis tua congaudens redimiret tempora feſta
Quod Muſas deamet Caſtaliumque gregem.
Concidit antiquæ ſed gloria funditus urbis,
Albani fanum quod reparavit opus.
Fortunæ ſcandens alta ad faſtigia ſummæ,
Cromuellus ſibi te vir catus aſſeruit.
Deinde animo leges patrias evolvis, & illis,
Sedulus inſervis cauſidicoque foro.
Patronum veterem repetis patronus & ipſe,
Ac lepidis dictis lætitiæque ſtudes.
Gloria at illius cecidit magnamque ruinam
Paſſa eſt: ſic verſat ſors male fida rotas.
Aulica vita tibi placuit, mox regia magni,
Te Henrici gremio foverat ampla ſuo.
Horrida bella ſonant, Martis fœtura coruſcat,
Et Scotti & Morini tela cruenta vibrant.
Fortior occurris, gladio clypeoque reſumpto,
Bellator prodis Martius, atque minax.
Vidiſti Scottos victor Morinoſque fugatos,
Et patuit virtus amplior inde tua.
Perge, ut cœpiſti, magum te oſtendere factis
Ferrari, & noſtro carmine major eris.

This I have found thus tranſlated, or rather Paraphraſed.

If that fam'd City which the Romans knew
(Renown'd for arms, renown'd for learning too)
Shone now in ſplendour as in days of old,
Happy her Citizen in Thee ſhe'd hold,
Whoſe genius back her former joys convey'd,
Caſtalian ſprings and ev'ry tuneful maid;
For in her turn, ſweet bard, each muſe is thine,
I am content with one, but thou haſt nine.
Proud of thy virtues, ſhe'd exalt thy fame
With golden honours, ſtrive to deck thy name;
But what ſhe was St Alban's is, and ſhe,
Tho' leſs her right, puts in her claim to thee.
The cautious Cromwell early call'd thee friend,
Beſpoke thy fortunes, taught thee to aſcend;
When to the laws you bent your maiden choice,
And crowds applauding liſtened to your voice;
While your great patron fill'd the chair of ſtate
And ſaw you in your turn becoming great,
You ſooth'd the burthen of perplex'd affairs,
Heighten'd his pleaſures, and conſol'd his cares.
At length he fell! O fall ſewere indeed!
And yet to all who fortune truſt, decreed.
Then to the Palace all your thoughts attend,
And mighty HENRY well ſupply'd your friend.
But war breaks out, the Scot and faithleſs Gaul,
By baſe invaſions for chaſtiſements call:
Thy ſword and ſhield are readily ſuſtain'd,
And martial heat again your veins diſtend;
The Scots well beaten, and the Gauls ſubdu'd,
All arts of peace are once again purſu'd.
Your valour found as ſterling as your wit,
All own your virtues for each ſtation fit,
For Courts and Camps alike by nature form'd,
With ſenſe enliven'd, and with courage warm'd:
Go FERRARS on, compleat your brave deſigns,
You have deſerv'd, and ſhall tranſcend my lines.

E

FISHER (JOHN) Biſhop of Rocheſter in the XVIth century, a man worthy to live in better times, was born at Beverley in Yorkſhire, in the year 1459 (*a*). His father, named Robert, was a Merchant in that town, who left him an orphan very young. But his good and kind mother, whoſe name was Anne, though ſhe married again, did not neglect this ſon, and another younger ſhe had by her firſt huſband; cauſing them to be carefully educated in the collegiate church of their native place, Beverley. When fit for the univerſity, John was ſent to Michael-Houſe (*b*) in Cambridge, in the year 1484, and placed under the tuition of Mr William de Melton. He took the degrees in Arts in 1488 and 1491; and being elected Fellow of Michael-houſe (*c*), was one of the Proctors of the univerſity in 1495 (*d*). The ſame year, he was elected Maſter of Michael-houſe, in the room of his tutor William de Melton preferred to the dignity of Chancellor of the cathedral church of York (*e*): and having for ſome time before applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, he took Holy Orders, and became eminent as a Divine. So that the fame of his learning and exemplary virtues reaching the ears of Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, mother of King Henry VII, ſhe choſe him her Chaplain and Confeſſor: in which ſtation he behaved with ſo much goodneſs and wiſdom, that ſhe committed herſelf and her whole family to his government and direction. And by his advice and perſuaſion it was, that ſhe undertook thoſe munificent foundations at Cambridge [*A*], of which an account is given lower (*f*). In 1501, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*g*). The ſame year he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, and again in 1504 (*h*); during the exerciſe of which eminent office [*B*], he encouraged learning and good manners: and is ſaid by ſome to have had Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry VIII, under his tuition in that univerſity (*i*). In 1502, he was appointed, by charter, the Lady Margaret's firſt Divinity Profeſſor in Cambridge (*k*). Likewiſe, *anno* 1504, being nominated Biſhop of Rocheſter [*C*], upon the tranſlation of Richard Fitz-James to the See of London; he was confirmed by Pope Julius the Second's bull, dated 14 October 1504 (*l*). This ſmall biſhopric he would never afterwards exchange for a better, tho' he was offered both Lincoln and Ely [*D*]. For, he called his church his wife, and was wont to ſay, He would not change his little old wife, to whom he had been ſo long wedded, for a wealthier (*m*). At the time of this promotion he was attending the building and foundation of Chriſt's-college in Cambridge; and as he was not accommodated with a convenient lodging, Dr Tho. Wilkinſon Preſident of Queen's-college dying in 1505, the Society choſe him their Preſident in his room [*E*]. This Headſhip he gratefully accepted, and kept it a little above three years (*n*). In 1506, he perfected the foundation of Chriſt's-college, and was appointed in the ſtatutes Viſitor for his life, after the death of

(*a*) G. Lilius in Vitâ Fiſheri.

(*b*) Now incorporated into Trinity college.

(*c*) The Life and Death of John Fiſher, written by Ric. Hall, D. D. but publiſhed under the name of Tho. Baily, Lond. 1655, 8*vo*, p. 1—8.

(*d*) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 82. See alſo his Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. 202.

(*e*) G. Lilius, ut ſupra, et J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 318.

(*f*) Life, &c. as above, by Hall, p. 11, 12. Et Lilius.

(*g*) R. Hall, ib. p. 8.

(*h*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambr. p. 86, 87.

(*i*) Antiquit. Britannicæ, p. 464. Vide Godwin. de Præſulibus, edit. Cl. W. Richardſon, 1743, p. 536, not. *u*.

(*k*) T. Baker's Pref. to our author's Sermon at the Lady Margaret's funeral, p. vii. lxiv.

(*l*) J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 250; & R. Hall, p. 13, &c.

(*m*) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 16; and Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. 202, 203.

(*n*) R. Hall, p. 26. et Wharton. Angl. Sacra, P. i. p. 382.

[*A*] *And by his advice and perſuaſion it was, that ſhe undertook thoſe munificent foundations at Cambridge.*] For this, among others, we have the authority of the renowned Eraſmus (1). *Reverendus Epiſcopus Roffenſis, vir non ſolum mirabili integritate vitæ, verum etiam alta & recondita doctrina, tum morum quoque incredibili comitate commendatus maximis pariter ac minimis. ——His nominibus aliquando Regis Henrici qui nunc Angliam moderatur aviæ paternæ Margaritæ egregiè charus, & à confeſſionis ſecretis. Cui Margaritæ auctor fuit, ut in Academia Cantabrigienſi Collegia duo conſtruxerit, & amplis poſſeſſionibus ditaverit. Quorum alterum Chriſto Servatori, alterum S. Johanni Evangeliſtæ conſecravit. Solebat etiam ipſe pro ſua facultate bonæ ſpei adoleſcentes, maximè pauperiores liberaliter ad ſtudia nutrire.*

(1) Epiſt. edit. Baſil, 1540, p. 253, &c. and 1125.

[*B*] *During the exerciſe of which eminent office.*] Dr William Richardſon ſeems to conclude, that Thomas Wolſey was choſen Chancellor in 1514, upon Biſhop Fiſher's refuſing to continue ſo any longer (2). But in R. Parker's Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge, it is ſaid, that Biſhop Fiſher was then confirmed in that office for life. '1514. *Hoc anno factus* [*ſcil. Joh. Fiſher*] *perpetuus Academiæ Cancellarius* (3).'

(2) In editione Godwini de Præſulibus, ubi ſupra.

(3) Hiſt. of Camb. edit. 1722, 8*vo*, p. 197.

[*C*] *Being nominated Biſhop of Rocheſter.*] He was promoted thereto, chiefly through the original recommendation of him to King Henry VII. by Dr Richard Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, as he acknowledges in the dedication of his book againſt Oecolampadius to that Biſhop.—*Adde, quod Regi Henrico ſeptimo —— meam parvitatem commendaſti, ut ſola exiſtimatione, quam de me concepit, & mero motu, citra quodvis aliud obſequium, citra cujuſquam preces, quod & mihi non ſemel affirmabat, epiſcopatum Roffenſem, cui jam indignus præſum, ultro donaverit. Non deſunt forte complures quibus creditum eſt genitricem illius, nempe Comitem Richemondiæ, Derbiæque, foeminam eximiam, & plane incomparabilem, heramque mihi multis rationibus chariſſimam, ſuis precibus a filio dictum epiſcopatum impetraſſe mihi. Vere longe aliter ſeſe res habet. Quod & tuæ dominationi compertiſſimum eſt. ——Sed ad dominationem tuam redeo, cui (ut dixi) poſt Regem prudentiſſimum defunctum, omnia commoda, quæ mihi meiſque ſuppetunt, ex hoc epiſcopatu me debere confiteor.* The ſubſtance of which is, that it was not through the Lady Margaret's intereſt, but the Biſhop of Wincheſter's original recommendation of him to King Henry VII. that he obtained the Biſhopric.——Before the King gave it him, he writ a letter to his mother, which begins thus. 'Madam, and I thought I ſhould not offend you, which I will never do wilfully, I am well myndit to promote Maſter Fiſher youre Confeſſor to a Buſhopric; and I aſſure you Madam, for non other cauſe but for the grete and ſingular virtue, that I know and ſe in hym, as well in conyng and natural wiſdom, and ſpecially for his good and vertuoſe lyving and converſation. And by the promotyon of ſuche a man, I know well, it ſhould corage many others to lyve vertuoſely, and to take ſuch wayes as he dothe, which ſhulde be a good example to many others hereafter. Howebeit without your pleaſure knowen I woll not move hym, nor tempt hym therein, &c— (4).

(4) See at the end of the Biſhop's Funeral Sermon on the Lady Margaret, p. 41, publiſhed by T. Baker.

[*D*] *This ſmall biſhopric he would never afterwards exchange for a better, tho' he was offered both Lincoln and Ely.*] His own ſentiments upon that ſubject are truly juſt and noble. *Habeant licet alii proventus pinguiores, ego tamen interim pauciorum animarum curam gero, adeo ut quum utrorumque ratio reddenda fuerit, quod & propediem haud dubie futurum eſt, nec pilo meam ſortem optarim uberiorem.* i. e. Tho' others have larger revenues, I have fewer ſouls under my care, ſo that when I ſhall have to give an account of both, which muſt be very ſoon, I would not deſire my condition to have been better than it is (5).

(5) Dedicat. to Biſhop Fox, as in the foregoingnote.

[*E*] *The Society choſe him their Preſident in his room.*] Dr Fuller is miſtaken, when he ſays (6), that this election was, whilſt the Biſhop was 'employed in building of St John's-college.' For it was not built till ſome years after.

(6) Ch. Hiſtory, B. v. p. 202.

of the munificent foundreſs (*o*). He was alſo the chief inſtrument in the foundation of St John's college in the ſame univerſity, and from the ſame bountiful hand the Counteſs of Richmond. Her intention was, to beſtow the remainder of her charities upon the moſt magnificent chapel, which her ſon King Henry VII was erecting at the eaſt end of Weſtminſter-Abbey, by richly endowing a chantry there. But communicating her deſign to her Confeſſor Biſhop Fiſher, the great director of her charity, ſhe was eaſily prevailed upon by him, to whom ſhe was all obedience, to alter her purpoſe, and found St John's college. The King's licence was obtained for that purpoſe; but before it was paſſed in due form, the King dies April 21, 1509, as does the Lady Margaret herſelf June the 29th following. By theſe unhappy and unforeſeen accidents, the care of the new foundation devolved upon her executors, of whom the moſt faithful and moſt active, nay the ſole and principal agent, was Biſhop Fiſher. And he carried it on with the utmoſt application, and an honeſt and induſtrious zeal (*p*). In 1512, he was appointed to go to the Council of Lateran at Rome, but never went (*q*) [*F*]. St John's-college being finiſhed in 1516, he repaired to Cambridge, and opened that college with due ſolemnity; and was alſo commiſſioned to make ſtatutes for the ſame (*r*). Not content with all that he had done for that noble ſeminary of learning, he became a conſiderable benefactor to it afterwards (*s*) [*G*]. And it was through his perſuaſion and intreaties, that Dr Richard Croke came and ſettled at Cambridge, where he was the firſt Greek Profeſſor after Eraſmus (*t*). Upon Martin Luther's firſt appearance, and his ſtout oppoſition to the errors and innovations of Popery, Biſhop Fiſher, like a zealous champion for the Church of Rome, was one of the foremoſt to enter the liſts againſt him. He not only endeavoured to prevent the propagation of his doctrine in his own dioceſe, and in the univerſity of Cambridge, over which, as Chancellor, he had a very great influence; but alſo preached and wrote, with great vehemence and earneſtneſs againſt him (*u*). The King's book, intituled, *An Aſſertion of the Seven Sacraments againſt Martin Luther*, is thought chiefly to be the work of Biſhop Fiſher (*w*): who, moreover, publiſhed, *A Defence of the King of England's Aſſertion of the Catholique Faith againſt M. Luther's Book of the Captivity of Babylon*; and, *A Defence of the Holy Order of Prieſthood, againſt Martin Luther*. With other pieces, mentioned below in note [*X*], among the reſt of his works. Nay, he even took a reſolution of going to Rome, for the ſettlement of thoſe points; but was diverted by Cardinal Wolſey's calling together a Synod of the whole clergy, wherein the Biſhop delivered himſelf with great freedom [*H*], on occaſion of the Cardinal's ſtately pride (*x*). Hitherto Biſhop Fiſher had continued in great favour with King Henry VIII, but the buſineſs of the divorce being ſet on foot in 1527, he adhered ſo firmly to the Queen's cauſe, and the Pope's Supremacy, that it brought him into great troubles, and in the end proved his ruin. For, the King who had a great eſteem for him, both on account of his honeſty and learning, having deſired his opinion on the ſubject of his marriage with Queen Catherine of Arragon; the Biſhop declared, That there was no reaſon at all to queſtion the

(*o*) T. Baker, ubi ſupra, Pref. p. xii.

(*p*) T. Baker, ibid. p. xv. xviii. xix. xxix. xxxii.

(*q*) Ibid. p. xlvi. & Wharton, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) T. Baker, p. xlv. xlvii.

(*s*) R. Hall, as above, p. 29, 30.

(*t*) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 105; and Strype's Eccl. Memor. Vol. I. p. 143.

(*u*) R. Hall, p. 34, 35.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 36.

(*x*) R. Hall. p. 36, &c. 40, 41.

[*F*] *But never went.*] For, as the learned Mr Baker well obſerves (7), 'tho' ſome of our hiſtorians 'have ſent him thither, and the Univerſity had recommended their affairs to him, as ready to go, by a letter dated February 1514 (8), and tho' he had drawn up and ſealed procuratorial powers to William Freſel, Prior of Ledes, during his abſence, dated March 10 the ſame year, yet he never went; he ſays himſelf, his journey was ſtopt (9), and theſe procuratorial powers, together with other letters recommending him to ſome men of note at Rome, are yet lodged amongſt the archives of St John's college, and ſhow, they were never delivered.'

(7) Preface, as above, p. xlvi.

(8) Reg. Liter.

(9) Lib. Rub.

[*G*] *He became a conſiderable benefactor to it afterwards.*] For he not only bore a part in the charge of the building; but much augmented the revenues of it with lands, whereby four fellowſhips were founded upon his own account, and one reader of an Hebrew Lecture, another of Greek, together with four examining readers, and four under-readers to help the principal. And obſerving that the price of victuals began to riſe, he gave wherewith (by weekly dividend) the fellows commons might be augmented: bequeathing alſo thereto his library (thought to be then the beſt in Europe) after his deceaſe; together with all his plate, hangings, and other houſhold-ſtuff whatſoever, by a deed of gift in his life-time; and putting the college in poſſeſſion of the ſame by indentures, only borrowing them back again for his own uſe, during his life. But they were ſeized, upon his being attainted of treaſon. He had moreover, to ſhew his perpetual good will to this college, built a little chapel near the college-chapel, and erected there a tomb of white marble finely wrought, for his own burial-place. But his body was laid elſewhere, as will be related in its due place (10).

(10) R. Hall, p. 30, 31.

[*H*] *Wherein the Biſhop delivered himſelf with great freedom.*] Part of his ſpeech was in theſe words—— 'I had thought, that when ſo many learned men, as 'ſubſtitute for the clergy, had been drawn into this 'body, that ſome good matters ſhould have been pro'pounded for the benefit and good of the Church: 'that the ſcandals, that lye ſo heavy upon her men, 'and the diſeaſe which takes ſuch hold on thoſe ad'vantages, might have been hereby at once removed, 'and alſo remedied. Who hath made any the leaſt 'propoſition againſt the ambition of thoſe men, whoſe 'pride is ſo offenſive, whiles their profeſſion is humility? or againſt the incontinency of ſuch as have 'vowed chaſtity? how are the goods of the Church 'waſted? the lands, the tithes, and other oblations 'of the devout anceſtors of the people (to the great 'ſcandal of their poſterity) waſted in ſuperfluous rio'tous expences? how can we exhort our flocks to fly 'the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, when 'we that are Biſhops ſet our minds on nothing more 'than that which we forbid? if we ſhould teach ac'cording to our doing, how abſurdly would our doc'trines ſound in the ears of thoſe that ſhould hear us? 'and if we teach one thing, and do another, who be'lieveth our report? which would ſeem to them no 'otherwiſe than as if we ſhould throw down with one 'hand what we built with the other: we preach hu'mility, ſobriety, contempt of the world, &c. and 'the people perceive in the ſame men that preach 'this doctrine, pride and haughtineſs of mind, exceſs 'in apparel, and a reſignation of our ſelves to all 'worldly pomps and vanities. And what is this other'wiſe, than to ſet the people in a ſtand, whether they 'ſhall follow the ſight of their own eyes, or the belief 'of what they hear—— (11).'

(11) R. Hall, as above, p. 37, 38.

[*I*] *The*

the validity of that marriage, ſince it was good and lawful from the beginning. And, from this opinion no conſiderations whatever could make him recede afterwards (*y*). When the affair came to be tried before the two Legates, Campeius and Wolſey; Biſhop Fiſher was one of the Counſellors aſſigned to the Queen; and preſented to the Legates a book he had written in defence of the marriage: making a ſpeech at the ſame time, wherein he deſired them, to take good heed of what they did in ſo weighty a buſineſs (*z*). In the Parliament which met November 3, 1529, a motion being made for ſuppreſſing the leſſer monaſteries, the Biſhop warmly oppoſed it in the Upper-Houſe [*I*]; and endeavoured to wipe off ſome general aſperſions, thrown upon the clergy in the Lower Houſe, at the bringing in of bills about mortuaries, pluralities, and probates of Wills (*a*). He alſo oppoſed in Convocation, the propoſal there made, for granting the monaſteries of 200*l. per annum* value, and under, to the King: ſo that the propoſal was then rejected (*b*). In 1530, he eſcaped two very great dangers, namely, of being poiſoned, and ſhot, in his houſe at Lambeth-marſh [*K*]; whereupon he retired to Rocheſter (*c*). When the queſtion, of giving King Henry VIII. the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, was debated in Convocation, in 1531, the Biſhop oppoſed it with all his might: which only ſerved the more to incenſe the Court againſt him, and to make them watch for all opportunities of getting rid of ſo troubleſome a perſon (*d*). He ſoon gave them the opportunity they ſought for; namely, in his tampering with, and hearkening too much to, the viſions and impoſtures of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent (*e*): a proceeding, which nothing but his age, his bigottry for the Church of Rome, and a deſire of ſupporting its doctrines by the ſame unlawful arts as have been too often employed, can excuſe (*f*). However, it is neceſſary to ſee what reaſons he alledges for his behaviour in that affair; for which the reader will be pleaſed to conſult the note [*L*]. The

(*y*) Ibid. p. 48, &c.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 66, &c.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 94; and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 82.

(*b*) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 98, 99, 100.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 101, 102.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 107—124.

(*e*) See above, the article BARTON (ELIZABETH).

(*f*) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 117, &c. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. i. p. 149, &c.

[*I*] *The Biſhop warmly oppoſed it in the Upper-Houſe.*] His ſpeech was as follows, 'My Lords, here are certain bills exhibited againſt the clergy, wherein there 'are complaints made againſt the viciouſneſs, idleneſs, rapacity, and cruelty of Biſhops, Abbots, Prieſts, 'and their Officials: but, my Lords, are all vitious, 'all idle, all ravenous, and cruel Prieſts, or Biſhops? 'And for ſuch as are ſuch, are there no laws provided 'already againſt ſuch? Is there any abuſe that we do 'not ſeek to rectify? Or can there be ſuch a rectification, as that there ſhall be no abuſes? Or are not 'clergymen to rectify the abuſes of the clergy? Or 'ſhall men find fault with other mens manners, whiles 'they forget their own? and puniſh where they have 'no authority to correct? if we be not executive in 'our laws, let each man ſuffer for his delinquency; 'or if we have not power, aid us with your aſſiſtance, 'and we ſhall give you thanks. But, my Lords, I 'hear there is a motion made, that the ſmall Monaſteries ſhall be taken into the King's hands, which 'makes me fear it is not ſo much the good as the 'goods of the Church, that is looked after. Truly, 'my Lord, how this may ſound in your ears I cannot 'tell, but to me it appears no otherwiſe, than as if 'our holy mother the Church were to become a bond-'maid, and new-brought into ſervility and thraldom, 'and by little and little to be quite baniſhed out of 'thoſe dwelling places, which the piety and liberality 'of our forefathers, as moſt bountiful benefactors, 'have conferred upon her; otherwiſe to what tendeth 'theſe portentous and curious petitions of the Commons? to no other intent or purpoſe, but to bring 'the clergy into contempt with the laity, that they 'may ſeize their patrimony. But, my Lords, beware 'of yourſelves and your country; beware of your holy 'mother the catholique Church; the people are ſubject unto novelties, and Lutheraniſm ſpreads itſelf 'amongſt us. Remember, Germany and Bohemia, 'what miſeries are befallen them already; and let our 'neighbours houſes that are now on fire, teach us to 'beware our own diſaſters. Wherefore, my Lords, I 'will tell you plainly what I think, that except ye reſiſt manfully by your authorities, this violent heap of 'miſchiefs offered by the Commons, you ſhall ſee all 'obedience, firſt drawn from the clergy; and ſecondly 'from yourſelves; and if you ſearch into the true 'cauſes which reign among them, you ſhall find that 'they all ariſe *through want of faith*'——At this ſpeech ſome of the Lords were pleaſed, others diſpleaſed. And the Duke of Norfolk, addreſſing himſelf to the Biſhop, ſaid, 'My Lord of Rocheſter, many of theſe words might have been well ſpared; but 'I wis that it is often ſeen that the greateſt clerks are 'not always the wiſeſt men.' To which the Biſhop replied, 'My Lord, I do not remember any fools in 'my time that ever proved great clerks.' But when the Commons heard of it, they were all in a flame, and ſent their ſpeaker Thomas Audeley to complain to the King: who thereupon ſent for the Biſhop, and aſked him, 'why he ſpake thus?' The Biſhop anſwered, that 'being in counſel, he ſpake his mind in 'defence of the Church, whom he ſaw daily injured, 'and oppreſſed by the common people, whoſe office 'it was not to judge of her manners, much leſs to reform them, and therefore he thought himſelf in conſcience bound to defend her in all that lay within 'his power.' The King bid him 'uſe his words 'more temperately,' and that was all. Which gave the Commons little ſatisfaction (12).

(12) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 94, &c.

[*K*] *In* 1530, *he eſcaped two very great dangers, namely of being poiſoned, and ſhot, in his houſe at Lambeth-marſh.*] One Richard Rouſe, who was acquainted with the cook, coming into the Biſhop's kitchen; took his opportunity, while the cook was gone to fetch him ſome drink, to throw a great quantity of poiſon into gruel which was prepared for the Biſhop's dinner. He could eat nothing that day, ſo eſcaped; but, of ſeventeen perſons that ate of it, one Mr Bennet Curwin, and an old widow, died, and the reſt never perfectly recovered their healths. Upon this occaſion, an act was made, which declared poiſoning to be high-treaſon, and adjudged the offender to be boiled to death. That ſevere puniſhment was inflicted upon Rouſe, in Smithfield, ſoon after. But the act was repealed, 1 Edw. VI. c. 12. & 1 Mar. c. 1.——As for the other danger, it was thus. A cannon-bullet, that was ſhot from the other ſide of the Thames, pierced through his houſe, and came very near his ſtudy, where he uſed to ſpend moſt of his time (13).

(13) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 101, 102, and Burnet, as above, p. 113.

[*L*] *For which the reader will be pleaſed to conſult the note.*] Thoſe reaſons are taken from a letter written by him to the Houſe of Lords, while the bill for attainting Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices, was depending.——'It may pleaſe you to conſider 'that I ſought not for this woman's coming unto me, 'nor thought in her any manner of deceit. She was 'the perſon that, by many probable and likely conjectures, I then reputed to be right honeſt, religious, 'and very good and vertuous. I verily ſuppoſed, 'that ſuch feigning and craft, compaſſing of any guile 'or fraud had been far from her: and what default 'was this in me, ſo to think, when I had ſo many 'probable teſtimonies of her virtue? 1. The bruit of 'the country which generally called her the *Holy 'Maid*. 2. Her entrance into religion upon certain 'viſions which was commonly ſaid that ſhe had. '3. For the good religion and learning that was 'thought to be in her ghoſtly father (14), and in other 'virtuous

(14) Dr Bocking.

The Court having the advantage againſt him they wanted, ſoon made uſe of it, by adjudging him to be guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, for concealing the Maid's ſpeeches that related to the King; and condemning him (with five others) in loſs of goods, and impriſonment during the King's pleaſure: but he was releaſed upon paying 300*l.* for his Majeſty's uſe [*M*]. In the ſame Parliament, which met Jan. 15, 1533-4, wherein this ſentence was paſſed upon him and the reſt of Elizabeth Barton's accomplices; an act was made, which abſolutely annulled King Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon; confirmed his marriage with Anne Boleyn; intailed the crown upon her iſſue, and nominally upon the Lady Elizabeth; made it high-treaſon *to ſlander* or do any thing to the derogation of this laſt marriage; and injoined all perſons whatſoever to maintain and keep the contents of this act (*g*). In purſuance of it, on the day of the prorogation of that Parliament, March 30, an oath was taken by both Houſes, whereby they 'ſwore to 'bear faith, truth and obedience all onely to the King's Majeſty, and to his heirs of his 'body of his moſt dear and entirely beloved lawfull wife Queen Anne, begotten and 'to be begotten. And farther to the heirs of the ſaid ſovereign Lord, accor-'ding to the limitation in the Statute made for ſurety of his ſucceſſion in the crown 'of this realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this realm, nor 'foreign authority or potentate, *&c* (*b*).' Inſtead of taking this oath, Biſhop Fiſher withdrew to his houſe at Rocheſter. But he had not been there above four days, before he received orders from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Commiſſioners, authorized under the Great-Seal to tender the oath, to appear before them at Lambeth. He appeared accordingly, and the oath being preſented to him, he peruſed it a while, and then deſired time to conſider of it; ſo five days were allowed him. At the expiration of them, he appeared again before the Commiſſioners, and told them, 'He had 'peruſed the oath with as good deliberation as he could: but as they had framed it, he 'could not (with any ſafety to his own conſcience) ſubſcribe thereto, except they would 'give him leave to alter it in ſome particulars; whereby his own conſcience might be the 'better ſatisfied, the King pleaſed, and his actions rather juſtified, and warranted by law.' They all made anſwer, that 'the King would not in any wiſe permit, that the oath 'ſhould admit of any exceptions or alterations whatſoever.' And the Archbiſhop in particular, ſaid, 'You muſt anſwer directly, whether you will or will not ſubſcribe.' To which the Biſhop replied, 'If you will needs have me anſwer *directly*, my anſwer *is*, 'that foraſmuch as my own conſcience cannot be ſatisfied, I abſolutely refuſe the oath.' Whereupon he was immediately committed to the Tower, it being on the 26th of April 1534 (*i*). But, in reſpect of his great reputation for learning and piety, earneſt endeavours were uſed to bring him to a compliance. Some Biſhops waited upon him for that purpoſe; as did afterwards the Lord Chancellor Audeley, and others of the Privy-Council, but they found him immoveable (*k*) [*N*]. Secretary Cromwell was alſo with him, to try to

(*g*) Statut. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22.

(*b*) Statut. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 2.

(*i*) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 138—147.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 150, *&c.*

'virtuous and well learned Prieſts, that then teſtified 'of her holineſs, as it was commonly reported. Fi-
(15) Archbiſhop Warham. 'nally, my Lord of Canterbury (15), that then was 'both her ordinary and a man reputed of high wiſ-'dom and learning, told me that ſhe had many great 'viſions. And of him I learned greater things than 'ever I heard of the Nun herſelf.——But here 'twill be ſaid, that ſhe told me ſuch words as was to 'the peril of the Prince, and of the realm.——The 'words that ſhe told me concerning the peril of the 'King's Highneſs were theſe, That ſhe had her revelation from God, that if the King went forth with 'the purpoſe that he intended, he ſhould not be King 'of England ſeven months after, and ſhe told me alſo, 'that ſhe had been with the King and ſhewed unto 'his Grace the ſame revelation.——But whereas, 'I never gave her any counſel to this matter, nor 'knew of any forging or feigning thereof, I truſt in 'your great wiſdoms that you will not think any de-'fault in me touching this point.——It will be ſaid, 'that I ſhould have ſhewed the words unto the King's 'Highneſs. Verily if I had not undoubtedly thought 'that ſhe had ſhewed the ſame words unto his Grace, 'my duty had been ſo to have done. But when ſhe 'herſelf, which pretended to have had this revelation 'from God, had ſhewed the ſame; I ſaw no neceſſity 'why that I ſhould renew it again to his Grace.—— 'And not only her own ſaying thus perſuaded me, but
(16) Cotton. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 166. It is alſo printed in Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 87, 88. 'her Prioreſs's words confirmed the ſame, and their 'ſervants alſo reported to my ſervants that ſhe had 'been with the King. And yet beſides all this, I 'knew it not long after by ſome others that ſo it was 'indeed—— (16).

[*M*] *He was releaſed upon paying* 300*l. for his Majeſty's uſe*] This is R. Hall's account (17). But
(17) Page 138. Dr Burnet ſays, he does not find, that the King proceeded againſt him upon this act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier ſtorm of indignation upon himſelf (18). He obſerves further upon this point, that when the cheat was firſt diſcovered, Secretary Cromwell, ſent the Biſhop's brother to him, with a ſharp reproof for his carriage in that buſineſs; and withal adviſed him to write to the King, and deſire his pardon, which he knew the King, conſidering his age and ſickneſs, would grant. But he wrote back, excuſing himſelf, that all he did, was only to try whether her revelations were true, *&c.*—Cromwell ſent him a long anſwer (19); in which he charges the matter upon him heavily, and ſhews him, that he had not proceeded as a grave Prelate ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon truſt, and had examined nothing.——Then he ſhews, how guilty he was, in not revealing what concerned the King's life, and how frivolous all his excuſes were. —And after all, tells him, that though his excuſing the matter had provoked the King, and that if it came to a trial, he would certainly be found guilty; yet again he adviſes him to beg the King's pardon for his negligence, and offence in that matter, and undertakes that the King would receive him into his favour.—— But Fiſher was ſtill obſtinate, and made no ſubmiſſion, and ſo was included within the act for miſpriſion of treaſon.

(18) Ubi ſupra, p. 154.

(19) It is printed in the Collection of Records at the end of Dr Burnet's 1ſt Part of the Hiſt. of the Reformat. No. 48. p. 123.

[*N*] *But they found him immoveable*] His anſwer to the Biſhops was thus, 'My very good friends, and 'ſome of you my old acquaintance, I know you wiſh 'me no hurt, but a great deal of good; and I do be-'lieve, that upon the terms you ſpeak of, I might 'have the King's favour as much as ever. Where-'fore, if you can anſwer me to one queſtion, I will 'perform all your deſires. What is that, ſaid they? 'It is this, ſaid the Biſhop, what will it gain a man

'to

to perſuade and convince him. He adviſed him to write to the King: But he told Cromwell, that as he knew the King's jealous temper, he was afraid of writing, for fear his Majeſty ſhould take ſomething amiſs: however, upon his repeated ſollicitations, he conſented to write. Cromwell found, that the thing which ſtuck moſtly with him, was, That the marriage was to be reckoned contrary to the law of God, on account of the prohibition in the Levitical Law. He ſent therefore Roland Lee, elect of Coventry and Lichfield, to talk with him upon that point. The iſſue was, Biſhop Fiſher declared, that he would ſwear to the ſucceſſion; never diſpute any more about the marriage; and promiſed allegiance to the King: But his conſcience could not be convinced, that the marriage was againſt the law of God (*l*). Theſe conceſſions did not ſatisfy the King [*O*]: who was reſolved to let all his ſubjects ſee, there was no mercy to be expected from him by any one who oppoſed his will (*m*). Therefore, in the Parliament which met the 3d of November 1534, he was attainted for refuſing the oath of ſucceſſion, and his biſhopric was declared void from the 2d of January following (*n*). During his confinement the poor old Biſhop was but hardly and unkindly uſed, and ſcarce allowed neceſſaries; as appears by Dr R. Lee's Letter, and the Biſhop's own complaints, to Secretary Cromwell (*o*) [*P*]. He continued above a year priſoner in the Tower, and might have continued there till releaſed by a natural death, which could not be far off conſidering his advanced age: But an unſeaſonable honour paid him by Pope Paul III (*p*), haſtened his deſtruction; that was, the creating of him, on the 21ſt of May 1535, Cardinal, by the title of Cardinal Prieſt of St Vitalis. When the King heard of it, he gave ſtrict orders that none ſhould be permitted to bring the Hat into his dominions; and therefore it came no nearer than Calais (*q*). Moreover, he ſent Secretary Cromwell to examine the Biſhop about that affair [*Q*], and from this time his ruin was abſolutely determined. But as no legal advantage could be taken againſt him, Richard Rich, Eſq; Sollicitor-General, a buſy and officious man, went to him, on the 7th of May (*r*); and in a fawning and treacherous manner, under pretence of conſulting him (as from the King) about a caſe of conſcience, unwarily drew him into a diſcourſe about the tender point of the Supremacy. Concerning which the Biſhop inconſiderately uttered theſe words: 'As to the buſineſs of 'Supremacy, I muſt needs tell his Majeſty, as I have often told him heretofore, and 'would ſo tell him, if I were to die this preſent hour, that it is utterly unlawful; and 'therefore

(*l*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 174, 175.

(*m*) Dr Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 354.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 158.

(*o*) Idem, p. 156.

(*p*) And not *Clement*, as Biſhop Burnet has it, ubi ſupra, p. 353. Clement died in 1534.

(*q*) R. Hall, as above, p. 168, 169.

(*r*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. (193.)

'to win the whole world, and to loſe his own ſoul.' ——To the Lords of the Privy-Council he anſwered thus, 'My Lords, you preſent before me a two-edged 'ſword; for, if I ſhould anſwer you with a diſac-'knowledgment of the King's Supremacy, that would 'be my death; and if I ſhould acknowledge the ſame 'perhaps contrary to my own conſcience, that would 'be aſſuredly unto me worſe than death. Wherefore 'I make it my humble requeſt unto you, that you 'would bear with my ſilence, for I ſhall not make 'any direct anſwer to it at all (20).'

(20) R. Hall, as above, p. 151, 153.

[*O*] *Theſe conceſſions did not ſatisfy the King.*] When they were reported to him, he ſwore, 'Mother of 'God, both More and he ſhould take the oath, or he 'would know why they ſhould not; and they [Crom-'well, and reſt of the counſellors] ſhould make them 'do it, or he would ſee better reaſons why they could 'not (21).'

(21) R. Hall, p. 156.

[*P*] *As appears by Dr R. Lee's letter, and the Biſhop's own complaints, to Secretary Cromwell.*] Dr Lee repreſented to Secretary Cromwell, that the Biſhop's 'body could not bear the cloaths on his back; 'that he was nigh going, and that he could not con-'tinue unleſs the King were merciful to him.'—— And how great and juſt were the poor Biſhop's complaints, appears from the following extract of a letter of his to the ſame Mr Secretary Cromwell:

'Furthermore, I beſeech you be good maſter unto 'me in my neceſſity. For I have neither ſhirt nor 'ſute, nor yet other cloaths, that are neceſſary for 'me to wear, but that be ragged and rent too ſhame-'fully: notwithſtanding, I might eaſily ſuffer that, if 'that would keep my body warm. But my diet alſo, 'God knoweth how ſlender it is at many times. And 'now, in my age, my ſtomach may no away but with 'a few kind of meats: which if I want, I decay forth-'with, and fall into craſes and diſeaſes of my body, 'and cannot keep myſelf in health. And, as our 'Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me, for to 'provide any better, but as my brother of his own 'purſe layeth out for me, to his great hindrance. 'Wherefore, good Maſter Secretary, eftſones, I be-'ſeech you, to have ſome pity upon me, and let me 'have ſuch things as are neceſſary for me, in mine 'age, and eſpecially for my health. And alſo that 'it may pleaſe you, by your high wiſdom, to move the 'King's Highneſs to take me unto his gracious favour 'again, and to reſtore me to my liberty, out of this 'cold and painful impriſonment. Whereby ye ſhall 'bind me to be your poor bedeſman for ever unto Al-'mighty God: who ever have you in his protection 'and cuſtody. Other twain things, I muſt deſire up-'on you. The toon is, it may pleaſe you, that I 'may take ſome prieſt with me in the Tower, by the 'aſſignment of Maſter Lieutenant, to hear my confeſ-'ſion againſt this holy time. That other is, that I 'may borrow ſome books, to ſay my devotion more 'effectually theſe holy days, for the comfort of my 'ſoul. This I beſeech you to grant me of your cha-'rity. And this our Lord God ſend you a merry 'Chriſtmas, and a comfortable, to your heart's de-'ſire. At the Tower, the 22d day of December, 'your poor bedeſman,

JOHN ROFF (22).

(22) Strype's Eccl. Memorials, Vol. I. p. 175, 176.

[*Q*] *Moreover he ſent Secretary Cromwell to examine the Biſhop about that affair.*] After ſome conference between them, Cromwell aſked him, 'My 'Lord of Rocheſter, what would you ſay, if the Pope 'ſhould ſend you a Cardinal's hat, would you accept 'of it?' The Biſhop replied, 'Sir, I know my ſelf 'to be ſo far unworthy of any ſuch dignity, that I 'think of nothing leſs; but if any ſuch thing ſhould 'happen, aſſure yourſelf I ſhould improve that favour 'to the beſt advantage that I could, in aſſiſting the 'holy Catholick Church of Chriſt, and in that reſpect 'I would receive it upon my knees.' When this anſwer was brought to the King by Secretary Cromwell, Henry ſaid in a great paſſion, 'Yea, is he yet ſo luſty? 'well, let the Pope ſend him a hat when he will, 'Mother of God, he ſhall wear it on his ſhoulders 'then, for I will leave him never a head to ſet it on '(23).' The Biſhop's anſwer hath been differently repreſented by our hiſtorians, as if it had been, 'That 'if the Cardinal's hat was laid at his feet, he would 'not ſtoop to take it up.' But that was Sir Thomas More's anſwer to his daughter Mrs Roper, when ſhe acquainted him that the Biſhop was created a Cardinal (24).

(23) R. Hall, p. 170, 171.

(24) See Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 169.

'therefore I would not wiſh his Majeſty to take any ſuch power or title upon him, as he 'loves his own ſoul, and the good of his poſterity (*s*).' The Biſhop being thus caught in the ſnare purpoſely laid for him; a ſpecial commiſſion was drawn up for trying him, dated June 1, 1535 [*R*], and the indictment againſt him for high-treaſon was found the 11th of the ſame month, it being (as the record expreſſes it) for having ſaid, 'The King 'owre Soveraigne Lord is not Supreme Hed yn Erthe of the Cherche of England (*t*).' He was then ſo ill that he could not be brought to his tryal, but in the mean time all his books and other effects whatſoever were ſeized. On the 17th being a little recovered, he was brought to the King's-Bench-bar; partly on horſeback, and partly by water, becauſe his weakneſs did not permit him either to walk, or to go wholly on horſeback. Upon a ſhort tryal he was found by his jury guilty of high-treaſon [*S*]; chiefly, if not ſolely, for the words abovementioned, ſpoken by him in confidence to Mr Sollicitor Rich: and condemned to ſuffer death as in caſes of treaſon (*u*), notwithſtanding all that he could alledge in his own defence [*T*]. On the 22d of June he received the news of his execution on that day, from the Lieutenant of the Tower, at five o'clock in the morning, with great calmneſs; and ſlept ſoundly two hours after it. When he was getting up, he cauſed himſelf to be dreſſed in a finer and more cleanly manner than uſual [*U*]. Being come down ſtairs, he was carried in a chair, upon account of his great weakneſs, to the place of execution, upon Tower-hill; where, inſtead of ſuffering the uſual death of traitors, he was beheaded, about ten o'clock in the morning. Such was the tragical end of John Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter (*w*), after he had arrived to the age of 76 years 9 months, and ſome days over. His body was buried in the church-yard of All-hallows-Barking, removed afterwards within the chapel in the Tower; and his head ſet up the next day over London-bridge (*x*). He was a very tall man, as being ſix foot high; and, with that, comely, upright, and well-formed; and ſtrong and robuſt. But, in the decline of life, he grew extreamly emaciated. His complexion was brown, his forehead broad, and his features duly proportioned (*y*). Eraſmus repreſents him as a man of the greateſt integrity, of deep learning, incredible ſweetneſs of temper, and grandeur of ſoul [*W*]. Both friends and enemies acknowledge, that he was a pious man, ſober, temperate, and charitable; and not only learned himſelf, but alſo a great lover and encourager

(*s*) R. Hall, p. 170—174.

(*t*) See Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. (193.)

(*u*) R. Hall, as above, p. 185—199.

(*w*) 'Which left 'one of the 'greateſt blots 'upon this king-'dom's proceed-'ings:' ſaith Biſhop Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. as above, p. 158.

(*x*) Burnet, ibid. p. 353, 354. R. Hall, ut ſupra, p. 201—211. T. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. 203, 204.

(*y*) R. Hall, p. 215; and Fuller, p. 205.

[*R*] *A ſpecial commiſſion was drawn up for trying him.*] The perſons in that commiſſion were, Sir Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellor, Charles Duke of Suffolk, Henry Earl of Cumberland, Thomas Earl of Wiltſhire, Thomas Cromwell Secretary, Sir John Fitz-James Chief Juſtice of England, Sir John Baldwin Chief Juſtice of the Common pleas, Sir William Paulet, Sir Richard Lyſter Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir John Port, Sir John Spilman, and Sir Walter late Juſtices of the King's-Bench, and Sir Antony Fitz-herbert, one of the Juſtices of the Common pleas (25).

(25) R. Hall, p. 189.

[*S*] *He was found by his jury guilty of high-treaſon.*] Mr Jeremy Collier rightly thinks (26), that he was proceeded againſt only upon Statute 26 Henr. viii. c. 13. [and that too ſtrained.] This Statute made it high-treaſon, maliciouſly to wiſh or deſire by words or writing, or to imagine, invent, or attempt any bodily harm to be done to the King, the Queen, or their heirs apparent; or to deprive any of them of the *Dignity, Style, or name of their royal eſtates.* — At the time of his tryal, the Biſhop made the following obſervation with regard to that ſtatute; — 'I pray 'you, my Lords, conſider, that by all equity, juſtice, 'worldly honeſty, and courteous dealing, I cannot '(as the caſe ſtandeth,) be directly charged — with 'treaſon, though I had ſpoken the words indeed, the 'ſame being not ſpoken *maliciouſly*, but in the way of 'advice and counſel, when it was requeſted of me by 'the King himſelf; and that favour the very words of 'the ſtatute do give me, being made only againſt ſuch 'as ſhall *maliciouſly* gainſay the King's Supremacy, 'and none other: wherefore, although by rigour of 'law, you may take occaſion thus to condemn me, 'yet I hope you cannot find law, except you add ri-'gour to that law to caſt me down, which herein I 'hope I have not deſerved (27).

(26) Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 96.

(27) R. Hall, p. 194.

[*T*] *Notwithſtanding all that he could alledge in his own defence.*] He objected moſtly againſt the Sollicitor-general's evidence, and thought it exceedingly hard and cruel. And therefore he addreſſed himſelf to him in this manner; 'Mr Rich I cannot but mer-'vail to hear you come in and bear witneſs againſt me 'of theſe words, knowing in what ſecret manner you 'came to me.' — Then addreſſing himſelf to his Judges, he related to them all the particulars of Rich's coming; and thus went on. — 'He told me, 'that the King, for better ſatisfaction of his own con-'ſcience had ſent unto me in this ſecret manner to 'know my full opinion in the matter [of the Supre-'macy] for the great affiance he had in me more than 'any other: — and he told me, that the King 'willed him to aſſure me on his honour, and in the 'word of a King, that whatever I ſhould ſay unto him 'by this his ſecret meſſenger, I ſhould abide no dan-'ger nor peril for it, neither that any advantage ſhould 'be taken againſt me for the ſame. — Now 'therefore, my Lords, concludes he, ſeeing it pleaſed 'the King's Majeſty to ſend to me thus ſecretly under 'the pretence of plain and true meaning, to know my 'poor advice and opinion in theſe his weighty and 'great affairs, which I moſt gladly was, and ever will 'be, willing to ſend him; methinks, it is very hard 'injuſtice to hear the meſſenger's accuſation, and to 'allow the ſame as a ſufficient teſtimony againſt me in 'caſe of treaſon (28).'

(28) R. Hall, as above, p. 191, 192, 193.

[*U*] *He cauſed himſelf to be dreſſed in a finer and more cleanly manner than uſual.*] And when his man expreſſed his wonder at it, ſeeing his Lordſhip knew well enough he muſt put off all again within two hours, and loſe it. 'What of that, ſaid the Biſhop, 'doeſt thou not mark, that this is our Marriage-day, 'and that it behoves us therefore to uſe more cleanli-'neſs for ſolemnity of the Marriage-ſake (29).'

(29) R. Hall, p. 204.

[*W*] *Eraſmus repreſents him as a man of the greateſt integrity, &c.*] See above note [*A*]. And alſo obſerve theſe words of the ſame celebrated author. *Aut egregiè fallor, aut is vir eſt unus cum quo nemo ſit hac tempeſtate conferendus, vel integritate vitæ, vel eruditione, vel animi magnitudine* (30). Dr S. Knight rightly obſerves, that he was, 'in all reſpects, the greateſt 'favorer of learning and learned men' in his time: and that 'no age ever afforded a perſon whoſe heart 'was more ſet upon the promotion of good literature 'in himſelf, and others.' Eraſmus, of immortal memory, whom he greatly admired, encouraged, and ſupported, is a pregnant inſtance of his ſingular affection for learned men. And his learning Greek, (*) when he was advanced in years, is a ſufficient proof of his reliſh and love for all polite literature. To which add, his endeavours to reſtore learning in the Univerſity of Cambridge to a right uſe, and to baniſh thence every thing that had too long uſurped that name (31).

Burnet, as above p. 353.

(30) Eraſmi Epiſt. p. 353. See alſo p. 357. 729.

(*) Eraſmi Ep p. 359, 360, 30. 357.

(31) S. Knight Life of Eraſmus p. 136, 139, 14.

[*X*] *We*

courager of learning (z). For, beſides the care he took of the foundation of the two colleges abovementioned, he deſigned alſo to have built one of his own (a). He was indeed much addicted to the ſuperſtitions in which he had been bred up. But few people, at the age of fourſcore, are very prone to forſake the notions they have imbibed from their tendereſt years. We ſhall give an account of what he writ, or publiſhed, in the note [X].

(z) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 155, 156, 354. Fuller, ubi ſupra. R. Hall, paſſim. Sanders, de Schiſm. Angl. Colon. Agr. 1610, p. 120, &c.

(a) Wharton. Angl. Sacra, P. i. p. 382.

[X] *We ſhall give an account of what he publiſhed.*] The ſeveral pieces publiſhed by him, were theſe. I. A Sermon on Pſalm 116. at the funeral of King Henry VII (32). II. A funeral Sermon at the moneth minde of Margaret Counteſs of Richmond. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde: republiſhed in 1708. by Thomas Baker B. D. with a learned preface. III. His opinion of King Henry the VIIIth's marriage, in a letter to T. Wolſey. Printed in the collection of records, at the end of Jeremy Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (33). IV. Commentary on the ſeven penytencyal Pſalmes. Written at the deſire of the Counteſs of Richmond. London 1509. 4to. & 1555. 8vo. V. Sermon on the Paſſion of our Saviour. VI. Sermon concerning the Righteouſneſs of the Phariſees and Chriſtians. VII. The method of arriving to the higheſt perfection in religion. Theſe four laſt were tranſlated into Latin by John Fenne (34). VIII. Sermon preached at London, on that day when the writings of M. Luther were publickly burnt; on John xv. 26. Cambridge 1521. tranſlated into Latin by R. Paice (35). IX. *Aſſertionum Martini Lutheri confutatio.* i. e. A confutation of Luther's Aſſertion; in 41 articles. X. *Defenſio Aſſertionis Henr. VIII. de 7 Sacramentis contra Lutheri Captivitatem Babylonicam.* i. e. A Defence of King Henry the 8th's book againſt Luther's intituled, The Captivity of Babylon. XI. *Epiſtola reſponſoria, Epiſtolæ Lutheri.* i. e. A letter in anſwer to Luther's. XII. *Sacerdotii Defenſio contra Lutherum.* A Defence of Prieſthood againſt Luther. XIII. *Pro damnatione Lutheri.* XIV. *De veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti in Euchariſtia, adverſus Johannem Oecolampadium.* Colon. 1527. 4to. i. e. Of the reality of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, againſt Oecolampadius. In this book he anſwers Oecolampadius, paragraph by paragraph, and gives him many hard names. It is but a very indifferent performance. XV. *De unica Magdalena contra Clichtoveum & Jac. Fabrum Stapulenſem.* i. e. That there was only one Magdalen, againſt Clichtoveus, &c. Lov. XVI. *S. Petrum Romæ fuiſſe.* i. e. That St Peter was at Rome, againſt Ulric Velenus. XVII. Several other ſmall Tracts, viz on the Benefit of Prayer. The neceſſity of Prayer. Expoſition of the Lord's Prayer. Pſalms, and Prayers. A letter on Chriſtian Charity, to Herman Lectatius, Dean of Utrecht. A Treatiſe on Purgatory, &c. Moſt of the foregoing pieces were printed together in one volume folio at Wurtzburg, *Herbipoli.* in 1595. It is alſo juſtly ſuppoſed, that he had a conſiderable hand in King Henry the 8th's book againſt Luther, intituled, *Aſſertio ſeptem ſacramentorum*, &c. tho' Biſhop Burnet is very angry with Sanders for ſaying ſo (36). For it is hardly credible, that a Prince of King Henry's diſpoſition ſhould have allowed himſelf time and leiſure enough for ſuch a work.—— Finally, there is in the Norfolk Library of MSS. belonging to the Royal Society, an anſwer of Biſhop Fiſher's to a book printed at London in 1530. concerning King Henry's Marriage with Queen Catharine. No. 151.

(32) Catalog. Biblioth. Bodl.

(33) Vol. II. p. 4.

(34) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 377; & Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. No. 948, ſub ann. 1535.

(35) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 31.

(36) Hiſt. of the Reformat. as above, p. 356.

C

FITZHERBERT (Sir ANTHONY) a very learned Lawyer, as his moſt excellent writings teſtify, and one of the Judges of the Court of Common-Pleas in the reign of King Henry VIII. He was deſcended from the moſt ancient and noble family of Herbert, honoured with the titles of Huntingdon and Pembroke, notwithſtanding what is ſaid to the contrary by the judicious and learned Mr Camden (a), whoſe authority, however, in this, as well as in ſome other points of a like nature, has borne down that of all others (b), and, which is ſtill worſe, even truth itſelf, as will manifeſtly appear in that examination, which, for this reaſon (and ſure a better could not be aſſigned) will be afforded to this point in the notes [A]. He was the younger ſon of Ralph Fitzherbert, of

(a) Britan. Lond. 1594. 4to, p. 267.

(b) Tanner's Bibliotheca Britanico-Hibernica, p. 283.

[A] *To this point in the notes*] The matter of this note will give the reader full ſatisfaction, as to the means by which ſo many errors creep into all kinds of hiſtory, and more eſpecially into that of eminent perſonages, and their deſcents. It muſt be allowed, that, in things of this nature, the greateſt men may miſtake, and that ſuch miſtakes might be, and indeed ought to be excuſed; but for this very reaſon perſiſting in ſuch miſtakes is altogether inexcuſable; and for a man to preſume his own authority and credit to be of more conſequence than *truth*, is offering a great indignity to the publick; and yet it has ſometimes happened, that this indignity has been not only borne with, but ſuch as have endeavoured to ſet right miſtakes of this nature, have drawn upon themſelves only ſcorn and reproach. In the preſent caſe we will firſt ſtate the account given us by Camden, in all the editions of his book, except the laſt; then, the remark of Rafe Brooke upon that account; next Mr Camden's reply; after that, the ſubſtance of Brooke's rejoinder; and laſt of all, the paragraph as it ſtands in Camden's beſt and moſt correct edition; with a few obſervations as to the neceſſity and uſe of ſuch diſcuſſions.

CAMDEN (1).

Herbert married the ſiſter of William Earl of Hereford, and in her right, was Lord of Deane, from whom is deſcended the noble family of the Herberts; from hence alſo, if we ſhall credit the Heralds and Eſcutcheons of arms, Anthony Fitz Herbert, that great Lawyer, and Lord Chief Juſtice of England, took his original. But I think he rather deſcended from the worſhipful family of the Fitz Herberts in Derbyſhire.

(1) Britannia, 1594, 4to, p. 267.

BROOKE, or as he ſtiles himſelf YORK, i. e. *York Herald* (2).

'Your often and ſuſpicious objections, calling in 'queſtion the credit of her Majeſty's Heralds, as tho' 'you judged them ſcarce worthy to be believed, doth 'proceed, as I ſuppoſe, from a malignant humour in 'you, rather than of any good ground, or ſufficient 'reaſon, that might move you thereunto. But I truſt 'that thoſe of diſcretion will ſooner give credit unto 'them, in matter they ſhall aver by good warrantiſe 'and authority, than to you, who ground your contradicting arguments upon hearſays and opiniative 'imaginations. And where you charge the Heralds 'to have made Anthony Fitz Herbert, that was Lord 'Chief Juſtice of England, to be deſcended from that 'family of Herberts, which married the ſiſter of William Earl of Hereford: I ſay, that therein they have 'done like honeſt and learned officers of arms; and 'thoſe that have, or ſhall, derive the ſaid Anthony, 'or any of that family of Fitz Herberts, from any 'other original than that aforeſaid, they have and 'ſhall err from the truth.'

(2) Diſcovery of Errors in the much commended Britannia, p. 37.

CAMDEN's Reply (3).

That I did but ſo much as believe, that Anthony Fitz Herbert, Lord Chief Juſtice, did deſcend of the Lineage of the Fitz Herberts in the County of Derby. He revileth me as tho' he were Lord of my belief.

(3) Ad Lectorem, p. 12.

He

of Norbury in the county of Derby, Esq; and on this account in all probability it was, that,

He denieth it, and that with many words. He deriveth him from Peter, son of Herbert of Deane, of his own bare words, ipse dixit, he said it, but proof he bringeth none. Let him look upon the visitation, and he shall see that he was of the Lynage of the Fitzherberts of Norbury in the County of Derby. Let him also give ear to one, that having diligently searched all the deeds with their seals fixed of that family, because he would find out the truth, affirmeth, that they never, in former ages, did bare the arms of that Fitzherbert of Deane, but others, which they took from the Earls Ferrar's, of whom in the time of King Henry the Second, they held their lands, and that before and after they flourished under the surname of Fitzherbert. Neither let this fellow, which hath so plodded in the pedigree of the Herberts, which descended from Peter son of Herbert, forget, how that they never took Fitzherbert for their surname, but, after the old and Welch fashion, did alter always their surname by the christian name of their father; for the son of Reginald, Peter Fitz Reginald, and until it came to William ap Thomas, whose son, the Earl of Pembroke, did assume the christian name of Herbert for his surname, and left it to his posterity. And so likewise did others out of that family, whom it shall be needless particularly to reckon up. But wherefore do I stay upon these points? I will in one word end all this matter. He derives this family from Peter Fitzherbert of Deane, but that Peter lived under King John and was of his Councel, as witnesseth Roger of Wyndouer, 1211. But William Fitzherbert had Norbury in the year 1125, fourscore years before, as appeareth by the book of Tuttesbury-Abby, where these words are to be read. In the year of the Incarnation 1125, William Prior and the Convent of the Church of St Maries of Tutesbury, did give to William Fitzherbert, Norbury, to him and his heirs, &c. and for this did William give one measure of wheat.

(4) A Second Discovery of Errors, p. 128.

BROOKS Rejoinder (4).

'Gentle reader, in my discovery I reproved this 'learned man for discrediting of her Majesty's officers 'of arms in these words; if we shall credit the He-'ralds, Anthony Fitzherbert, the great Lawyer, and 'Lord Chief Justice of England, did descend from 'Herbert Lord of Deane, &c. as tho' their labours 'and travels were not to be believed or regarded so 'soon as his own thoughts, and thus most subtily he 'goeth about to impeach their credits, whose books 'he was not then worthy to carry, in regard of their 'knowledge and profession. I think this man was 'much distempered in minde, when he suffered these 'obstinate and unadvised speeches to pass from him, 'or else was misinformed by his negligent tutors, 'otherwise to seek revenge upon his adversary. He 'would not have play'd Sampson's part rashly, to 'have crushed the pillars whereby he leaned, and 'have shaken the whole house upon himself. I ap-'peal to the judgment of the indifferent reader, and 'his own writings, what this man will not say and 'write, when as in this place most untruly he dareth 'to charge me to derive Sir Anthony Fitzherbert to 'descend from one Peter Fitzherbert of Deane, when 'as I neither writ, or ever thought, of any such mat-'ter, my words being only as before, that who so 'ever did derive the said Sir Anthony to descend 'from any other family then of that which married 'with the sister of William Earl of Hereford, should 'err. And where he voucheth the visitation of Der-'byshire to prove this Sir Anthony Fitzherbert to 'descend of Fitzherberts of Norbury, I marvel greatly 'at his weakness therein, considering that the same 'proveth no further then to Nicholas Fitzherbert in 'King Henry the Sixth's time, who was grandfather 'to the said Sir Anthony beforementioned; but it 'sheweth his ignorance, and that he dareth to alledge 'any thing to serve his turn, rather then he will be 'unfurnished of matter, altho' very impertinent to 'that in question.

'What will not this man say or put in print upon 'his own imagination or report of others, there being 'not any that will or can averr and prove, that they 'have searched and seen all the Fitzherberts deeds 'and charters, therefore have I no cause or reason to 'lend my ear, and much less to believe one which 'hath no name, neither that hath reported a truth. 'And for proof thereof I have at this instant in my 'custody, divers original deeds and charters of the 'said Fitzherberts being of the younger house, sealed 'with the foresay'd coat of the three lyons, about 'King Edward the First's time, which will prove 'that the Fitzherberts of Norbury did use and bare 'the said arms, as did they of Deane, which is also 'acknowledged to be true even by the said Sir An-'thony's own tombe at Norbury, where he lieth bu-'ried with the very same arms as Fitzherbert of Deane 'did use in King Henry the Third's time (which he 'that searched all their deeds missed to see) and if 'this good man, and his diligent searcher, be desi-'rous of further proof hereof, let them go and view 'the church and cross in Castleton in Derbyshire, but 'with better eyes than this man did the Castle of Nor-'wich, for the Earl Bygots arms, and they shall find 'there very antient, both wrought in glass, and carved 'in stone, the said arms of three lyons rampant, and 'the other coat he saith was taken from the Earls 'Ferrars arms quartered with the same.

'This which he hath cited here out of the book 'of Tutesbury-Abbey is not faithfully done, accord-'ing to his former promise at the first, which I hold 'to be in him a great fault, to make a common oc-'cupation of falsifying of his authors which I find 'set down thus. *In the year from the Incarnation 'of 1125, William Prior, and the Convent of St Mary 'of Tutesbury, have given to William Fitzherbert, 'Norbury, in fee to him and to his heirs, in consider-'ation of one hundred shillings to be paid annually, fifty 'shillings at the feast of the Annunciation of St Mary, 'and the other fifty on the festival of St Michael, for 'his homage, &c.*

'This learned man's fellow hath indeed diligently, 'and with his best endeavours, collected and set forth '(with good authorities) for the late Right Honour-'able Henry Earl of Pembroke, the honourable and 'antient descent of Fitzherbert Lord of Deane, &c. 'which he is and will be ever ready to averr and 'prove true, therefore let us see how cunningly this 'learned man will carry himself, which saith he will 'end all this matter in one word, when I doubt he 'will not be able to make good his promise in a thou-'sand. First he affirmeth, that the family of Fitz-'herbert of Deane, did never assume Herbert for 'their surname before William ap Thomas his son, in 'King Edward the Fourth's time, did assume the 'same, which I hold to be as untrue as his denial of 'Brute, our antient and great Monarch of Britain, 'which for the truth sake, and his own credit, I wish 'he had omitted in his four former editions, as he 'hath now done in his fifth and last edition; as also 'his untrue interpreting of sirnames, upon his own 'bare imagination, wherein he hath done great wrong, 'and misled divers antient families from their right 'surnames and parents. Because he findeth one Peter, 'to be the son of Herbert in King John's time, and 'that he was called Peter Fitzherbert, therefore, upon 'his bare word, *ipse dixit*, he hath spoken it, we 'must believe it, and that the name of Fitzherbert 'was but a christen name, and not a surname, before 'King Edward the Fourth's time, altho' he hath pro-'duced no proof at all for the same; which to dis-'prove, and make plain that it was a surname long 'before, as also to warn him hereafter of the like vain 'imaginations conceived and bred in his own brain, 'I will endeavour to prove unto you, that this name 'of Herbert was a surname, and a noble family, above 'five hundred years past; all surnames being at the 'first taken either of their parents christian names, their 'dwelling places, occupations, nicknames, or such 'like; and that both Fitzherbert of Deane, and Fitz-'herbert of Norbury, were lineally descended of one 'paternal ancestor, altho' here very cunningly he 'would carry away and abuse the reader, with saying, 'that I derive the family of Fitzherbert from one Pe-'ter, son of Herbert in King John's time, when as I 'did never so much as once dream or think of any 'such matter. For I do, and ever did, derive them 'to descend and come of Henry Fitzherbert, Cham-

'berlain

that, from a child, he was deſtined to a learned profeſſion (*c*). After he had received the firſt tincture of letters in the country, he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, but in what college he ſtudied there does not appear (*d*). He went from thence to one of the Inns of Court, but to which of theſe is alſo a point, that, at this diſtance of time, cannot be determined (*e*). His great parts, penetrating judgment, and incomparable diligence, ſoon diſtinguiſhed him in his profeſſion, and, in proceſs of time, he became ſo eminent, that November 18, 1511, being the third year of the reign of King Henry VIII, he was called to the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law (*f*); and, in 1516, he received the honour of knighthood (*g*). As he roſe more into publick view, his prudence and probity became more and more conſpicuous, ſo that November 24, 1517, and in the ninth year of the ſame King's reign, he was appointed one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law (*h*). It was two years after this, and not before it as many of our writers ſay, that he publiſhed his great work in relation to the Law, which was then ſo well received, and has been ever ſince both reverenced and admired, as well for the utility of the matter, as the elegancy of it's form (*i*) [*B*]. It was not long after this that he publiſhed ſeveral other learned pieces, which

(*c*) Pikſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 707.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 50.

(*e*) Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 283.

(*f*) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 151.

(*g*) Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 283.

(*h*) Chron. Jurid. p. 153.

(*i*) See Sir Edward Coke's Proem to the tenth Part of his Reports.

'lain to King Henry the Firſt, ſon of William the 'Conqueror; and to prove the ſame I will firſt uſe 'the teſtimony of that worthy Herald, which our Pe'dant himſelf ſo much commendeth, Robert Glover, 'Somerſet-Herald, who, in his Collectanea, hath this: '*Henry Fitzherbert, Chamberlane to King Henry the* '*Firſt, married the daughter of Robert Corbet of Alen*'*ceſter, and had iſſue Herbert Fitzherbert, the King's* '*Chamberlain, father of Herbert Lord of Deane, in* '*right of his wife Luce, ſiſter of William Earl of* '*Hereford.*

'This might perſuade this learned man to know 'and confeſs, that the firſt Herbert aſſumed not his 'ſurname of Henry his father, after the Welſh faſhion 'in King Edward the Fourth's time, for then ſhould 'he have been called Herbert Fitz-Henry. But this 'I doubt will not yet ſatisfy this learned man, unleſs 'I prove it by ſome other authentical record, where'fore I wiſh him to read this in the red book in the 'Exchequer, which he will not deny but to be very 'antient and authentical.' "*Tempore Henrici Secundi,* "*Herbertus filius Herberti Camerarii ſenioris, tenuit* "*feoda duorum militum in Comit' Southt' de Epo' Win*"*ton, & modo tenet Herbertus filius ejus.*" 'This 'doth prove directly, that the firſt Herbert, ſon of 'Henry, had his ſurname of Herbert, and not of 'Henry his father, which may give this man cauſe to 'be ſorry and repent him of his folly, and wrong he 'would and hath done unto this noble family of Fitz'herbert, had he not been encountered in the ſame, 'yet will he object againſt me, and ſay, that altho' 'I have proved the family of Fitzherbert to have a 'ſurname in King Henry the Firſt's time, yet have I 'not proved Fitzherbert of Deane, and Fitzherbert 'of Norbury to be one family, and therein he think'eth ſurely to give me the jerk, if I fail to perform 'the ſame. Wherefore, to make good what before 'I have promiſed, and to ſtop his mouth, as alſo his 'diligent ſearchers and famous antiquaries whom he 'ſo much boaſteth of, who have very much wronged 'me, let both he and them ſatisfy themſelves with 'this, which Roger Hovedon, his own author, hath 'ſet down, who affirmeth that the firſt Herbert, fa'ther to the ſecond Herbert, Lord of Deane, and 'William Fitzherbert, which had Norbury given him 'in King Henry the Firſt's time, were both brothers, 'and that Reginald Earl of Cornwall, natural ſon of 'King Henry the Firſt, was begotten of their mother. 'The words are theſe. *Anno* 1177. *King Henry the* '*Second gave to Herbert Fitzherbert and William, the* '*brethren of Reginald Earl of Cornwall, and Joſſa*'*lane de la Pomeray, their Nephew, the kingdom of* '*Limerick, for the ſervice of ſixty Knights fees, to* '*hold of him and John his ſon, &c.*

'Thus hath Roger Hovedon, his own author, proved 'for me, that Reginald Earl of Cornwall, Herbert 'Fitzherbert, and William Fitzherbert of Norbury, 'were three brothers. And yet for a further proof, 'I will uſe here one more of this man's own teſtimo'nies, avouched in his Apologie *ad Lectorem*, which 'is, as he ſaith, an antient deed of the aforeſaid Re'ginald Earl of Cornwall, wherein he calleth the ſe'cond Herbert Lord of Deane his Nephew, and Wil'liam Fitzherbert of Norbury his brother, and this I 'hope he will allow of, becauſe he hath avouched it 'himſelf. But to a worſe purpoſe than I have here 'applied it unto. *Reginaldus Henrici Regis filius om*'*nibus &c. ſciatis me dediſſe Gulielmo de Boterell fi*'*lio Alice Corbet materteræ meæ, totam terram quam* '*dederam Gulielmo de Boterell in Comitatu Cornubiæ,* '*patri ſcz. prædicti Willielmi vz. Penill Widune,* '*&c. Teſtibus B. Exon. Epiſcopo & Nicholao filio meo,* '*Herberto filio Herberti, Radulpho, & Richardo nepo*'*tibus meis, Willielmo fratre meo, Hugone de Dunſta*'*vill &c.*

'Now that you have had manifeſted unto you, 'gentle reader, by good proofs and records, that 'theſe two great and honourable families of Fitzher'bert of Deane and Norbury, had a ſurname in King 'Henry the Firſt's time, as alſo that they were de'ſcended of one original anceſtor, and did uſe all one 'coat of arms, which this Pedant, and his unnamed 'friend, hath laboured to obſcure. Give me leave 'here, I pray you, with your patience, to demand of 'him, by what commiſſion or authority he hath made 'this Anthony Fitzherbert to be Lord Chief Juſtice 'of England, which if he refuſe or fail to ſatisfie me 'of, let him not blame me if I tell him that he hath 'forged that title and office out of his own brain, as 'he hath done many others of the ſame kind. The 'ſaid Anthony himſelf never aſſuming any other title 'or office, than only Knight, and one of the King's 'Juſtices of his Common Bench.'

CAMDEN's Paragraph in his laſt Edition (5).

(5) Britannia, 1606, fol. p. 313.

'*Whence, as ſome will have it, deſcended* Anthony 'Fitzherbert, *a moſt excellent* Lawyer, *as appeared* 'both in that Court in which he ſat, and from his moſt 'elaborate writings which he publiſhed; but that he 'was of the Knightly family of the* Fitzherberts *in* 'Derbyſhire *has been the belief of others.*'

It appears plainly from hence, that Mr Camden was himſelf convinced that he could not ſupport his charge againſt the Heralds and Herald Painters, and therefore he withdrew it, but, that he might confeſs as little as poſſible, he ſtill inſerts both the opinions, as if they were oppoſite and inconſiſtent; whereas Brooke has manifeſtly proved, that they were very reconcileable, perfectly correſponding one with the other, and both of them true; our Judge being deſcended from the Fitzherberts of Norbury, and the Fitzherberts of Norbury from the ſame ſtock with the noble family of Herbert.

[*B*] *As the elegancy of its form.*] We have aſſigned the time when our author's *grand Abridgement* was publiſhed, from unqueſtionable authority. That original edition, magnificently printed upon royal paper, which is very fine, and in a character reſembling antient writing, is become very ſcarce and very dear. Theſe have been ſeveral editions of it ſince, particularly one in 1665, in large folio, and another in 1577, in a ſhort folio, but upon a fine paper, and with a broad margin. I ſhall give the title from thence at large:

I. *La Graunde Abridgement, Collecte par le Judge tres reverend Monſieur* Anthony Fitzherbert, *derniere*'*ment conferre oveſque la copye eſcript & per ceo cor*'*recte, oveſque le nombre del fueil, per quel facilement* '*poies trouer les caſes cy abrydges, en les liuers dans, no*'*velment annote iammais devaunt imprimes. Auxi vous* '*troueres les reſiduums de lauter livre places icy in ceo*

which gained him such reputation, that, in Easter term 1523, and the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry VIII, he was made one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas (*k*), in which honourable station he spent the remaining part of his life, discharging the duties of his office with such sufficiency, that he was held the oracle of the Law in his time, and with such integrity as gained him universal respect (*l*). Two things are mentioned in reference to his conduct; one, that (without fear of his power) he openly opposed Cardinal Wolsey in the heighth of his favour (*m*); the other, that, when he came to lie upon his death-bed, foreseeing the changes that were like to happen in the Church as well as State, he pressed his children in very strong terms to promise him solemnly, neither to accept grants, nor to make purchases of abbey-lands (*n*), which it is said they did, and adhered constantly to that promise though much to their own loss. We may add to this a third point, *viz.* that he continued his labours in the closet for the benefit of succeeding times, as well as upon the Bench for the advantage of his contemporaries, and provided thereby that posterity should be the better for his valuable writings (*o*) [*C*]. At length,

(*k*) Chron. Jurid. p. 155.

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 56.

(*m*) Tanneri Bibliotheca Britanno-Hibernica, p. 283.

(*n*) Pits. de Illust. Angl. Script. p. 707.

(*o*) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 215.

liuer en le fyne de lour apte titles. That is, *The Grand Abridgement collected by that most reverend Judge,* Mr Anthony Fitzherbert, *lately conferred with his own manuscript corrected by himself, together with the folio's referring the cases to the books, by which they may be easily found; an improvement never before made. Also in this edition, the additions or supplements are placed at the end of their respective titles.* The *Colophon* runs thus: Imprinted at London, in Fleet-Street, within Temple-Bar, at the sign of the hand and star, by *Richard Tottel,* the 20th day of August, Anno 1577, *Cum privilegio.* To this edition there is added a most useful and accurate table, by the care of William Rastall, Serjeant at Law, and also one of the Justices of the Common Pleas in the reign of Queen Mary; which table is very highly commended by the Lord Chief Justice Coke.

As to the original of these abridgements of cases, we are told that the first was published in the reign of King Henry the Sixth by Stathom (6), a learned Lawyer of that time and Baron of the Exchequer, concerning whom there is a very singular paragraph to be met with, in the works of the facetious Doctor Fuller (7), which will give some light into the reason of our author's composing his abridgement. 'Much esteemed, 'says he, at this day, (speaking of Stathom) for the 'antiquity thereof. For otherwise Lawyers behold 'him, as soldiers do bows and arrows since the in'vention of guns, rather for sight than service. Yea 'a grandee in that profession hath informed me, that 'little of Stathom, if any at all, is Law at this day; 'so much is the practice thereof altered, whereof the 'learned in that faculty will give a satisfactory ac'count, tho' otherwise it may seem strange, that 'reason continuing always the same, Law grounded 'thereon should be capable of so great alteration.'

(6) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 233.

(7) Fuller's Worthies, Derbyshire, p. 233.

Sir Edward Coke mentions our author, and this work of his, in many places, and always with much respect; tho' at the bottom he is far enough from being fond of Abridgements, yet he has left us a passage, in which he shews us not only his approbation of this, but even of that which Fuller would have us believe was worn altogether out of date, and is exceedingly puzzled to know, why the reason of things should not outlast the things themselves, and why the Law should not remain always the same, tho' made to regulate the most changeable of all subjects, the manners, opinions, and circumstances of men. But to the passage in Lord Coke (8), 'Perkins, Fitzherbert, Natura Brevium, 'and Stamford, of which the Register, Littleton, Fitz'herbert, and Stamford, are most necessary, and of 'greatest authority and excellency, and yet the other 'also are not without their fruit. In reading of the 'cases in the books at large, which sometimes are ob'scure and misprinted, if the reader, after the dili'gent reading of the case, shall observe how the case 'is abridged in those two great Abridgements of Jus'tice, Fitzherbert and Sir Robert Brooke, it will both 'illustrate the case and delight the reader, and yet 'neither that of Stathom, nor that of the book of 'assizes, is to be rejected: and for pleading, the great 'book of entries is of singular use and utility.' These reasons are certainly clear and convincing, to which we may add, that there is something singularly accurate in our author's method, arising probably from his writing this book with a design to publish it, whereas Sir Robert Brooke's Abridgement, like Sir James Dyer's Reports, was composed for his own use, and therefore in reading them this circumstance should be always remembred.

(8) Proem to the third Part of Coke's Reports.

Magna Charta cum diversis aliis statutis. Lond. 1519, in 12mo. i. e. Magna Charta, *and several other statutes.*

[*C*] *For his valuable writings.*] In this note we will endeavour to give a distinct account of the rest of our author's writings, and of such as have been attributed to him, and of which it is doubtful whether they are his or not.

II. *L'Office & auctoryte des justyces de peas, compyle & extrayte hors des anciens livres, si bien del commen ley, come des statutes.* That is, *The office and authority of* Justices *of* Peace, *compiled and extracted out of the old books, as well of the Common Law, as of the Statutes.* Lond. 1538, 12mo. part in French, part in English, without the author's name, and several times afterwards.

It was held a very useful book for that time, being the first upon the subject that was ever published; it was afterwards augmented by Richard Crompton, Esq; and printed in Quarto at least seven times during his life, and before Serjeant Crompton published it with additions, it had been translated and printed several times in English.

III. *L'Office de Viconts, Bailiffes, Escheators, Constables, Coroners, &c.* That is, *The Office of Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Libertys, Escheators, Constables, Coroners,* &c. Lond. 1538. 4to.

This has been also annexed by Serjeant Crompton, to his Office and Authority of Justices of the Peace, and has been frequently printed with it.

IV. *Of the* Diversity *of* Courts.

This was written by him, as the reader will see hereafter, in the twenty first of Henry the Eighth, but without the author's name; it was originally written in French, but was translated into English by W. H. of Grey's-Inn, and added by him to Andrew Horne's Mirrour of Justices.

V. *Natura Brevium novel,* that is, *The new Natura Brevium.* Lond. 1534. afterwards translated into English, and often published with very accurate tables, having been always in very high esteem; the nature and design of this work, as also the reason of its being stiled the new *Natura Brevium,* will fully appear from our author's short and excellent proem.

'In every art and science there are certain rules 'and foundations, to which a man ought to give cre'dit, and which he cannot deny. In like manner, 'there are divers maxims and fundamentals in the 'knowledge of the Common Laws of the land, which 'a man ought to believe very necessary for those who 'will understand the same, especially at the beginning 'of their studies: for, upon those fundamentals, the 'whole Law doth depend. For which purpose, in 'time past, there was composed a very profitable book, 'called *The Register,* which doth contain sundry prin'ciples, by which he must be well instructed who 'would study the Law. And also for that purpose was 'there composed by a learned man, a book called *Na'tura Brevium,* which book doth declare and set 'forth the diversities and natures of many original writs, 'with their process, which book helped much to the 'understanding not only of *The Register,* but also of 'the Law of the land; but because of late time that 'book hath been translated into the English tongue,

'and

length, full of years, in high eſteem with his Sovereign, and univerſally reverenced by his fellow-ſubjects, he yielded his laſt debt to nature the 27th of May, 1538, deſervedly lamented and admired (*p*). His body was interred in his own pariſh-church of Norbury (*q*), upon which there was ſome time afterwards laid a blue marble ſtone, with a very plain and modeſt inſcription, which, becauſe it is not eaſily to be met with, the reader will find inſerted in the notes [*D*]. This venerable Sage in the Law, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, left behind him a very numerous poſterity; and as he became, by the death of his elder brother, John Fitzherbert of Norbury, Eſq; poſſeſſor of the land eſtate of his family, he was in a condition to provide, in a very plentiful manner, for his younger children (*r*); ſo that long after his deceaſe we find ſeveral very conſiderable families, not only in the county of Derby, but alſo in ſome other adjacent counties, that very juſtly valued themſelves upon having this learned and upright Judge for their common anceſtor (*s*) [*E*]. We ſhall, in a ſubſequent article, ſee, that ſome of his deſcendants (who underſtood his laſt words in ſo rigorous a ſenſe, as to believe they prohibited them from leaving the Church of Rome (*t*), as well as from acquiring church lands) ſuffered very ſeverely for their obſtinacy in that particular, but were notwithſtanding ſo far happy, as that while they remained exiles in foreign parts, by the modeſty of their behaviour, quickneſs of their parts, and great probity of their lives, they maintained the reputation of their family, and were not in the ſlighteſt degree a diſcredit to their country, abating their adherence to Popiſh tenets.

(*p*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 51.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, Derbyſhire, p. 233.

(*r*) The Grandeur of the Law, p. 191.

(*s*) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 707.

(*t*) See the article enſuing.

'and many things are therein, which are not according 'to the Law of the land, and many other things are 'omitted which are very profitable and neceſſary for 'the underſtanding of the Law, for that cauſe is this 'work compoſed and publiſhed. Wherein, if there 'be any thing againſt the opinion of the ſages who 'have the adminiſtration of the Laws, the requeſt of 'him who hath taken the pains to make this treatiſe, 'is, that they would correct and amend the ſame, as 'they ſhall ſee good according to the Law.'

These obſervations of our venerable author are highly commended, and ſtrongly ſupported, by that judicious writer, and exquiſite Lawyer, Sir Edward Coke (9), 'For an example of an original writ, ſays he, among 'many others, I refer the ſtudious reader eſpecially to 'Caly's caſe, in Eaſter term in the twenty ſixth of the 'reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, of ever bleſſed 'memory, now publiſhed, whereby it more clearly 'appeareth how judicious the opinion of Juſtice Fitz-'herbert is, in his preface to his *Natura Brevium*, 'where he ſaith, that original writs are the founda-'tions whereupon the Law dependeth, and how truly 'he calleth them the principles of the Law, and for-'tifieth alſo the opinion of Bracton, where he ſaith, 'that *Breve, formatum eſt, ad ſimilitudinem regulæ ju-'ris*, which caſe I have reported in that form, to this 'end, that ſtudents, ſeeing the ſingular uſe of origi-'nal writs, will, in the beginning of their ſtudy, learn 'them, or at leaſt the principalleſt of them, without 'book, whereby they ſhall attain unto three things of 'no ſmall moment. 1. To the right underſtanding 'of their books. 2. To the true ſenſe and judgment 'of Law: and laſtly, 3. To the exquiſite form and 'manner of pleading.'

(9) Proem to the eighth part of his Reports.

The ſame intelligent perſon has, in another place, given us a ſhort account of moſt of our author's Law treatiſes, in theſe words (10): 'Fitzherbert's Abridge-'ment was painfully and elaborately collected, and 'publiſhed in the eleventh year of King Henry the 'Eighth, by Fitzherbert, then Serjeant at Law: and 'he wrote alſo another book, called his *Natura Bre-'vium*, an exact work, exquiſitively penned, and 'publiſhed in the ſix and twentieth year of Henry 'the Eighth, when he was Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, 'Knight, one of the Judges of the Court of Common 'Pleas: about the ſame time he wrote his treatiſe of 'Juſtices of the Peace, wherewith the Judges, as I 'have ſeen it reported, found fault, for that he there-'in affirmed, that Juſtices of Peace, having, by their 'commiſſion, authority to hear and determine felonies, '*&c.* could not hear and determine murders, *&c.* 'which, amongſt others, they clearly over-ruled, that 'Juſtices of Peace lawfully might do.'

(10) Proem to the tenth Part of his Reports.

VI. *Of the ſurveying of Lands*, 1539. 8vo. Lond. 1567.

VII. *The Book of Huſbandry, very profitable and neceſſary for all perſons.*——Printed by Tho. Berthlet 1534, 8vo. and ſeveral times after in the reign of Queen Mary, and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. It is ſaid, in an advertiſement to the reader, that this book was written by one Anthony Fitzherbert, who had been forty years a huſbandman, from whence many have concluded, that this could not be our Judge, but have rather inclined to think it written by his brother John Fitzherbert. Upon examination, however, it will be found, that this latter opinion is leſs ſuſtainable than the former; for ſo it is, that, in the author's preface to his book *of meaſuring of lands*, he mentions his book of *Agriculture*, and in the advertiſement prefixed to the ſame book it is expreſsly ſaid, that the author of that treatiſe *of meaſuring*, was the author likewiſe of the book concerning *the office of a Juſtice of Peace*, whence it ſhould ſeem, that both thoſe books were written by our author, who perhaps in thoſe ſeaſons when he had leiſure to go down into the country, might apply himſelf as vigorouſly to huſbandry, as to the ſtudy of the Laws when in town; and as his genius naturally led him to method and order, ſo he might be inclined to commit his thoughts upon that uſeful ſubject to writing; tho', it may be very well doubted, whether he ever intended they ſhould be publiſhed.

[*D*] *Inſerted in the notes.*] We owe the preſervation of this inſcription to Mr Brooke, York-Herald, who publiſhed it in his diſpute with Mr Camden, as a point deciſive in his favour; for therein he obſerves, that, as to his bearing the antient arms of the family, and his being one of the Judges, not Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, appears from his epitaph, taken from his tomb at Norbury, whereon his arms are engraven, *viz.* Gules, three Lyons rampant, or, with this inſcription:

Of your Charitie, praye for the Souls of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knyght, one of the King's Juſtices of his Comon Bench, and ſome tyme Lo. and Patrons of this towne; and Dorathy his wife, daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby, Knyght, &c. Which Sir Anthony deceaſed 27 May 1538.

[*E*] *For their common anceſtor.*] We are informed by Mr Phillips, that, in the year 1684, there were the following families ſubſiſting, of the deſcendants of our Judge, *viz.* Baſil Fitzherbert, deſcended of William Fitzherbert, Eſq; a younger ſon of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's, who marrying Elizabeth, daughter and coheireſs of Humphry Swinnerton, of Swinnerton in Staffordſhire, brought that eſtate likewiſe into the family, which, together with the old paternal ſeat of Norbury, was then enjoyed by Baſil Fitzherbert (11). William Fitzherbert, of Tiſſington in the county of Derby, was likewiſe deſcended, in a direct line, from Sir Anthony (12). As alſo Francis Fitzherbert, of Somerſall-Herbert in the county of Derby (13). Likewiſe John Fitzherbert, of Luckington in the county of Wilts, Eſquire (14). The reader may learn ſomething more, upon the ſame ſubject in the ſucceeding article (15).

(11) Grandeur of the Law, p. 191.

(12) Ibid. p. 166.

(13) Ibid. p. 225.

(14) Ibid. p. 244.

(15) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Script. Angl. p. 813.

FITZHERBERT (THOMAS) a deep ſufferer for, and a learned defender of, the Popiſh cauſe, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the ſon of William Fitzherbert by Iſabel his wife, daughter and one of the heirs of Humphrey Swinnerton of Swinnerton in Staffordſhire, fourth ſon of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knt (*a*); of whom in the former article, and born in the ſaid county of Stafford in 1552, in which county being initiated in grammar learning, he was ſent either to Exeter or Lincoln-college in 1568 (*b*). But having been moſtly before bred up in the Catholick religion, the college grew uneaſy to him, for though he would ſometimes hear a ſermon, which he was permitted to do by an old Roman Prieſt that then privately lived in Oxon. yet he would ſeldom go to prayers, for which he was often admoniſhed by the Sub-Rector of his Houſe (*c*). At length, ſeeming to be wearied with Hereſy, he receded without a degree to his patrimony, where alſo refuſing to go to his pariſh-church, he was impriſoned about 1572 (*d*). But being ſoon after ſet at liberty he became ſtill more zealous in his religion, and not only confirmed many wavering Catholicks, but wrote alſo Several Reaſons for the Catholicks not going to Proteſtant churches, for which being like to ſuffer, he withdrew and lived concealed (*e*). In 1580, when Campian and Perſons the Jeſuit came into England, he retired to London, found them out, ſhewed himſelf exceedingly attached to, and ſupplied them liberally. Whereupon bringing himſelf into a *Præmunire*, and foreſeeing great dangers, he went a voluntary exile into France, *anno* 1582, where he continued a zealous ſollicitor in the cauſe of Mary Queen of Scots, with the King of France and Duke of Guiſe, though in vain (*f*). After the deplorable death of that Princeſs, and the loſs of his own wife, Mr Fitzherbert reſolved to leave France and to repair to Madrid, in order to implore the protection of Philip II, to whom indeed moſt of the Engliſh exiles reſorted ſooner or later; he continued there till about the year 1589, and then, being either tired out with vain expectations, or finding that he was not a man of fit principles to thrive in that Court, he reſolved to accompany the Duke of Feria, who had been formerly in England with King Philip, married an Engliſh Lady, and was juſtly eſteemed a great patron of the nation in Spain, to the city of Milan in Italy, where he remained for ſome time, and from thence repaired to Rome (*g*). It is reported that during his reſidence there he fell into great neceſſities, notwithſtanding he had left behind him a competent fortune in England, which diſtreſs *is ſuppoſed to have* driven him to think of entering into Orders (*h*). However that matter may be, it is certain, that he took a lodging very near the Engliſh college, and obſerved the ſame hours of prayers they did who were reſident in the place. He ſpent the reſt of his time in compoſing ſeveral books, and, amongſt the reſt, one which he addreſſed to his ſon Edward Fitzherbert, Eſq; againſt the maxims of the famous Italian Politician, Nicholas Machiavel, which has been of ſome uſe to modern writers, and was in thoſe times eſteemed a moſt ſound and excellent treatiſe (*i*) [*A*]. He entered into the Society of Jeſus in the ſpring of the year 1614, and received Prieſts Orders much about the ſame time; after which he ſpeedily removed into Flanders, in order to preſide over the Miſſion, and continued at Bruſſels about two years, during which ſpace he wrote ſeveral books in defence of his opinions. In theſe, though he falls much ſhort of the reſt of his perſuaſion, yet he

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 631.

(*b*) Intrigues of Romiſh Exiles, p. 19.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 631.

(*d*) Pitſ. de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 813.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 631.

(*f*) Intrigues of Romiſh Exiles, p. 35.

(*g*) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 813.

(*h*) Engliſh Spaniſh Pilgrim, p. 65.

(*i*) See this explained in note [*A*].

[*A*] *Eſteemed a moſt ſound and excellent treatiſe.*] The firſt writings publiſhed by our author, and which gave thoſe of his party a true opinion of his worth, that was not certainly inferior to any of their zealous champions at that time, were the following pieces:

I. *A Defence of the* Catholic Cauſe, *containing a treatiſe in confutation of ſundry untruths and ſlanders publiſhed by the* Heretics, *&c.* To which is added, *an* apology, *or* defence, *of his innocency, in a feigned* Conſpiracy *againſt her Majeſty's perſon, for which one* Edward Squire *was wrongfully condemned, and executed, in November* 1598. St Omer's 1602. This is the book which the learned Camden (1) tells us was written by Walpole a Jeſuit, or one under his name.

(1) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 814.

II. TREATISE *concerning* Polity *and* Religion, *Doway* 1606, 4to. wherein are confuted ſeveral principles of Machiavel. The ſecond part of the ſaid treatiſe was printed alſo at Doway 1610; and both together in 1615, 4to. A third part was printed at London 1652, 4to. being then, ſays Mr Wood, cried up for a good book, as the other parts had been.

III. *An ſit utilitas in ſcelere, vel de infelicitate Principis* Machiavellani? Rome 1610. 8vo. *that is,* whether there be any utility in wickedneſs? or, Of the infelicity of Machiavel's Prince.

Theſe laſt treatiſes met univerſally with a favourable reception, amongſt Proteſtants as well as Papiſts, and did the author great honour as they ſhewed him to be a man of deep ſenſe, ſtrong parts, and of a generous diſpoſition, as well as of much reading and ſingular experience. The truth is, theſe treatiſes give Mr Fitzherbert a right to be remembred among the learned men of our nation, ſince they were extremely well calculated to expel the poiſon infuſed by Machiavel's books, which have done incredible miſchief ever ſince they were publiſhed. Our author goes the right way to work, he ſhews that cunning, ſubtilty, and artifice, are but the mimicks of wiſdom and civil prudence, and therefore naturally beneath great minds, and altogether inconſiſtent either with a good heart or a good underſtanding. He ſhews next, that addreſs, intrigue, and contrivance, are ſo far from being proofs of genius, that they are convincing teſtimonies of the want of it, for that men of true genius move always in a direct path, with their eyes fixed on the object they would obtain, and overcome all obſtacles, not by dirty plots, but by noble perſeverance. He demonſtrates, that the Machiavelian principles lead to infelicity, and that as it is impoſſible a wicked man ſhould be happy, ſo it is as impoſſible that a wicked Prince ſhould be proſperous, or great; it is true that his language is not a little perplexed and obſcure, that his method, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, is ſomewhat embarraſſed and pedantick; and that he has intermixed many things in his diſcourſe, which might have been much better omitted; but tho' theſe circumſtances abate, yet they are far from deſtroying the merit of his work, in which the materials are to be found of a better refutation of Machiavel's writings than is to be met with in our own or perhaps in any other language.

[*B*] *And*

he expreſſes himſelf with a bitterneſs, which would be altogether inexcuſable, but from the nature of his circumſtances, which, on the one hand, might ſharpen his temper; and, on the other, oblige him to write in ſuch a ſtile as might be moſt agreeable to his benefactors (*k*). Theſe books of his, at the time they were publiſhed, were highly commended and much eſteemed, though now they are little read, and hardly remembered [*B*]. His great parts, his extenſive and polite learning, together with the high eſteem that he had procured by his prudent behaviour at Bruſſels, procured him what any other in his ſituation would have eſteemed a very high preferment, but which he with much reluctancy accepted. This was the Government, with the title of Rector, of the Roman College at Rome, which office he exerciſed with unblemiſhed credit for twenty-two years, and was often named within that ſpace of time for a Cardinal's hat, in the room of Cardinal Alan, which it is thought he might eaſily have obtained, if it had been in reality the object of his ambition (*l*). But he was a man of a mild and moderate diſpoſition, more eſpecially in the latter part of his life, and for that reaſon was more willing to decline, than to aſpire to, that envied dignity. He died there Auguſt 27, 1640, in the eighty-eighth year of his age (*m*). His body was interred in the chapel belonging to the Engliſh college at Rome (*n*). As he remained ſo great a part of his life an exile, and under the imputation of being an enemy to his country, he may be juſtly reputed unhappy, but yet leſs ſo than a near relation of his who was contemporary with him, and reſided for ſome years in the ſame college (*o*) [*C*], ſince our author lived the far greater part of his days decently, if not ſplendidly, and died at laſt peaceably in his bed, exceedingly admired by thoſe of his own faction, and as much eſteemed as he could expect by the reſt of his countrymen, who diſliked nothing in him but his perſuaſion, and were ſorry that a man of his parts, learning, and politeneſs, ſhould, by his obſtinacy, make himſelf ſo unhappy.

(*k*) Intrigues of Romiſh Exiles, p. 23.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 632.

(*m*) Intrigues of Romiſh Exiles, p. 31.

(*n*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 632.

(*o*) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 814.

[*B*] *And indeed hardly remembred.*] The remaining works of Mr Thomas Fitzherbert are entirely controverſial, and by no means equal to thoſe beforementioned, for the reaſons that have been briefly aſſigned in the text. The titles of them are as follow:

IV. *A large* Preface, *in which are laid open ſome few examples of the ſingular ignorance, lying, and other bad dealings, of Mr* William Barlow, *in his anſwer to* the cenſure of the apology ſet before *Robert Perſon's book, entituled,* A diſcuſſion of the anſwer of Mr *William Barlow,* to a book entituled, *The Judgment,* &c. printed 1612. 4to (2).

(2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 638.

V. *Supplement to the Diſcuſſion of Dr* Barlow's *anſwer to The* Judgment of a Catholick Engliſhman, *&c. interrupted by the death of the author* F. Rob. Perſons, *Jeſuit.* St Omer's 1613. 4to. Publiſhed under the two letters of F. T.

VI. *Cenſure of* Dr John Donne's *book entituled,* Pſeudo-Martyr (3).

(3) To which there was a Reply.

VII. *Additions to the Supplement.*——Theſe two laſt are printed at the end of the Supplement to The Diſcuſſion, *&c.* againſt Dr William Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, beforementioned.

VIII. *Confutation of certain abſurdities in* Lancelot Andrews's *anſwer to* Bellarmine. 1603. 4to. and publiſhed under the two letters of F. T. inſtead of T. F. This was written in vindication of Cardinal Bellarmine's Apology, for his anſwer made to King James's book, *De jure fidel.* Whereupon came out a book, entituled, *Epphata to* T. F. *or a Defence of the Biſhop of* Ely (Lancelot Andrews) *concerning his anſwer to Cardinal* Bellarmine's *Apology, againſt the calumnies of a ſcandalous Pamphlet.* Camb. 1617. 4to. written by Sam. Collins, D. D.

IX. *Of the Oath of* Fidelity, *or* Allegiance, *againſt the* Theological Diſputations *of Rog. Widdrington.* St Omer's 1614. 4to.

X. *The* Obmuteſce *of* F. T. *to the* Epphata *of Dr Collins,* &c. Printed 1621. 8vo.

[*C*] *And reſided for ſome years in the ſame college.*] We were unwilling to multiply, beyond what neceſſity required, the number of articles in this book, and therefore choſe to ſpeak of the couſin of this gentleman, who, in his time, made a great figure in the Engliſh College at Rome, in a note. This Nicholas Fitzherbert was the ſecond ſon of John Fitzherbert, ſecond ſon of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert of Norbury in Derbyſhire, Knight. In his youth he was a ſtudent in Exeter College, and exhibited to it by Sir William Petre, about 1568, for his name ſtands in the regiſter under the title of Coll. Exon in 1571 and 1572, being then the Senior Under-Graduate of that College. About that time he left his native country, parents, and patrimony, for religion, and went beyond the ſeas as a voluntary exile (4). At firſt he ſettled at Bononia in Italy, to obtain the knowledge of the Civil Law, and continued there in 1580. Not long after he went to Rome, and, in the year 1587, began to live in the family of William Alan, the Cardinal of England, and continued with him till the time of his death, being then accounted eminent for his knowledge in the Laws and polite literature. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the learned world by the following pieces:

(4) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 382.

I. *Johannis Caſæ Galatæi de bonis moribus.* i. e. *John Galatæus,* of good manners. Rome 1595. This is no more than a tranſlation of a celebrated Italian treatiſe into Latin, intended for the ſpecial uſe of young ſcholars.

II. *Oxonienſis in Anglia Academiæ deſcriptio,* i. e. A deſcription of the Univerſity of *Oxford* in *England.* Rome 1602, in three ſheets and a half. 8vo.

III. *De Antiquitate & Continuatione Catholicæ Religionis in* Anglia. Of the Antiquity and Continuance of the Catholick Religion in England. Rome 1608. 8vo.

IV. *Vitæ Cardinalis Alani Epitome.* An Epitome of the Life of Cardinal Alan. Rome 1608. He alſo wrote the Life of that Cardinal, who was his patron, more at large, which, for certain reaſons, was never made publick (5).

(5) See the article of ALAN (WILLIAM).

This Nicholas Fitzherbert, in a journey that he made from Rome, was unfortunately drowned, ſome time in the year 1612 (6), being, in the opinion of his acquaintance, about ſixty three years of age. We have a very high character given of him by Pitts (7), as might well be expected, his religion conſidered, and his living, on account of it, an exile from his native country for ſo many years. E

(6) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 382.

(7) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 814.

FITZ-WILLIAM (WILLIAM) an eminent Commander at ſea in the XVIth century, and created Earl of Southampton by King Henry VIII, was the ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas Fitz-William of Aldwarke in the county of York, Knt. by Lucia his wife, daughter and coheir to John Neville, Marquis Montacute (*a*). In the year 1510, he was made one of the Eſquires for the Body to King Henry VIII (*b*), and, in 1512, had that grant renewed for life (*c*). The year following, he was one of the Chief Commanders in

(*a*) Catalogue of the Nobility, *&c.* by R. Brooke, p. 223; and Dugdale's Baron. Tom. II. p. 105.

(*b*) Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 19.

(*c*) Pat. 4 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

the fleet ſent out againſt France [*A*]; and had the misfortune to be ſorely hurt with an arrow in attempting to deſtroy the French fleet at Breſt (*). Shortly after, he attended King Henry at the ſiege of Tournay; and, for his bravery there, received the honour of Knighthood (*d*). In 1520, he was Vice-Admiral of England, and employed in guarding the Channel, at the time the Emperor Charles V. came to England (*e*). He ſo ingratiated himſelf with the King his maſter, that he obtained from him, in 1521, a grant of the manor of Naveſby in Northamptonſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, then lately attainted (*f*). At that time he was Embaſſador in France; but, upon a rupture between that kingdom and England, he was recalled, in January 1521-2, and ordered to ſea with a ſtrong fleet of twenty-eight ſail, to ſecure our Merchants, and take what French ſhips he could (*g*). Shortly after, he aſſiſted at the taking of Morlaix in Bretagne (*h*) [*B*]: and, with Sir William Sandes, and Sir Morice Barkeley, went and burnt Marguiſon, which was newly built and fortified; and many villages (*i*). In 1523, the King of France preparing to ſend John Duke of Albany Regent of Scotland into that kingdom, in order to invade England from that quarter; Sir William Fitz-William was made Admiral, and diſpatched, with a ſtrong fleet, to try to intercept him. Having miſſed of him, he determined to land on the French coaſt, which he accordingly did, at Treport in Normandy, and burnt the ſuburbs of that town, and ſeveral ſhips in the harbour; tho' there were but ſeven hundred Engliſh, oppoſed by ſix thouſand French (*k*). The year following, being Captain of Guiſnes in Picardy, he mightily annoyed Boulogne, and other places adjacent (*l*). Before the end of that year, he was made Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold; and, in October, ſent to France, with John Taylor Doctor of Law, to ſee the Lady Regent (whoſe ſon King Francis I, was then priſoner in Spain) ſwear to obſerve the articles of a treaty newly concluded between the two Crowns (*m*). In 1529, he was one of thoſe who ſubſcribed the articles exhibited in Parliament againſt Cardinal Wolſey (*n*). At the grand interview between the Kings of England and France in 1532, he attended his Maſter King Henry VIII to Boulogne, the place of interview, amongſt many other perſons of the higheſt quality (*o*). In May 1535, he was ſent, with the Duke of Norfolk, the Biſhop of Ely, and Dr Fox, to treat with the French King's Commiſſioners, about a league between the Crowns of England and France: one of the articles whereof were, That the Duke of Angouleſme, third ſon to the King of France, ſhould marry Elizabeth ſecond daughter of King Henry (*p*). Shortly after, he was made Knight of the Garter, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter; and in 1536, conſtituted Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gaſcogne, and Acquitaine (*q*). On the 18th of October 1537, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Southampton (*r*): and made Lord Privy-Seal the 27th of October 1539 (*s*). The April following, ſome diſputes having ariſen between England and France, he, and John Lord Ruſſel lately made High-Admiral, were ſent over to Calais with a few troops of horſe; and having ſet all things in good order, they quickly returned (*t*). He was alſo employed as Captain of the Foreward, in the expedition to Scotland, in October 1542; but, in the way thither, he died at Newcaſtle. However, ſo much eſteemed was he, that for the honour of his memory, his ſtandard was borne in the vanguard in all that expedition (*u*). By his Will, bearing date the 10th of September the ſame year, he ordered his body to be buried in the church of Midherſt in Suſſex (*w*). He left no iſſue by Mabel his wife, daughter to Henry Lord Clifford, and ſiſter to Henry the firſt Earl of Cumberland (*x*). Of this great man it is recorded, whilſt he was Admiral, that there was not a ſerviceable man under him whoſe name he knew not; not a week paſſed but he paid his ſhips; not a prize but his ſeamen ſhared in as well as

(*) E. Hall's Chron. in Hen. VIII. fol. 22; R. Hollinſhed's 3d Vol. of Chronicles, edit. 1587, p. 816. col. 2.

(*d*) Hall, as above, fol. 45; and Holinſhed, p. 824. col. 2.

(*e*) Hall, ubi ſupra, fol. 72.

(*f*) Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*g*) Life and Reign of King Henry VIII, by Edw. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, under the year 1522. Hall, as above, fol. 93.

(*h*) Hall, as above, fol. 100.

(*i*) Ibid. fol. 103. Holinſhed, p. 875.

(*k*) Hall, fol. 113. Holinſhed, p. 879.

(*l*) Hall, ibid. fol. 126, &c.

(*m*) Hall, as above, fol. 145. Holinſhed, p. 892.

(*n*) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1529.

(*o*) Hall, as above, fol. 208.

(*p*) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1535.

(*q*) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*r*) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*s*) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1540.

(*t*) Hall, as above, fol. 243.

(*u*) Ib. fol. 254; and Lord Herbert, under the year 1541. See Holinſhed, p. 958.

(*w*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 105.

(*x*) R. Brooke, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The year following, he was one of the chief commanders in the fleet ſent out againſt France*] The deſign of this expedition, was, to clear the ſea of French ſhips, before King Henry and his confederates attacked France by land. The moſt conſiderable perſons employed in this ſervice, beſides Sir William Fitz-William, were, Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, Sir Walter Devereux Lord Ferrers, Sir Wolſtan Browne, Sir Edward Ichyngham, Sir Antony Poyntz, Sir John Wallop, Sir Thomas Wyndham, Sir Stephen Bull, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidney, Eſquires, &c (1). They ſailed to Breſt, and reſolved to attack the French fleet in that harbour, where it lay under the covert of many platforms raiſed on the land; beſides, which they had joined twenty four hulks together, with intention to ſet them on fire, and let them go adrift with the tide, to keep the Engliſh ſhips from theirs. Notwithſtanding that, Sir Edward Howard ſent out his boats, to make a ſhew of landing; whereupon the French flocking to the ſhore, to the number of above ten thouſand (the Engliſh in all the boats being not above fifteen hundred) he thought fit to land over againſt Breſt, where he burnt the country in ſight of the caſtle, under which the French ſhips lay, defended by their hulks. He could do no more at that time, for want of proviſions. But ſome gallies of the enemy having anchored, a few days after, at Conquet below Breſt; the Admiral, attended by Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Wallop, Sir Henry Sherborne, and Sir William Sidney, fell upon thoſe gallies, tho' they lay betwixt two rocks, that had bulwarks on them full of ordnance: and the Admiral boarded one galley, in which the commander of them,——Pregent, was; but he had the misfortune to be thruſt overboard by the enemy's pikes, and drowned. By which means this expedition became unſucceſsful (2).—An attempt of the like nature under the Marquis of Caermarthen, in 1694, did alſo miſcarry. Which ſhews the great difficulty of ſuch undertakings.

(1) Hall, as above, fol. 22.

(2) See Lord Herbert, ubi ſupra, under the year 1513.

[*B*] *Shortly after, he aſſiſted at the taking of Morlaix, &c.*] There were ſeven thouſand men employed in that enterpriſe; and amongſt them the following nobility and gentry; the Lords Fitzwalter, and Curſon, Sir Richard Wyngfield, Sir Richard Jernyngham, Sir William Barantine, Sir Adrian Foſkew, or Forteſcu, Sir Edward Donne, Sir Edward Chamberlayne, Francis Bryan, Richard Cornewall, Sir Antony Poynes, Sir Henry Sherborne, Sir Edmond Bray, Sir Giles Capel, Sir William Pyrton, Sir John Cornewall, Sir John Wallop, Sir Edward Ichyngham, Sir William Sidney,

as himself; it being his rule, that none fought well but those which did it for a fortune (y). And it was chiefly for the sake of recommending so worthy an example to posterity, that we have inserted here this article.

(y) Complete History of the Transactions at Sea, &c. by Josiah Burchett, Esq; edit. Lond. 1720, p. 339.

Sidney, Antony Browne, Giles Huse, Thomas More, John Russel, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Owdayle, Thomas Lovel, Robert Jernyngham, Antony Knevet, Esquires, Sir John Tremayle, Sir William Skevyngton Master of the Ordnance, and John Fabian Serjeant at Arms, the chief encourager of this adventure (3). C

(3) Hall, as above, fol. 99; 100.

FLAMSTEED (JOHN) one of the most eminent English Astronomers in the XVIIIth century, was born at Denby in Derbyshire, August 19, 1646. His father, whose name was Stephen, was third son of Mr William Flamsteed of Little Hallam in that county. His mother was Mary, daughter of Mr John Spateman of Derby, Ironmonger, who died when he was a little above three years old. Our author had, from his infancy, a natural tenderness of constitution which he could never surmount (a). He was educated at the free-school of Derby where his father lived, and at fourteen years of age, when he was but just become head of that school, he was visited with a severe fit of sickness, followed by a consumption and other distempers, which however did not so much obstruct his progress in learning but that he kept his station till the form broke up, and some of his school-fellows went to the university, to which, though designed for it, his father thought it not advisable to send him on account of his infirmity. Being thus taken from school in 1662, within a month or two after he had John de Sacrobosco's book *de Sphæra* put into his hands; this accident, and the leisure which accompanied it, induced him to make Astronomy the principal object of his studies [*A*]. He had already perused a great

(a) The reader will find in the note an account of the MSS. from which these particulars are taken, which remain in the hands of that learned, communicative, and worthy person, Mr James Hodgson, F. R. S. and Master of the Royal Mathematical School at Christ's Hospital, in London.

[*A*] *Induced him to make Astronomy the principal objects of his studies.*] In the text of this article, we have given an account of his progress in that science in his junior years, as it is represented in a manuscript of his, written in 1707, and intitled (1), *Historica narratio vitæ meæ ab anno* 1646. *ad.* 1675. But we shall give a more particular account of his several steps in that study, from another manuscript of his, dated May the 8th 1667, and intitled *The self inspections of* J. F. being an account of himself in the actions and studies of his twenty one first years, written at several times, by his own hand. It is there he tells us, that, in 1662, he had *Sacrobosco*'s book *de Sphæra* lent him, which he set himself to read without any director, but not unsuccessfully, for here he laid the ground of his mathematical knowledge. In that winter, some time before Christmas, his father taught him arithmetic, and the doctrine of fractions, and the golden rule of three direct and converse. At Christmas, or a little after, he went to Uttoxeter for his health, and took with him Mr Thomas Fale's *Art of Dialling* (2); and having seen a quadrant formerly, the construction of which he was informed was laid down in that book, he set himself immediately to calculate a table of the sun's altitudes at all hours in the Equator, Tropics, and some intermediate parallel in the latitude of fifty three degree, by Mr Fale's tables of natural sines, which our author performed in Lent of that year without any help, and before he had heard of any artificial tables, and accordingly made himself a quadrant. The rest of the winter he was greatly indisposed, and his distemper continued violent upon him the summer of the year 1663, when it abated a little, and suffered him to prosecute his studies. For upon his return home he was introduced to Mr Elias Grice, who told him of artificial tables, and shewed him Wingate's Canon. He procured likewise Mr Stirrup's *Art of Dialling*, which he read this summer with some other authors on mathematical subjects, as Mr Gunter's Sector and Canon, and soon after he obtained Mr William Oughtred's Canon, *in all which*, says he, *I read some parts cursorily, not abiding a tedious prelection of any throughout, without the help or directions of any one, not being permitted (because they were scarce to be met with) the help of any one so much as to expound a term unto me.* His studies were discountenanced by his father, but his natural inclination led him to prosecute them thro' all impeding occurrences. Having got the Artificial Canon, he calculated several both general and particular tables, fitting the particular ones to the latitude of Derby, *viz.* fifty three degrees. He collected also a calculative method of dialling from Mr Gunter's Sector, and transcribed it, with a method for the construction of the quadrant and tables fitted thereto, calculated with his own hand in a small paper book. In this task, and in perusing some other authors on various subjects, he spent his studious hours this year and the beginning of 1664, when he became acquainted with Mr George Linacre and Mr William Litchford, desiring the friendship of the former on account of his knowledge of the fixed stars, and of the latter on account of his knowledge of the planets. Mr Flamsteed being desirous to essay all sorts of mathematical science, and unwilling to be seen with Mr Gadbury's book which contained Horrox's tables, lest he should be suspected to study Astrology, bought Mr Street's Caroline tables, intending, when he had an opportunity, not only to learn to calculate the places of the planets, but also to study their motions and understand their theory, but was prevented from executing this design for that year. January 1st, 1665, he applied himself to calculate the true places of the planets to a given time by his tables abovementioned, and accordingly effected it, tho' not so exactly as by his following calculations, yet so auspiciously, as gave him a further encouragement to prosecute these endeavours, in which, says he, *I observe it was my fault to err more thro' want of care than knowledge, which since I animadverted, I have striven with double care to prevent.* He employed himself afterwards in writing an Almanack for the year 1666, but never offered it to the press. He had in the summer of the preceding year, calculated several new tables, and digested some of them into a convenient book, and this year he added some more. He likewise calculated the nativities of several of his friends and acquaintance. He wrote also a piece upon the construction and uses of a quadrant, with necessary tables for the framing of the same, and of a rule which he had drawn, fitting both to the latitude of fifty three degrees. He began this piece August the eighth, and finished it on the twenty fourth of the same month, intitling it his *Mathematical Essays*, which was the first piece he wrote, August the 26th he set out for Ireland, in order to be touched by Mr Valentine Greatraks, (3), but receiving no benefit returned to Derby, September the 23d following. Soon after he added an Appendix to his Mathematical Essays, and the projection of an universal dial, and a catalogue of seventy of the fixed stars, with their right ascensions, declinations, longitudes, and latitudes, to the year 1701, which he had composed by the Tychonic places, and allowing the annual procession of the fixed stars 50″. He also proceeded to perfect the calculation of the solar eclipse which was to happen June 22, 1666, in the morning, according to the Caroline tables. In the Lent assizes in 1666, he became acquainted with Mr Emanuel Halton of Wingfield manor, who lent him the Richleian tables composed by Natalis Durret, a Frenchman, the introduction to which Mr Flamsteed

(1) That is, An Historical Narration of my own Life, from 1646 to 1675.

(2) This was printed 1626, 4to.

(3) See an Account of this famous Stroaker in Mr Boyle's Life, prefixed to his Works.

a great deal of Hiſtory both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, but this was a new ſubject to him, and he found in it a mighty pleaſure; and having tranſlated ſo much as he thought neceſſary for his uſe into Engliſh, he proceeded to make dials by the directions of ſome ordinary books, and having changed a treatiſe of Aſtrology found amongſt his father's books for Mr Street's Caroline Tables, he ſet himſelf to calculate the places of the planets by them, and to enquire into the reaſons of them, in which he found little ſatisfaction, that author being very conciſe and ſhort, and leaving the reaſons of his proceſſes to be learned from others. Having calculated, by theſe tables, an eclipſe of the ſun which was to happen June 22, 1666, he imparted it to a relation of his, who ſhewed it to Mr Emanuel Halton of Wingfield manor (*b*), who coming ſoon after to ſee him, and finding that our author was not acquainted with the Aſtronomical performances of others, ſent him Ricciolus's *Almageſt*, and Kepler's *Rudolphine Tables*, with ſome other mathematical books to which he was before a ſtranger. Mr Halton, who was a good Algebraiſt, endeavoured to draw him in to the ſtudy of Algebra, by propoſing little problems to him, which, having not long before made himſelf acquainted with Euclid, he gave geometrical ſolutions to, and never applied himſelf unto Algebra till after he removed to London. He proſecuted his Aſtronomical ſtudies from this time with all imaginable vigour, and with all the ſucceſs that he could wiſh [*B*]. In 1669, he collected ſome remarkable eclipſes of the fixed ſtars by the moon, which would happen in 1670, and calculated them from the Caroline Tables, and directed them to the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society (*c*), which produced very good effects [*C*]; for, this piece being read before that Society, was highly approved, and procured him letters of thanks from Mr Oldenburgh their Secretary, and Mr John Collins one of their members, with the latter of whom our author held a correſpondence for ſeveral years, and wrote a great many letters to him, moſt of which were in the hands of the late William Jones, Eſq; F. R. S. and of which we ſhall give the reader ſome extracts, ſince they will ſhew the progreſs of our author's ſtudies till his ſettlement at Greenwich in 1675, when that correſpondence ended [*D*].

(*b*) This Gentleman, Emanuel Halton, Eſq; was a very good Mathematician, as appears from ſome pieces of his in the Appendix to Mr Foſter's *Mathematical Miſcellanies*.

(*c*) This was towards the cloſe of 1669.

From

ſteed tranſlated into Engliſh, and corrected the errors of it. Mr Halton ſoon after communicated to him *Ricciolus*'s new *Almageſt* in Latin, which our author was extreamly glad to receive, becauſe it ſhewed a method of finding the Sun's true parallax by obſervations of the Moon's Dichotony, which he was very deſirous of inveſtigating at that time. He ſpent likewiſe ſome part of his time in Aſtrological Studies, 'but ſo, *ſays he*, as my labours were rather aſtronomical. Amongſt others, I ſpent ſome time on Mr 'Linacre's, and another great perſon's ſchemes, yet 'could I not any ways ſatisfy myſelf in the arcs of 'directions for the meaſuring of time, nor am I yet 'perfectly ſatisfied: yet I think Kepler's meaſures 'moſt rational and beſt grounded, tho', in the great 'perſon's nativity which I directed, I uſed Naboyd's 'meaſure, which is moſt in uſe amongſt Aſtrologers. 'In fine, I found Aſtrology to give general ſtrong con-'jectural hints, not perfect declarations.' After Mr Flamſteed had received *Ricciolus*'s *Almageſt*, he read it over with great attention. In 1667, ſome conſiderations of the different equations of time, uſed by ſeveral Aſtronomers, tho' well demonſtrated by none, induced him to endeavour the diſcovery of a demonſtrable equation. He was at firſt of opinion, that the natural days were always equal, and that there needed no equation of time; but whilſt he was endeavouring to demonſtrate this, he proved the contrary, firſt, that the exentricity of the Earth's Orbit from the Sun's Center cauſed an inequality; and afterwards, that the Ecliptic's Obliquity cauſed another inequality of the apparent day, which two cauſes applied together, would make the abſolute equation of time. After a long meditation having removed moſt of the difficulty, he wrote a letter of three ſheets to Mr Halton upon this ſubject. He likewiſe endeavoured ſomething with regard to the Obliquity of the Ecliptic, the Sun's true diſtance from the Earth, and the mean length of the tropical year, in April 1667.

[*B*] *And with all the ſucceſs that he could wiſh.*] He employed himſelf in calculating the places of the Planets obſerved by Hevelius, and related in his *Mercurius ſub ſole viſus*, from the Caroline tables, whereby Mr Flamſteed found that they agreed not ſo well with the Heavens as he preſumed they had, and that further obſervations were requiſite to correct them. An Eclipſe of the Sun happening October 25, 1668, he had calculated the times of the appearance from the Caroline tables, and afterwards obſerved it, but not being yet furniſhed with convenient inſtruments for meaſuring and correcting the times, he could not believe it accurate enough to be publiſhed, tho' he found by this that the tables differed very much from the Heavens.

[*C*] *Which produced very good effects.*] He ſpeaks of this in the Appendix to his *Self Inſpections*, in theſe words: 'At the latter end of the year 1669, I wrote 'an Almanack for the following year, not after the 'uſual method, but much more accurately, *inſerting* 'an Eclipſe of the Sun that might have been obſer-'vable but was omitted in the Ephemerides, and five 'Appulſes of the Moon to fixed Stars. But this being 'rejected, as being beyond the capacity of the vulgar, 'and returned me. I excerped the Eclipſe and Ap-'pulſes, and addreſſed them with ſome aſtronomical 'ſpeculations to the Royal Society, ſuppreſſing my 'name under my anagram. My little labour was bet-'ter accepted than I expected. I received a letter 'of thanks from Mr Oldenburgh, the Secretary of 'the Society. My papers I ſent to Mr Stanſby, he 'delivered them to Mr Aſhmole, that great lover of 'curioſity, and he preſented them to the Royal So-'ciety.' *The original manuſcript of this piece was in the hands of the late learned and ingenious* William Jones, Eſq; F. R. S. and *is inſcribed thus:* 'To the 'Right Honourable William Lord Viſcount Brouncker, 'Preſident of the illuſtrious Royal Society, as alſo the 'Right Worſhipfull worthy and truly ingenious Henry 'Oldenburgh, Eſq; Chriſtopher Wren, M. D. and 'all other the Aſtronomical Fellows of the ſaid So-'ciety. I. F. humbly preſents this epiſtle.' *At the cloſe of it he writes thus:* 'Excuſe, I pray you, this 'juvenile heat for the concerns of ſcience, and want 'of better language from one, who, from the ſix-'teenth year of his age to this inſtant, hath only 'ſerved one bare apprenticeſhip in theſe arts, under 'the diſcouragement of friends, the want of health, 'and all other inſtructors, except his better genius. 'I crave the liberty to conceal my name, not to ſup-'preſs it. I have compoſed the letters of it written 'in Latin in this ſentence, *In Matheſi à ſole fundes.* 'I had many materials to add, but they would have 'ſwelled my letter beyond its preſcribed limits. If I 'may underſtand that you accept of theſe, or think 'them worth your notice you ſhall e'er long hear 'more from yours, *&c.* J. F.

[*D*] *When that correſpondence ended.*] In his letter dated at Derby, January the twenty fourth, 1669-70, he writes thus: 'Your's of the fifteenth I received, by 'which I underſtand that my papers, however unwor-'thy, were read in the Royal Society, an honour 'which I could as little either expect or deſerve, as it

'merited

From the time that the abovementioned piece was read to the Royal Society, he began to have

(4) The Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Chancellor to the Queen.

' merited their applauſe, or I their thanks. My intent in addreſſing thoſe Calculi to his Lordſhip (4) was only to give notice, what Phænomena the Heavens were about to afford us, which ſince I was not accommodated with inſtruments ſufficient to obſerve them with the requiſite accuracy myſelf, I made bold to preſent to his Honour, whom I ſuppoſed to be amply accommodated for ſuch obſervations. But preſcribing the uſe of a Teleſcope before other inſtruments, and taking occaſion thereon to urge ſomething too boldly on Mr Hook, and in another on Mr Street, concerning the Ephemerides, being likewiſe conſcious of my rude addreſſes to thoſe worthy perſons with my papers, and fearing that my heat for the promotion of ſcience might be worſe taken by them than I intended, knowing alſo the ſmallneſs of my merits, I reſolved to ſuppreſs my name till I underſtood how it was like to ſpeed with my papers. I fear I addreſſed myſelf too rudely to his Lordſhip, but ſince he is pleaſed to take notice of thoſe unpoliſhed papers and enquire after their author, you may pleaſe, if you have not already, to tender my humble and ſincereſt ſervices with my name to his Lordſhip, and deſire his excuſe for me that I have not explained my method of calculation; I ſuppoſe it cannot be hid to thoſe who are verſed in Trigonometry. It is the accurateſt I could chooſe, and the numbers were twice, ſome thrice, repeated, for more certainty. If any deſire to be more fully ſatisfied, I hope I ſhall anſwer their expectations in an epiſtle to the excellent Hevelius, containing a commentary on, and a correction of, ſeveral particulars, in his *Mercurius ſub ſole viſus*, and commentary on Mr Horrox's *Venus ſub ſole viſa*, which I have lying by me written in Latin about half a year ſince. But my ſtyle not pleaſing ſome of my more judicious friends, I have ſince then given myſelf to the peruſal of the Claſſic, old Roman, and ſome modern authors, that ſo I may beſtow a better language on it before I expoſe it to the view of ſuch ſeverities as I ſhall be ſure to meet with. I intend to preſent it, with an epiſtle *de æquatione temporis*, to the view of the Royal Society, before I commit it to the public; but by reaſon of my frequent diſtempers, my parents affairs, and the coldneſs of the ſeaſon, I ſhall be forced to protract the time I have ſet myſelf for the peruſal of my papers, which yet I hope to preſent you with compleated, within theſe ſix months. I have ſolar tables by me compoſed above two years ſince, to wit, before I was twenty one years of age, which I intend to expoſe with my epiſtle *de Æquatione Temporis*, directed to Mr Street, whom, on occaſion, you may let know I ſhall write to him before the term be over, by my kinſman an Attorney. But I ſhall be forced to trouble you with the letter, becauſe I know not the place of his habitation. I deſire to tranſact things fairly with him as I have done with his deceaſed antagoniſt Mr Wing, with whom I had a fair correſpondence, and tho' we differed *de Parallaxi & Æquationibus Syſtematis Solaris*, and ſeveral other things, yet our diſſent made us not the leſs friends, and tho' I may not ſubſcribe to Mr Street's opinions, *de fixatione apheliorum & nodorum in ſuperioribus, & de Æquationibus Lunæ oſcillatoriis*, yet I hope that he will not refuſe that we may friendly communicate by letters, of ſuch things as concern the Heavens and our ſtudies. As to the ſeverity of calculations, I ſuppoſe that if the artiſt be but careful and curious enough, we have canons ſufficiently large. In the ſtudy of my eſpecial friend Mr Halton, I once ſaw one of Vlaccus to every ten ſexagenary ſeconds: and if our ſupputations be exact to ſeconds, I think it is enough, and more than ever we may hope by inſtruments to obtain from the Heavens; I mean in defining the places of the Luminaries fixed, and the Planets. As for their Diameters, I dare not deny but that, by the help of glaſſes, we may be enabled to define them to ſeconds, or ſmaller parts; eſpecially if a ſhort teleſcope may be made to perform as much as a long one, which you ſay that Mr Newton hath not only proved by demonſtration, but fact. Sir, if it be no concealed ſecret, if you have the liberty, and may do it, I deſire that you would pleaſe to inform me of what glaſſes his ſmall Teleſcope is compoſed, how, or in what figures ground, and how diſpoſed in the tube. I intend to work ſome for my own uſe, and am framing ſuch an engine as Mr Hook deſcribes for the grinding and poliſhing of them. I intend to grind with ordinary fine ſand, dreſſed, and poliſh firſt with chalk, and after with putty. I know no better powders, but would be much obliged to any one that would inform me that, or any thing elſe, either concerning the uſual method or neceſſaries for grinding and poliſhing them; if you know any thing which you may freely impart, I ſhould be much obliged by a communication.'

In his letter dated at Derby July the ſixteenth, 1670, he writes thus. ' I have received another letter from you ſince, with an account of Gaſſendus's obſervations, and an information of Mengolus's book, for which I am obliged to you. Pray, when it is known, let me underſtand his opinion of the quantity of the Sun's horizontal parallaxes, and the refractions, and what refraction he allows the Sun in the altitude of twenty degrees. I ſuſpect, and have good reaſon for it, that in inland places it is nothing or not ſenſible in that altitude, for by ſome of Mr Wright's obſervations, the Sun at noon had no refraction the fifteenth of December in altitude fifteen degrees... I thank you for the advice of writing to Mr Townley.—I am at preſent calculating the Moon's Appulſes for the next year, which, when I have finiſhed, I will ſend him a ſpecimen of, to make way for our future correſpondence.... As for what I have noted in *Ricciolus*, beſides the frequent errors of his ſchemes, you may note theſe P. 161. he applies the horizontal parallax of the Sun in all altitudes, as if it was the ſame both in the zenith and the horizon, and ſo gathers the Ecliptic's obliquity 20″ more than his own obſervations permit. P. 435, he, in his ſecond example, is guilty of the higheſt diſingenuity, for he firſt lays down a vicious obſervation, by which he thruſts the Sun's place above ten minutes further than either Street's or my tables afford, and then derives a right aſcenſion almoſt two minutes larger than his obſervation will allow, as I can eaſily prove, but that I have neither time nor room at preſent. If you deſire it, I ſhall make it good hereafter. P. 477, in his catalogue of the fixed ſtars, he protrudes the right ſhoulder of Auriga 1 deg. 20′ forwarder than his own obſerved diſtances from Capella the brighteſt of the Pleiades and Procyon will permit, that he may make his catalogue agree with the Tychonick, from which, he was ſo conſcious of his own defects, he ſcarce has dared any where to recede; ſo that he ſeems to me rather to affect the name of having corrected our tables, than really to have amended what was faulty in any one. I had firſt notice of this ſtar's varying from the Tychonick Canon in Hevelius's *Mercurius ſub ſole*, but found it abſolutely confirmed by the *Ricciolan* obſervations. In his Appendix, p. 733, Prob. 3. he teaches how to correct the apparent time of the quadrature, as if the parallax cauſed the Moon to be really cave, when ſhe was apparently ſemi-illuminated. But this correction is needleſs, and all that is ſaid in that column and the two next, abſolutely to be rejected, ſince the parallax cannot vary the phaſis at all, as I can eaſily prove, and will appear to any one that duly conſiders what he there lays down. Laſtly, he is wholly inclined to the Peripatetics, againſt all other Philoſophy, and on this account favours Claramontius againſt Tycho, Kepler, and reaſon itſelf. And tho' he proteſts againſt it, yet I fear he was partial to Tycho, becauſe a Calviniſt, and propenſe to Claramontius, as one that was a Prieſt of his own order, and in his principles a rigid Peripatetic, and one that had left ſome perſons his relations of, and well deſerving from their ſociety.'

In a letter dated at Derby, September the nineteenth, 1670, he writes as follows. ' I ſat up this laſt night, waiting to obſerve the Eclipſe of the Moon. The Heavens were clear till midnight, after which they were by little and little covered over with thick whitiſh clouds, thro' which, when our clocks ſtruck

have accounts ſent him of all the mathematical books which were publiſhed either at home or

'one, I ſaw the Moon eclipſed almoſt a digit, but I 'could not find a convenient ſtar to take its altitude, 'being on one ſide prohibited by the buildings, and 'the Heavens all covered with the white clouds, that 'none of the bigger ſtars, or any almoſt removed from 'the meridian, appeared, and the Moon was ſcarce 'an hour removed from the noonſtead, ſo that it was 'in vain to think to take her's amongſt the clouds. 'The Heavens continued covered with theſe till morn-'ing, and the Moon appeared very rarely through 'the clouds, ſo that deſpairing of any good obſerva-'tion, and ſeeing the Heavens thicken, I left off and 'went to my reſt, when I had ſeen the cuſps parallel 'to the horizon, and the ſiniſter end had covered the 'occidental ſpot, or *Palus Mareotidis*, of Hevelius, 'but could not note the time. I wrote to Mr Hook 'about the obſerving this Eclipſe. Pray if you chance 'to meet him, enquire whether he obſerved it or not: 'if he did, and the Heavens ſmiled on his endea-'vours, deſire him to be pleaſed to communicate his 'obſervations to me: for I think the Heavens ante-'verted our calculations ſome minutes, which, if ſo, 'favours an equation I have long ſince conceived 'ought to be induced into the Lunar Syſtem..... I 'hope ſpeedily to preſent you with the Phænomena 'of the next year, for I have as good as finiſhed my 'calculations.'

In his letter dated at Derby, October the firſt the ſame year he writes thus. 'If the Lunar Eclipſe laſt 'hath been obſerved by any in London, if you can 'procure the obſervation without trouble, pleaſe, by 'your next, to communicate it to me. I have now 'finiſhed my calculations, and am writing them out, 'but cannot tell what tongue to expoſe them in, Eng-'liſh or Latin. Let me have your opinion, that ſhall 'rule me. The appearances are treble, the number 'I calculated laſt year, and moſt of them ſome way 'truly notable. I have read a part of Fabri's Op-'tics. I was much pleaſed with his acuteneſs and ac-'curateneſs at firſt, but coming to his forty third pro-'poſ. I find it loſt, for in his ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth 'ſections, he demonſtrates not what he intends, but 'by drawing his ninety and ninety one ſchemes too 'cloſe, deceives and mocks his reader.'

In his letter dated at Derby, December the firſt fol-lowing, he writes thus: 'I hope you have received 'my laſt, with my calculations of the laſt year's ap-'pearances, in my introduction to which, if I ſeem 'to have aſſerted too boldly againſt our Aſtronomical 'tables, I have now received an obſervation of my 'Couſin Wilſon that will fully confirm my affirmations, 'which I ſend you incloſed. I cannot but congratu-'late you for your happy correſpondence with P. Ber-'tet, and I am much pleaſed to hear of De Mouton's 'book *de menſurâ Diam. Solis & Lunæ*, one of 'which, when they come to your hands, I deſire you 'to ſend me, and pay yourſelf out of what you have 'in your hands. If the piece be well done it will 'conduce no little to the correction of Aſtronomical 'Lunar tables. When I have received and peruſed 'it, I ſhall, according to your directions, write to De 'Mouton, till then, not having any occaſion offered, 'I ſuppoſe you will neither hold it convenient nor ne-'ceſſary. Sir, you once, I remember, proferred to 'lend me Mr Horrox's papers which are now in your 'hands. If, Sir, you have not procured them yet 'to be printed, nor any Bookſeller offers to under-'take them, I would accept of the offer gladly, for 'I have leiſure now to peruſe any author, and I would 'gladly try if that deviation which is now very per-'ceptible in the motion of Saturn, was not, in his 'time, ſenſible: for, if I remember aright, one of 'his books contains the obſerved diſtances of the 'Planets from the fixed ſtars, with other his obſerva-'tions, from which, nothing as yet, hath been deduced.'

In his letter dated at Derby, January the thirtieth, 1670-1, he writes as follows: 'I have lately written 'to Mr Moore, from whom I have received an an-'ſwer full of his natural civility and generoſity. By 'his advice I have likewiſe wrote to Mr Townley, 'from whom I cannot yet expect an anſwer, by reaſon 'my letter went but on Tueſday laſt, and can ſcarce 'yet reach his hands..... I have the Tranſaction in 'which Mr Oldenburgh hath printed the ſhort abſtract 'of my calculations, which give the obſervers notice 'of ſuch appearances, but the other requiſites of the 'ſupputations being wanting, they will be put to a 'ſecond trouble of calculating to gain the anomalies, 'and other parts of the calculation, before they can 'be able to gueſs how, or where, any thing in our 'numbers are to be corrected. I am framing tables 'of oblique aſcenſions for the latitudes of London, 'Dantzick, and Derby, ſuppoſing the declination 23 'gr. 30′. 00″ to ſecond minutes, the old ones falſely 'ſuppoſing it 23 gr. 31′ ½, to which I intend to add 'the angle orient, which will not a little aſſiſt calcula-'tions, and ſuch as are minding to make Aſtronomical 'predictions, or compare cæleſtial obſervations, with 'our numbers.'

In his letter dated at Derby, March the 20th 1670-1, he writes thus: 'I have both your letters..... I am 'exceedingly pleaſed to hear that Mr Horrox's papers 'will be printed, and I ſuppoſe the *Venus ſub ſole* 'with them, to which, having well peruſed it, I 'know not what can be added. The notes of Heve-'lius I find generally needleſs, and thoſe on the ſixth 'chapter, page 124, abſolutely falſe, conceding his 'own parallax, becauſe he hath taken the angle of 'the poſition of Venus, which is made by a line drawn 'through her's and the Sun's center, inſtead of the 'angle of the vertical circle, *per centrum Veneris*, with 'the Ecliptic or the parallactical angle, whence he 'not only vitiates the truly computed parallaxes of 'Mr Horrox, but alſo ſuppoſing the parallax of Ve-'nus from the Sun in altitude 1. 57, he falſely cal-'culates theſe parallaxes.

h.		of Long.		of Lat.		Par Long.		Par Lat.	
3	25	1	20	1	27	which 0′	32	1′	50
3	35	1	17	1	28	ought 0	42	1	49
3	45	1	15	1	29	to be 0	44	1	48

'So that what he hath deduced, from theſe his vi-'tious parallaxes, ought, if his comment be printed 'with the original, to be corrected. Of this you may 'pleaſe to inform the Doctor. You wrote that Dr 'Wallis deſired my comment on the *Mercurius* of 'Hevelius might be printed with Horrox's papers. 'When I received your letter, I looked up my pa-'pers, but find that I ſhall ſcarcely have time to tran-'ſcribe and fit them for the preſs, partly becauſe my 'occaſions, but more frequently my diſtempers, with-'draw and detain me from my pen endeavours. For 'the ſpring coming on my blood increaſes, which if 'I ſhould not exerciſe ſtrongly, I ſhould ſpit up or 'receive into my ſtomach with great detriment to my 'health.' When I return from exerciſe, other occa-'ſions are ready to detain me. Farther, I have re-'ceived a letter from Mr Oldenburgh, who is not 'willing that I ſhould advert too plainly on Hevelius, 'leſt he ſhould recede from his correſpondency, and 'detain his obſervations from us, if he be diſguſted. 'However, if I might but know by what time Mr Hor-'rox's papers would be ready for the Printer, I would 'endeavour to get my notes ready to ſucceed them, 'for I am reſolved not to deſiſt if my diſtemper will 'be forced to intermit by my uſual remedies, which 'I much queſtion not, God permitting. In the mean 'time I am preparing caſes for my glaſſes, for which 'I hope to raiſe a pole to elevate them on this even-'ing, and then I ſhall endeavour, when I have lei-'ſure, to obſerve the Heavens, that I may ſome ways 'benefit the ſcience, I am enamoured of, Aſtronomy. '... I have received and returned letters to Mr Town-'ley, from whom I have an account of the Solar 'Eclipſe of 1668, October the 25th, and the occul-'tation of Antares on May the 23d, 1670, of which 'I deſire you to procure me Mr Hook's obſervation, 'if he made any, for I fear Mr Street's is wreſted a 'little.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May the third, 1671, he writes as follows: 'I have your's of the twenty 'ſeventh laſt paſt, for the communications in which 'I heartily thank you. I am glad to hear that Mr 'Horrox's papers are gone to the preſs. I ſhall againſt 'that time they may be almoſt finiſhed, have retran-'ſcribed my notes on Hevelius's *Mercurius ſub ſole*, 'which, leſt I may offend, I ſhall willingly ſubmit to

'the

or abroad. And in June 1670, his father taking notice of his correſpondence with ſeveral ingenious

'the caſtigations and corrections of Dr Wallis, or any 'other ingenious perſon. My diſtempers and affairs 'of late have been ſo intermutually urgent, that I 'have performed little: I have by me a ſheet or two 'which I wrote ſome five years agone, *de æquatione temporis aſtronomica*, which I have laſt ſummer 'made Latin, and would gladly it might ſee the light. 'It being readieſt, I intend firſt to abſolve and ſend 'it to you, to be diſpoſed of as you ſhall think moſt 'meet. What you write of Mr Horrox's papers being in Mr Townley's hands, I am well pleaſed to 'hear of, and I hope I may do you ſome ſervice in 'that buſineſs, for Mr Townley correſponds with me 'very familiarly, and promiſes me all the ſervices he 'can do me in my ſtudies. But before this comes to 'your hands, I ſuppoſe you may hear of him in London, for he wrote to me ſome ten days agone, that 'he would ſet forward on Monday laſt for the city, 'which I ſuppoſe he will reach by this week's end. 'I am to go into Lancaſhire, and near his houſe the 'latter end of this month, where I intend to call if 'he be returned into the country. In the mean time, 'if you or Mr Jonas Moore can meet with him, you 'may do well to urge him in this buſineſs, and if I 'can do any thing when I go into Lancaſhire, let me 'have your directions and you ſhall not want my endeavours, either for collecting or methodizing any 'papers, that may fall or be intruſted into my hands. 'I deſire you, Sir, to let me hear from you concerning theſe things within this fortnight, for I cannot 'know preciſely what time this month I ſhall take 'my journey. I muſt before I end acknowledge myſelf much obliged to you and Mr Hook, for procuring me my glaſſes. They ſerve well in a tube 'of 13 ½ feet but cauſe ſome colours which will not 'be eaſily removed, tho' I put on a narrow aperture 'to the object glaſs. Pray preſent my ſervice to Mr 'Moore. I am reading his Algebra and find it not 'very difficult unto me, and intend when I ſhall have 'ſpare time to make ſome progreſs in Geometrical 'ſtudies.'

In his letter dated at Derby May the 13th, 1671, he writes thus: 'Having written to Mr Oldenburgh, 'I thought convenient to incloſe this——I have 'ſent Mr Oldenburgh my obſervation of the moon's 'appulſe to the ſtar in virgo 9°. 53′. whoſe latitude '1°. 20′. north of the fourth light, which I ſaw covered by the dark ſide of the moon, in ſomething 'leſs latitude than the loweſt part of the *Propontis*, 'when Jupiter was elevated 32°. 52′ whence I deduced the hour 9. 16′. 30″. The preciſe emerſion 'I ſaw not, for I was elſewhere then engaged, but 'coming to the tube, I found that the ſtar was the 'breadth of the Caſpian Spot, or *Palus Mœotis*, diſtant from the moon's limb, and higher than the ſupreme part of the ſaid ſpot it's whole length; whence 'turning to my quadrant I took the height of the 'moon's ſupreme limb, 31°. 54′. therefore the ſtar's 'height was 71°. 45′. and the hour 10. 24′. 36″. 'I noted the height of Jupiter to be 22°, 36′. and 'find the hour thence 10. 25′. 00″. I am perſwaded 'that the times are pretty exactly taken, for they ſhew 'partly the ſame duration, and, all things conſidered, 'as the tables, but at leaſt 10 if not 15 minutes later. 'I deſire to hear from you, whether any of your acquaintance have obſerved this appearance, of which 'the Calculus is with the reſt in the Tranſactions. If 'you have any obſervations, pray favour me ſo far as 'to impart them to me. I have given Mr Oldenburgh a calculation of the moon's tranſit by Jupiter 'on the twentieth of September next at ſun-riſe, which 'I ſuppoſe he will if you deſire impart to you, for I 'have not time to tranſcribe it at preſent, but you 'ſhall command it when you pleaſe.'

In his letter dated at Derby July the 10th, 1671, he writes thus: 'I have finiſhed my tranſcript of my 'Solar Tables, which I wait but for an opportunity to 'tranſmit ſafely unto you. Laſt week here I ſaw a 'boy, one Smedley, about fourteen years old, who 'has two perfect rows of teeth on the upper ſide of his 'mouth, round, ſave that the third tooth on each ſide 'from the fore-teeth are lately come forth, and has a 'third half cut and coming forth, more inwards towards the roof of his mouth. Of theſe two inwards 'extraordinary rows, the two foremoſt teeth of the 'ſecond row came firſt, not a year agone, the reſt all 'within this half year or leſs.——The boy is of a 'good complexion and healthful, only in his childhood he was lamed in his knee.'

In his letter dated at Derby Auguſt the firſt 1671, he writes as follows: 'With theſe I ſend my promiſed Solar Tables, by my ſchool-fellow Mr Sergeant, though I have not added the ſun's diameters, 'yet I intend, before theſe may be printed, to ſend 'them to you to be annexed to them, or included with 'the reſt.——My occaſions are ſo frequent, and 'I am ſo much forced from my ſtudies, that I fear I 'can ſcarce get any time to tranſcribe what I have 'written on Monſieur Hevelius, it being ſo prolix, 'that it will coſt me more time than I can poſſibly 'ſpare to abbreviate it. I eſteem myſelf obliged to 'continue my annual præadmonitions of the lunar appearances, which is a work not only neceſſary, but, 'if I flatter not myſelf too much, ſomething honourable for our countrymen, and therefore not to be 'diſcontinued. Sir, my ſpare hours betwixt my indiſpoſitions and affairs being now but few, and 'likely to be much leſs, I cannot poſſibly perform both 'theſe taſks, therefore deſire you to excuſe me my 'papers upon Hevelius, by which perhaps I might 'diſoblige him to the Engliſh Society which he honours, and permit me only to make my new calculations, towards which I have not as yet wrote one 'figure. If you think them not ſo neceſſary I ſhall 'forbear thinking of them, and perform my notes on 'Hevelius with all ſpeed and ſweetneſs poſſible. I 'ſhall have, e'er long, an opportunity of ſending to 'Dantzick, when perhaps I ſhall write to him, and 'inform him civilly of his errors myſelf. In the mean 'time I ſubmit my intentions to your diſcretion, and 'reſolve in this to be ruled by your advice.——'I cannot but joy with you in the knowledge of your 'French correſpondence, but I fear you have given 'them an account of my abilities beyond what they 'will prove. I deſire to know if you ever communicated any of my calculations, or my few obſervations, unto any of them, and what you have in return. As for the correſpondence of the French Aſtronomers, I ſhall gladly undertake it with the firſt 'convenient opportunity, but not over haſtily. I 'have ſeveral obſervations of the moon's tranſits by 'the fixed ſtars, and her diameters made by Mr Gaſcoigne, and related in his letters, which yet the like 'for accuracy not being to be had amongſt the French, 'I think not fit to communicate, nor buy their acquaintance with them. As for my exerciſe *de Æquatione Temporis*, I have no perfect copy of it, ſo I 'cannot ſend one, but ſhall, if you have not already, 'inform them of my obſervations of the laſt viſible 'ſolar eclipſe, and the lunar tranſit, and ſome admonitions of future appearances.'

In his letter dated at Derby November the eighth, 1671, he writes thus: 'I have now ſomewhat extraordinary to furniſh your correſpondencies, and ſhall 'have every day more and more. Laſt October I obſerved with my fourteen foot tube, and the Townleian micrometer, the underwritten diſtances of the 'Pleiades, which I have compared with thoſe I find 'in Mr Gaſcoigne's papers, and thoſe of Mutus in 'Ricciolus.' Here Mr Flamſteed incloſes a ſcheme of the Pleiades.

In his letter dated at Derby January the thirty-firſt, 1671-2, he writes thus: 'I have ſeen the December 'Tranſaction, in which Mr Oldenburgh has tranſcribed ſome lines from my letters concerning the appearance of Saturn, which I am glad to find agree ſo 'well with the like of the French Aſtronomers. You 'may farther intimate, that I viewed the ſame planet 'on New-year's day at night, with my long tube and 'more convex eye-glaſs. But neither myſelf, nor a 'young man with me, could diſcern any anſes, altho' 'the appearance was ſufficiently clear. I have ſeveral 'times meaſured the ſun's ſemidiameters, which none 'of my obſervations allow leſs in *Perigæo* than 16′. 24″ or 25″. I think I communicated to you ſome 'meaſures of his diameters when he appeared ellip-

'tical,

ingenious Gentlemen, whom our author at that time had never ſeen, adviſed him to take

'tical, if I have not I ſhall when you pleaſe to command them, for I owe and eſteem a good part of my endeavours a debt to you. I am now excerping ſome obſervations from Mr Gaſcoigne's and Crabtree's reciprocal letters, in which I find exact obſervations of the moon's eclipſe, December the tenth, 1638, and the ſun's May the twenty-ſecond 1639, this by Mr Gaſcoigne, that by Crabtree; which if they were not in Mr Horrox's papers, and Mr Townley would permit, might do well if they were added to them, of which I deſire to hear how many are printed by the next. —— If Mr Jonas Moore gives any attendance on the Heavens, I ſhall early enough let him know of ſome obſervable appearances, not publiſhed nor certified in the Tranſactions, with ſome obſervations made by the micrometer he gave me, and therefore a due debt to him. I have read De Mouton *de Æquatione Temporis, &c.* whoſe notes upon the equations of others might eaſily be redargued, but that I would ſpare your correſpondents, of whom if any now will agree to obſerve the diameters of the planets, the ſun and moon eſpecially, with the ſatellite appearances of Jupiter, I ſhall not fail as the weather and my diſtempers permit to do my endeavour to make reſpondent obſervations. All the times I have viewed the ſun I could never ſee any *macula* upon him, but his whole diſk perfectly clear. —— I had ſent you a draught of my new micrometer, but that I lately ſent one to Mr Townley, whoſe ſentiments I expect concerning it, before I mind it ſhould travel further.'

In his letter dated at Derby February the tenth, 1671-2, he writes thus: 'I have wrote to you lately, ſo have not much to write at this time. —— The Heavens of late have not favoured me with any ſerenity, more than ſerved one night, *viz.* February the firſt, to obſerve the immerſion of the firſt ſatellite into the ſhade of Jupiter, and the application of the third to his limb, of which I gave Mr Oldenburgh an account in a late letter. I am now excerping ſome things from Mr Gaſcoigne's letters to Mr Crabtree, and his anſwers, but find ſome ſchemes and papers wanting, of which Mr Crabtree could not be careleſs, but they are ſuppoſed to be fallen into Mr Jonas Moore's hands. Pray let him know what I am doing when you ſee him, they can be of no concern by themſelves, wherefore he may do well to put them into Mr Townley's hands, who owns the letters referring to them.' In this letter he likewiſe ſends the ſun's diameters on January the 5th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, and 1ſt of February 1671-2.

In his letter dated at Derby February the twentieth, 1671-2, he writes as follows: 'Mr Halton is tranſlating Kinkhuyſen's *Moone-wiſer* into Engliſh that I may have a view of it, and at Mr Townley's requeſt I have lately wrote and ſent him the Hiſtory of Malting. I have begun that tract concerning the diſtances and diameters of all the planets, which I promiſed in my letter to Mr Oldenburgh, but ſhall go but very ſlowly forward, by reaſon that ſometimes my infirmities, oftener affairs, interrupt me. But this I have certainly learned from my obſervations, that the ſun's parallax is not above 10″, yea probably but 7″, and his diſtance, *à terrâ*, 26,000 ſemidiameters, which is a diſtance to which none ever durſt remove him yet, and thrice as far as I ſuppoſed him formerly in my Solar Tables.'

In his letter dated at Derby, April the firſt, 1672, he writes thus: 'The included paper contains the laſt obſervation of Jupiter's tranſit by a fixed ſtar, and another ſince made with my deductions therefrom. Theſe (being buſy at this time of the year) to ſave a labour of tranſcription I ſend through the hands of Mr Oldenburgh, that ſo you may have the peruſal of them. I hope you had my laſt, informing you that I have received Mr Horrox's papers, and ſatisfying you concerning the contents of my laſt letter. I have peruſed Horrox's *Venus ſub ſole*, and find he needs no comment ſave, in this he has taken the Sun's ſemidiameter leſs by 20″ or more than really it was, ſo that this calculation will need ſome little correction, which if you think fit, I ſhall give them by way of comment. He has aſſumed the diameters of the fixed ſtars too large, which Hevelius has only well corrected, and his diameters of the Planets are much amiſs. But not having obſerved them all myſelf as I intend, if God afford me opportunity, I ſhall not meddle with them, yet only to you I may ſay, that thoſe ſettled in Hevelius, except in Venus and Mercury, are as erroneous as thoſe of Mr Horrox. Hevelius is much miſtaken in the parallactical angle in his *Venus ſub ſole*, but it is ſo eaſily proved that I cannot think, but if ever he again reads over that piece and his notes, he could not but ſee his miſtake. I find by my frequent obſervations, that the remoteſt ſatellite of Jupiter goes not twenty three ſemidiameters only from him, as Caſſini has it, but rather 24 ½ or ¼ as Mr Townley gave it me in a looſe note, and this you may prove by an obſervation, March the 19th, amongſt the reſt if you have it, I think thoſe obſervations the exacteſt that ever were had of this Planet, and if we had but a few more ſuch in ſeveral places of his orbit, I ſhould not doubt but to reſtore his motions more accurately than we have yet done, or perhaps can expect. I cannot think the ſatellites of Jove ſubject to any great inequalities in their motions, ſince I find their diſtances from Jupiter on each ſide him, equal in their greateſt elongations. If I had but the opportunity of obſerving one tranſit of Mars in his achronical appearance from a fixed ſtar, I ſhould not doubt but to derive the Sun's parallax and diſtance, *à terrâ* as well if not better therefrom, than from any obſervations as yet we poſſeſs. This I expect and have foreca ſted for, but by an accident the courſe of my obſervations are, and will be, a little interrupted; for being laſt Thurſday night preparing to obſerve the diameter of Jupiter, I took my object glaſs of my long tube to ſmear it, as I had often done before at my candle. *As I was holding it over the light* it gave a crack, and a little piece ſplintered from it in the middle, and the glaſs cleft clear through. I durſt not remove it out of the box, becauſe I was afraid I could not ſo well make it cloſe again. I keep it by me, but dare not adventure to make any obſervations by it, tho' I have viewed the Moon with it, and find it does not perform much worſe if any than it did.'

In his letter dated at Derby, April the 17th 1672, he writes as follows. 'I have your's of the twelfth inſtant, whereby you intimate your deſire to have me ſay ſomething farther concerning the Lunar Theory of Mr Horrox, for the ſatisfaction of Dr Wallis. I am content, and therefore ſhall e'er long ſend you the whole calculation of the Moon's place at her laſt tranſit over the Pleiades, after his method, with my further thoughts upon it. I am very deſirous to be framing Lunar numbers but want obſervations of her apogæon diameters, which the inconveniency of my dwelling permits me not to make, becauſe the apogæon Moon in Sagittarius goes ſo very low this year; and further the refractions in her low meridional heights, would greatly diminiſh her vertical diameters, which upon continual experience I find can only be taken to the requiſite exactneſs, ſo that I fear I muſt wait till the year 1674, or 1675, e'er I can well obſerve them. I cannot but much approve of the form of Mr Horrox's Theory, and having conſidered it ſeveral times, I find that we might almoſt as eaſily compute her place in her orb as the elliptical place of any other Planet, if tables were fixed to his method, which therefore for facility of calculation, I intend to propoſe to myſelf to correct when I ſhall gain ſo much leiſure, and I hope this ſummer may afford it me.... The Heavens never ſince I broke my glaſs afforded me any opportunity for obſervation till yeſterday, when at noon having covered the broken part of my glaſs with the bigger piece, I took the Sun's diameter 5325=31—58 which ſtill conſpires for the exactly biſected excentricity, and the perigæon ½ diameter 16′ 25″. In this letter there are ſome remarks upon Mr Newton's letter concerning colours.'

In his letter dated May 6th, 1672, he writes thus: 'I have received two letters from you conveying the moſt current news for which I am bound to give

'you

take a journey to London, that he might be perſonally acquainted with them. He gladly

'you hearty thanks.... I hope you have by this time 'received a letter from me by Mr Sargeant..... I 'intimated by that, I would ſend you the Lunar ta- 'bles by Monday next.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May the thirteenth following, he writes thus: 'With this you will re- 'ceive the promiſed Lunar tables, to which I have 'added an *Epilogus* directed to yourſelf. But my de- 'ſire of brevity, and not to meddle where Mr Hor- 'rox had done any thing himſelf, reſtrained my 'thoughts in that place. Here with your leave I ſhall 'enlarge. How the Apogee of the Moon is librated, 'Mr Horrox has ſhewn us very well, but why it ſhould 'be ſo librated, methinks, he ſhews no good reaſon. 'What he ſays of the Sun's attracting that end of the 'axis of the ſyſtem next him, is framed from Kep- 'ler's groundleſs notions.' Mr Flamſteed then pro- poſes his own ſolution, and afterwards proceeds thus. 'You have ſometimes deſired to know what I found 'amiſs in the Hevelian edition of Horrox's *Venus ſub 'ſole*, I am not willing to let all be known I have 'againſt that great man, but in his comments on that 'treatiſe the main cauſe of his error there is, that he 'hath miſtaken the parallactical angles calculated by 'Mr Horrox at

h	° ′		° ′
3—15	70—56	and uſed	46—34
3—35	68—53	inſtead of	48—37
3—45	67—55	them,	49—35

'Which were the Angles made by a line paſſing thro' 'the centers of the Sun and Venus with the Ecliptic, 'or that he hath uſed the $\angle\angle$ECV inſtead of '$\angle\angle$NCL, whence having proceeded all thoſe 'faults and faulty corrections of Mr Horrox's works, 'which are found every where in the ſucceeding com- 'ments. He finds fault with Mr Horrox for having 'framed the Diameter of the Planets amiſs, whilſt his 'own, if well conſidered, tho' ſomething alike in pro- 'portion to each other, are not leſs erroneous in quan- 'tity. His greateſt Diameter of Jupiter is but 24″ ½ 'yet I find that Mr Gaſcoigne once obſerved it 51″ 'he ſays accurately. I have ſeen it above 46″ and 'Mr Townley no leſs, and that it is wholly ſo much 'the obſerved elongations of the ſatellites from Ju- 'piter's center, taken in minutes and ſeconds, com- 'pared with the eſtimated diameters do plainly evince. 'But Mr Horrox hath erred himſelf in the Sun's dia- 'meter which he ſtates only 31′—30″ which my ob- 'ſervations warrant 32′—42″ Hevelius has ſtated it '32′—30″. He has likewiſe in his comment on the 'ſixth chapter, p. 124. delivered the parallaxes of 'Longitude and Latitude in his own hypotheſis, 'which ſuppoſed the Sun's diſtance from the Earth, '5064 ſemidiameters of the Earth, and its horizon- 'tal parallax 41″. I know not what warrant he may 'have for this, ſince he ſays nothing of it in his works 'that I have ſeen, but I hope at this next achronical 'apparition of Mars, or at the latter end of Septem- 'ber next, to make thoſe obſervations of him which 'may ſhew his parallax, and by conſequence the Sun's, 'I hoped to have obſerved him this morning, but 'the ſkies are clouded, yet if they clear before Tueſ- 'day, I doubt not to gain another accurate obſerva- 'tion of him, and to meaſure his diameter, which 'yet I could never do conveniently. I have obſerved 'the return of Jupiter to the ſtar in Virgo, 9° 58″. 'If you deſire it I ſhall ſend you both it, and what 'I obſerve of Mars when I have heard from you.... 'Since I wrote this, I have received your's of the '13th inſtant. I have therefore paſted new radixes 'to the meridian of Derby, that ſo they may com- 'ply the better with the ſolar numbers. I have ſo 'paſted them, that if you turn them up you may find 'thoſe for London under: but if you approve the ra- 'dixes to Derby, that ſo they may comply the better 'with my ſolar numbers, the title may be written 'thus: "*Lunares numeri, ad novum Lunæ ſyſtema ex- 'cogitatum ab aſtronomo peritiſſimo Jeremia Horroxio; 'ad meridianum* Derbiæ, *notiſſimi coritanorum oppidi 'in ipſo ferè totius Angliæ umbilico ſiti, accommodati 'ab* J. F.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May 20th, 1672, he writes thus: 'I have lately obſerved the diſtance of 'Mars from a fixed ſtar very accurately. Laſt week 'I made equations for Mr Horrox's greateſt excen- 'tricity of the moon: for the leaſt, I have them made 'ready to my hands. This week I will more accu- 'rately calculate the equations of the apogæon and 'excentricities, and reduce the mean motions to cur- 'rent time. So that you may within a fortnight or 'three weeks at fartheſt, expect the Lunar tables from 'me, if God ſpare me health. I ſhall now have more 'time than formerly. I intend likewiſe to note the 'erroneous places in Hevelius's notes on the *Venus 'ſub ſole*, and ſend them as ſoon as I have finiſhed 'the new Lunar tables. My obſervation of Mars, I 'intend not to ſend you till I have made ſome more, 'which I expect about the middle of next month.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May 30th, 1672, he writes thus. 'I have this morning compleated my 'numbers for Horrox's theory, which I ſhall tran- 'ſcribe and ſend you, with ſome little account of the 'method of calculation as my leiſure and occaſions 'will permit. Theſe I hope to ſend you on Monday 'come ſevennight. I have late obſerved the return 'of Jupiter to the ſtar in Virgo 9°. 58″ but have 'not yet had time to commit it to my book, and cal- 'culate the times from the obſerved altitudes, but 'with the Lunar tables you may expect them.'

In his letter dated at Derby, June the 12th, 1672, he writes as follows. 'I had delivered my Lunar ta- 'bles after Mr Horrox's ſyſtem to our carrier laſt 'Monday, but that ſome employments caſt upon me 'ſince the death of my uncle put me ſo behind hand, 'that I have finiſhed but this morning. However, I 'hope, they will be no whit the later in your hands, 'for I ſhall procure one of our Attorneys to deliver 'them to you, either the end of this week, or the 'beginning of the next. I have wrote in Latin an 'epiſtle to you containing what I have altered in their 'form, and what I think concerning the equation of 'time and alteration, of the excentricity and the va- 'riation. 'I ſuppoſe you print Mr Crabtree's letter 'which contains this theory with Mr Horrox's works, 'for the theory contained in the letter of December 'the tenth 1638, as I find in ſome looſe papers, and 'the exerciſes is not that which Horrox reſolved up- 'on, and further in it the optical part of the equa- 'tion varies, not but only the focus of the mean mo- 'tion and the phyſical equation; ſo that the diſtance 'of the moon *à terrâ*, varies not above five ſemidia- 'meters of the earth, which in his later papers he 'ſays all eclipſes, require to alter above ſeven. You 'have done well therefore to omit that letter, but in 'the room of it, I ſuppoſe you will give Mr Crab- 'tree's which will lead to mine.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the tenth, 1672, he writes thus. 'Included I ſend you the catalogue I 'promiſed. I have choſen thoſe towns where celeſtial 'obſervations have been made, and where I have 'found none, I have ordered them by comparing their 'poſitions to one another in our maps, which yet I 'dare not truſt, for by celeſtial obſervations of the 'pole's height, and eclipſes made in ſeveral places at 'once compared together, I find they place Italy too 'near, and all the towns of Poland, Germany, and 'France over remote. The maps I uſed were Speed's 'where I wanted, but I find them not good.——— 'I would gladly make ſome further enquiry into the 'nature of light and colours, but want a priſm for 'experiments, which may have two faces of an equal 'breadth, the third not half ſo broad as either of 'them, that ſo the angle included by the broader 'faces may be leſs than 30 gr. It needs not be large 'ſo it be but clear glaſs and well wrought. If you 'can procure me ſuch an one, provide it me againſt 'the latter end of the next week.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the 23d, 1672, he writes thus. 'I have received Dr Wallis's letter to 'you of the 18th of this month, which finding me 'at an unuſual leiſure, I thought fit not to delay an 'anſwer that might give you ſatisfaction, tho' I hope 'you are ſatisfied already. The difference of the 'leaſt and greateſt extrencities in my tables, is as the 'Doctor makes it, 2323 $\sqrt{}^3$ *qualium Radius* 100000 '$\sqrt{}^\circ$. That I wrote 22235 was a miſtake in the

gladly embraced this offer, and visited Mr Oldenburgh and Mr Collins, who introduced him

'first transcript of my number, and ought to be made 'every where 2323 $\sqrt[3]{5}$ for that I have used in all 'my calculations, and the table of equations is framed 'upon that difference else the greatest distance could 'not be 7°—40′ as I have calculated it. The other 'faults of my copy pray correct after the Doctor's in- 'timations. You need alter nothing in the example 'of the calculation, for the fault exceeds not one se- 'cond, which since we cannot observe with such ex- 'actness, I willingly yield in any calculation, and few 'expect that severity. I mention in my Epilogus the 'letter in which you have an account of Mr Horrox's 'theory, I mean that you sent me the copy of, the 'theory from which, if I remember, you wrote me 'word, that Dr Wallis had long since translated. 'This I suppose you intend to print, and it is neces- 'sary to be placed before my tables, and supposing 'that you intend it, I have said nothing of any thing 'contained in that letter, but only of such things as 'Horrox has said nothing of.———I have lately pro- 'cured some lough water (so the miners call it) for 'one Webster the author of the Metallographia. It 'is found in the midst of a firm stone in the lead 'mine. This I have is very transparent, but looks a 'little whitish and smells of sulphur. I am promised 'some stones which being made of water, that con- 'geals as it drops, are yet all of them hollow in the 'middle. These are rarities seldom met with or 'heard of.'

In his letter dated at Derby, August the fifth, 1672, he writes thus. 'Your last I received on Wednesday, 'and having then a letter new written to Mr Town- 'ley, I sent the included papers of your's to him ac- 'cording to your desire. When he returns them, I 'shall impart them to Mr Halton, to whom I be- 'lieve they will be as welcome as to myself.——— 'But the business of this letter is to let you know, 'that you mistook my meaning concerning the letter 'I mentioned in my Epilogus, which was not that of 'December the twentieth, 1638, but one of Crab- 'tree's to Mr Gascoigne, dated Junii 21 1642, in 'which he describes Mr Horrox's system upon the 'author's second thoughts, which he might find in his 'exercises, and his calculations on some loose papers. 'This differs much from that in the December Epi- 'stle, for, 1. In that he makes the greatest equation 'of the apogæon less than in his later papers. 2. The 'greatest physical equation 5° 10′, the greatest optical '2° 30′, whereas afterwards he made either of them '3° 50′ equal to each other. 3. In that epistle he 'directs to take $\frac{1}{6}$ of the Tychonic variation, but on 'after-thoughts he assumes $\frac{2}{9}$. Lastly, that calcula- 'tion is compiled by aid of Lansberg's and Kepler's 'tables, which in this epistle is done more artificially 'by Trigonometry. Add, that he directs no correc- 'tion of the mean motions, which yet I find in his 'Exercises and in Crabtree's letter. These considered, 'the difference betwixt this first system of Mr Horrox 'in the letter of December the 20th 1638, and that 'collected from his later papers by Mr Crabtree is so 'wide, that I believe you would not think fit to be 'placed before tables from which they differ so much. 'I have therefore translated so much from that epistle 'of Crabtree, as contains the system and trigonome- 'trical method of calculation, which you may cause 'to be printed before the tables, which are framed 'from them and agree punctually with them.'

In his letter dated at Derby, August the thirteenth, 1672, he writes thus. 'I have your's of the tenth in- 'stant.———I am glad you are satisfied of Horrox's 'system by the letter I sent you. The precepts I 'found translated by the ingenious Mr Shakerley, 'which I transcribed from him, because I thought 'them clearer expressed than the English ones in 'Crabtree's letter, tho' they are in substance the very 'same. I remember not that he bids any where dou- 'ble the co-sine of an arch, or that he uses natural 'numbers at all. I doubt you mistake, and that the 'third precept may have caused the error. It is '*Duplicetur argumentum annuum & duplicati co-sinui*; 'and the last two words I fear you read to the dou- 'bled co-sine, by which nothing can be understood, 'but to the co-sine of that argument doubled, which 'is clear another sense and sound enough. For his 'method of calculating the Prosthapheiresis of the orb, 'it is so framed as that it may include that little arch 'which *Street* applies at the focus of mean motion 'and calls the variation; otherwise, the difference be- 'twixt *Anomalia media*, and *Anomalia excentri* dou- 'bled, as Crabtree finds it, will give Bishop Ward's 'elliptic equation or Street's without that variation. As 'for that inequality in the moon's motion which Hor- 'rox calls the variation, and in his letter of Decem- 'ber the 20th, confesses he knew not how to apply, 'and Crabtree alike in that of June the 21st, 1642. 'I esteem it purely physical, and have not forgotten 'to say something of it in the Epilogus to the tables, 'as you will find if you peruse it again. Nor can 'Horrox be thought to have judged it otherwise on 'his after-thoughts, since he makes no use of it in 'computing the moon's distance from the earth, which 'if it were not only physical it must necessarily vary. 'I thought Crabtree's precepts sufficiently clear for 'calculation. If they shall not be so to some, our ta- 'bular method and direction will explain them and 'render them easy, though we need not fear that any 'will give themselves the trouble to calculate by them 'trigonometrically, when the tabular calculation is so 'easy, accurate, and expeditious. I think it is not any 'ways evident from Crabtree's letter, that his friend 'Mr Horrox died not the third of January 1640, ex- 'cept I have amiss translated something. Pray peruse 'it again and let me know, for besides the note on 'the back of the letters, I find that in a letter of 'Crabtree's to Gascoigne, dated March the 18th '1640-1, he much laments the death of Horrox. Mr 'Gascoigne was slain in our wars, I believe in the 'year 1642, for I find no letters either of his or Crab- 'tree's to him, after that of Junii 21, 1642, if I 'have not miswritten. Crabtree lived much longer, 'I believe till 1652, if his neighbour Mr Wroe in- 'formed me truly. I shall write to morrow to Mr 'Townley, and will make one part of my desires to 'be ascertained of the time of his death.' In the post- script he writes thus, 'when I came to compare Hor- 'rox's own system in the letter of December the 20th, '1638, with his in Crabtree's letter, June the 21st, '1642, I found that Crabtree had demonstrated it in 'Horrox's own words, from that letter in December '1638, I mean the libration of the apogæon, concern- 'ing which what I have written to you formerly, I 'intended once to have composed into the Epilogus, 'but upon second thoughts, judged it better to take 'your opinion of it. I consent that you should in- 'sert it, since I perceive you esteem of it not amiss, 'and I doubt not but hereafter to have something 'that may further illustrate and confirm it, if occasion 'be given.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May the 5th, 1673, he writes as follows. 'I received the sheet omitted in 'Mr Horrox's book, without which I think it may 'do as well as with it; for the corrections in Crab- 'tree's letter I find by Mr Horrox's exercises are the 'very same, he intended, only by this addition we 'shall see the progress of Horrox's endeavours, and 'how he framed that in the rough which he after 'mended, but left to his successors to polish and per- 'fect. I have spent my spare hours of late in cor- 'recting Kepler's numbers in the planet Mars, so as 'they may represent my observations which I think 'they will do very accurately, I mean those of Sep- 'tember last, which I made for finding his parallax 'and the sun's. To make them fit all others is im- 'possible, by reason that the places of the fixed stars 'are erroneously sometimes stated by Tycho. But if 'we should once be so happy as to have them restored 'by telescope observations on large instruments as 'Tycho's, I should not doubt in a short time to frame 'numbers that should represent all the celestial ap- 'pearances at least of one age, and perhaps, the next 'very exactly. What I have done, I think will fit all 'observations as well as any, but my great desire is 'to have them represent my own well, which being 'made with larger and more accurate instruments than 'were ever used before Mr Townley's time, must 'needs be more exact than any before his. I hoped

'to

him to Mr Jonas Moore, who preſented him with Mr Townley's micrometer, and undertook to procure him glaſſes for a teleſcope at a moderate rate. At Cambridge he viſited Dr Iſaac Barrow, and Mr Iſaac Newton, and Dr Wroe, then Fellow of Jeſus-college there, with whom he correſponded frequently for the four following years. He alſo entered himſelf a Student of Jeſus-college. In the Spring of the year 1672 he excerpted ſeveral obſervations from Mr Gaſcoigne's and Mr Crabtree's letters, which had not been made publick, and which he tranſlated into Latin. He finiſhed the tranſcript of Mr Gaſcoigne's papers May 12, 1672. Amongſt that Gentleman's letters he found ſome, in which, Mr Gaſcoigne ſhewed how the images of remote objects were formed in the diſtinct baſe of a convex object glaſs. From theſe our author got his Dioptrics in a few hours, having read Des Cartes's Dioptrics before, but learned little from them, becauſe Des Cartes diſcourſes not of this ſubject, his main buſineſs being to ſhew, how, by elliptical or hyperbolar glaſſes, all the rays of light which fall on the object parallel to the axis, may be collected into one point of the image in the diſtinct baſe, ſuppoſing all the rays of light of the ſame ſpecies, and liable to the ſame law of refraction, which yet Mr Iſaac Newton has demonſtrated they were not, by many experiments publiſhed in this year's Philoſophical Tranſactions. 'And this, ſays our author, is the only thing that 'I can perceive, for which Des Cartes's Dioptrics have been ſo celebrated.' The ſpare hours of the remaining part of the year 1672, were employed in his obſervations as the weather

'to have had many accurate obſervations this ſpring 'of all the planets, but the clouded Heavens have 'almoſt conſtantly deprived me of my foreſeen oppor- 'tunities in all but Jupiter, of whom what I have 'obſerved Mr Oldenburgh can now inform you.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the 7th, 1673, he writes thus. 'I wrote to you about a week agone. '——I might have informed you in my laſt, that 'after I had diſcovered the ſun's diſtance in Septem- 'ber laſt, to be near 21000 ſemidiameters, I place 'it juſt ſo much in perigæo, then will his parallax be 'juſt 9″.82, which is preciſe the hundredth part of 'the ſun's ſemidiameter there *i. e.* 16′ 22″; ſo that 'I find the earth is but the millioneth part of the ſun. 'This cauſed me to think of putting it in a problem, 'which I did to puzzle ſome boaſting pretenders to 'ſkill. Thus the ſun's diſtance from the earth is '21000 of the earth's ſemidiameters, whoſe body is 'but the $\frac{1}{1000000}$ part of the ſun. Quere, *What is 'the ſun's diameter.*'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the twenty ſixth, 1673, he writes thus. 'Thurſday laſt I received a 'letter from Mr Gregory about the Scotch obſerva- 'tory and inſtruments. I had written a good way of 'an anſwer, but when I came to deſcribe my new 'micrometer, I find my papers in which I had de- 'ſcribed it removed. I have not time to ſearch for 'it at preſent, and am on Monday next to go ſome 'thirty miles from home, but ſhall return within three 'days, God willing. After, I ſhall ſearch for my 'papers, and return him an anſwer in the mean time. 'Yeſterday I wrote to Mr Townley to ſend you his 'advice, and think it convenient you would viſit Sir 'Jonas Moore, who has one of Mr Townley's mi- 'crometers, which Mr Gregory may there ſee fitted 'to the tube better, if I miſtake not, than by Mr 'Hook's.'

In his letter dated at Derby, Auguſt the twentieth, 1673, he writes thus. 'If Vlac's canon would be had 'for a crown or a noble, I ſhould be glad of it, but 'I cannot go beyond that rate, for my father takes 'notice of my expences, and I am at the outſide of 'my allowance. I have more than half finiſhed my 'Hecker, for ſo I call my Ephemeris, and after the 'next week hope to get time to conclude him, ſo 'that you may have him before Michaelmas. My 'ſervice to Mr Gregory, if he be ſtill in the city. I 'ſhall be glad to know what inſtruments and books 'he takes into Scotland with him.'

In his letter dated at Derby September the twenty-ninth, 1673, he writes thus: 'This day I have re- 'ceived one from you, by which I underſtand you 'have found thoſe tables of Vlac's I deſired. —— 'I am very well pleaſed with the news of Hugenius's 'treatiſe being come over, but more to hear of Caſ- 'ſini's book of refractions being expected. I am of 'his opinion that they ought to be continued to the 'zenith, becauſe the refractive air reaches ſome heighth 'above our heads. But from Tycho's obſervations, 'ſuch as I find in Ricciolus's *Almageſt*, and ſome late 'experiments of mine own, which I intend to repeat 'as ſoon as I can borrow a convenient room, I have 'good reaſon to think that he makes them too large 'a little in the horizon, and their decreaſe over ſlow, 'or themſelves much too big in altitudes above 'thirty degrees. I ſhall ſhortly write to Mr Townley 'to engage him to make ſome ſuch experiments as I 'have thought of, and perhaps if mine own ſucceed I 'ſhall in the mean time let you know the event of 'them. —— I wiſh I could have any ways aſſiſted 'Mr Sherburne's Catalogue (5) with particulars of 'Mr Gaſcoigne's Life, who I believe was the firſt that 'applied ſcrews to teleſcopes. He made with them 'ſeveral curious obſervations *ab anno* 1638 to 1642. 'Such as could be found in his letters I have digeſted 'into a ſmall book, with notes of my own to them 'where they were needful for my own uſe. But I 'fear we have loſt many more, and that paſt hopes of 'recovery.'

(5) Subjoined to his verſion of Manilius.

In his letter dated at Derby December the 27th, 1673, he writes thus: 'Your's informs me of the 'reaſons why my Ephemeris is not printed, with 'which I am very well ſatisfied. But if you have not 'already done it, I would not have you propoſe the 'printing it at the charges of the Royal Society, leſt 'they loſe by it, to whom I am ſo much already o- 'bliged for their reſpects, that I deſire not to be made 'their further debtor. As for Mr Gregory, after I 'wrote the letter to him with the deſcription of the 'micrometer in it, I never heard any thing from him, 'and therefore forbore to write, ſuppoſing he would, 'if deſirous to have any correſpondence with me, have 'given me an occaſion to continue it by ſome anſwer 'to mine. I deſire to know from you what inſtru- 'ments he took into Scotland. If he deſire any in- 'tercourſe of letters, if he pleaſe to give me a good 'occaſion, he ſhall ever find me ready to ſatisfy and 'comply with his deſires.'

There is another letter of his from Derby, but without any date, in which he writes thus: 'I intend 'to ſend you my Hecker, which I hope to finiſh either 'this day or to-morrow. If that my father's affairs 'had not preſſed me extraordinarily, I had long ſince 'finiſhed it, but hope now will be ſoon enough. I 'find a table of the equation of natural days in Hu- 'genius's piece ſeemingly much different from mine, 'from which it keeps a conſtant diſtance of about 'fourteen minutes of time, which that ingenious per- 'ſon has ſo contrived, that the equation may always 'be of the ſame ſpecies. I doubt not but that though 'it be ſeemingly different, I ſhall find it, on further 'examination, to agree exactly with ours, but not fit 'to be applied to aſtronomical calculations, or any 'experiments but thoſe about his watches; but of 'theſe more hereafter. In the mean time, when you 'find an opportunity to write to me again, I ſhall be 'glad to know what Mr Gregory has done in reference 'to the inſtruments he was about procuring, and what 'is the opinion about my alteration of Mr Townley's 'micrometer.'

weather permitted, and in preparing advertiſements of the appulſes of the moon and planets to the fixed ſtars, for the following year, which were printed by Mr Oldenburgh in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and ſome obſervations of the planets which Mr Flamſteed imparted to him (*d*). In 1673 he wrote a ſmall tract in Engliſh, concerning the true diameters of all the planets, and their viſible diameters when at their neareſt diſtances from the earth, or their greateſt removes from it, which I lent, ſays he, to Mr Newton, in 1685, who has made uſe of it in the fourth book of his *Principia*. By Mr Oldenburgh's means he exchanged ſome letters with Monſieur Caſſini. In 1673-4, beſides his uſual taſk, he wrote an Ephemeris, in which he ſhewed the falſity of Aſtrology, and the ignorance of thoſe who pretended to it, and gave a table of the moon's riſing and ſetting carefully calculated, together with the eclipſes and appulſes of the moon and planets to the fixed ſtars. This fell into the hands of Sir Jonas Moore, for whom, at his requeſt, Mr Flamſteed made a table of the moon's true ſouthings for that year, from which, and Mr Philips's Theory of the Tides, the high-waters being made, he found that they ſhewed the times of the turn of the tides very near, whereas the ordinary ſeamens coarſe rules would err ſometimes two or three hours (*e*). In the ſummer of the year 1674, our author paſſing through London in the way to Cambridge, Sir Jonas Moore informed him that a true account of the tides would be highly acceptable to his Majeſty, and offered the help of his ſervant to make the table, or any other work of the like nature. Upon this they reſolved to compoſe a ſmall Ephemeris for the King's uſe, which was in good part finiſhed before Midſummer, but not compleated till near Chriſtmas after, by reaſon of Mr Flamſteed's return to Derby about Michaelmas. Sir Jonas had heard him often diſcourſe of the weather-glaſs or Barometer, and the certainty of judging of the weather by it. Mr Townley having communicated to our author his obſervations and the rules deduced from them, Mr Flamſteed ſet up a barometer at Derby, where, for three years together before this, he had noted, thrice a day commonly, the height of the mercury in the barometer, and of a tinged ſpirit in the thermometer, and found, conſidering the different ſituation, that Mr Townley's remarks agreed very well with his, which were, That upon every ſinking of the mercury the air was more moved, and that either wind or rain followed, not the ſame day always, but one, two, three, or four days after, according to the time and height it had been ſtationary at. Something of this had been noted by Mr Boyle but not proſecuted, by reaſon that the daily watching it's motions and noting them, was thought perhaps a trouble which ſuch a trifling ſubject as the weather did not deſerve. But now, at Sir Jonas Moore's requeſt, Mr Flamſteed ſet up for him a pair of theſe glaſſes, and left him materials for making more. It had been long ſettled fair weather when Mr Flamſteed left London, ſoon after which the mercury in the glaſſes began to ſink, but no rain followed till the fourth or fifth day after. This made Sir Jonas eſteem the glaſſes and rules very much, of which informing the King and Duke of York, he was ordered to prepare them the next day, which he did, together with Mr Flamſteed's directions for judging of the weather from their riſing or falling. Sir Jonas had ſhewed the King and Duke our author's teleſcopes and micrometer before, and whenever he acquainted them with any thing which he had gathered from Mr Flamſteed's diſcourſe, he told them frankly from whom he had it, and recommended him to the Nobility and Gentlemen about the Court (*f*). Mr Flamſteed having taken his degree of Maſter of Arts at Cambridge, deſigned to enter into Orders, and to ſettle in a ſmall living near Derby, which was in the gift of a friend of his father's, and therefore went to Okeham in order to proceed to Peterborough at Chriſtmas, but it happened that there was no ordination there. In the mean time Sir Jonas Moore having been informed of his deſign, wrote to him to come to London, upon which he returned thither in the beginning of February 1674-5, and was entertained in the houſe of that Gentleman, who deſigned an employment for him, wherein Mr Flamſteed might have been aſſiſtant to his ſon, for whom Sir Jonas had procured the reverſion of his place, which, though in nothing like his father, he enjoyed for the few years he lived. But Sir Jonas finding Mr Flamſteed perſiſt in his reſolution to take Orders, and that his ſon's temper was ſuch as would make him as uneaſy as himſelf, he did not continue to diſſuade him from his intent. March the fourth following he brought Mr Flamſteed a warrant to be the King's Aſtronomer, with the ſalary of an hundred pounds *per annum*, payable out of the Office of Ordnance, to commence from the Michaelmas preceding (*g*). The Eaſter following our author was ordained at Ely houſe by Biſhop Gunning, who ever after converſed freely with him, and particularly upon the new Philoſophy and opinions, though that Prelate had always maintained the old. Auguſt the 10th, 1675, the foundation was laid of the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich [*E*].

While

(*d*) See the article of NEWTON (Sir ISAAC).

(*e*) See this point explained in note [*G*].

(*f*) Life of the late Lord Keeper Guilford, by Roger North, Eſq; p. 286.

(*g*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 337.

[*E*] *Of the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich*] Between the time of Mr Flamſteed's coming up to London in February, and the Eaſter following, an accident happened which haſtened, if not occaſioned, the building of the Obſervatory. The Sieur de St Pierre, a Frenchman who had ſome ſmall ſkill in Aſtronomy, and made an intereſt with the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, propoſed no leſs than the diſcovery of the longitude, and procured a kind of commiſſion from King Charles the Second to the Lord Brouncker, Dr Seth Ward Biſhop of Sarum, Dr Chriſtopher Wren, Sir Charles Scarborough, Sir Jonas Moore, Col. Titus, Dr Pell, Sir Robert Murray, Mr Hook, and ſome other ingenious perſons about the town and Court, to receive his propoſals, with power to elect and receive into their numbers any other ſkilful perſons, and to give the King

While it was building Mr Flamsteed resided at the place last mentioned, his quadrant and telescopes being kept in the Queen's house; there he observed with them the appulses of the moon and planets to the fixed stars. In 1681 his DOCTRINE OF THE SPHERE [*F*] was

King an account of them, with their opinion. Sir Jonas Moore carried Mr Flamsteed to one of their meetings, where he was chosen into their number. The Frenchman's propofals were then read, which were, I. To have the year and day of the observations. II. The height of two stars, and on which side of the meridian they appeared. III. The height of the moon's two limbs. IV. The height of the pole. All of them to degrees and minutes. It was easy to perceive from these demands, that the Sieur de St Pierre knew not that the best Lunar Tables differed from the heavens, and that therefore his demands were not sufficient for determining the longitude of the place where such observations were or should be made, from that to which the Lunar Tables were fitted. This Mr Flamsteed immediately represented to the company. But they, considering the interest of his patroness at Court, desired to have the Sieur de St Pierre furnished according to his demands. Mr Flamsteed undertook it, and having gained the moon's true place by observations made at Derby, Feb. 23, 1672, and November 12, 1673, gave him observations such as he demanded. The Sieur de St Pierre did not think that they could have been given him, but answered that they were feigned. Mr Flamsteed delivered them to Dr Pell Feb. 19, 1674-5, who returning him his answer some time after, Mr Flamsteed wrote a letter in English to the Commissioners, and another in Latin to the Sieur de St Pierre, to assure him that they were not feigned, and to shew that if they had been so, yet if we had Astronomical Tables which would give us the true places of the fixed stars, and moon's true places, both in longitude and latitude nearer than to half a minute, we might hope to find the longitude of places by lunar observations, but not by such as he demanded; but that we were so far from having the places of the fixed stars true, that the Tychonic Catalogues often erred ten minutes or more; that they were uncertain to three or four minutes, by reason that Tycho affirmed a faulty obliquity of the ecliptic, and had employed only plain sights in his observations; that the best Lunar Tables differed $\frac{1}{4}$ if not $\frac{1}{3}$ of a degree from the Heavens; and, lastly, that he might have learned better methods than he proposed from his countryman Morinus, whom it was proper to consult before he made any more demands of this nature. Mr Flamsteed heard no more of the Sieur de St Pierre after this, but was informed that his letters being shewn King Charles the Second, he was startled at the assertion of the places of the fixed stars being false in the Catalogues, and said with some vehemence, *That he must have them anew observed, examined, and corrected, for the use of his seamen.* And further, when it was urged to him how necessary it was to have a good stock of observations taken for correcting the motions of the moon and planets, with the same earnestness he declared, *That he must have it done*; and being asked, Who could or should do it? replied, *The person that informs you of them.* Upon this Mr Flamsteed was appointed, with the allowance abovementioned, and assurances, at the same time, of such further additions as should be found requisite for carrying on the work. The next point to be thought of, was a place to fix in. Several were proposed, as Hyde Park and Chelsea College. Mr Flamsteed went to view the ruins of the latter, and judged it might serve the purpose, and the better because it was near the Court. Sir Jonas Moore enclined to Hyde Park; but Dr Christopher Wren mentioning Greenwich, it was resolved on. The King allowed five hundred pounds in money, with bricks from Tilbury Fort, where there was a spare stock, and some wood, iron, and lead, from a gatehouse demolished in the Tower, and promised to grant what more should be necessary.

[*F*] *His Doctrine of the Sphere.*] In the preface he observes, that, in this treatise, he has shewn how all the diurnal appearances of the sun and stars are naturally made, and how, laying aside all those old projections of the sphere which falsly suppose the earth's stability, they may be represented, and the problems concerning them answered, by new ones grounded on that true system of the world, which supposes the annual and diurnal motions of the earth, proposed at first by Pythagoras, asserted by Copernicus, demonstrated by Kepler, and, as most agreeable to reason and experience, approved and entertained by the ablest Astronomers of our times. He tells us, that, in the second part, he has taught how to find within what space of the earth the solar eclipse is visible, and where the principal phases appear by calculation, as also how all the requisites of the same eclipse may be found for any given place, without the calculation of parallaxes; which useful invention, says he, having never appeared in publick before, I find myself obliged to give the following account of it's original, that I may not hereafter be accused of injustice to two of my singular good friends, the admirably ingenious Sir Christopher Wren, Master Surveyor of his Majesty's buildings, and our southern Tycho, Mr Edmund Halley. It was in the winter of the year 1676, that Mr Flamsteed lighted upon this method. The autumn before some spots had appeared in the sun, and then he was observing a compact one that made more than two entire revolutions before it was wholly extinct. Examining his observations to find the reason of their different appearances, he collected from them that the spots adhered to the superficies, and that they were carried round his centre once in twenty-five days and a quarter, the northern half of that axis on which this revolution was performed being inclined about eight degrees to the plane of the ecliptic, between the twelfth and eighteenth degrees of Virgo, which being concluded, he found that allowing what alterations must necessarily happen in their appearances by reason of the earth's diurnal progress in her orbit, all his observations would be represented as nearly as he could expect. And now having seen how the poles, axis, equator, and parallels in the sun, altered their appearances to the eye placed on the earth, according as she changed her place in her orbit, and 'being ill of the stone, that he might have some-'thing to think of besides his pains,' he set himself to consider how the axis of the earth, and the several paths and parallels imagined on it, would appear from the sun, and how the diurnal phænomena would be represented by an orthographical projection of our globe on a plane, standing at right angles to the ecliptic, and the line connecting the centers of the sun and earth. Here he found what he has delivered in the first section of his treatise of the Doctrine of the Sphere, *viz.* how the parallaxes of altitude, longitude, and latitude, were made and given by construction; and upon a little farther consideration, how the times of any appearance of a solar eclipse, the part then darkened, with the inclination of the cusps, might be determined without any calculation of them, by the help of projection. Much pleased with this discovery, he immediately constructed an eclipse which he had observed at Derby, October 25, 1668, and, with a brief description of the method, transmitted it to his kind friend and patron Sir Jonas Moore, by whom it was communicated to the Royal Society at one of their meetings. It happened that Sir Christopher Wren was there present, who having viewed the figure only, told Sir Jonas, that himself had known the same method sixteen years before, and, to assure him of it, sent him soon after a like projection neatly drawn on pastboard, and fitted with several ingenious contrivances of numbers and scales, for the construction of solar eclipses in our latitude. This Sir Jonas brought to Mr Flamsteed, then labouring under some distempers, to Greenwich, whereby the latter was satisfied, that the honour of the first discovery of this useful invention was absolutely due to Sir Christopher Wren, whom, of all mortals, he believed to have been the first who knew how to find the times of the beginning, middle, digits then darkened, inclination of the cusps at any phasis, and end of a solar eclipse, without the calculation of parallaxes. In some discourse which our author had with Mr Halley, before he went to observe the southern constellations at St Helena, the latter mentioned the construction of eclipses (6) as possible, but, out of a tender affection, says Mr Flamsteed, to his own inventions,

(6) This shews somewhat of distaste to Captain Halley, but they were afterwards good friends.

was publiſhed in a poſthumous work of Sir Jonas Moore (*b*). We may expect a new and accurate edition of this treatiſe of Mr Flamſteed, with a great many alterations and additions by him, from the very ingenious Mr James Hodgſon, F. R. S. About the year 1684 he was preſented to the living of Burſtow near Blechingley in Surry (*i*), which he enjoyed during his life. It appears from hence that he was but very moderately provided for, and yet it ſeems to have contented him, for notwithſtanding he had a warm and aſpiring mind, yet this diſcovered itſelf only in the purſuit of knowledge, which, like all other violent paſſions, occupied him in a manner entirely, and, by withdrawing his thoughts from ordinary conſiderations, enabled him to give the publick ſo many, and thoſe ſuch inconteſtible, marks of true genius. As theſe raiſed him to the notice of the world, and recommended him to the royal favour and protection; ſo they likewiſe procured him the friendſhip and confidence of ſome of the greateſt perſons in point of ſcience this nation could boaſt, ſuch as the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton, who correſponded with him from 1680 to 1699; Dr Edmund Halley, William Molyneux of Dublin, Eſq; (*k*), Dr John Wallis, and ſeveral others; and of the celebrated M. Caſſini, for which indeed he was fitted by nature, as being himſelf very communicative, and bleſſed with ſo much candour and juſtice, that none of his correſpondents ran the leaſt hazard from their making him acquainted with their diſcoveries. He was alſo exceedingly ready to give any aſſiſtance in his power for facilitating the ſtudies of his friends, and took as much pleaſure in contributing to the reputation of others, as ſome do in leſſening the fame of their rivals that they may exalt their own. He ſhewed the ſame indefatigable aſſiduity in the proſecution of his labours for the improvement of Aſtronomy after this moderate proviſion was made for him that he did before, the Philoſophical Tranſactions affording ſuch clear evidences of his activity and diligence, as well as of his penetration and exactneſs, as muſt fully ſatisfy any candid enquirer of the truth of this aſſertion [*G*]. He ſpent the latter, as he had

(*b*) The title of this moſt uſeful and excellent work runs thus: *The Doctrine of the* Sphere *grounded on the* Motion *of the* Earth, *and the ancient* Pythagorean *or* Copernican *Syſtem of the World. In two Parts.* Lond. 1680, 4*to.*

(*i*) Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, by Roger North, Eſq; p. 286. Aubrey's Antiq. of Surry.

(*k*) Some inſtances of which have been made publick.

ventions, or for what other reaſon I know not, he was pleaſed to conceal his method both from me, who then thought it ſcarce poſſible, and for ought I can underſtand from all others. Nor is it to be wondered at, that three of us ſhould make this diſcovery ſeverally, and without any intimation of the method from each other. For to me it ſeems very unlikely, that any one who admits the motion of the earth, and apprehends how the moon paſſing between the ſun and it, eclipſes ſome part of him to all thoſe people who lie under its paſſage ſhould ever miſs of it. But we might rather admire, had I not intimated the reaſon of it in the fifth ſection of the ſecond part, that the acute wit of the ſagacious Kepler ſhould overlook it, when he had diſcovered the method of finding by calculation, within what ſpaces on our globe the ſolar eclipſe is bounded, and where the principal phaſes of it would appear. Mr Flamſteed then tells us, that he had almoſt finiſhed what he had here delivered concerning the conſtruction of eclipſes, when it was intimated to him by his ingenious friend Mr Perkins, that there was little extant in the Engliſh tongue concerning the general method of calculation abovementioned, and that therefore he might do well to explain it. He conſidered then, that this might be performed more eaſily than is taught by the firſt famous inventor, and without his nonageſinary table. Waving therefore his firſt intent, which was not to engage himſelf in any thing which had been expreſsly handled by others before him, he thought it neceſſary to undertake this further taſk, and accordingly wrote the precepts relating to that ſubject after, tho' for method's ſake they are inſerted before the conſtruction of the ſolar eclipſe. He obſerves likewiſe that in 1670, he firſt publiſhed predictions of the moon's appulſes to fixed ſtars, which he continued eight years after ſucceſſively, firſt in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, after in the royal Almanack, propoſing them as an uſeful and the moſt practicable expedient for finding the longitude or difference of meridians betwixt any two places, by reaſon both of their frequency, and that a ſingle perſon might obtain whatever is required in obſervations of them, with a ſmall apparatus of inſtruments. But the calculation of parallaxes required in their application cauſed them to be leſs regarded than he hoped they would have been. He has therefore ſhewn how this tedious labour may be avoided, and the occultation or emerſion of a ſtar from the moon, or time of its viſible conjunction with the center and diſtance, then from her next limb, may be found by conſtruction as the phaſes of a ſolar eclipſe, and the difference of meridians betwixt two diſtant places by obſervations of the ſame appulſe made at each. And now, ſays he, the main difficulty being removed, I would again recommend this method to the ſtudy and practice of the ingenious Aſtronomer and Navigator.

[*G*] *Of the truth of this aſſertion.*] We find before the cloſe of the year 1675, a large and accurate account of a lunar eclipſe, December the twenty firſt, obſerved by our author, and communicated by him to Sir Jonas Moore in a letter from Greenwich, December the 24th (7). This paper, written in Latin, being communicated to the famous Signior Caſſini, he ſent over alſo his obſervations, with ſome remarks upon thoſe of Mr Flamſteed; in which he pays very high complements to that gentleman, in reſpect as well to his diligence and accuracy, as to his great ſkill and learning (8). Upon this Mr Flamſteed wrote him a ſhort letter, in which are contained ſome very curious celeſtial obſervations. Our author publiſhed likewiſe a very copious and clear account of the eclipſe of the ſun, June the twenty third, 1676, to which he added alſo the account ſent him by Mr Townley and Mr Halton, in the ſucceeding months of July and Auguſt. Himſelf at Greenwich, and Dr Edmund Halley at Oxford, obſerved ſome ſpots in the ſun very carefully, and publiſhed both their obſervations (9). On the twenty firſt of Auguſt the ſame year he obſerved, and publiſhed, an occultation of the planet Mars by the Moon, for the benefit of ſuch as were deſirous of ſettling thereby the difference of meridians (10). May the 18th, 1677, he obſerved a comet very carefully, of which he gave an account by a letter to Mr Oldenburgh. Upon the interruption of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, he ſent a moſt accurate account of his obſervation of an eclipſe of the moon, Auguſt the eighteenth, 1681, at Greenwich to Dr Hook (11), to whom he likewiſe communicated ſome obſervations upon tides, the practical knowledge of which with any tolerable degree of accuracy we owe entirely to his labours, as appears from the following account annexed to his tide table for the year 1683 (12). 'Sir, 'conſidering how much the river of Thames is fre- 'quented by ſhipping, and how long it has been the 'chief place of commerce in theſe parts of the world, 'one would think our ſeamens accounts of its tides 'ſhould be very exact, and their opinions concerning 'them rational; whereas if they be enquired into, no- 'thing will be found more erroneous and idle.

'For they taking notice that the high waters at, and 'near, the new and full moons, run an hour and a half 'or two points of the compaſs longer than at the quar- 'ters, conclude generally that 'tis the inconſtancy of 'the winds that cauſes it, never conſidering how im- 'probable it is that ſo inconſtant and changeable a 'cauſe, ſhould effect ſo conſtant an inequality.

(7) Philoſoph. Tranſactions, No. 121.

(8) Theſe are alſo printed in the Tranſactions.

(9) Ib. No. 127.

(10) Ib. No. 134.

(11) Hook's Philoſophical Collections, No. 3.

(12) Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 143.

'In

had done the former, part of his life, in promoting true and uſeful knowledge, by the conſtant exerciſe of his own great abilities, and by taking all poſſible methods to obtain whatever lights the endeavours of others might afford him. In the latter end of the month of December, 1719, he was ſeized with a ſtrangury, which brought him to his end on the laſt day of the ſame month and year *(l)*. He left a widow behind him by whom he had no children. His *Hiſtoria Cœleſtis Britannica* was publiſhed at London in 1725, in three volumes folio, and dedicated to the King, by his widow Mrs Margaret Flamſteed and Mr James Hodgſon; great part of this work was printed off before his death, and the reſt compleated, except the Prolegomena prefixed to the third volume. In the Preface we are informed, that, in 1704, he having communicated by a friend an account of his collection of obſervations to the Royal Society, they were ſo highly pleaſed with it, that

(l) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. V. in the Diary.

'In which opinion the tide tables of our Almanacks 'have contributed much to confirm them, for therein 'the moon's age is got by the epacts, thence the time 'of her ſouthing by the allowance of forty eight mi- 'nutes of time for every day's age, as if her diurnal 'motions and returns to the meridian were altogether 'equable, than which nothing is more falſe; and then 'the time of the high water at London-Bridge is 'made by adding three hours to the time of her 'ſouthing ſo got, as if there were the ſame conſtant 'ſpace of time betwixt the moon's ſouthing and the 'high waters, which by this means are often made 'two hours different from truth and experience.

'To amend this fault, ſome of the more ſkilful 'have calculated the times of the moon's ſouthings 'exactly, and then made their tide tables by adding 'three hours conſtantly to them, by which means tho' 'they agreed nearer with experience at the ſpring 'tides, or near the new and full moon, yet they erred 'not much leſs than by the old way of account they 'would have done at the quarters or in the neap 'tides, the inequality of the tides being above dou- 'ble to the error committed in finding the moon's 'ſouthings by her age.

'Mr Booker was the firſt that gave any directions 'for the amendment of this reckoning, and that was 'only to ſubſtract an hour from the times in his tide 'table about the firſt and laſt quarters of the moon, 'becauſe the neap tides did not flow ſo long as the 'ſprings by one point of the compaſs. But Mr Henry 'Philips, a perſon well known by his works of navi- 'gation, was certainly the firſt that brought the ine- 'quality to a rule, whoſe theory of the tides, and a 'table grounded on it for the year 1668, was printed 'in Mr Oldenburgh's Philoſophical Tranſactions for 'the month of April that year, numb. 34. which was 'found much more conformable to experience than 'was expected.

'Having frequent occaſion to paſs betwixt London 'and Greenwich by water ſome two years agone, I 'took notice that the tides ſeldom held out ſo long 'as Mr Philips's calculation gave them; and therefore 'in the months of October and November, I began 'to obſerve them more diligently, and procured them 'to be carefully noted by an ingenious friend at 'Tower-wharf. From theſe obſervations I raiſed a 'correction of Mr Philips's numbers, and cauſed a 'tide table to be made agreeable to it, which was 'printed by Mr Hook in his Philoſophical Collections 'numb. 4.

'But the weather then proving ſtormy and unſea- 'ſonable, I durſt not rely on thoſe obſervations nor 'that correction, and therefore in the ſpring and ſum- 'mer months following of the year 1682, I ſet to 'obſerve them again; and with the help of my friends 'and ſervants, I noted the times of above eighty 'high waters at Tower-wharf and Greenwich, where- 'by I found that the greateſt and leaſt differences be- 'twixt the moon's true ſouthing and the high waters, 'were not as Mr Philips had placed them at the full 'or new and quarter moons, but the greateſt nearer 'to the neaps, the leaſt to the higheſt ſpring tides. I 'found alſo that the inequality was not the ſame that 'he had made of it, and after a trial or two, that I 'could repreſent and anſwer above ſix hundred of 'theſe obſervations, with leſs than one quarter of an 'hour's difference, which, conſidering how difficult it 'is to determine the time of an high water exactly, 'I cannot but eſteem a very good agreement.

'Hitherto, our tide tables have only ſhewed the 'time of that one high water which next follows the 'moon's ſouthing, but in this new table I have given 'the times of both; concerning which I deſire it may 'be noted, that when by reaſon of great droughts 'in ſummer, or extreme froſts in winter, the ſprings 'are low, and the freſh waters leſs than uſual, the 'tides may hold up longer than the times noted in 'the table; as alſo when ſtrong north-weſterly or 'northerly winds blow, which bring in an extraordi- 'nary flood from the northern ſeas and keep it up 'longer than other times.

'So, on the contrary, when the winds blow hard 'on the oppoſite points of the compaſs, or when we 'have much rain and great freſhes, the tides hold out 'not ſo long as the times ſhewed in the table, the 'freſhes over-powering and checking them ſooner. 'Yet have I never found that the differences betwixt 'the calculated and obſerved high waters have much 'exceeded half an hour; moſt commonly they are 'ſcarce half ſo much.

'This table may be reduced, and made to ſerve 'for any other port of his Majeſty's dominions or 'neighbouring countries, by only ſubſtracting or ad- 'ding ſo much time to the high water noted in it, as 'the high water obſerved in the ſaid place, ſhall be 'found to precede or follow the time of the high 'water the ſame day herein noted. For by ſuch ac- 'counts as I have met with and received of the tides 'in remote places, I find there is every where about 'England the ſame difference betwixt the ſpring and 'neap tides, that is here obſerved in the river of 'Thames.

'I could eaſily have made and given you a table 'for this reduction, if I durſt have relied on the ac- 'count our mariners give of the tides in other ports; 'but I find their opinions different, except where they 'have copied from one another in their Kalendars, 'by reaſon of the aforementioned difference betwixt 'the times of the moon's ſouthings and the true high 'waters, for which reaſon I forbear it till further ex- 'perience ſhall have informed us better.'

He continued to publiſh tables of the like nature, with continual improvements for many years together. We have choſen this familiar inſtance, that every reader might have it in his power to judge of the nature of Mr Flamſteed's enquiries, and of the value of his improvements. He took the ſame method in reſpect to things of a ſuperior nature, his diſcoveries end always at ſomething uſeful; and when he had once found errors in the common ſchemes of computation, he never left examining, ſearching, and comparing, till he found the ſource of the error, and was able to point out the ſureſt and ſpeedieſt way of inveſtigating the truth.

It would be tedious and trifling to give the heads of almoſt numberleſs papers, addreſſed by our author himſelf to the Secretaries of the Royal Society, or communicated to them by him from others. Let it ſuffice that through a long courſe of years Mr Flamſteed was never deficient in ſending his excellent remarks, which were of greater uſe in promoting the progreſs of that ſcience to which he applied, than the compaſs of a note will afford us by any means the power of deſcribing; ſo that the goodneſs of his royal maſter in erecting that poſt he ſo worthily filled, and his choice of ſo able, ſo indefatigable, and ſo communicative, a man to diſcharge it, were equally conſpicuous. How far he puſhed his enquiries, and to what a bulk his learned labours ſwelled by degrees, the reader will learn in the next note.

that they recommended the work to his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, who ordered Francis Roberts, Eſq; Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr David Gregory, and Dr John Arbuthnot, to inſpect Mr Flamſteed's papers, and accordingly a report was made in their favour. Upon this, ninety-ſeven ſheets were printed at the Prince's expence before his death, after which the remainder was publiſhed at the charge of our author and his executors, and will prove a noble and laſting monument to his memory (*m*) [*H*]. How great his reputation was, even in his life-time, appears from what has been already ſaid, and may be rendered ſtill more ſo, from the teſtimony of many eminent perſons, of which ſome notice will be taken at the bottom of the page (*n*) [*I*]. He

(*m*) It is apparent from hence, that this excellent Mathematician never remitted of his induſtry ſo long as he had ſtrength.

(*n*) Inſtitutions Newtoniennes, ou Introduction a la Philoſophie de M. Newton. Par M. Gregorne. Pref. p. 17, 18.

[*H*] *And will prove a noble and laſting monument to his memory.*] The firſt volume contains the obſervations of Mr William Gaſcoigne, the firſt inventor of the way of meaſuring angles in a teleſcope by the help of ſcrews, and the firſt who applied teleſcopical ſights to aſtronomical inſtruments taken at Middleton near Leeds in Yorkſhire, betwixt the years 1638, and 1643, collected from his letters to Mr Crabtree, with ſome of Mr Crabtree's obſervations of the ſame year; as alſo obſervations of the ſun's and moon's diameters, configurations, and elongations of Jupiter's ſatellites from him, ſmall diſtances of fixed ſtars, with appulſes of the moon and planets to them, obſerved with a teleſcope and micrometer at Derby by Mr Flamſteed, betwixt the years 1670, and 1675, with the larger intermutual diſtances of fixed ſtars, and of the planets from them; eclipſes of the ſun, moon, and Jupiter's ſatellites, ſpots on the ſun, comets, and refractions, taken with a ſextant of near ſeven foot Radius, a voluble quadrant, and the abovementioned inſtruments, betwixt the years 1675 and 1689, at the Royal Obſervatory; ranked under proper heads; with the places of the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, deduced from the obſervations; and alſo neceſſary tables to be uſed with them. The ſecond volume contains his obſervations made with a mural arch of near ſeven foot Radius, and 140 degrees, on the limb of the meridional zenith, diſtances of the fixed ſtars, ſun, moon, and other planets, with the time of their tranſits over the meridian; together with obſervations of the ſun's and moon's diameters, eclipſes of the ſun, moon, and Jupiter's ſatellites, variations of the compaſs, from 1689, to the end of the year 1719, *&c.* tables ſhewing how to render the calculation of the ſtars and planets places, from the obſervations, eaſy and expeditious; to which are added the places of the moon (at the oppoſitions, quadratures, and on her limits, *&c.*) and the places of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, derived from the abovementioned obſervations. The third volume contains a catalogue of the right aſcenſions, diſtances from the pole, longitudes and magnitudes, of near three thouſand fixed ſtars, with variations of their right aſcenſions and diſtances from the pole, whilſt they change their longitudes one degree, whereby the right aſcenſions and diſtances from the pole of the ſtars and planets being given, their longitudes and latitudes may be found by inſpection. To this volume is prefixed a very large preface, containing an account of all the aſtronomical obſervations made before his own time, with a deſcription of the inſtruments made uſe of, as alſo an account of his own obſervations and inſtruments, together with a new Latin verſion of Ptolomy's catalogue of 1026 fixed ſtars, from the Greek and Uleg-beigs places annexed on the Latin page, with the corrections, ſmall catalogues of the Arabs, Tycho Brahe's of about 780 fixed ſtars in a proper order, the Landgrave of Heſſe's of 386, Hevelius's of 1534, in a proper order; a catalogue of ſome of the ſouthern fixed ſtars not viſible in our hemiſphere, reduced to right aſcenſion, diſtance from the pole, longitude and latitude, with variations of right aſcenſions and diſtances from the pole, calculated from obſervations made by Dr Halley at St Helena, and Mr Flamſteed's ſtars places, and fitted to the year 1726.

[*I*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The merit of Mr Flamſteed, as an Aſtronomer, would be but very indifferently ſupported by producing general characters of him from hiſtorical or biographical writers, little known or diſtinguiſhed in the world for their ſkill in that ſcience: we will therefore preſent the reader with teſtimonies of another kind, that is, from ſuch as were themſelves eminent for their knowledge in Aſtronomy, who could not therefore be deceived, and who out of regard to their own reputation would never attempt to deceive others. Mr Stephen Gray in a letter of his dated from Canterbury, May the fifth 1701, deſcribing a very ingenious inſtrument invented by him for drawing a true meridian line by the pole ſtar (13), and alſo for finding the hour of the day or night by the ſame, has the following paſſage. 'That moſt learned, 'accurate, and judicious Aſtronomer, Mr John Flam-'ſteed, Mat. Reg. and F. R. S. has lately diſcovered 'that there is a parallaxis of the earth's annual orbit 'at the pole ſtar, of about forty or forty five ſeconds, 'whereby the diameter of the ſtar's parallel is greater 'in June than in December, by about 1 minute 2 ſe-'conds, which he has evinced from ſeven years ſuc-'ceſſive obſervations, whereby the earth's motion is 'indubitably demonſtrated, as appears from his learned 'letter to Dr Wallis on that ſubject. Now if on the 'edge of this index there be drawn a ſcale of degrees, 'minutes, and ſeconds, to the Radius of the glaſs, we 'ſhall not only have a very accurate inſtrument for 'the hour, but be furniſhed with one whereby we 'ſhall ſee the truth of the earth's motion confirmed 'by the acceſs and receſs of our ſtar, towards and 'from the pole, according to the earth's place in the 'ecliptick, as that learned perſon abovementioned has 'diſcovered, and that not only when the ſtar tranſits 'the meridian, but in clear air at any time of the 'day, one ſhall likewiſe obſerve that annual increaſe 'of the pole ſtar's declination cauſed by the proceſſion 'of the equinox. My own obſervations aſſure me, 'that the pole ſtar may be ſeen in the day time with 'a teleſcope of ſixteen foot, for with one of this length 'I ſaw that ſtar on the 26th of April, this preſent 'year 1701, from four o' clock in the morning till 'ſeven, and could have ſeen it longer had not clouds 'interpoſed; and again the firſt of May, I did not 'look for the ſtar till the ſun had been up more than 'half an hour, *viz.* at five in the morning, yet I 'ſoon found it and ſaw it afterwards as oft as I pleaſed, 'till half an hour after nine the ſame morning; ſo 'that I doubt not this ſtar may be ſeen in a clear day 'throughout the whole year.' The very learned Dr William Wotton (14), who was a perſon of univerſal knowledge, produces the labours and diſcoveries of Mr Flamſteed to prove, that the antient Aſtronomy was not at all comparable to the modern; or, which is the ſame thing, that modern Aſtronomers have far ſurpaſſed the antients in point of accuracy, as well as extenſiveneſs in their obſervations. 'Galileo Galilei, ſays he, 'was the firſt who diſcovered four planets moving con-'ſtantly round Jupiter, from thence uſually called his 'ſatellites, which afterwards were obſerved to have 'a conſtant, regular, and periodical motion. This mo-'tion is now ſo exactly known, that Mr Flamſteed, who 'is one of the moſt accurate obſervers that ever was, 'has been able to calculate tables of the eclipſes of 'the ſeveral ſatellites, according to which, Aſtrono-'mers in different quarters of the world, having no-'tice of the preciſe time when to look for them, have 'found them to anſwer to his predictions, and publiſhed 'their obſervations accordingly. This is an effectual 'anſwer to all that rhapſody which Stubbe has col-'lected in his brutal anſwer to Mr Glanville's *Plus 'ultra*, about the uncertainty of all obſervations made 'by teleſcopes; ſince it is impoſſible to calculate the 'duration of any motion juſtly, by fallacious and un-'certain methods. By the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatel-'lites, longitudes would ſoon be exactly determined, 'if tubes of any length could be managed at ſea.' That ingenious and intelligent Mathematician, William Molyneux, Eſq; of Dublin, gives our author a very high character and mentions ſeveral teſtimonies of his friendſhip. Dr Edmund Halley, in a parallel drawn by him,

(13) Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 270. p. 817, 818.

(14) Reflexions upon Ancient and Modern Learning, p. 175.

He was ſucceeded in his poſt of Aſtronomer Royal by the late learned and ingenious Dr Edmund Halley, though the Reverend Mr William Whiſton, as he has informed us, made ſome application during the vacancy, in which, though not ſucceſsful, he was not much diſappointed (*o*). There has been, while this article was in the preſs, a ſhort pamphlet of our author's publiſhed (*p*), being indeed no more than the copy of a letter to a gentleman at Turin in Piedmont, dated April 10, 1693, in relation to the dreadful earthquakes that had done ſo much miſchief the year before in Jamaica and Sicily, and had been, though but ſlightly, felt here. Our author does not ſeem to have employed much time in the conſideration of this difficult ſubject; he collects from theſe circumſtances, *viz.* That earthquakes always happen in calm ſeaſons; that a ſmall hollow noiſe in the air precedes them; that they are felt at ſea as well as on ſhore; that ſometimes they ſhake a whole country at once, ſometimes only a very ſmall part, and that gradually; that they are frequently attended with eruptions; that the upper ſtories of houſes are more affected than the lower; and that ſome people are made ſick by the ſhock: that moſt of them are really occaſioned by ſome tremor or exploſion in our atmoſphere, and he endeavours to ſhew how this will anſwer all the phænomena beforementioned. But in the end he admits, that ſome earthquakes may, indeed muſt, happen, from nitro-ſulphureous vapours taking fire in the earth, being induced thereto from the conſideration of what happened in Jamaica, Sicily, and other places. He expreſſes a very ſtrong reluctancy to the ſeeing this little work of his in print, for fear of cavils and diſputes, which he ſeems to have abhored as much as any man could, and which, in the preſent caſe, he took all imaginable pains to prevent. It had in all probability been buried in obſcurity, but for the late melancholy accidents, which brought it firſt to the Bookſeller's knowledge, and made it not improbable that it might be alſo acceptable to the publick. There are certainly in it ſome very juſt hints and uſeful obſervations, but it is too ſhort, and too haſtily written, conſidering the weight of the argument, to give that full ſatisfaction to an inquiſitive and judicious reader, which the name of ſo great a man might lead him to expect. It may be very ſerviceable however to ſuch as turn their thoughts this way, as it gives a fair and full inſtance of the true method of collecting the capital heads of an enquiry, that may conduct us in diſcovering, ſo

(*o*) Memoirs of his own Life, p. 296.

(*p*) Printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1750, 8vo.

him, and who could draw it better? between the antient Aſtronomers and the moderns diſcourſes thus. 'Now in this ſcience to compare the antients with 'the moderns, and ſo make a parallel as juſt as may 'be, I oppoſe the noble Tycho Brahe, or Hevelius, 'to Hipparchus, and John Kepler to Claudius Ptolomee, and I ſuppoſe no one acquainted with the 'ſtars will doubt, that the catalogue of the fixed ſtars 'made by Tycho Brahe above C years ſince, does 'beyond competition far excel that of Hipparchus, 'being commonly true to a minute or two, when the 'other many times fails half a degree both in longitude and latitude; and this is the fairlier carried, for 'that it was as eaſy for Hipparchus to obſerve the 'fixed ſtars, as for Tycho or Hevelius, had he made 'uſe of the ſame induſtry and inſtruments, the teleſcope, wherewith we now obſerve to the utmoſt poſſible nicety, being equally unknown to Tycho, as to 'Hipparchus, and not uſed by Hevelius. But what 'may juſtly be expected from Monſieur Caſſini, and 'Mr Flamſteed in this matter, does yet further advance in preciſeneſs as not capable to err half a minute, though made with inſtruments of the production of Greſham.' We are likewiſe told by that judicious Aſtronomer, Dr John Keil (15), 'That Mr 'Flamſteed, with indefatigable pains for more than 'forty years, watched the motions of the ſtars, and 'has given us innumerable obſervations of the ſun, 'moon, and planets, which he made with very large 'inſtruments exactly divided by moſt exquiſite art, 'and fitted with teleſcopical ſights. Whence we are 'to rely more on the obſervations he hath made, than 'on thoſe that went before him, who made their obſervations with the naked eye without the aſſiſtance 'of teleſcopes. The ſaid Mr Flamſteed has likewiſe 'compoſed the Britiſh catalogue of the fixed ſtars, 'containing about three thouſand ſtars, which is twice 'the number that are in the catalogue of Hevelius, to 'each of which he has annexed its longitude, latitude, 'right aſcenſion, and diſtance from the pole, together with the variation of right aſcenſion and declination, while the longitude increaſes a degree. This 'catalogue, together with moſt of his obſervations, is 'printed on a fine paper and character, at the expences (16), of the late Prince George of Denmark.' To all theſe authorities we will preſume to add, that of a foreign writer of great eminence, M. Sigorne, Member of the Sorbonne, and Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Paris, who mentions the approbation of Mr Flamſteed (17), as the very ſeal of the Newtonian Philoſophy, by which with reſpect to the ſyſtem of the heavens, or rather of the heavenly bodies, it came to be eſteemed certain and beyond all diſpute. *Quant aux planettes principales*, dit il, *l'attraction ſeule du ſoleil doit les aſſujettir à decrire des ellipſes*, &c. *that is*, 'With reſpect to the primary planets, the 'attraction of the ſun only is ſufficient to oblige them 'to deſcribe ellipſes, but as they ought alſo to attract 'each other, there was ſome room to apprehend that 'the regularity of their motion might be thereby 'ſomewhat diſturbed. We ought, however, to take 'Sir Iſaac Newton's word upon this head, ſince we 'ſhall preſently ſee from what he has done, that there 'is no reaſon to be in pain upon this account; according to his obſervation, bodies attract each other in 'a direct proportion of the quantities of matter they 'contain, and the converſe proportion of the ſquares 'of their diſtances, and in this proportion it is, that 'the planets affect each other. Now if the Newtonian Philoſophy be true, there is a certain method 'of knowing the quantity of matter in the planets, 'and conſequently of calculating the force of their 'impreſſions; ſuch a calculation being made, it appears that Mars, our Earth, Venus, and Mercury, 'attract each other ſo little, in proportion to the force 'with which they are attracted by the ſun, that the 'diſorder ariſing from thence muſt be altogether imperceptible in many revolutions; and hence there 'appears a wonderful agreement between the principles of this philoſophy and the phænomena. But 'this agreement appears ſtill more clearly in what 'happens, with reſpect to Jupiter and to Saturn, the 'quantity of matter in Jupiter is ſo great, that the 'calculation demonſtrates the effects of its attraction 'upon Saturn, ought to be very ſenſible in the time 'of their conjunction. Sir Iſaac Newton predicted 'this to the Aſtronomers, Flamſteed and Halley, but 'the former of theſe great men gave no credit at all 'to that prediction. However, the conjunction of 'thoſe two planets approaching, this ſingular obſervation was made for the firſt time, and the conſequence 'was, that the calculation was exactly verified. This 'procured the Newtonian Philoſophy the approbation 'of ſo great an Aſtronomer as Flamſteed, indeed it 'would have been very difficult for him to have denied it.' We might add much more of the ſame kind,

(15) In the Preface to his Introduction to the True Philoſophy, p. xiii. xiv.

(16) This was true only in part.

(17) Préface a la Inſtitutions Newtonniens, p. xvii. xviii.

ſo far as human reaſon is able to diſcover, the natural cauſes of ſuch tremendous convulſions.

kind, but the deſign of this note being fully anſwered, by our having ſhewn how high the fame of Mr Flamſteed has riſen, amongſt the beſt judges both at home and abroad, we ſhall conclude. E

FLEETWOOD (WILLIAM) a very eminent Lawyer, and Recorder of the city of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the ſon of Robert Fleetwood, who was the third ſon of William Fleetwood of Heſketh in the county palatine of Lancaſter, Eſq; and conſequently deſcended of a very antient and worthy family (*a*). He had a liberal education, and was for ſome time a member of the univerſity of Oxford, but whether of Brazen-Noſe-college or of Broadgate-hall, is a point not now to be certainly determined; but of one of thoſe two learned bodies he was (*b*). There being no intention of breeding him to Divinity, Civil Law, or Phyſick, he left the univerſity without a degree, and went to London, where he was entered of the Middle-Temple (*c*), and having very quick natural parts, and, which rarely happens in the ſame perſon, wonderful diligence and application, he became in a ſhort time a very diſtinguiſhed man in his profeſſion (*d*). In 1562 he was elected Summer-Reader of that houſe, and the very next year choſe again, but however did not read (*e*), which it may be preſumed was the reaſon, that, in 1568, he was elected Double Reader in Lent (*f*). His reputation was far from being confined to the Inns of Court, for it having been thought neceſſary to appoint Commiſſioners in the nature of a Royal Viſitation in the dioceſes of Oxford, Lincoln, Peterborough, Coventry and Lichfield, Mr Fleetwood was of that number (*g*). In 1569 he became Recorder of London, which was then held an employment of great credit and importance. It does not appear whether his intereſt with the Earl of Leiceſter procured him that place or not, but it is very certain that he was conſidered as a perſon entirely addicted to that Nobleman's ſervice, and conſequently one, who, in any caſe of neceſſity, could never want protection at Court (*h*). It was a very wiſe maxim in thoſe times, *That every great tranſaction ſhould have a colour of law*, and whenever any extraordinary meaſure was taken, the motives to it were ſo far from being kept ſecret, that the Queen took care that the whole world ſhould be made acquainted with it, to prevent falſe rumours from gaining ground. Thus, in 1571, upon the commitment of the Duke of Norfolk for treaſonable practices, the Recorder, Fleetwood, was directed to repair to the Guild-Hall (*i*), and there to declare in a proper manner to the Lord Mayor, his brethren the Aldermen, and the Commons, the nature of this conſpiracy, and the danger to which the Queen and her government had been expoſed, which he accordingly did, and acquitted himſelf with great reputation [*A*]. As in this, ſo in every thing elſe, he was extreamly

(*a*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 196.

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

(*c*) Tanner. Biblioth. Britanni-co-Hibernica, p. 286.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

(*e*) Tanneri Biblioth. Britanni-co-Hibernica, p. 286.

(*f*) E. Regiſt. Societati Med. Templ.

(*g*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 168.

(*h*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Leiceſter's Ghoſt.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 237.

[*A*] *And acquitted himſelf with great reputation.*] We have more than once, had occaſion to ſpeak of the heavy misfortunes and untimely death, of this Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, whoſe great-grandfather was ſlain in Boſworth field, whoſe grandfather was condemned for high-treaſon, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and remained a priſoner under that ſentence, during the whole reign of Edward the Sixth, and whoſe father, the learned and witty Earl of Surry ended his days, as himſelf did, upon a ſcaffold (1). This noble perſon, by a contrivance of the Earl of Leiceſter's, was, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, drawn into a deſign of marrying the Queen of Scots, to which Leiceſter pretended, that he would obtain Queen Elizabeth's conſent; inſtead of which he revealed to her all he knew, which brought diſgrace, ſuſpicion, and impriſonment upon the Duke of Norfolk. He was releaſed out of the Tower in 1570, chiefly by the intereſt of Sir William Cecil, who appears to have been his true friend, by the advice he gave him to marry as ſoon as poſſible, if he would avoid taking up his lodgings there again (2). The Duke neglected this caution, was the very next year drawn into new intrigues, in the management of which, he received ſeveral letters and papers from Mary Queen of Scots, which, when he had peruſed, he delivered to Mr Higford with orders to burn them, but inſtead of doing that, he hid them under a mat in the Duke's bedchamber; when ſomething of theſe matters was diſcloſed, the Duke again put under an arreſt, and Higford caſt into priſon, he confeſſed all he knew, and amongſt the reſt where the papers were to be found, amongſt which was a draught of the whole deſign, tranſcribed from one in the Queen of Scot's own handwriting; and alſo informed them that Barker, one of the Duke's ſervants, was privy to the delivery of the money to Brown, who was to have carried it into Scotland, and from whom it was pretended this diſcovery originally came. When the council had received this draught, the letters abovementioned, and others ſent by the Pope, and when Barker being apprehended had confeſſed every particular, Sir Ralph Sadler was ordered to keep a ſtrong guard upon the Duke's houſe at London, formerly belonging to the Carthuſian Friers (3). The third day after the Duke himſelf was examined, and not knowing what his ſervants had confeſſed, but ſuppoſing the draught with the letters were burnt, he ſtiffly denied all which they had confeſſed. Hereupon within a day or two, namely the ſeventh of September, he was, to the great grief of the people, carried back to the Tower of London, from whence the year before he was releaſed, by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Nevill, and Doctor Wilſon. Afterwards Baniſter, the Duke's Counſellor at Law, the Earl's of Arundel and Southampton, the Lord Lumley, the Lord Cobham, and Thomas his brother, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powel, Goodier, and others, were clapt in priſon, who every one of them in hopes of pardon, confeſſed what they knew. 'As ſoon, 'ſays Camden, as the Council produced theſe mens 'confeſſions, the Queen of Scots and Roſs's letters, 'with the draught, to the Duke's face, he was ſtrangely 'confounded. But upon ſight of the draught, and 'the letters, which he ſuppoſed to have been burnt, 'he was amazed, and at laſt brake forth into theſe 'words; *I am betrayed and undone by my confidents, 'not knowing how to diſtruſt them, tho' diffidence is the 'very eſſence of wiſdom* (4). However, he humbly 'prayed the Council to intercede for him to the Queen, 'promiſing to conceal nothing he knew, and ſolemnly 'proteſting, that he had never conſented to any thing, 'which might prejudice the Queen, or injure the 'realm, but had declared heartily againſt the plots 'they laid for ſurpriſing the Queen, for ſeizing upon 'the Tower of London, and ſetting the Queen of 'Scots at liberty, and that he never thought of calling

'over

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 274.

(2) Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 131.

(3) Stowe, Holinſhed, Strype.

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz.

extreamly vigilant and active, looking upon himſelf as obliged in his office of a Miniſter of Juſtice, not only to do what he was commanded, or what appeared requiſite for the ſervice of the State, but to do it with alacrity and ſpirit, which without all doubt recommended him highly to the Stateſmen of thoſe times, but at the ſame time did not prevent his meeting ſome very untoward rewards for ſuch ſeaſonable and important ſervices (*k*). As for inſtance; in the year 1576, being informed that there was a great reſort of ſome of the Queen's ſubjects to a certain Popiſh chapel, kept in the houſe of one who was reputed to be a foreign Miniſter, he reſolved, in conjunction with the two Sheriffs and proper aſſiſtance, to go thither, thinking it a reproach to the city of London that the laws for preventing ſuch aſſemblies ſhould be therein openly broken, and this with the utmoſt impunity. He accordingly executed his purpoſe, not without communicating it, as has been thought, to ſome of the great Miniſters of State, without whoſe approbation he ſeldom did any thing. But however that might be, the perſon who kept this houſe, and who ſtiled himſelf an Ambaſſador from Portugal, complained to the Queen of this act of violence, in direct breach, as he affirmed, of the law of nations; and it ſo falling out, that a moſt advantageous treaty of commerce being juſt concluded with the Court of Portugal, the negotiation of which had been entruſted with this Miniſter, it was by the Queen therefore held neceſſary that he ſhould have ſatisfaction given him, and that in ſuch a manner as might be acceptable to his Court. Upon this motive both the Sheriffs and Recorder were arreſted, brought before the Privy-Council, remanded, and a Committee appointed to examine into the whole affair; by this Committee, or rather by Poſtſcript to the Committee's Order written by the Lord Treaſurer, the Recorder was directed to draw up a ſtate of his own caſe, his adverſary having repreſented to the Lords, that his houſe was firſt inveſted, and then entered by force of arms, ſeveral perſons coming in with their ſwords drawn, and not only himſelf inſulted and his ſervants maltreated, but his Lady and her women frighted almoſt out of their wits (*l*). Mr Fleetwood, upon the ſignification of their Lordſhips pleaſure, ſpeedily returned them ſuch a paper, which, for it's ſingularity, the reader will find at the bottom of the page [*B*]. But notwithſtanding this

(*k*) See this fully explained in note [*B*].

(*l*) Int. MSS. Burghleian.

' over foreign forces into Britain, but only to ſuppreſs ' the Queen of Scots rebellious ſubjects. The ſame ' day he was examined upon fifty articles, or there- ' abouts, and concealed nothing. Afterwards, the ' whole proceeding was reported in the Star-Chamber, ' in a full aſſembly of the nobility, the Lord Mayor ' and Aldermen of the City of London being preſent, ' and after that to all the citizens at the Guildhall, ' by William Fleetwood their Recorder.' This ſpeech, as we ſhall ſee hereafter (5), was, for the further ſatisfaction of the publick, printed by the direction of thoſe for whoſe ſervice it was delivered.

(5) In the note [*G*].

[*B*] *At the bottom of the page.*] This narrative of Mr Fleetwood's, bears date November the 9th 1576 (6), and is delivered in the following words. ' Upon ' Sunday laſt, at eleven a clock in the forenoon, Mr ' Sheriff Kimpton, and Mr Sheriff Barnes, and I the ' Recorder, did repair unto the Charter-houſe, and ' knocking at the gates no man anſwered. Mr Sheriff ' B. by agreement, went upon the back ſtairs to ſee ' that no Maſs-hearers ſhould eſcape. And after di- ' vers knockings at the gate, the porter came, being ' a Portugal, who did ſpeak Engliſh, and ſay'd, my ' Lord, was not at home. Then, quoth we, let us ' ſpeak with you Mr Porter, for we have brought let- ' ters. And the porter anſwered us very ſtubbornly. ' And at length he opened the gate, and I the Recor- ' der put in my left leg, meaning to enter in at the ' gate. And being half in, and half out, the porter ' knowing me very well, ſaid, Back, villain, and thruſt ' the gate ſo ſore upon my leg, that I ſhall carry the ' grief thereof to my grave. Sithence that time my ' pain hath been ſo great that I can take no reſt. ' And if Mr Sheriff Kimpton had not thruſt the gate ' from me, my leg had been utterly bruiſed into ' ſhivers. And beſides, the porter began to buſtle ' himſelf to his dagger, and took me by the throat. ' And then I thruſt him from me. For indeed, he ' was but a teſty little wretch. And ſo I willed Mr ' Sheriff and the officers to ſtay the fellow from do- ' ing any hurt to any other in his fury. After this, ' we paſt quietly all doors being open out of the hall ' up the ſtairs. And at the ſtair head there was a ' great long gallery, that in length ſtood eaſt and ' weſt. In the ſame gallery all the Maſs-hearers, both ' men and women were ſtanding. For the Prieſt was ' at the goſpel, and the altar candles were lighted as ' the old manner was. After this, we knocked at the ' outer door of the gallery, and all they looked back. ' And then Mr Sheriff K. and I, charged all ſuch ' as were Engliſhmen born, and the Queen's ſubjects ' to come forth of that place. And then came all the ' ſtrangers running towards us, ſome of them begin- ' ning to draw firſt their daggers, and then after they ' buckled themſelves to draw their rapiers. And by ' that time, two Bailiffs-errants of Middleſex, whoſe ' names, I remember not, being at the door, did draw ' their ſwords, and immediately Mr Kimpton cauſed ' the ſtrangers to be quiet, and I cauſed the Bailiffs to ' be quiet, and then Mr Kimpton with all the Maſs- ' hearers, with Signor Giraldie's wife, and her maids, ' were all in a heap, forty perſons at once ſpeaking in ' ſeveral languages. And then I ſaid to Mr Sheriff, ' I pray you let me and you make a way for my ' lady; and ſo he making way before, I kiſſed my ' hand, and took my Lady Giraldie by the hand, and ' led her out of the preſs to her chamber door, and ' there made a moſt humble curſey unto her, and af- ' ter I put my hand out to the reſt of her gentlewo- ' men, and firſt kiſt it, and delivered them into their ' chamber alſo. And Mr Sheriff Barnes came into the ' gallery, and ſo we three examined every man what ' he was. And firſt, ſuch as were Signor Giraldie's ' men we required them to depart. And after many ' lewd and contumelious words uſed by them againſt ' us, we, by fair means, got them out of the gallery ' into their lady's lodging. And then proceeded we ' to the examination of the ſtrangers, that were not of ' Signor Giraldie's houſe, nor of his retinue. And ' they moſt deſpightfully, againſt all civility, uſed ſuch ' like words in their language againſt us, that if our ' company had underſtood them there, might have ' chanced great harm. But in plain terms I ſaid unto ' them, Sirs, I ſee no remedy but ye muſt go to pri- ' ſon. For moſt of you be free denizons. And then ' I willed the officers to lay hands on them, and im- ' mediately every man ſuddenly, moſt humbly put ' off his cap, and begun to be ſuitors and ſought ' favour. And ſo upon their ſubmiſſion we ſuffered ' them to depart all, ſaving Anthony Guarras, who ' was not willing to depart from us, but kept us ' company. And all this done, we examined the Eng- ' liſh ſubjects and ſent them to priſon, who, to ſay ' the truth, provoked the ſtrangers into fury and ' diſorder againſt us. For if the Engliſh then had ac- ' cording to our direction departed from the ſtrangers, ' and come forth unto us, the ſtrangers had been quiet, ' and we without trouble. But truly the greateſt fault ' was,

(6) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 410, 411.

this repreſentation, and his being heard in perſon before the Council, where he made a long and good defence, he was, for this breach of the Ambaſſador's privilege, committed again cloſe priſoner to the Fleet, where he continued for ſome time, and at length, upon the Ambaſſador's departing the kingdom, was releaſed. One may collect from his behaviour and ſubmiſſion, as well as from a variety of circumſtances attending this affair, that the Privy-Council and the Recorder (not to carry the matter any higher) underſtood each other very well, and that the whole tranſaction was with a view to two different points; firſt, to deter the Papiſts from reſorting to theſe chapels; and next, to give the Merchants and traders in the city of London, a high opinion of her Majeſty's concern for whatever regarded commerce (*m*). This is certain, that whatever happened upon this occaſion did not in the leaſt injure either the credit of the Recorder in the city, or his intereſt at Court, as appears from his name being the firſt in the writ for calling Serjeants in Michaelmas term 1580, when, with Edward Flowerdue, Thomas Snagge, William Periam, and Robert Halton, he was advanced to that degree (*n*). It alſo appears that it did not in the leaſt abate his zeal againſt the Papiſts, on the contrary, he was as active in diſturbing their maſs-houſes, committing Popiſh Prieſts, and giving informations of their intrigues, as ever. Some inſtances of which are remarkable enough to deſerve the reader's notice [*C*]. In 1582, when he preſented Mr Thomas Blank to her Majeſty, upon

(*m*) Traditionary Memoirs of Qu. Elizabeth, p. 35.

(*n*) Chron. Jurid. p. 183.

'was, that as well the Engliſh Maſsmongers, as alſo 'the free Denizons, for the covering of their own 'offences, practiſed rather to have murther committed 'than to be taken as they were. All this while the 'Maſs-ſayer ſtood at the north end of the altar, and 'no man living ſaid a word to him, nor touched him, 'ſaving that he did give to divers of our ſervants 'ſinging cakes, wherewith I was offended with them, 'for receiving that idolatrous bread. And all being 'done, and we ready to depart, it was ſaid by a 'ſtanderby, if ye look in at that door near the altar 'ſaid he, you ſhall find a number of Maſsmongers. 'And then did the Prieſt take a key out of his pocket, 'and ſmiling opened the door, and Mr Sheriff Kimpton with the Prieſt looked in, and there was no body. 'And then Anthony Guarras took me by the hand to 'ſee the altar how trim it was. For Mr Garnes and 'I ſtood afar off in the gallery. And I ſaid to Guarras, Sir, if I had done my duty to God and to the 'Queen, I had taken two hundred here upon All-hollown day laſt, and as many upon All-ſouls day alſo. 'Ho, Sir, ſaid Guarras unto me, become of this religion, and ſurely you will like it well, and it will 'be a ready means to make you a good Chriſtian. And 'ſo we went near the altar, where neither he nor I 'touched any manner of thing. And ſo we bade 'the Prieſt farewell, who gently ſaluted us. And I 'ſuddenly looking back, ſaw the Prieſt ſhake his head 'at us, and mumbled out words, which ſounded diable and male croix, or to that effect. And then I 'ſaid to Mr Sheriff, Sirs, let us depart for the Prieſt 'doth curſe. And ſo we departed. Anthony Guarras brought us to the utmoſt gate, where Mr Sheriff 'and I invited him to dinner with us, but he departed 'back to hear out the aforeſaid Maſs. The foreſaid 'Guarras at this buſineſs ſaid, that he himſelf was an 'Ambaſſador to a greater perſon than the——— 'and ſo did ſhake his head. What, quoth I, do you 'mean a greater perſonage than the Queen our Miſtreſs? Na, na, ſaid he, I meant not ſo. No, quoth 'I, it were not beſt for you to make compariſon with 'the Queen our Miſtreſs. Whoſe Ambaſſador are you 'then, quoth I? The Pope's? And then he departed 'further off in an anger. This Guarras was a very 'buſy fellow in this action. Among all theſe ſtrangers, 'I marked one Swygo, who is a free Denizon, married to an Engliſh woman. He is a broker, and 'hath his chief living by our merchants. This fellow 'made himſelf more buſy than it became him. There 'was a tall young fellow an Italian, that was very 'wanton with us. And it hath been told me, fithence, that he and others are kept here for two cauſes, 'the one for uttering the Pope's allom, and the other 'to ſerve for intelligencer. Which I think are very 'ſpies. This youth was very buſy, and beſtirred him 'as tho' he had been treading of a galliard. There 'was one John Chivers, an Iriſhman, a Student of the 'Inns of Chancery, who, as it appeared unto me, I 'having a vigilant eye of all ſides, was a great ſtirrer 'of the ſtrangers againſt us. This young man when 'he could not prevail, then he got up to the ſouth 'end of the altar, and there he confronted the Maſs-'ſayer with his cap on his head, who was on the other 'end, and ſtood there as tho' he had been an Italian. 'His garments were a cloak and a rapier after the 'Italian faſhion. And when I demanded what he was, 'he bowed on the one ſide and the other, as tho' he 'had not underſtood me, much like the faſhion of 'Signor Giraldie. By which I did not note that he 'had been often there. This is all that I do remember, and in my conſcience, and as I ſhall anſwer before God at the latter day, we uſed ourſelves with 'ſuch humble reverence unto his lady and her family, 'as more we could not do to the Queen our Miſtreſs, 'ſave kneeling. I ſent Signor Giraldie word as I remember at Eaſter laſt, by Mr Benedict Spinello, that 'he ſhould not ſuffer the Queen's ſubjects to repair to 'his Maſs: yea, and that other things alſo ſhould be 'amended, wherewith the people did wonderfully 'grudge at him: and I am ſure, Mr Spinello did my 'meſſage to him in a decent order. This is not 'the firſt time, that his houſe hath been dealt withal 'by the Sheriffs. Strumpets have been gotten with 'child in his houſe: and we of the hoſpital driven to 'take order for their keeping. The maſters ſhall juſtify this. I never ſaw any Ambaſſador ſent out of 'England, but that he was both wiſe and vertuous, 'and was not indebted to any. And whether Signor 'Giraldie was an Ambaſſador or not, ſurely my Lord, 'I knew not, until my Lords of the Council had told 'me thereof upon Monday laſt at the Council Board.'

[*C*] *The reader's notice.*] The laborious Mr Strype, who has preſerved from deſtruction and oblivion a multitude of paſſages, ſerving to illuſtrate the perſonal hiſtory of moſt of the eminent men for two centuries paſt, will furniſh us with ſufficient materials to make good all that is aſſerted in the text; what follows will ſhew, how cloſe a correſpondence there was between the great Miniſters and Mr Fleetwood, the former having an eye even to the ſmalleſt matters, and the latter ſtriving to make his court to them by his punctual adminiſtration of juſtice (7).

'A French merchant, in a bag ſealed, delivered 'forty pounds to a carrier's wife of Norwich, to be 'carried thither to ſome certain correſpondent of his. 'But ſhe ſecretly conveyed the money to an houſe a 'good way off the inn, and within a quarter of an 'hour the French merchant came again to ſee his money packed up. But the woman denied that ſhe ever 'received one penny, with moſt horrible proteſtations. 'Upon this Secretary Walſingham, who was made acquainted with it, wrote to Fleetwood Recorder of 'London, from whoſe letter I have this relation, and 'the Frenchman. And after great ſearch made, the 'money was found and reſtored, ſhe not knowing 'of the ſame. The Recorder examined her in his 'ſtudy privately. But by no means would ſhe confeſs 'the ſame: but did bequeath herſelf to the devil, both 'body and ſoul, if ſhe had the money or ever ſaw it. 'And this was her craft that ſhe then [when ſhe ſaid 'ſo] had not the money, for it was either at her 'friend's, where ſhe left it, or elſe delivered. Then 'he aſked her, whether the French merchant did not 'bring her a bag ſealed, full of the metal that was 'weighty,

(7) Amongſt Lord Burleigh's papers.

upon his being choſen Lord Mayor of London, he made a florid and copious ſpeech of the felicity of the nation in general, and of the advantages derived to the city of London in particular, by her Majeſty's religious, wiſe, and fortunate adminiſtration (o). The Queen, upon that occaſion, gave a gracious reception to the Mayor, and ordered the Lord-Chamberlain to confer upon him the honour of knighthood, but reprimanded ſeveral of her ſervants for ſuffering ſome of the young citizens to crowd ſo near her perſon as to trample upon the cloth of ſtate, and ſignified to the Recorder, that ſhe had been better pleaſed if he had been more ſparing of his praiſes. Mr Serjeant Fleetwood, who underſtood the language of a Court perfectly well, ſtates this matter at large in a letter to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, but inſtead of expreſſing any great mortification from the Queen's reprimand, he inſiſts that he was in the right. *My good Lord*, ſays he, *I ſaid nothing but truly and juſtly, as it was indeed (p)*. It ſeems he was one of thoſe bold men that thought Princes may reprove without diſlike, and that however unpleaſant the anſwer, his diſcourſe did not give her Majeſty any real uneaſineſs. One thing was very remarkable in Mr Recorder's conduct, and deſerves to be remembered as an extraordinary feature of thoſe times. He kept a very exact Diary of all his proceedings, from which, from time to time, he made extracts, and tranſmitted them to the Lord-Treaſurer, who from thence perfectly underſtood whatever paſſed in the city of London, and indeed every where elſe if it fell within the compaſs of Mr Serjeant Fleetwood's notice, who in this reſpect ſeems to have been incredibly diligent, and to let nothing eſcape him that was either worth his patron's attention or his own (q). We may diſcern from ſome fragments of his Diary that are yet remaining, that we have no great reaſon to look upon the preſent as an age of more wickedneſs and debauchery than any that have preceded it, or that ought not to be compared with the times of that glorious Queen, the Recorder's ſecret hiſtory plainly ſhewing, that though juſtice was never more ſtrictly adminiſtered, yet the idle, the extravagant, and the vicious, were even then a very numerous party, and capable of committing as great outrages on the laws, ſacred and civil, as perhaps were ever committed at any time (r) [D]. This courſe of life, for the ſpace of many years, wore out at length the patience

(o) Baker's Chronicle, p. 402.

(p) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 147.

(q) So it appears from the Lord Treaſurer's papers.

(r) See this fully proved in the notes.

'weighty, were it either plate, coin, counters, or 'ſuch like. Then ſaid ſhe, I will anſwer no further. 'And then the Recorder uſing the Lord Mayor's ad'vice, beſtowed her in Bridewell: where ſhe was pu'niſhed being well whipt. It was obſervable what ſhe 'ſaid then, that the devil ſtood at her elbow in the 'Recorder's ſtudy, and willed her to deny it. But ſo 'ſoon as ſhe was upon the croſs to be puniſhed, he 'gave her over.

'The ſame Recorder Fleetwood about this time, 'acquainted Secretary Walſingham in a letter to him 'of another ſtrange accident, of a woman named Mrs 'Norton that had drowned herſelf. She was mother'in-law to one Thomas Norton, a perſon of ſome re'putation in London, whoſe father was then aged and 'ſick in bed, in her youth, ſhe was bred up in Sir 'Thomas More's family. In which place ſhe learned 'idolatrous toyes (I tranſcribe from the Recorder's let'ter) and uſages in the night, ſo as thereby ſhe was led 'by evil ſpirits, ſometimes to hang herſelf, and ſome'times to drown herſelf, as ſhe did at laſt. Some part 'of her lewd demeanour, was in the exerciſe of ne'cromancy: that is to ſay, in conferences and ſpeeches 'had (as ſhe thought) with dead bodies being of her 'old acquaintance. The Recorder writ this accident, 'the rather to the ſaid Secretary, becauſe ſhe had left 'behind her divers children, brothers to the ſaid Tho'mas Norton which were ſhrewdly given. And that 'if the old man ſhould then die, it was to be feared 'all his goods would come to ſpoil. And therefore 'he propoſed, that if Mr Peter Oſborn, who was a 'worthy Citizen and Remembrancer of the Exchequer, 'had a commandment, he could deviſe ſome good or'der, as he the Recorder thought, for the ſaving of 'things that might be loſt. And he prayed his ho'nour to make the Lord Treaſurer, who was Maſter 'of the Wards, acquainted with the unfortunate caſe. 'Such was the care of this good Recorder of the chil'dren of the city.' This laſt ſtory plainly proves how little he liked the Papiſts, and if it was not for tiring the reader's patience, we could afford him large accounts of his hunting out Jeſuits, Maſſmongers, and Recuſants, without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex. In ſhort, he was the greateſt plague theſe people had, and therefore in all the numerous libels againſt Queen Elizabeth's government, the Recorder of London is painted in the blackeſt colours, as a man without either moderation or pity, reſtleſs and officious, and willing to make his court to the Adminiſtration, in the way that was moſt in faſhion.

[D] *As perhaps were ever committed at any time.*] When we read in ſome of our old plays of ſo much quarrelling, fighting, and duelling, we are apt to fancy that things are magnified, whereas the naked truth is, that there were more diſturbances then in a week, than we now hear of in a year; in order to be ſatisfied of this, we need but caſt our eyes upon one of our old Chronicles, where the author ſpeaking of the pains taken to pave Smithfield, gives us the following ſhort hiſtory of the company that frequented it, during the whole period of Mr Fleetwood's Recorderſhip (8).

(1) Stow's Annals, p. 1024.

'This field commonly called Weſt Smithfield, was 'for many years called Ruffians-hall, by reaſon it was 'the uſual place of affrays and common fighting, during 'the time that ſword and bucklers were in uſe. When 'every ſerving-man from the baſe to the beſt, carried 'a buckler at his back, which hung by the hilt or 'pomel of his ſword, which hung before him. This 'manner of fight was frequent with all men, until 'the fight of rapier and dagger took place, and then 'ſuddenly the general quarrel of fighting abated, which 'began about the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth, 'for until then, it was uſual to have affrays, fights, and 'quarrels upon the Sundays and Holidays, ſometimes 'twenty, thirty, and forty ſwords and bucklers, half 'againſt half, as well by quarrels of appointment as 'by chance. Eſpecially from the midſt of April, un'til the end of October, by reaſon Smithfield was then 'free from dirt and plaſhes. And in the winter ſeaſon, 'all the high ſtreets were much annoyed, and troubled 'with hourly frays of ſword and bucklermen, who 'took pleaſure in that bragging fight, and altho' they 'made great ſhew of much fury, and fought often, yet 'ſeldom any man hurt, for thruſting was not then in 'uſe, neither would one of twenty ſtrike beneath the 'waſte, by reaſon they held it cowardly and beaſtly. 'But the enſuing deadly fight of rapier and dagger, 'ſuddenly ſuppreſſed the fighting with ſwords and 'buckler.' This may ſerve as an introduction to the following extract from our Recorder's Diary, tranſmitted to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh about Michaelmas 1584 (9).

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 280, 447.

'At Bridewell, on Saturday we had a miniſter's 'wife of Cardiganſhire, who confeſſed, that ſhe was 'greatly ſought unto by young women, when they 'were gotten with child. She confeſſed that ſhe gave 'them ſaven, &c.

'One Higham an old fellow, that is both an ex'communicate for putting away his wife, and alſo for 'ſuch other like part: he hath this year gotten three

patience and the conſtitution of Serjeant Fleetwood, notwithſtanding his high ſpirit, and the pleaſure which he apparently took in diſcharging his duty as a Magiſtrate with the utmoſt ardour and application. He thought, it ſeems, that ſome regard ought to be had to his paſt ſervices, and that he deſerved to be removed to ſome poſt of greater honour and leſs fatigue, to obtain which, upon a vacancy of one of the Queen's Serjeants, he ſollicited the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh in a very warm and moving manner, in 1582, which ſollicitations however were without effect (*s*) [*E*]. It ſeems the Miniſters were ſo well pleaſed with his behaviour where he was, and found ſo much advantage from his dexterity in managing affairs in the city, that they were not willing to part with him; and therefore Serjeant Rhodes was preferred at that time to the poſt of which he was ſo deſirous, and Mr Fleetwood continued in his Recorderſhip ten years longer; but at length, when he was in a manner quite wore out, *viz.* Jan. 27, 1592, in the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth (*t*), when he had ſerved the Crown upwards of thirty years, he was made one of the Queen's Serjeants at Law, in which poſt however he did not continue long, dying, about that time twelvemonth, at his houſe in Noble-ſtreet in Alderſgate ward, which he had built but a little before (*u*), from whence his corps was carried to great Miſſenden in Buckinghamſhire, where he had purchaſed a good eſtate, and buried in the pariſh-church there. As for the private character of this our Magiſtrate, he was certainly of a very lively and facetious diſpoſition, which made him very acceptable in the city, and enabled him to do his patrons great ſervice there, which perhaps may account for his being ſtiled, in one of the bittereſt libels of thoſe times, *Leiceſter's mad Recorder* (*w*), with an inſinuation that he was placed in his office to encourage thoſe of this Lord's faction in the city; but it is very certain, that, whatever reſpect he had for, or obligations he might lie under to, that powerful Nobleman, he applied himſelf very aſſiduouſly to the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, and from him received both countenance and promotion. Amongſt the Latin poems of Thomas Newton of Cheſhire, who celebrated many of the great men in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*x*), there is one addreſſed to our Recorder Fleetwood; and other inſtances might be brought to prove how much he was eſteemed, as well for his wit as his learning, in thoſe days [*F*]. He was perfectly well verſed in the Hiſtory of England, as

(*s*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III, p. 150.

(*t*) Chronica Jurid. p. 177.

(*u*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

(*w*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Leiceſter's Ghoſt.

(*x*) Encomia quædam: a *Thoma Newton*, Ceſtreſhyro, ſucceſſivis horulis exarata. London. Apud T. O. 1589, p. 121.

'of the laundry maids with child in the Fleet, being 'there a priſoner. He ſtowteth out the matter with 'us, and will not find the children but writeth lewd 'letters unto us.

'Seſſions of Goal Delivery were the Monday after.

'Mr Dockwray's ſon of Chamberhouſe in Berkſhire, 'was arraigned for ſtealing of a portmanteau, with 'eighty four pounds in the ſame: taken out of an inn 'in London. But he was acquitted.

'There was one Heton a Preacher, who contended 'to be Parſon of St Andrew's Holborn, being main'tained by ſome of the Pariſh, did confront Mr Vice-'Chamberlain (Sir Chriſtopher Hatton) therein, was 'brought to us for * * * a lewd vice which he hath 'been often accuſed of before this time. We bailed 'him. For my part, I was loth to have that vice 'openly ſpoken of, until further conſideration were 'had thereof. This Heton's father was at Newgate 'arraigned, and convicted for inceſt with his own 'daughter: and ſtood upon the pillory for the ſame.'

(10) So in the Burleighan Papers, and in Strype.

Another extract of his Diary (10), there remains written in the year 1586, which runs thus. 'Whit-'ſunday May 23. upon Friday at afternoon, I ſat in 'the Commiſſion Eccleſiaſtical at Lambeth, with my 'Lord's Grace: where three Oxford Preachers were 'charged, for that they would have all temporal cauſes 'to be decided by the ſeniors of the church. And 'that her Majeſty had not to deal in cauſes eccleſia-'ſtical, with ſuch like matters. My Lord Almoner 'did bear much with them.

'Saturday was by me employed, to abbreviate and 'explain a new commiſſion, granted for the relief of 'the Fleet and King's Bench. And that I did by the 'command of my Lord of Canterbury his Grace.

'Wedneſday was ſpent at the Goal of Newgate, 'where we had little or nothing to do. The matters 'there were ſlender, and of no great importance. 'There were none executed.

'Your good Lordſhip peradventure may marvel, 'why we have had ſo few dealings in criminal cauſes 'at this our late ſeſſions. The reaſon is this. We 'have in priſon, here in Newgate, the moſt principal 'thieves of this realm. We lack none but Mannings, 'who doth daily gather into his ſociety lewd perſons, 'who commit in all parts of the realm moſt dangerous 'robberies. I hear that the Genn or Ingen (Engine) 'is in your Lordſhip's cuſtody. The want whereof is 'a great ſtay of many burglaries.'

September the 6th (11) he wrote and intended to have ſent another Diary, which after he had cloſed, he broke open again to tell the Lord Treaſurer, what mighty joy there was all over the city the next morning, and of his being invited out to ſix or ſeven places to ſupper, on the ſcore of its being the Queen's birthday, at firſt ſight this will appear a very inſignificant thing, but when it is conſidered that juſt at that juncture, Babington's plot was either diſcovered or divulged, it becomes a thing of conſequence; for very probably the Lord Treaſurer made his court, by being the firſt to inform the Queen, what a tender regard her ſubjects in the City of London, at ſo critical a ſeaſon, expreſſed for her health and ſafety.

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. III.

[*E*] *Were without effect.*] The foregoing note is a very proper introduction to what we ſhall ſay here, becauſe it ſhews in what manner, Mr Recorder Fleetwood ſpent his time, and how ſtrict an account he thought it neceſſary for him to give of it; induſtrious Strype, to whom we have been before obliged, has preſerved this paſſage, and a very ſingular one it is, the letter to the Lord Treaſurer, was dated Eaſter Eve 1582, from Bacon-houſe, which, if I miſtake not, was in Chancery-Lane, and is ſometimes ſtiled Bacon's-Inn, or Curſitor's-Inn, from the Curſitors keeping their office there, and this appears to have been the reſidence of Serjeant Fleetwood, till he removed to Noble Street. The letter runs thus (12). 'My ſingular Lord, *&c.*

(12) Amongſt Lord Burleigh's papers.

'I never reſt, and when I ſerve her Majeſty the beſt, 'then I am for the moſt part the worſt ſpoken of, 'and that many times in the court. I have no man 'to defend me, and as for my Lord Mayor, my chief 'head, I am driven every day to back him and his 'doings. My good Lord, for Chriſt's ſake be ſuch 'a mean for me, as that with credit I may be re-'moved by her Majeſty from this intolerable toil. 'Certainly, I ſerve in a thankleſs foil. There is, as I 'learn, like to fall a room of the Queen's Serjeants. 'If your Lordſhip pleaſe to help me to one of thoſe 'rooms, aſſure your Honour, that I will do her Ma-'jeſty as painful ſervice as ſix of them ſhall do: help 'me, my good Lord, in my humble ſuit, and I will, 'God willing, ſet down for your Lordſhip ſuch a book 'of the Law, as your Lordſhip will like of.'

[*F*] *As well for his wit as his learning in thoſe days.*] In reference to this Thomas Newton mentioned in the text, he appears to have been not only a good Latin Poet, but the profeſſed Panegyriſt of the whole

as alſo in it's Antiquities, with reſpect to which he was at great expence in procuring, and ſpent much time in the peruſal of manuſcripts relating to theſe ſubjects, and for this reaſon was often conſulted by the learned perſons of thoſe times, who made ſuch things their chief ſtudy, and with whom alſo, when he had any leiſure, he was glad to confer. He was farther eſteemed a ſhrewd Politician, and indeed that character was moſt likely to recommend him to his patron Leiceſter. He was a good popular ſpeaker, and, when occaſion required, wrote very well upon ſubjects of government (*y*). Theſe matters however, drew him not at all from his profeſſion, in which he made a very great figure, being equally celebrated for his eloquence as an Advocate, and for the ſolidity of his judgment as a Lawyer. His employments hindered him from writing much, yet ſome pieces of his there are extant, and a great many more are loſt; thoſe however which remain are ſufficient to juſtify the character that has been given him [*G*]. Serjeant Fleetwood married Mariana, daughter to John Barley of Kingſey in the county of Bucks, Gent. by whom he had two ſons and two daughters. The ſons were both Knights; Sir William Fleetwood, the eldeſt, had his father's eſtate in Buckinghamſhire; and the younger, Sir Thomas Fleetwood, was of his father's profeſſion, became very eminent therein, and was made Attorney-General to Henry Prince of Wales. The daughters were both married to Knights; Cordelia, the eldeſt, to Sir David Foulis, of Ingleby in the county of York, Baronet; and Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Chaloner, Tutor to Prince Henry before-mentioned (*z*). Theſe memoirs, however ſhort and imperfect, may ſerve in ſome meaſure to acquaint poſterity with the merit of this ingenious and accompliſhed Lawyer; and it is certainly to be regretted, that more care has not been taken to preſerve the perſonal hiſtories

(*y*) Wood, Strype, &c.

(*z*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 262.

whole Leiceſtrian party. The reader will judge of his abilities, by his Epigram in praiſe of our Recorder Fleetwood, which I the rather inſert, becauſe his Poems are extremely ſcarce (13).

(13) Principum, ac illuſtrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia Virorum, Encomia, trophæa, Genethliaca & Epithalamia. A Joanne Lelando Antiquario conſcripta, nunc primum in lucem edita. Quibus etiam adjuncta ſunt Illuſtriſſimorum aliquot Heroum, hodie viventium, aliorumque hinc inde Anglorum, Encomia quædam: à ThomaNewtono, Ceſtreſhyrio, ſuccifivis horulis exarata. Londini. Apud Thomam Orwinum, Typographum. 1589.

Ad D. *Guil Fletuodum* Rec. *Londinenſem.*

Ipſe forem brevibus Gyaris, & carcere dignus,
Culleolo inſutus, ſi te mea muſa fileret
Theſpiadum Fletuode comes facunde ſororum,
Æqua juſtitiam trutinas qui lance ſeveram,
Et Londinigenis jura Anglica rite recludis,
Fulminea pollens velut alter voce Pericles.

This I have found tranſlated thus.

To the Worſhipful William Fleetwood, *Eſquire,* Recorder *of* London.

What the worſt men, for their worſt crimes deſerve,
Were the rewards to my *demerit* due;
If while my *muſe* can other *names* preſerve
She ſhould *forget* how much ſhe owes to *you.*

Needleſs her *Song* ſince FLEETWOOD knows to ſing,
A POET, he his graver cares laid by;
On PINDUS top if he but touch the ſtring,
The MUSES to their *Bard,* in raptures fly.

His graver cares reſumed and legal power,
All LONDON's many *ears* our FLEETWOOD draws;
And like the ATHENIAN chief in days of yore,
His thundering eloquence ſupports the LAWS.

[*G*] *That has been given him.*] We have hitherto had but very indifferent accounts of our author's performances; Mr Wood aſſures us, that tho' he wrote many things, yet none of them, except one, appeared in his life-time, in which however he was certainly miſtaken, as will appear from the following catalogue, tho' we are far from aſſerting that this is perfect, but the reader may be aſſured, that it is as perfect as we could make it.

I. *An Oration made in* Guildhall, *before the* Mayor, *&c. concerning the late attempts of the Queen's Majeſties evil ſeditious ſubjects,* October 15th 1571. London *by* John Day 12mo.

II. *Annalium tam Regum* Edwardi *quinti,* Richardi *tertij,* & Henrico *ſeptimi, quàm* Henrici *octavi, titulorum ordine alphabetico multo jam melius quam ante digeſtorum Elenchus.. Studio & labore* Gulielmi Fleetwoodi, *Recordatoris Londinenſis, in ædibus Janæ Yetſwert* 1579, 1597. that is 'an index of the *Year Books* 'as well during the Reigns of *Edward* the Fifth, *Richard* the Third, and *Henry* the Seventh, as under 'that of *Henry* the Eighth, digeſted under *titles* in an '*alphabetical* order, in a much better method than 'before.'

The bare tranſcribing this title at length, will perhaps be ſufficient to convince the reader, that a certain great critick might have ſpared his cenſure of our author's work, which he has delivered in the following words (14). 'The ſhort Epitome of this (Edward the 'Fifth) and the three following reigns, that was written and publiſhed by William Fleetwood Serjeant at 'Law, is ſo thin a piece, and refers ſo particularly to 'the tranſactions in the Courts at Weſtminſter, that 'it has been rather looked on as a *table* or *index* to 'the *Year Books* of thoſe times, than any hiſtorical 'treatiſe.' It is very difficult to underſtand, what he means by ſaying, it ought rather to be looked on as an index, than an hiſtorical treatiſe, when there is not ſo much as a ſyllable of hiſtory in it, and the running title throughout is, *Index temporum* E. 5. R. 3. & H. 7. and through the ſecond part, *Index temporis Henrici octavi*; ſo that in plain Engliſh, our critick miſtook an index of the Year Books, for Annals of the Reigns of theſe Princes. There is however a very remarkable dedication, prefixed to the Lord Chancellor Brumley, dated from Bacon-houſe, Auguſt 23d 1579. in which there are contained abundance of curious things. He obſerves, that the Year Books of the three firſt reigns, are infinitely better written, than thoſe of Henry the Eighth, which was the reaſon that he divided his work into two parts; the reaſon he gives for compoſing it is worthy of notice, he mentions the great Abridgment by Sir Robert Brooke, as a very ingenious performance in its kind, and, properly managed, very uſeful; but intimates, that he thought the chief cauſe why it was ſo much preferred to that of Fitzherbert, was on account of its being divided into a greater number of titles, there being only two hundred ſixty two in the former, and no fewer than ſix hundred thirty three in the latter. This, as he intimates, recommended it ſtrongly to young Students, who were but too apt to ſpend their whole time therein, without recurring to the books from whence it was taken, againſt which he remonſtrates to the Lord Chancellor as a very lazy and ineffectual method of ſtudy, by which men might come to perſuade themſelves they were Lawyers, when in truth they were nothing leſs. He obſerves, and obſerves very juſtly, that abridgments are of admirable uſe to thoſe who make them, and of very little uſe to any body elſe, with many other things to the ſame purpoſe. The deſign therefore of his labour, was to render the Year Books familiar to young ſtudents, by putting into their hands a copious and methodical index, which would enable them to make abridgments for themſelves, not by ſeeing in a narrow compaſs what

(14) Nicholſon's Engl. Hiſtorical Library, p. 83.

hiſtories of the eminent men of that profeſſion, many of whom have been true Patriots, great Stateſmen, and very worthy Members of the Republick of Letters.

what another man took to be the ſenſe of thoſe authorities, but by peruſing, in a ſmall ſpace of time, the authorities themſelves.

III. *A table to the Reports of* Edmund Plowden. This is in French.

There is ſomething laid down as certain in this table which ought to be corrected, as appears from the following paſſage in a diſcourſe by a learned Antiquary (15). 'Touching the Inns of the Serjeants, the houſes 'which they now have in Fleet-Street and Chancery-'Lane are but of late erection, and altho' Mr Ser-'jeant Fleetwood in his table to Ployden's Commen-'taries, would infer that there was no Serjeant's-Inn 'in the time of Henry the Seventh, there was a Ser-'jeant's-Inn in Holdborn over againſt St Andrew's 'Church, now called Scrop houſe, whereof you ſhall 'have the record itſelf, being an inquiſition taken at 'Guildhall in the pariſh of St Laurence in Old 'Jury, in the Ward of Chepe in London, 13 Octob. '14 H. 7. *Juratores dicunt*, &c.'

(15) Mr Thynne's Diſcourſe of the Antiquity of the Houſes of Law.

IV. *A ſhort copy of Latin verſes prefixed to Sir* Thomas Chaloner's *de Repub. Anglorum inſtauranda.*

V. *The Office of a Juſtice of Peace: Together with inſtructions how and in what manner Statutes ſhall be expounded.* Lond. 1658. 8vo.

VI. *Obſervations upon the* Eyre *of* Pickering Lambert's *Archeion*, &c. MS. fol. ſome time in the Library of Richard Smith, Secondary of the Poultry Compter; with other things which I have not ſeen ſays Anthony Wood (16).

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

VII. There are alſo ſeveral political diſcourſes of his going from hand to hand in MS. and it appears he contributed conſiderably towards the laſt edition of Hollinſhed (17).

(17) Tanner. Biblioth. Britanni-co-Hibernica, p. 286.

E

FLEETWOOD (JAMES) a pious and loyal Divine, and Biſhop of Worceſter in the reign of Charles II. He was deſcended from the ſame ancient family of Fleetwood of Heſketh in the county of Lancaſter, being the grandſon of Thomas Fleetwood, Eſq; Maſter of the Mint; by his fifth ſon Sir George Fleetwood, of the Vache in Chalfunt St Giles, in the county of Bucks, Knt. by Catherine, daughter of Henry Denny, of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; and Honora his wife, daughter of William Lord Grey of Wilton, and ſiſter to Edward Denny Earl of Norwich (*a*). As he was his father's ſeventh ſon he was intended for the Church, and as ſoon as he arrived at a proper age was ſent to Eaton ſchool (*b*), through which having paſſed, with great reputation to himſelf and ſatisfaction to his family, he was from thence removed to King's-college in Cambridge, of which he was admitted a Scholar in 1622 (*c*). He continued there near ten years, till he was removed by his kind patron Dr Robert Wright, Biſhop of Lichfield, who preſented him to the vicarage of Prees in the county of Salop (*d*), and, in September 1636, beſtowed on him the prebend of Eccleſhal in his cathedral, void by the reſignation of the Reverend Mr Higgons (*e*). He was hardly ſettled there before the Civil War broke out, which obliged him to leave his preferments in order to provide for his ſafety (*f*). He was a man of a very mild and gentle diſpoſition, but extreamly fixed in his purpoſes, which he aſſumed with much deliberation, and from which he could not be removed. A great many of his family ſtuck to the Parliament, and amongſt them ſome of his neareſt relations. Mr Fleetwood's ſubſiſtence was gone, but he ſtuck to his old principles, and became Chaplain to that noble Peer John Earl Rivers, in his capacity of Colonel of a regiment of foot, which he raiſed for the King's ſervice (*g*). In this ſituation he acquired fame though he could hardly get bread. For, in 1642, he was, by the univerſity of Oxford, created Doctor of Divinity by the King's ſpecial command (*h*), for the ſervice he rendered him in Edge-hill fight [*A*]. Soon after he was made

(*a*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*b*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 41.

(*c*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(*d*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*e*) Willis's Hiſt. of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 441.

(*f*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(*g*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*h*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

[*A*] *He rendered him in Edgehill fight.*] It might be reckoned none of the ſmalleſt of the calamities which attended this deplorable war, that as it diſſolved the relation between the King and his ſubjects, ſo it diſturbed likewiſe the peace of private families, and divided, in point of ſentiments, intereſts, and behaviour, thoſe who by the ſtrongeſt ties of blood and nature were united. Our Divine's eldeſt brother George Fleetwood, Eſq; went into the Parliament's ſervice, where he had the rank of a Colonel, and was one of thoſe that were not only named, but ſat and acted as one of the King's Judges, for which he loſt his eſtate (1), and a grant being made of it to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, he ſold it to Sir Thomas Clayton (2). Another relation of our Divine, tho' I think in no nearer degree than that of a couſin, was Charles Fleetwood, Eſq; who married Mrs Ireton, Oliver Cromwell's daughter, and had for a time the title of Lord Fleetwood, was General of the Parliament forces, but by degrees loſt his credit and power, and returned again to the ſtate of a private gentleman (3). Our worthy Divine was in the battle of Keynton, or Edgehill, the firſt that was fought between the King and the Parliament, on Sunday October the 23d, 1643 (4), and which had been certainly deciſive, if Prince Rupert's conduct had in any degree been allied to his courage, but having routed the enemy's left wing, and purſuing them beyond their camp, he left the King with his infantry uncovered, which advantage was taken by ſome of the beſt officers in the Parliament's army, who immediately charged the King's own regiment which they put into great diſorder, killed his General, the loyal Earl of Lindſey, his Standard-bearer Sir Edmund Verney, and put the perſons of the King and his two ſons in very great danger. Some who were near his Majeſty adviſed him to withdraw with the two Princes, which counſel he approved in reſpect to his children, but not for himſelf. He would have recommended them to the care of the Duke of Richmond, but his Grace ſaid it was his duty to follow his Majeſty, and not to think of ſafety when he was in danger (5); the King then ſpoke to the Earl of Dorſet, who replied ſmiling, that all the Kings in the world ſhould not command him out of the field, when ſo good a cauſe required his ſword (6). At laſt the Princes were committed to the care of the gentleman penſioner who attended them, Sir Henry Blount (7), who with Mr James Fleetwood conveyed them from the field, for which ſervice the former was afterwards queſtioned by the Parliament, but juſtified himſelf from the duty of his office, and probably the latter would not have eſcaped ſo well, if he had not taken care to keep conſtantly out of their reach (8). It was his clear and ſingular fidelity upon this and every other occaſion, that kept him in conſtant favour with both his royal maſters, to whom through all their misfortunes he ſteadily adhered, tho' there is very little doubt to be made, that if he would have ſacrificed his principles, he might have made his peace from the intereſt of his powerful relations, but he never had a thought of that nature, and therefore choſe to remain in exile till he returned in triumph, and received the reward

(1) Hiſtory of Independency, P. ii. p. 124.

(2) Anthony à Wood, in his Diary.

(3) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 195.

(4) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 251.

(5) Memoirs of the Houſe of Lennox.

(6) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1040.

(7) See the article of BLOUNT (Sir HENRY).

(8) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

made Chaplain to Charles Prince of Wales, and had alſo the rectory of Sutton Colefield in Warwickſhire (*i*) beſtowed upon him, for which preferment however he was little the better; for the King's affairs falling into confuſion, Dr Fleetwood travelled with the Earls of Kildare and Sterling, as he alſo did with that hopeful young Peer Eſme Duke of Richmond, who, dying at Paris in 1660, his title devolved upon Charles Stuart Earl of Lichfield (*k*), who was likewiſe a pupil of Dr Fleetwood's. After the Reſtoration of the King he returned to England, and was moſt graciouſly received by his Royal Maſter, being the firſt Divine that was ſworn one of his Chaplains in Ordinary. In June 1660 he was made Provoſt of King's college in Cambridge (*l*), and had alſo the rectories of Anſtey in Hertfordſhire, and of Denham in Bucks, being Proctor likewiſe in the Convocation for the clergy of the dioceſe of Lichfield (*m*). On the 29th of Auguſt 1675 he was conſecrated Biſhop of Worceſter, in the room of Dr Walter Blandford, in the church of St Peter le Poor in Broad-ſtreet, London (*n*). He diſcharged his epiſcopal function with great punctuality, and was exceedingly beloved both by the clergy and laity in his dioceſe, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in doing himſelf, and exhorting others to do good. He deceaſed July 17, 1683 (*o*), when he was ſomewhat above fourſcore, and lies interred under a monument, behind the high-altar, erected in his life-time, with an inſcription thereon by his own command, and of his own compoſition, of which the reader will find a very exact copy in the notes [*B*]. He was ſucceeded in the government of King's-college Cambridge by Sir Thomas Page (*p*), Knight, a perſon of incomparable abilities and of an unblemiſhed character; and in the See of Worceſter by Dr William Thomas, who was ſuſpended for not taking the oaths at the Revolution, but died before deprivation which was intended (*q*). To him ſucceeded the worthy and learned Dr Edward Stillingfleet, who, at his deceaſe, directed his body to be buried behind the high-altar, near the tomb of this pious and venerable Biſhop Fleetwood, which was accordingly performed.

(*i*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 41.

(*k*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*l*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 632.

(*m*) Liſt of the Convocation, 1661.

(*n*) Continuation of Godwin's Engliſh Biſhops, p. 424.

(*o*) See the monumental inſcription.

(*p*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(*q*) Willis's Hiſt. of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 654.

reward of his ſervices, and of that particular affection with which he was honoured as long as he lived by King Charles the Second (9), whoſe domeſtick ſervant he was during part of that cruel and unnatural war, when from the evil arts of a few general ruin enſued.

(9) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 41.

[*B*] *A very exact copy in the notes.*] This monumental inſcription which affords the higheſt teſtimony of the ſincere piety, and incomparable humility of this good prelate, who paſſed through all the viciſſitudes of this troubleſome life without the ſmalleſt reproach, has been frequently but faultily printed, ſo that the ſenſe of it was ſcarce to be collected, which is the reaſon of our giving it a place together with a tranſlation here. As for his youngeſt ſon Mr Archdeacon Fleetwood, by whoſe care it was in purſuance of his father's will engraved upon his tomb, he was alſo Rector of Ripple in his own Archdeaconry, to which he was collated by his father in 1676, upon the demiſe of Dr Hodges. He died in 1705, and lies buried in the Church of Ripple (10).

(10) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 664.

M. S.
Epitaphium hoc
Vivus, Videnſq; Scripſi,
Ponant quorum intererit.

Ego
JA. FLEETWOOD S. T. P. Cathedræ *Wigorn* Epiſcopus
Nonageſimus
Miſerimus Peccatorum. Hic jaceo digniſſimus qui in æternum jacerem: ſed miſericordiâ Domini
Gratiam conſecutus ſum.

Quo mihi nobilitas fucata.
Hoc glorior unum,
Quod Chriſtus de carne meâ eſt.

Proinde
Nemo me lachrymis decoret, me, vindice Chriſto,
Incolumen renovet patefacti foſſa ſepulchri.
Mox Cœli tentabo vias: Chriſtumq; ſupernè
Vivus carne meâ, viventem in carne videbo
Vixi Dixi.

At ſome diſtance follows.

JOHANNES FLEETWOOD Archi-diaconus *Wigornienſis*,
Filius prædicti Præſulis,
Natu minimus,
Epigraphen hanc poni curavit,
In memoriam Reverendi admodum Patris,
Vitam cum morte mutavit,
July 17.
Ætatis ſuæ octogeſimo primo,
Anno conſecrationis ſuæ octavo,
Salutis humanæ reparata,
Anno 1683.

Thus tranſlated.

This Epitaph
Living, and having the uſe of my faculties, I have written,
Let it be inſcribed by thoſe into whoſe hands it comes.
I James Fleetwood Dr of Divinity of the Cathedral
Church of Worceſter the (*) *ninetieth Biſhop, of*
ſinners the moſt miſerable lie here. Moſt worthy to lie here for ever: but by the merciful love of the LORD
I attained his Grace.
What to me imports varniſhed Nobility.
This is my only boaſt,
That CHRIST *took on him my Fleſh.*
Therefore,
Let none with tears deplore me, CHRIST *ſhall aſſert,*
His right and from the yauning Tomb redeem me,
Soon ſhall I climb the heavenly way and view,
Recloth'd with Fleſh, my LORD *in Fleſh too cloth'd.*
I have lived; I have ſpoken.
John Fleetwood Archdeacon of Worceſterſhire,
Son of the abovementioned Prelate,
by birth the youngeſt,
took care that this inſcription ſhould be here placed,
In memory of that right reverend Father,
who changed this life for another,
July xviith.
In the eighty firſt of his age,
The eighth year after his conſecration,
and from the coming of our Saviour,
1683.

(*) According to Biſhop Godwin's Catalogue he was the ninety-firſt.

FLEETWOOD (WILLIAM) a learned Divine, an excellent Preacher, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of St Aſaph and Ely in the XVIIIth century. He was deſcended from the Fleetwoods of Lancaſhire beforementioned, and inherited an eſtate in that county (*a*). His father was Jeffery Fleetwood, Eſq; and his mother Anne, daughter to Mr Richard Smith, Prothonotary of the Poultry Compter (*b*). He was born January 21, 1656, and, as we are told, in the Tower of London (*c*); but perhaps there may be ſome miſtake as to that circumſtance, ſince his father died in the Tower April 18, 1665, leaving his widow with ſix ſmall children (*d*); ſo that it is poſſible this circumſtance of his father's death, by tranſpoſing the two laſt figures of the year, might be confounded with his ſon's birth (*e*). He received the firſt tincture of letters at Eton ſchool, and was from thence elected to King's-college in the univerſity of Cambridge (*f*). About the time of the Revolution he entered into Holy Orders, and was conſidered as a celebrated Preacher almoſt at his firſt ſetting out. Having preached the anniverſary ſermon on the founder's day before the univerſity in his own college, March 25, 1689, it fell to his turn to preach before them on the Sunday following at St Mary's, when the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of colleges deſired him to print both ſermons, but he declining one part of the honour, printed only the firſt [*A*]. He was ſoon after made Chaplain to King William and Queen

(*a*) Account of his Life and Writings, prefixed to the Collection of his Sermons and Tracts, in fol. Lond.

(*b*) As appears from Mr Smith's Obituary.

(*c*) Account of Biſhop Fleetwood's Life and Writings.

(*d*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. l. xiv. p. 37.

(*e*) Our Hiſtories take no notice of this ten years confinement of Mr Fleetwood, which they certainly would have done if it had ever happened.

(*f*) See the Dedication to the firſt part of his *Inſcriptionum Antiquarum Sylloge*.

[*A*] *Printed only the firſt.*] The true characteriſtick of a genius is this, that it not only penetrates but irradiates every ſubject, and how common or beaten ſoever gives it freſh life, ſets it in a new light and compels us to acknowledge that we are pleaſed both beſide and beyond our expectation. This obſervation could never be more properly made than at our entrance on the notes to this article, ſince our whole buſineſs in them will be to exhibit inſtances of the truth and juſtice of this remark.

I. *A* Serſnon *preached before the Univerſity of* Cambridge *in* King's College Chapel *on the* 25th *of March*, 1689, *being the Anniverſary for Commemoration of King* Henry VI. *the Founder*, London 1689. 4to.

Our author made a very judicious choice of a text (1), upon this occaſion, viz. *For the adminiſtration of this ſervice not only ſupplieth the want of the* Saints, *but is abundant alſo by many thankſgivings unto* God. Which, having firſt handled with great perſpicuity and prudence as a Divine, he proceeds next to the application, and therein gives us not only a fine picture of Henry the Sixth, but interſperſes alſo a variety of hiſtorical paſſages, which the learned reader will allow me to ſay are hardly to be met with any where elſe.

(1) 2 Cor. ix. 12.

'Firſt, ſays he, if St Paul ſo earneſtly exhorts to and 'commends a piece of private, caſual, temporary, 'tranſient charity, how much is due, what might be 'ſaid of ſuch a publick, ſo deliberately deſigned, ſuch 'a laſting one (an everlaſting one I hope) as I ſtand 'here the grateful ſubject of? A private man may caſt 'his bread upon the waters in hopes to find it after 'many days, and give a portion to ſeven, and alſo to 'eight, becauſe he knoweth not what evil ſhall be 'upon the earth. And if notwithſtanding this deſign, 'and theſe ſelf-intereſted principles, the work is excel'lent and acceptable both to God and Man, it muſt 'needs be infinitely more, ſo when a Prince becomes 'the donor, under whoſe conſideration none of thoſe 'hopes or fears can reaſonably be thought to fall. 'And if the relieving private and ſome few perſons, 'wants not its praiſe and glory, they muſt both of 'them riſe as the merit does, where the publick is 'obliged, and all may put in equal claim and title to 'the benefaction, that will be content with his way 'of education. The ſtory is well known to us be 'ſure, but he that would record the virtuous qualities 'and fair endowments of our glorious founder, to 'thoſe that are without or to poſterity, could not by 'any means forget that moſt remarkable and noble 'inſtance of his large and comprehenſive ſoul, in ge'neroufly rejecting one of our firſt governors for his 'too partial fondneſs to his native county, and en'deavouring to appropriate all the royal bounty to it 'only, conſidering with himſelf that tho' a private man 'might do the ſame with reaſon enough and juſtice 'too, yet that a Prince ſhould both in this and every 'thing beſides approve himſelf a father of the publick. 'Secondly, a formed premeditated and deliberate 'work of charity, has certainly the advantage of a 'caſual accidental one, this may be wreſted only by 'the importunity of ſome that want, compliance with 'the cuſtom of the place, forced by the example of 'the company and ſhame of being ſingular, or expreſt 'from men by the lamentable moans and preſence of 'ſome piteous object, and men are often ſeen upon 'removal of thoſe objects, and the going down of 'thoſe mechanick ſprings of tenderneſs, to harden and 'return again to their ill-natured tempers, and fre'quently repent them of the good they did, wiſhing 'themſelves again poſſeſſors of their riches. But he 'that acts deliberately, that forms his deſigns before'hand, without any preſent artificial motives, and cer'tainly intends them for a laſting benefit to all poſte'rity, muſt be preſumed, in reaſon and in juſtice, to 'build upon the beſt and ſureſt grounds, to proceed 'upon the nobleſt and moſt perfect principles. It can'not indeed be ſaid, that this foundation was the de'ſign of many years before, for the King himſelf was 'then but twenty three at the moſt, an age moſt com'monly of little thinking with great men, or at beſt 'of little elſe, than how to paſs away that ſpring of 'life in gaiety and pleaſure. But yet it was his ear'lieſt undertaking and deſign, and had for ſome con'ſiderable time been the whole employment of his 'thoughts, and his heart was ſo intent upon the mat'ter, that he had little reſt till he had brought it to a 'hopeful proſpect, and to ſome degree of its perfection. 'It was no ſudden accidental thing that moved him, 'it was not the effect of his relenting thoughts after 'the ſhedding ſome innocent blood by the rage of his 'own hand, or by the haſty execution of ſome furious 'order, for he was meek and merciful, ſparing of 'blood, and tender to his ruin; of ſuch a gentle and 'forgiving diſpoſition, that when a rude and impious 'ſoldier ſtruck him knowingly in priſon, he after'wards upon the throne rebuked him only with a 'piece of Scripture, told him he ſhould not ſtrike the 'Lord's anointed; nor was it an effect of his repen'tance upon the cooling of his youthful blood, nor of 'the injunction of his confeſſor for ſome extravagan'cies common to that age. For what was ſaid of 'virtuous Gratian may be ſaid of him with equal 'truth, not Veſta's altar, Pontifex his bed, nor Fla'men's pillow, was more pure and holy than his 'chamber. No honourable wife, no noble virgin, 'private maid, or conſecrated ſpouſe of Chriſt, called 'at his hands for ſatisfaction to their injured honour. 'He was of ſuch white innocence, and ſuch unſullied 'ſanctity in that behalf, that he could not bear thoſe 'liberties and freedoms, that ſince make up the very 'innocence and modeſty of Courts. This virtue was 'in truth ſo much his own, and ſo peculiarly engroſſed 'up by him, that he ſeems to have carried her to 'heaven along with him, and not to have left ſuc'ceeding Kings the very virtue of hypocriſy, no, not 'ſo much as the grace to diſſemble any kind of liking 'to that purity. Nor was it an atonement for ſome 'loud oppreſſion, violence, injuſtice, or ſome ſacri'ledge. It is, ſaid one of old, the laſt defence of 'wicked Kings to take away from ſome to give to 'others, and deprecate the envy and the odium of 'their preſent rapines by ſome large works of bounty 'to poſterity; but it was not ſo with him, for tho' his 'reign were long and troubleſome, and its years might 'have been named and numbred from ſome remark'able calamity befalling his perſon or his government,

his

Queen Mary, and by the intereſt of Dr Godolphin, at that time Vice-Provoſt of Eton and Reſidentiary of St Paul's, he was made Fellow of that college, and Rector of St Auſtin's, London, which is in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's *(g)*. His own great merit brought him ſoon after into the lecture of St Dunſtan's in Fleetſtreet, where his ſermons were generally admired. He maintained that high reputation which he acquired at the univerſity, by publiſhing a moſt admirable *Introduction to the Knowledge of Antiquities*, which has been very highly and very juſtly admired [*B*]. His love for that ſtudy, which he preſerved as long as he lived, did not hinder him from applying to the modern languages, and to every branch of polite learning. He was as candid a Critick as he was an indefatigable Scholar, and could readily admire and recommend the performances of others, and, where it was neceſſary, yield them any other aſſiſtance, of which he gave a pregnant inſtance in tranſlating a celebrated book of devotion, which was rendered

(g) See his Dedication to Dr Godolphin, prefixed to the ſecond part of the ſame book, dated November 1, 1690.

' his affairs perpetually embroiled by the prevailing ' faction of his powerful rival and competitor for ſo- ' vereignty, and by the paſſions of his own imperious ' and intriguing Queen, by the rude works of war ' abroad, and by the miſeries of a worſe at home, ' and conſequently a great deal of injuſtice muſt be ' done, yet no man ever had the hardineſs to charge ' the King with any evil, and that not for good man- ' ners or reſpect, but for the truth and juſtice ſake. ' And it is ſo little likely he would cement our build- ' ings with the blood or tears of the oppreſſed, that ' when he was in want of money to expedite his in- ' tentions, and was ſhown the way by ſeizing to that ' uſe the eſtates of ſome that had forfeited them by ' treaſon, he generouſly rejected their advice, and could ' not bear the thoughts, that any one in after-times ' ſhould curſe our walls, and call with bitterneſs and ' anguiſh of their ſouls for their forefathers patrimony. ' ——In compliance therefore with the text, I thank ' the immortal God for that munificence, by which ' two royal great ſocieties were founded and endowed, ' which notwithſtanding all the depredations they ' have undergone, do yet ſubſiſt in fair and honour- ' able manner, and are if not the envy yet at leaſt ' part of the praiſe and glory of their neighbours, for ' making a King, a young and mighty King, the in- ' ſtrument of ſo much good, for inſpiring into his ſoul ' ſuch chriſtian and ſuch generous purpoſes, inſtead ' of all thoſe vain, ambitious, towering imaginations, ' thoſe wicked, wanton, and luxurious thoughts, that ' fill the heads and hearts of common Princes; for giv- ' ing us a founder, whoſe bounty makes us not more ' happy men than his example would, if followed, ' happy Chriſtians: for the advantage of all thoſe ex- ' cellent graces and illuſtrious virtues that adorned his ' life, and ſhone ſo eminently in him: for his early ' zeal and piety, his ardent and unparallel'd devotion ' towards God, for his innocent and uncorrupted ' youth, for his ſanctity, ſobriety, and temperance, ' in every kind, for his great love to learning, and ' greater yet to good morality and true religion, for ' the firm and ſteddy virtues of his manhood, for his ' care of all his life, and that incredible watchfulneſs ' over all his thoughts, and words, and works, inſo- ' much, that in twelve years time, his confeſſor found ' no occaſion to enjoin him any ſort of penance, for ' his ready reſignation to the will of God in all con- ' ditions, for his admirable patience under all the ſor- ' rows and diſtreſſes, the dangers and the difficulties, ' the exiles and impriſonments, with which his life ' was exerciſed for one and fifty years, and laſtly, for ' his holy end and ſufferings, being found at his de- ' votions, by that inhuman Prince Richard the Third, ' that ſtabbed him to the heart, and left expiring out ' his ſoul amidſt his prayers. Theſe are the virtues, ' I can thank God for without a bluſh or ſecret check ' for flattering or enlarging, rare and unſeen in Kings, ' and read by private men with wonder and confu- ' ſion; ſo that I doubt, if moſt of us were left to judge ' of them, by the faint purſuits and feeble imitations ' we have made, there would be great temptations to ' conclude againſt their truth and poſſibility. Theſe ' are the virtues better far befit the fame and memory ' of chriſtian Kings, than thoſe of glorious heroes and ' triumphant Conquerors, enlargers of their Empires, ' and terrors of their Generations. For the true Eng- ' liſh of thoſe pompous titles is, that they have been ' the plagues of the earth, and mighty murderers of ' mankind, that they have made millions of wretched ' widows, orphans, and relations, have turned fair ' kingdoms into fields of blood and horror, and over- ' run the world with barbarous waſte and deſolation. ' And tho' theſe bears and tygers, wolves and foxes, ' are in ſome manner neceſſary and uſeful in the world, ' and make a glorious buſtle whilſt they live, and we ' are pleaſed with the relations of their acts when dead ' (better when dead); yet no man in his wits that can ' conſider and might chuſe his ſtate himſelf, but would ' prefer the palms of innocent and ſuffering Kings to ' all the laurels, and enſanguined wreaths of thoſe ' renowned Nimrods. Theſe are the virtues we can ' thank God for, becauſe they are ſo uſeful and ſo ' edifying to the world, ſo ſafe to recommend to all ' mankind, but eſpecially ſo proper for our private ' imitation, ſo ſuited to our way of living, that one ' would think the godly King had lived on purpoſe ' for our uſe and ſervice, and that our ſtatutes had ' been copied from his practice, with ſome deſign to ' ſhame us into duty, or make us inexcuſable if we ' could otherwiſe abuſe ſuch bounty, neglect ſuch vir- ' tue, and refuſe to write after ſo fair and goodly an ' original.'

[*B*] *And very juſtly admired.*] There is nothing more natural than for a man of letters, to exert his utmoſt as well as his earlieſt endeavours, to recommend and promote his favourite branch of ſcience, which as it was our author's intention in the following work, ſo he made no difficulty of owning it in his two dedications, one to the Students in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and more eſpecially in King's College, and the other to Dr Henry Godolphin, Fellow of Eton, and Reſidentiary of St Paul's. The title of this work at large runs thus.

II. *Inſcriptionum antiquarum Sylloge in duas Partes Diſtributa. Quarum prior inſcriptiones Ethnicas ſingulares & rariores penè omnes continet quæ vel* Gruteri; *Corpore*, Reyneſii *Syntagmate*, Sponii *Miſcellaneis*; *aliiſque ejuſdem argumenti Libris reperiuntur. Altera Chriſtiana Monumenta antiqua quæ hactenus innotuerunt omnia complectitur. In uſum Juventutis Rerum Antiquarum ſtudioſæ Edita & notis Quibuſdam illuſtrata: a* Guil. Fleetwood *Coll. Regal. apud Cantab. Socio.* Londini Impenſis Guil. Graves, Bibliopolæ Cantabrigienſis 1691. 8vo. It conſiſts of two parts. The firſt contains remarkable Pagan inſcriptions, collected from Gruter, Reineſius, Spon, and other writers, which is digeſted into five claſſes, the firſt, of *Gods*; the ſecond, of *Publick Works*; the third, of *Emperors*; the fourth, of *Prieſts, Magiſtrates, Soldiers*, &c. and the laſt, of *various perſons*, as parents, children, huſbands, wives, brothers, ſiſters, &c. The ſecond part contains the antient chriſtian monuments. The notes are very conciſe, and partly formed from the obſervations of others, and partly our author's own. If there ſhould ever be publiſhed another edition of this book, it would be of great advantage to the reader to give accurate indexes, eſpecially of the proper names, for there is at preſent only one which may be ſtiled a Gloſſary of the Antiquities, that occur in the monuments (2). It would likewiſe be very proper to add to the titles of the inſcriptions, the letter G. or R. or S. A. B. P. F. or W. in order to ſhew whether they were taken from Gruter, or Reineſius, or Spon, Aringhus, Baronius, Papebroch, Ferretius, Wheeler, &c. For by this means we might have recourſe to the ſources themſelves, if there ſhould be any ſuſpicion of a typographical miſtake, or we ſhould be deſirous of a more particular account of them.

(2) Acta Eruditorum Menſis Julii 1691, p. 327.

[*C*] *As*

(*b*) See this point fully explained in the *note*.

rendered thereby as ſucceſsful here as it had been abroad (*b*) [*C*]. But after all he was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by his great talents for the pulpit, which rendered him ſo much and ſo generally admired, that he was frequently called upon to preach in the moſt publick places, and upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions; ſuch as, before the King, the Queen, the Houſe of Commons, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and elſewhere, as the reader will ſee at the bottom of the page [*D*]. He was deſired to undertake the defence of the Chriſtian religion according to the pious and noble deſign of the Honourable Mr Boyle, but it pleaſed God, that, at this time, he found himſelf not in a condition to diſcharge that duty in a manner ſatisfactory to himſelf, but to ſhew that he meant not to ſpare his pains, or to decline hazarding that credit which he had already attained, he digeſted and publiſhed his thoughts upon miracles, which was the ſubject he intended to have handled in caſe his health had permitted him to have preached thoſe *Lectures*; which work of his might have drawn him into a controverſy, if that had not been a thing which he ſtudiouſly declined [*E*]. Such were the labours of this great man during that reign, in which many were ſurprized that he did not obtain higher preferment; for, notwithſtanding

[*C*] *As if it had been abroad.*] This note relates to one of the beſt known and moſt admired pieces that fell from our author's pen, tho' it is not inſerted in the folio collection of his works, or ſo much as mentioned in the diſcourſe that is prefixed to them, tho' for what reaſon it is not eaſy to imagine; the title is this:

III. *A plain Method of* Chriſtian Devotion, *laid down in Diſcourſes, Meditations, and Prayers, fitted to the various occaſions of a religious life, in three parts, tranſlated and reviſed from the* French *of Monſieur* Jurieu, *by* William Fleetwood, D. D. Lond. 1692. 8vo.

The licence for printing it is dated April the 22d 1692, the author of the book was a Miniſter much admired in Holland, tho' his reputation ſunk afterwards, partly from his entertaining enthuſiaſtick opinions, and partly through the arts and credit of ſome whom he had provoked to be his enemies. This book however kept up its credit, as the tranſlation has likewiſe done, there having been a large impreſſion printed this very year (1750) and in the title of the book, this is ſaid to be the *twenty ſeventh* edition. It is impoſſible to read it with any degree of care without being affected by it. The deſign is perfectly good, the language plain and preciſe, there is not an expreſſion in it, that is not worthy of the pure light of the Goſpel; and upon the whole, there is nothing in it that hinders us from exerciſing our reaſon to heighten our devotion; and very probably it was the conſideration of theſe intrinſick excellencies in the book, rather than the great run which it had abroad, that induced our author to give it an Engliſh dreſs, and withal to prefix a moſt admirable preface, in which he ſhews the true uſe, and cautions the pious reader againſt the too frequent abuſes to which works of this kind are liable. Amongſt theſe, with great judgment and integrity, he ſhews the ſincère Chriſtian how to diſtinguiſh between the effects of a true chriſtian faith, and the accidental elevation or depreſſion of the natural ſpirits, which he has ſo ſkilfully deſcribed, and touched the general ſources of enthuſiaſm with ſo delicate a hand, that it is impoſſible for any candid writer to peruſe what he ſays, without owning him to have an equal diſcernment in Divinity and Philoſophy.

[*D*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The pieces of which we are to ſpeak in this note, are thoſe Sermons preached by Mr Fleetwood within the compaſs of the period aſſigned in the text, upon particular or ſolemn occaſions, which he afterwards thought fit to publiſh, and which might in a great meaſure contribute to procure him the reputation of being one of the compleateſt orators in the pulpit in his time, when able and eloquent preachers were very far from being ſcarce.

IV. A Sermon preached before the Honourable Houſe of Commons, November the fifth 1691. Lond. 1691. 4to.

V. A Sermon preached at Chriſt-Church, before the Governors of that Hoſpital on St Stephen's day, 1691. Lond. 1691. 4to.

VI. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at St Mary le Bow, April the 11th, 1692. Lond. 1692. 4to.

VII. A Sermon preached at Guild-hall Chapel, December the 11th, 1692. Lond. 1692. 4to.

VIII. A Sermon preached before the Queen at White-hall, February the 12th, 1692-3. Lond. 1692-3. 4to.

IX. A Sermon againſt Clipping. Preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guild-hall Chapel, December the 16th, 1694. Lond. 1694. 4to.

X. A Sermon of the Education of Children. Preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guild-hall Chapel, November 1. 1696. Lond. 1696. 4to.

XI. A Sermon preached at St Paul's Cathedral before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, January the 30th, 1698-99. Lond. 1698-99. 4to.

XII. A Sermon preached before the King at White-hall, November the 5th, 1700. Lond. 1700. 4to.

XIII. A Sermon preached before the Gentlemen educated at Eton-College, December the 16th, 1701. Lond. 1701. 4to.

[*E*] *Which he ſtudiouſly declined.*] The title of this famous work of our author is very ſhort and plain, viz.

XIV. *An* Eſſay *upon* Miracles *in* two *Diſcourſes*. Lond. 1701. 8vo.

In the firſt diſcourſe he ſhews what a miracle *is*, viz. an extraordinary operation of God againſt the known courſe of the laws of nature appealing to the ſenſe; then he proceeds to prove, that the power of working miracles is in God alone, and delegated by him to whom he pleaſes, the character of Moſes in this reſpect is afterwards examined, as alſo the caſe of the Egyptian Diviners who oppoſed him before Pharaoh; laſtly, the Law in Deutronomy againſt falſe Prophets, for pretending to work miracles, is very fully ſifted; ſo that in the cloſe this poſition is laid down as fully proved, that the doctrine in general which is to be eſtabliſhed, muſt be fully and fairly ſtated before the miracles are wrought in ſupport of it. The ſecond diſcourſe relates to the miracles of Jeſus Chriſt; he ſhews therein, that it was foretold that Chriſt ſhould work miracles, and that it was expected, that Jeſus anſwered this expectation and fulfilled thoſe predictions; he examines ſome of the miracles at large, explains the end for which thoſe miracles were wrought, he diſcuſſes the great queſtion, whether we muſt judge of miracles by doctrine, or of doctrine by miracles, proves that ſigns and wonders are not true miracles, that ſtrange events are no miracles, anſwers all the objections that are uſually made, and ſets the evidence drawn from miracles in favour of the Chriſtian religion in a proper point of light.

The then reverend Mr Benjamin Hoadly now Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſoon after publiſhed *a letter to Mr* Fleetwood *occaſioned by a late* Eſſay *on* Miracles. This letter is reprinted in Mr Hoadley's Tracts. The author of the account of the life and writings of Biſhop Fleetwood obſerves, that it has been often affirmed, and paſſes with ſome for a certain truth, that the Biſhop in a letter to the Reverend Mr Hoadley... *had given up his ſcheme*. But this the reader may be aſſured is a report altogether falſe. Nor is the Biſhop's not replying any juſt ground for ſuch a ſurmiſe, for it was almoſt a principle with him never to enter into controverſy, to which he had an extream averſion, the acrimony with which diſputes were too often carried on, being not at all agreeable to the calmneſs and meekneſs of his temper, for which reaſon he would not be drawn to defend what he had written. *I write*

my

withſtanding his being ſo early made a Chaplain to his Majeſty, and his conſtant attendance in that capacity, yet he never received any thing in the way of favour from the Crown, till, juſt before King William's death, he beſtowed upon him a canonry of Windſor at the requeſt of the Lord Godolphin (*i*). But it ſo fell out, that the grant for this canonry did not paſs the Seals before the King's demiſe, upon which the Houſe of Commons addreſſed Queen Anne to beſtow it upon their Chaplain. Her Majeſty however being acquainted by the Lord Godolphin with the true ſtate of the caſe, immediately aſſured him, that if the King intended to have given Mr Fleetwood this preferment he ſhould certainly have it, and ſhe was as good as her word (*k*). He continued Chaplain to the Queen as he had been to her predeceſſor, was much eſteemed at Court, greatly beloved in the city, and univerſally eſteemed one of the beſt preachers in the kingdom. In this ſituation it is not eaſy to conceive what the motives were which induced him to take a reſolution of reſigning his rectory and lectureſhip, and retiring into the country; but, whatever his motives were, he adhered ſteadily to that reſolution, and this, notwithſtanding his pariſhioners offered to keep a curate at their own expence, and to do whatever elſe he ſhould deſire to make him eaſy. He executed therefore what he had reſolved, and retired to the ſmall rectory of Wexham, which was of no greater value than ſixty pounds a year, where he enjoyed a neat houſe and pleaſant gardens, within a ſmall diſtance of his beloved college of Eton, living there in that privacy and retirement which he ſo ſtrongly affected. He withdrew himſelf from the world, but he could not withdraw that eſteem which all good men had conceived for his perſon, or extinguiſh that high reputation which reſulted from his writings. Indeed he ſometimes uſed his endeavours with reſpect to the latter, and being contented with the pleaſure of doing good, took pains to avoid being commended for the good he had done [*F*]. But other caſes there were which would not admit of this kind of management, what he publickly preached he could not avoid owning in print, and if never any thing of his had appeared but his ſermons on *relative duties*, thoſe alone had given ſufficient cauſe to look upon the retreat of ſuch a man as a loſs to the publick; and it was impoſſible that this ſhould ſlip out of the minds of ſerious and attentive people, while his duty, as the Queen's Chaplain, obliged him to attend upon particular occaſions, and to give, though leſs frequently, as ſtrong marks as ever of his ſingular abilities [*G*]. As for himſelf, he fully enjoyed the benefits

(*i*) Account of the Life and Writings of Biſhop Fleetwood, p. 2.

(*k*) Aſhmole's Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 281.

my own ſenſe as well as I can, was his ſaying upon ſuch occaſions: *If it be right it will ſupport itſelf, if it be not it is fit it ſhould ſink.*

In 1706, there was printed at London in 8vo. *Reflections upon Mr* Fleetwood's *Eſſay on Miracles, ſhewing the abſurdity, falſhood, and danger of his notions, with a ſupplement wherein is repreſented the extent and ſtrength of the evidence which* Miracles *give to* Revealed Religion. By John Gilbert, *a Preſbyter of the Church of* England.

Mr Jenkins likewiſe, in his *obſervations on the life of* Apollonius Tyanæus, makes ſome animadverſions upon the principles which Mr Fleetwood's *Eſſay* proceeds upon, but without naming the author or the book.

[*F*] *For the good he hath done.*] The title at large of this work, than which ſome very good judges have thought there is not a better among the many that have been written upon this ſubject, runs at length in the following words.

XV. *The Reaſonable* Communicant *or an Explanation of the Doctrine of the* Sacrament *of the* Lord's Supper *in all its parts, from the* Communion Service. *In a diſcourſe between a* Miniſter *and* one *of his* Pariſhioners. Lond. 1704. 8vo.

There have been ſeveral editions of it. It was aſcribed to another hand, and is expreſsly given to Mr Theophilus Dorrington, Rector of Wittreſham in Kent, in the Catalogue of the Tracts diſtributed by the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge. But notwithſtanding this there is not the leaſt doubt of its being our author's, who in his preface aſſigns this cauſe for his writing it, viz. 'that he might not be obliged 'to repeat continually the contents of it to ſuch of his 'Pariſhioners, as from time to time came to be in'ſtructed how to become worthy partakers of the Sa'crament.'

[*G*] *Of his ſingular abilities.*] In this note we are to take notice of thoſe ſermons that were publiſhed by this great Divine before he became a Biſhop, and the firſt of theſe was,

XVI. *A Sermon preached on September the 7th* 1704, *being the day for the* Thankſgiving. Lond. 1704. 4to.

As this Sermon was preached on a ſolemn occaſion, ſo the author's publiſhing it aroſe from a very particular circumſtance, which as it was a ſtrong tho' diſagreeable proof to him of the great reſpect paid to his performance, it is neceſſary the reader ſhould have an account of it, which cannot be better given than in his own preface, more eſpecially as it is very ſhort.

'It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that I who have been 'forward enough to ſubmit to the orders of my ſupe'riors, and comply with the requeſts of my friends, 'in publiſhing many ſermons, ſhould now be con'ſtrained to publiſh one againſt my will, without 'command, and without requeſt. But ſo it is, that 'a certain perſon unknown to me, who took this ſer'mon from my mouth in characters, muſt needs think 'himſelf obliged to print it without my conſent, and 'was reſolved it ſeems to do ſo, if I would not take 'care of it myſelf. He had indeed honeſty enough 'to give me notice by another hand of his intentions, 'but not enough to keep him from invading his neigh'bour's right, which I muſt needs blame in him, tho' 'I have reaſon to think his purpoſe proceeded from 'no ill principle or diſreſpect to me. It is to this ſe'cret violence I give this ſermon up, and rather chuſe 'to publiſh it from the original, than let it come from 'a copy which cannot poſſibly be perfect, thinking it 'much better, to prevent miſtakes, than to be at the 'pains to correct them afterwards, tho' I very much 'diſlike the being under a neceſſity of doing either.'

XVII. *The* Relative Duties *of Parents and Children, Huſbands and Wives, Maſters and Servants, conſidered in* ſixteen *practical Diſcourſes; with three Sermons upon the caſe of* ſelf-murther. Lond. 1705. in 2 vol. 8vo.

This was certainly in its kind one of the moſt ſatisfactory and practical ſyſtems of Chriſtian morals, that was ever publiſhed by any Divine, in our own or in any other language. It was dedicated to the inhabitants of the united Pariſhes of St Auſtin and St Faith, to whom, as the author obſerved, theſe ſermons did in ſome meaſure peculiarly belong, as having been compoſed for their ſervice, preached in their hearing, and ſent abroad at their requeſt. All theſe circumſtances are highly honourable for this great man, inaſmuch as they plainly ſhew, that while he had the care of a pariſh, he applied all his time to the juſt diſcharge of his duty, made choice of ſubjects proper for their knowledge and practice, and treated thoſe ſubjects in

benefits he propoſed to himſelf in his retirement, and indulged, in thoſe vacancies which that kind of life procured him, his natural inclination to the ſtudy of Britiſh Hiſtory and Antiquities, which as no man underſtood better, ſo none knew how to apply that kind of knowledge to uſeful and beneficial purpoſes in a clearer or more ſatisfactory method than he did, as appeared from a work of his, which, though publiſhed without his name, was immediately known to be his from it's excellence (*l*) [*H*]. We need not wonder, when all theſe particulars are conſidered, that this great man was not ſuffered to remain long in that privacy, which, though it was his own choice and very agreeable to his inclinations, was by no means ſo either to the welfare of the Church or the inclination of his friends, amongſt the moſt ſincere of which we may ſay, without flattering her memory, was the Princeſs then upon the throne. On the death of Dr William Beveridge Biſhop of St Aſaph, March 5, 1707 (*m*), her Majeſty of her own motive determined that Dr Fleetwood ſhould be his ſucceſſor, and this not only without the leaſt application on his behalf, but abſolutely without his knowledge, ſo that it was no ſecret to the publick when the firſt news of it was brought to him. The manner in which this preferment came appeared to him a ſufficient reaſon not to decline it, ſince it ſeemed to be the appointment of Providence, and as ſuch he embraced it, and was conſecrated June 6, 1708 (*n*). He ſoon found that Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil government is a very difficult taſk. There was a ſpirit then abroad which he utterly diſapproved, and this ſpirit appeared more in that part of the kingdom where his dioceſe lay than in moſt others; yet his great and clear reputation, his uncommon abilities, and unblemiſhed life, which ſet off the epiſcopal character with much luſtre; his obliging and eaſy deportment, free from the leaſt tincture of pride or ſhew of ſuperiority, did not only place him above all indecent treatment, which was a great point gained in thoſe unequal times, but procured much reverence and affection to his perſon, from a clergy, that, almoſt to a man, differed from him in principle. He preached often before the Queen, and ſeveral of thoſe ſermons were printed [*I*]. He attended the Houſe of Lords conſtantly, and acted there with

(*l*) The author of this article is in poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the old Engliſh Hiſtories that formerly belonged to this Prelate, in which are many learned remarks under his own hand.

(*m*) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. Cantab. 1743, fol. p. 277.

(*n*) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 4.

ſuch a manner as ſuited beſt with their occaſions. Another excellence in this work is, that it is a moſt clear and convincing demonſtration of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, ſince it exhibits ſo full, ſo rational, and ſo inviting a plan of moral duties, as muſt perſwade whoever conſiders them attentively, that the principles from whence they are deduced are inconteſtably the true principles of ſocial happineſs.

XVIII. A Faſt Sermon preached before the Queen at *St James*'s, April the 4th, 1705. Lond. 1705. 4to.

XIX. A Sermon preached before the Queen at *Windſor*, June the 17th, 1705. Lond. 1705. 4to.

[*H*] *From it's excellence.*] In order to make the deſign of this curious work clearly underſtood, we will inſert the title at large as it ſtands in the later editions.

XX. Chronicon Precioſum; or, *An account of Engliſh Gold and Silver Money, the price of Corn and other Commodities, and of Stipends, Salaries, Wages, Jointures, Portions, Day-labours, &c. in* England *for ſix* hundred *years laſt paſt; ſhewing from the decreaſe of the value of money, and from the increaſe of the value of* Corn *and other* Commodities, *&c. that a* Fellow *who has an* Eſtate *in Land of inheritance or a perpetual penſion of* five *pounds* per annum, *may conſcientiouſly keep his Fellowſhip, and ought not to be compelled to leave the ſame, tho' the* Statutes *of his* College *(founded between the years* 1440, *and* 1460*) did then vacate his* Fellowſhip *on ſuch condition.* Lond. 1707. 8vo.

The reader ſees from this large title the nature of this treatiſe; but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the great learning and labour neceſſary for compoſing it, does not ſo readily appear, and therefore our dwelling upon it a little, cannot be diſagreeable to thoſe who are deſirous of knowing on what foundation the high and univerſal character of this Prelate ſtands. The great point to be determined was, what annual income in the reign of Queen Anne was equivalent to five pounds a year in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and this with a view to a caſe of conſcience of very conſiderable extent, for the old ſtatutes remaining in force, there was nothing plainer than that the Fellows of Colleges to whom they related, and their ſuperiors, were equally concerned to know what five pounds in an equitable ſenſe might be extended to, on account of the changes that had happened to money, and to every thing purchaſed with money, the rather, becauſe if this could be done, it would afford an eaſy and invariable rule for determining the like caſes for the future, a thing that might alſo be highly ſerviceable another way, or rather many other ways. Now the method he took in reſolving this queſtion, was, *without diſpute, the faireſt and the moſt ſatisfactory that could* be deviſed. Firſt, he undertook to ſettle the value of money in the two different periods, and then by enquiring into the price of neceſſary commodities, and into the correſponding alterations of ſalaries and wages, he gave a clear account of all the variations incident to that ſum, which through this ſeries of time the ſtatute ſuppoſed ſufficient to purchaſe a ſingle man in a collegiate ſtate the neceſſaries of life; in conſequence of which deduction it appears, that the true equivalent of five pounds in King Henry the Sixth's reign, was thirty pounds in the reign of Queen Anne; that is to ſay, a man in the latter reign might live juſt as well, and no better, upon a clear annuity or rent charge of thirty pounds *per annum*, than he could have done, if he had been to live in the reign of Henry the Sixth upon five pounds.

[*I*] *And ſeveral of thoſe Sermons were printed.*] The pieces that are referred to in the text are thoſe that follow.

XXI. A Thankſgiving Sermon preached before the Queen at *St Paul*'s, Auguſt the 19th, 1708. Lond. 1708. 4to.

XXII. A Sermon preached before the Queen at *St James*'s, April the 17th, 1709. Lond. 1709. 4to.

XXIII. A Sermon preached before *the Lords*, January the 30th, 1709-10. Lond. 1709-10. 4to.

It was thought very extraordinary in this learned Prelate, that in a Sermon preached upon a State Faſt, which called for univerſal obſervation, he ſhould equally defeat the expectation of all parties; for the whole tenor of it was directly oppoſite to the ſentiments of thoſe who were ſtiled high churchmen, and the following picture at the cloſe was as little calculated to pleaſe ſome other people; nay, there are a few ſtrokes in it which he knew could not be pleaſing even to the royal ear; but in all his converſation with Courts, Biſhop Fleetwood had never picked up ſo much knowledge of this world, as to conceive his intereſt in it, comparable to the obligation he was under of ſpeaking in that place only what was juſt and right; and perhaps, it was this noble zeal for truth, which gave that ſpirit that glows in the following periods.

'As for the praiſes that are beſtowed upon King 'Charles the Firſt, I know not who ſhould envy them, 'nor how a Church of England Miniſter can honeſtly 'decline them: he muſt know nothing of that Prince's 'hiſtory; he muſt have little ſenſe of juſtice, grati'tude, or honour, by whom his memory is not held 'moſt precious. It were a ſmall thing to ſay, no Prince

'(altho'

with that dignity and ſpirit which might have been expected from his private character, and which was perfectly agreeable to his function. He viſited his dioceſe, and his charge upon that occaſion ſhews, that he was a zealous, though not a furious, churchman (*o*). It has been thought one of the moſt perfect things in it's kind, and contains with much plainneſs and perſpicuity various inſtances of his great learning, not introduced with any view of ſhewing it, but perfectly adapted and abſolutely neceſſary to the ſubject [*K*]. The diſlike he had to the prevailing ſpirit in thoſe days, of magnifying the regal power in ſuch an indiſcreet manner as to repreſent tyranny in the light of the ordinance of God, and the moſt abject ſlavery as founded in the principles of religion, induced him to write upon that ſubject in ſuch a manner, as he thought moſt ſuitable to the temper of the times, and to which therefore he did not think proper to fix his name, but choſe rather that it ſhould go abroad into the world under an aſſumed character. On other occaſions he preached and publiſhed his ſermons as uſual, and their peculiar merit always procured them that reception they deſerved [*L*]. His Lordſhip, who was a man of much wiſdom and penetration, had not only an earneſt concern for the peace and proſperity of his own country, but a tender and Chriſtian-like ſenſe of the miſeries that might be felt in other nations, from that arbitrary ſcheme of extending her dominions through a great part, and her influence to the very extremities of Europe, which had been the characteriſtick of the policy of France, during the ſpace of a century at leaſt (*p*). It was this that made him diſſatisfied with the meaſures taken at the latter end of the Queen's reign, which diſſatisfaction, as it proceeded entirely from principle, ſo he never ſtudied to conceal it on one ſide, or ever ſhewed the leaſt inclination to vary from it on the other. A friend of his has ſet his conduct in this reſpect in a very true light [*M*]. He maintained his credit, notwithſtanding

(*o*) See what is ſaid upon this ſubject in the note.

(*p*) See his ſeveral Sermons preached before both Houſes of Parliament during the War.

' (altho' his father was a learned one) but I will ſay ' no private gentleman, did ever underſtand the con- ' ſtitution of our Church better, defend it with ſtronger ' arguments, adhere to it with more judgment, adorn ' it with better manners, live up to its good princi- ' ples with more virtue, nor in performance of its ' offices ſhew more devout and exemplary good beha- ' viour. *I will not in theſe things, except the* Queen ' upon the throne, nor that bleſſed Saint in heaven ' her ſiſter, than did King Charles the Firſt. No Prince ' did ever ſhew more perſonal favour to its miniſters, ' nor give more countenance and credit to its diſci- ' pline and orders. And muſt I ſay, no Prince but he ' did ever die in its defence to juſtify the high eſteem ' we have him in? I may; becauſe it is ſo true, that ' they who envy him the glory of that title upon all ' accounts beſides, will yet allow *he fell a Martyr for* ' the Church of England. Would not that Church be ' moſt deſervedly the hatred and reproach of all the ' world, that ſhould be ſparing of her praiſes and beſt ' incenſe, but let it ever be unhallowed incenſe to his ' memory? Let them to make an end take heed, leſt ' ſome degree of guilt be thought to make thoſe people ' over tender, who are ſoon offended with the praiſes ' of King Charles the Firſt. And let even us our- ' ſelves take heed, that ſuch our praiſes may appear ' ſo well deſigned, and be managed with that good ' temper, ſobriety, and modeſt truth, that they pro- ' voke thoſe men to nothing but compunction, and ' relentings, and repentance, where theſe things are ' wanting, and both ourſelves and them to the imita- ' tion of all thoſe excellent good qualities, thoſe civil ' virtues, and thoſe religious Chriſtian graces that ' made him appear ſo highly exemplary both in life ' and death.'

[*K*] *And abſolutely neceſſary to the ſubject.*] The title of this celebrated charge runs thus.

XXIV. *The Biſhop of* St Aſaph's *charge to the Clergy of that* Dioceſe *in* 1710, *and now made publick by his Lordſhip's permiſſion.* Lond. 1710. 4to.

A Biſhop's charge at his viſitation ſeems to be, and indeed is, a thing ſo much of courſe, that the bare mention of it amongſt our Prelate's works might appear ſufficient upon the ſubject, but the caſe is far otherwiſe. Our Biſhop conſidered every thing not in the way of its being eaſieſt or ſooneſt, but of its being beſt done. Certain it is, that as he carried many things in the opinions of the beſt judges as high as they could go, ſo he aimed at perfection in all. He had obſerved that a Biſhop's charge was often ſo much a piece of oratory, that there was little in it of reaſon or conviction; that for the ſake of brevity, even the moſt important points were ſeldom dwelt upon, and yet that the ſhorteſt charge ſeemed tedious, by being repeated over and over again, at different places during the ſame viſitation. Againſt theſe inconveniencies our Prelate reſolved to guard; therefore his charge is as ſerious a thing as the ſubject, to which it chiefly relates, the care of men's ſouls. It is very methodical, and every point of it is illuſtrated at large, in which there is much learning, more good ſenſe, but above all a true ſpirit of ſincere piety. It was, contrary to the uſual method, printed before the viſitations, and ſent to the Clergy of his Dioceſe a conſiderable time before the Biſhop made his viſitation, that they might have leiſure not only to read, but to weigh, to conſider, and to comply with it. It has been ſaid, that his diſcourſes on relative duties formed an excellent ſyſtem of the doctrines; it may with equal truth be affirmed, that this charge is an admirable epitome of the diſcipline of the Church of England. In ſhort, like the reſt of Biſhop Fleetwood's writings, it is a true model of what ſuch a thing ſhould be, it is full of thoſe ſentiments, it is delivered in that language, it breaths the ſpirit, and carries in it the authority of a Chriſtian Biſhop. This I am ſenſible is ſaying a great deal, but I am at the ſame time as ſenſible, that it is ſaying no more than it deſerves, or than muſt be ſaid by any man who peruſes it with tolerable attention.

[*L*] *That reception they deſerved.*] The title of the firſt of theſe pieces, which is indeed written in a very peculiar ſtile taken at large runs thus.

XXV. *The* thirteenth *chapter to the* Romans *vindicated from the abuſive ſenſes put upon it, written by a* Curate *of* Salop, *and directed to the* Clergy *of that County, and the neighbouring ones of* North-Wales; *to whom the* author *wiſheth* patience, moderation, and a good underſtanding for *half an hour.* Lond. 1710. 8vo.

XXVI. A Sermon preached before the *Society* for the *Propagation* of the *Goſpel* in foreign parts, February the 16th, 1710-11. Lond. 1710-11. 4to.

[*M*] *In a very true light.*] Our Biſhop ſays he, ' Who was a ſteady friend to the old Miniſtry, be- ' cauſe he ſaw they had ſerved their country well and ' faithfully, could not be drawn to give any counte- ' nance to the meaſures of the new one, though en- ' deavours had been uſed, and intimations given by ' the Queen herſelf who had a great value for him, ' how pleaſing his frequent coming to Court would be ' to her. But his ſentiments will beſt appear from his ' own words, in a letter to a friend to whom he uſed ' to ſpeak and write his mind freely; " When my duty " to the Queen, and the good of my country, will per- " mit it, my gratitude will never let me vote againſt " my friends. When I have ſaved my conſcience, I give " myſelf up to what I call my honour, and therefore " under all the diſcouragements I can be, I ſhall always " be on the ſide of the late Miniſtry, becauſe I know " they ſerved the Queen and nation ſo well, that I am

" morally

withſtanding his difference with the Miniſtry, ſo entire, that when a faſt was appointed while the peace was in agitation, he was made choice of by the Houſe of Lords to preach before them upon that occaſion (*q*); but, by ſome means or other, the contents of his ſermon were either gueſſed at or known, and ſuch as thought they ſhould hear nothing from him that would pleaſe them, contrived to get the Houſe of Peers adjourned beyond the day, which indeed put it out of our Prelate's power to deliver what he had collected before the Houſe of Peers in a body, but notwithſtanding this he printed and put his ſentiments into the hands of the people [*N*]. This gave much offence to ſome great Miniſters of State, who very eaſily knew, from the ſpirit and language of the ſermon, from whom it came, and reſolved not to let ſlip any future opportunity of ſhewing their reſentment, for, how much ſoever it provoked, this, could give them none. It was not long, however, before the warmth of our Prelate's temper furniſhed them with the occaſion they wiſhed for, nor did they neglect it. Before this, however, the Biſhop of St Aſaph ſent abroad another tract of his without his name, in reference to Lay Baptiſm, about which a controverſy had been raiſed that made a great deal of noiſe. Our Prelate very well knew on how ſandy a foundation

(*q*) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 7.

" morally aſſured they never will be ſerved better, and " whenever they are I ſhall certainly be on their ſide " who do that ſervice; I think I may be allowed to " act as clear and diſintereſted a part as any man of " our order, for ſure, if I could ſhift my ſide I might " be well accepted, conſidering what relation I have " had to one (the Earl of Rocheſter) who governs all, " and who is very civil to me upon all occaſions; but " the meaſures we are in are by no means pleaſing to " me, as what will never do the nation's buſineſs; and " I foreſee that all our millions and our blood ſpent " for theſe twenty years paſt, will end in a deſpicable " peace, which yet we muſt pitifully ſue for too." When he was aſked about two years after this, his opinion of the ſituation of our publick affairs, his anſwer was. 'I have been, and am ſtill in ſo ill humour 'with relation to them, that I hardly can endure to 'think of them. We were in the greateſt honour 'abroad of any nation in the earth, we are now the 'ſcorn of all people: our friends hate us, and our 'enemies laugh at us. We ſhall neither have a good 'peace nor a good war, France will not give us the 'firſt, and we ourſelves have cut off the means of the 'laſt. The diſgrace of the Duke of Malborough was 'worth a million at leaſt, and yet I do not hear we 'got a farthing by it, which I impute not to our ho-'neſty and virtue, but to our folly, malice, infatua-'tion, and the great haſte we are in to be undone. 'The Parliament has paſſed ſuch a cenſure upon the 'Duke, that I dare aver no equal number of men in 'all the world, of what nation or religion ſoever, 'would have done. But the laying him aſide is ſo 'ſtrange a thing, that people are put to all their ſhifts 'to account for it, and to make it go down with the 'world, muſt invent, exaggerate, and ſay, and do 'any thing to make him appear worthy of ſuch uſage; 'but I expect it will turn to his enemies miſchief, as 'it certainly does to his honour, that after ſo keen 'and malicious an inquiſition into his conduct, their 'great maſter ſhould be able to accuſe him of nothing, 'but of doing what all Generals have done before 'him, and what King William always did.'

[*N*] *Into the hands of the people.*] The title of this extraordinary diſcourſe, which, as we have obſerved in the text, was printed, tho' never preached, ran in the following words.

XXVII. A Sermon on the *Faſt-day*, January the ſixteenth, 1711-12. againſt ſuch as *delight* in *war*. By a Divine of the Church of England. Lond. 1712. 8vo. The text is, Pſalm lxviii. 30. Towards the end he has the following paſſage. 'The war we are 'engaged in is acknowledged to be juſt, and the ſuc-'ceſſes God has crowned it with have been aſtoniſh-'ingly great. And therefore they who now tell us 'that we entered wrong into it, are thoſe I doubt 'who would have us go wrong out of it; or if they 'mean that we have been at too great charge, it is 'manifeſt they know not how to value thoſe ſucceſſes. 'But I would ſpeak to Engliſhmen. Theſe great ſuc-'ceſſes it is plain have not been overbought, becauſe 'we are told it is by them that the enemies have been 'ſo far reduced, as to make propoſals for treating of 'a general peace. Would they have done it then 'without theſe great ſucceſſes? Or could we have 'obtained theſe great ſucceſſes at a leſs expence? I 'am as glad to confront ſo ſenſeleſs a ſlander with ſo 'great an authority, as I am to ſay, that our enemies 'have been at as great expence at leaſt to loſe their 'country, cities, and their armies, as we have been 'to win them, take them, and overcome them; and 'that their children, and their childrens children, 'will be paying debts (if arbitrary governments pay 'debts) contracted by diſgraces, loſſes, and defeats, 'which left them fighting ſtill in chains and ſlavery; 'while our poſterity ſhall be diſcharging debts, con-'tracted by their fathers to leave them the Proteſtant 'Religion, a Proteſtant Succeſſion, and which muſt 'keep them both their liberties. Our enemies them-'ſelves will hardly have the malice or the confidence 'to ſay this nation is an enemy to peace, or that 'whatever could be done has not been done, in order 'to the obtaining it. But we ſhall alſo give them 'cauſe I hope to ſay, that all that can be done, in 'order to the carrying on the war, is alſo done. The 'firſt without the laſt would only give them a plea-'ſure that we owe them not, and make us their ſcorn 'who have been hitherto their terror. But let us not 'ſo much as preſage the leaſt evil. I know very 'well in whoſe hands, under God, we are. This is a 'peace or war, that is not like any other peace or 'war, that we or our fathers have ſeen. It is one of 'the greateſt misfortunes that could befal a nation at 'this time, if peoples conſideration can be ſo ſhort 'and ſlight as to think this treaty will determine 'only, whether they ſhall ſave a little money by 'peace, or ſpend a little more by carrying on the 'war. Whereas, it will determine, in all likelihood, 'whether they ſhall ever have abilities and power 'again of giving or refuſing. I do not mean, that 'we ſhall article for or againſt a new Religion, a 'new Government, and a new King; but I mean, 'that unleſs the peace be good, thoſe things will cer-'tainly follow in their time, without and againſt all 'articles. And therefore no man can be too ſollici-'tous about this great event, that will determine the 'fortune of Europe for many years, and it may be 'for many ages, and, for our own particular, deter-'mine in its conſequence of all we have. And there-'fore they who are in earneſt, zealous for the glory 'and the ſafety of the Queen, the preſervation of 'the Proteſtant Religion, and the Proteſtant Succeſ-'ſion, and for the Engliſh laws and liberties, will 'certainly beg of God ſo to direct, guide, and aſſiſt 'thoſe whom the Queen employs in this moſt nice 'and perilous affair of treating, that ſuch a peace 'may be obtained as will ſecure them all to us and 'our poſterity, or ſhould the war be ſtill found neceſ-'ſary, that he would go forth with our armies in the 'moſt glorious and ſurpriſing manner he hath hi-'therto done, and raiſed us up (he only can) a Ge-'neral wiſe, and brave, and fortunate, as was our 'laſt.' This was indeed exceeding ſtrong, but it ap-pears to have flowed from a true ſpirit of patriotiſm, and not from any private prejudice or perſonal diſlike to thoſe who were intruſted with power, tho' it is ſo far from being impoſſible, that, to ſpeak the truth, it is not at all improbable, they took it in quite another light, and believed that they were by this very ſermon denounced to the Britiſh nation, as the betrayers and enemies of their country.

foundation that ſuperſtructure ſtood which he judged it expedient to demoliſh, and he did his buſineſs very effectually, but in ſo maſterly a manner that his hand was known, and many people concluded from the method and manner of the piece that it could be none but his, which perhaps added ſomewhat to the reputation it obtained [O]. In the month of May 1712, his Lordſhip ſent abroad four ſermons that he had preached upon particular occaſions, the lateſt of them in the year 1710, and the earlieſt above twenty years before; to which he prefixed a preface, ſhewing the occaſion of their being committed to the preſs at this time, in which there was nothing very extraordinary, at leaſt in compariſon of what befel it, and the noiſe it made (r). There was no taking advantage of the ſermons, for they were received with applauſe when they were preached, and therefore there could be nothing criminal in printing them either at this or any other time; but for the preface it was a new thing, it had the Biſhop of St Aſaph's name, and in that was diſtinguiſhed from the ſermons which had excited their diſlike. Of this preface therefore they took hold, and, upon a motion made for that purpoſe in the Houſe of Commons, an order was made to burn it. What end this anſwered is not eaſily underſtood, for it made both preface (s) and ſermons more generally read, and conſequently more generally admired [P].

(r) See the Spectator, Vol. V. No. 384.

(s) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 717.

It

[O] *To the reputation it obtained.*] This diſpute took riſe from a perſon's publiſhing a book againſt Lay-Baptiſm, who had been himſelf baptized by a perſon not epiſcopally ordained, and who therefore judged it expedient to be rebaptized; ſo that his book was calculated to defend his own practice which was likewiſe juſtified and recommended, by the Reverend Dr Hickes a very learned man, but very rigid in his principles, and a very warm writer. The title of our author's book, was as follows.

XXVIII. *The* Judgment *of the* Church *of* England *in the caſe of* Lay-Baptiſm, *and of* Diſſenters Baptiſm. *By which it appears, that ſhe hath not by any public* Act *of her's, made or declared* Lay-Baptiſm *to be* invalid. *The* ſecond edition. *With an* additional letter *from* Dr John Coſin, *afterwards Biſhop of* Durham, *to* Mr Cordel, *who ſcrupled to communicate with the* French Proteſtants *upon ſome of the modern pretences.* Lond. 1712. 8vo. The ſecond part of the Judgment of the Church of England in the caſe of Lay-Baptiſm, and Diſſenters Baptiſm. Lond. 1712. 8vo.

To what has been ſaid of this treatiſe in the text we ſhall add very little here, and that from the writings of another Prelate, in order to ſhew the conſequences of this extraordinary controverſy. 'A conceit 'was taken up, ſays Biſhop Burnet (3), of the invali- 'dity of Lay-Baptiſm, on which ſeveral books have 'been writ; nor was the diſpute a trifling one, ſince 'by this notion the teachers among the Diſſenters 'paſſing for Laymen, this went to the rebaptizing 'them and their congregations. Dodwell gave the riſe 'to this conceit, he was a very learned man, and led 'a ſtrict life, he ſeemed to hunt after paradoxes in all 'his writings, and broached not a few; he thought 'none could be ſaved but thoſe who by the ſacra- 'ments had a federal right to it, and that theſe were 'the ſeals of the covenant: ſo that he left all who 'died without the ſacraments, to the uncovenanted 'mercies of God; and to this he added, that none 'had a right to give the ſacraments, but thoſe who 'were commiſſioned to it, and theſe were the Apo- 'ſtles, and after them Biſhops and Prieſts ordained by 'them: it followed upon this, that ſacraments admi- 'niſtred by others were of no value. He purſued 'theſe notions ſo far, that he aſſerted that the ſouls 'of men were naturally mortal, but that the immor- 'talizing virtue was conveyed by Baptiſm given by 'perſons epiſcopally ordained.——This ſtrange 'and precarious ſyſtem was in great credit amongſt us, 'and the neceſſity of the ſacrament, and the invalidity 'of eccleſiaſtical functions, when performed by per- 'ſons who were not epiſcopally ordained, were en- 'tertained by many with great applauſe: this made 'the Diſſenters paſs for no Chriſtians, and put all 'thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: 'and ſeveral little books were ſpread about the na- 'tion to prove the neceſſity of rebaptizing them, and 'that they were in a ſtate of damnation till that was 'done, but few were by theſe arguments prevailed 'upon to be baptized: this ſtruck even at the Bap- 'tiſm by midwives in the Church of Rome, which 'was practiſed and connived at here in England, 'till 'it was objected in the conference held at Hampton- 'Court, ſoon after King James the Firſt's acceſſion to 'the Crown, and Baptiſm, was not till then limited 'to perſons in Orders. Nothing of this kind was ſo 'much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great 'part of the nation had been baptized by Diſſenters, 'but it was now promoted with much heat. The 'Biſhops thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this new 'and extravagant doctrine; ſo a declaration was 'agreed to, firſt againſt the irregularity of all Baptiſm 'by perſons who were not in Holy Orders, but that 'yet according to the practice of the Primitive Church, 'and the conſtant uſage of the Church of England, 'no Baptiſm in or with water (In the Name of the 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt) ought to be reiterated. 'The Archbiſhop of York at firſt agreed to this, ſo it 'was reſolved to publiſh it in the name of all the Bi- 'ſhops of England; but he was prevailed on to change 'his mind and refuſed to ſign it, pretending that this 'would encourage irregular Baptiſm: ſo the Arch- 'biſhop of Canterbury with moſt of the Biſhops of 'his Province reſolved to offer it to the Convocation. 'It was agreed to in the Upper-Houſe, the Biſhop of 'Rocheſter only diſſenting: but when it was ſent to 'the Lower-Houſe, they would not ſo much as take 'it into conſideration but laid it aſide, thinking that 'it would encourage thoſe who ſtruck at the dignity 'of the Prieſthood. This was all that paſſed in Con- 'vocation.'

(3) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 603, 604.

[P] *And conſequently more generally admired.*] The title of this ſmall collection of Sermons ran thus.

XXIX. Four Sermons. I. *On the Death of Queen* Mary, 1694. II. *On the Death of the Duke of* Glouceſter, 1700. III. *On the Death of King* William, 1701. IV. *On the Queen*'s Acceſſion *to the Throne in* 1702. *With a Preface.* Lond. 1712. 8vo.

It muſt be allowed, that the whole of his Lordſhip's Preface bore very hard upon thoſe that were then intruſted with the conduct of publick affairs. It is by much too long for us to tranſcribe, but the paragraph that was thought to have drawn the cenſure of the Houſe of Commons, concludes that piece and runs thus. 'Never did ſeven ſuch years together paſs over 'the head of any Engliſh Monarch, nor cover it with 'ſo much honour: the Crown and Sceptre ſeemed to 'be the Queen's leaſt ornaments. Thoſe other Princes 'wore in common with her, and her great perſonal 'virtues were the ſame before and ſince. But ſuch 'was the fame of her adminiſtration of affairs at home, 'ſuch was the reputation of her wiſdom and felicity 'in chooſing Miniſters, and ſuch was then eſteemed 'their faithfulneſs and zeal, their diligence and great 'abilities in executing her commands: to ſuch a 'height of military glory, did her great General and 'her Armies carry the Britiſh name abroad: ſuch was 'the harmony and concord betwixt her and her allies: 'and ſuch was the bleſſing of God upon all her coun- 'ſels and undertakings, that I am as ſure, as hiſtory 'can make me, no Prince of ours, was ever yet ſo 'proſperous and ſucceſsful, ſo loved, eſteemed, and 'honoured by their ſubjects and their friends, nor 'near ſo formidable to their enemies. We were, as 'all the world imagined then, juſt entring on the 'ways that promiſed to lead to ſuch a peace, as would 'have anſwered all the prayers of our religious Queen, 'the care and vigilance of a moſt able miniſtry, the 'payments of a willing and obedient people, as well 'as all the glorious toils and hazards of the ſoldiery, 'when

It was far from affecting the Biſhop, who knew very well that this was the pure effects of party rage, and that it would be diſapproved even by the wiſer and better part of thoſe who differed from him in ſentiments. He could not therefore be at all troubled about a thing that diſcredited his adverſaries as much as they meant to diſcredit him. On the contrary, he looked upon it as a complement made him by miſtake, for whatever faction has power may burn what they pleaſe, or rather what diſpleaſes them, and thoſe writings will ever diſpleaſe a faction moſt, that they are leaſt able to diſprove. The fire is a concluſive but not a convincing argument, it will certainly deſtroy any book but it refutes none. How far theſe were his Lordſhip's ſentiments, and how little he felt from the uſage which his preface had met with, the reader will learn from a letter of his to the Biſhop of Saliſbury (*t*), which is inſerted in the notes [*Q*]. As times of publick diſturbance, or thoſe of animoſity and confuſion which generally precede them, afford the emiſſaries of the Church of Rome the faireſt opportunity of practiſing upon weak and unwary minds, our Prelate could not help ſeeing, with much regret, that theſe practices were carried on very openly and ſucceſsfully in his dioceſe, where the pious gratitude due to Almighty God for the cures wrought by a mineral water, was diverted, by the boldneſs with which a certain Legend (*u*) was propagated; he thought it highly worthy of his notice, and for that reaſon compoſed and publiſhed a treatiſe, in which he examined this matter to the bottom, demonſtrating fully how very uſeful the knowledge of Hiſtory and Antiquities may be to a Proteſtant Divine; and in doing this he acted with ſo much candour, as left even thoſe whom he oppoſed no room to object [*R*]. He gave, not long

(*t*) This Letter is dated June 17, 1712; and the Order for burning his preface was made the 10th of the ſame month.

(*u*) That of St Winefride.

' when God for our ſins permitted the ſpirit of diſ-
' cord to go forth, and by troubling ſore the camp,
' the city, and the country, (and oh that it had alto-
' gether ſpared the places ſacred to his worſhip!) to
' ſpoil for a time this beautiful and pleaſing proſpect,
' and give us in its ſtead I know not what——Our
' enemies will tell the reſt with pleaſure. It will be-
' come me better to pray to God to reſtore us to the
' power of obtaining ſuch a peace, as will be to his
' glory, the ſafety, honour, and the welfare of the
' Queen and her dominions, and the general ſatisfac-
' tion of all her high and mighty allies.'

[*Q*] *Which is inſerted in the notes.*] This letter was communicated to the author of the account of Biſhop Fleetwood's life and writings prefixed to his works by Sir Thomas Burnet, Knight, one of the Juſtices of his Majeſty's Court of Common Pleas.

My Lord,

' I Received the favour of your Lordſhip's letter, and
' took it, as I know it was intended, very kindly.
' The manner of my receiving the indignity put upon
' my Preface, was neither like a Chriſtian nor Philo-
' ſopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew the
' whole proceſs, and knew it to be a piece of revenge
' taken by a wicked party, that found themſelves
' ſorely ſtung, and it affected me accordingly, i. e.
' very little. I am not one that love to be the talk
' of the town, and in this part I confeſs I was uneaſy,
' although I think the talk was very much in my fa-
' vour. The complaint was made by Hungerford,
' and ſeconded by Manley, people that ſhould indeed
' have been ordered to have burnt it, and thirded by
' what we call the Court, and carried by numbers
' without a wiſe word ſaid againſt it; Sir Peter King,
' Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr Lechmere, and others of the
' Robe, were very ſtrenuous advocates in its behalf,
' and ſo were other gentlemen, but to no purpoſe, for
' the Court divided one hundred and nineteen, and
' my friends but fifty four. If their deſign was to in-
' timidate me, they have loſt it utterly; or if to ſup-
' preſs the book, it happens much otherwiſe; for every
' body's curioſity is awakened by this uſage, and the
' Bookſeller finds his account in it above any one elſe.
' The Spectator has conveyed above fourteen thouſand
' of them into other people's hands, that would other-
' wiſe have never ſeen or heard of it. In a word, my
' Lord, when I conſider that theſe gentlemen have
' uſed me no worſe, than I think they have uſed their
' own country, the Emperor, the States, the Houſe
' of Hanover, and all our allies abroad, as well as all
' the braveſt, wiſeſt, and honeſteſt men we have at
' home, I am more inclined to become vain, than any
' ways depreſſed at what has befallen me; and intend
' to ſet up for a man of merit upon this very ſtock.
' But pleaſantry apart my heart is wounded within me,
' when I conſider ſeriouſly whereabouts we are, and
' whither we are tending. The Court party do now
' own publickly, that except the allies accept of the
' conditions that are offered them, King Philip is not
' to make any renunciation, and certainly the allies
' cannot accept of thoſe conditions, unleſs they are
' diſtreſſed to the laſt degree; we muſt and ſhall have
' a ſeparate peace in ſpite of all that can be ſaid, and
' that muſt be without a renunciation on the part of
' France, and without a guaranty from the allies, and
' what a peace is that like to be? It is now ſaid, that
' England is to conſtrain the King of France, to con-
' tent the States with a Barrier to their liking, and
' that the reſt will come in or ſtand out without any
' danger; but I am afraid England has loſt all her
' conſtraining power, and that France thinks ſhe has
' us in her hands, and may uſe us as ſhe pleaſes, which
' I dare ſay will be as ſcurvily as we deſerve. What
' a change has two years made? Your Lordſhip may
' now imagine you are growing young again, for we
' are fallen methinks into the very dregs of Charles
' the Second's politicks, ſaving that then they were
' more reaſonable, becauſe our enemy was then in ſo
' full power and luſtre, as might both terrify and
' dazzle a poor luxurious Prince that would not be
' diſturbed, nor ſeem to care much what became of
' England after he was gone. The preſent times may
' put you in mind of thoſe with this bad difference
' ſtill, that now the ruinous effects of thoſe advices
' ſeem to be taking place, after an interval of five or
' ſix and twenty years, and after ſuch an interruption
' as one would have thought, ſhould have quite baffled
' and deſtroyed them. I find, my Lord, upon reading
' my letter, that I have entered upon deep matters,
' which, conſidering the times and the Spaw waters I
' have taken, I ought not to have done. You will I
' hope excuſe me, for methought I was talking with
' you who I believe favour me. I have, I thank God,
' an entire truſt in his goodneſs, and know he has
' hitherto preſerved us beyond all reaſonable hopes,
' without and againſt all our deſervings; but will he
' ſtill go on to ſave us againſt our will, and in the
' midſt of our endeavours to deſtroy ourſelves? I hope
' he will, for elſe I think we are a loſt people. I
' pray God to preſerve your Lordſhip and all your
' family.'

I am,

June the 17th, 1712.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's moſt humble ſervant,

W. ASAPH.

[*R*] *No room to object.*] The title of this work of our author's runs thus.

long after, a very ſingular ſpecimen of pious benevolence in a new and very extraordinary way, which was by ſending abroad, though without his name, a ſermon on the execution of a Gentleman for the murder of another Gentleman, with whoſe wife he had lived in a criminal converſation; which affair, though it made then a great noiſe, our Prelate apprehended might not make that impreſſion which the laws of God and man required, and for which publick executions are chiefly calculated. This ſermon had a very great ſale, and it may be preſumed from thence had a very good effect [S]. Upon the demiſe of the Queen, and the Hanover ſucceſſion taking place, our Prelate had as much reaſon to expect that his zeal and ſervices ſhould be conſidered as any of his rank or function; but he was very far from making any diſplay of his merit, or uſing even the lawful means of making it known to the King or his Miniſters. But as his ſervices were not of a nature to be concealed, ſo it was not long before they were rewarded. Upon the death of Dr John Moore Biſhop of Ely, July 31, 1714 (w), Dr Tenniſon, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſtrenuouſly recommended the choice of Biſhop Fleetwood for the vacant See, and he was accordingly, without the leaſt application directly or indirectly, nominated thereto, and actually tranſlated December the 18th in the ſame year (x). His new preferment had no other effect, than to quicken his diligence in the diſcharge of his duty in all it's branches, and in this way he continued to diſtinguiſh himſelf as far, and as long, as his ſtrength would permit, with indefatigable induſtry (y), of which the publick is in poſſeſſion of inconteſtible evidence, ariſing from a variety of excellent writings upon different ſubjects, of which ſome notice will be taken at the bottom of the page [T]. In

(w) Godwin. de Præſul. Angliæ, Cantab. 1743, fol. 645.

(x) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. p. 72.

(y) Account of the Life and Writings, p. 8, 9.

XXX. *The Life and Miracles of* St Wenefrede *together with her* Litanies, *with ſome hiſtorical obſervations made thereon.* London printed for Sam. Buckley, at the Dolphin in Little-Britain, 1713. 8vo.

Our Prelate ſhews us in his Preface what the motives were, which induced him to beſtow ſo much pains upon the life of St Wenefrede, that the concourſe of people to the well which carries her name was very great; that the Papiſts made uſe of this to influence weak minds, that they had lately reprinted a large life of this Saint in Engliſh; that theſe conſiderations might juſtly affect any Proteſtant Divine; and that for certain reaſons, which he did not think fit to explain, they affected him in particular. He farther obſerves, that Bollandus the Jeſuit, and other Popiſh writers, had taken the freedom of obſerving, that the inhabitants of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Bretagne in France, were remarkable for ſwallowing any kind of legend, and that ſuch as were laught at and deſpiſed elſewhere, met with very ready credit in any of theſe countries, which he thought a little provoking. In reference to the ſtory of St Wenefrede, he compares it with the rules laid down by the great criticks of that communion, for determining the credit and authenticity of all ſuch relations, and he ſhews that if thoſe laws have any foundation it deſerves no credit at all. He farther maintains, that concerning this St Wenefrede there was nothing at all written within upwards of five hundred years, after the time in which ſhe is ſaid to have flouriſhed, that within this period there flouriſhed many celebrated writers, who compoſed works upon ſuch ſubjects, as muſt have induced them to have taken notice of Wenefrede, if her ſtory had been at all known; and that it is impoſſible the legend now inſiſted upon ſhould contain facts worthy of belief, ſince if thoſe facts had ever happened they could never be liable to theſe objections.

But let us hear what he himſelf ſays to the Popiſh votaries. 'In the caſe of pilgrimage, the buſineſs is 'to thank God for his gifts and graces beſtowed upon 'the Saint, or to pray to that Saint for ſomething 'that we want, or to pray to God to hear us for that 'Saint's ſake, or to that Saint to intercede with God 'for us. In all which caſes a Pilgrim ought to have 'the fulleſt aſſurance, and the greateſt certainty that 'is poſſible to be had. Firſt, That Wenefrede did 'once live as ſurely as he himſelf now lives. Secondly, 'That ſhe was a Saint upon earth as ſurely as he is a 'ſinner. Thirdly, That ſhe had her head ſtruck off 'at Holy-well, and miraculouſly ſet on again, as ſurely 'as he is now at Holy-well himſelf, and has his head 'upon his ſhoulders. Fourthly, That ſhe is now glo'rified in Heaven, as ſurely as he is now praying on 'Earth. I would deſire the Pilgrims to this Holy 'Spring to conſider with themſelves, whether they 'can or ought to want any of theſe points of certainty, 'of the life and death, and ſanctity, and glorifica'tion of St Wenefrede, in caſe they are required to 'thank God for her, or to pray to her, and then to 'give me the patience of reading the following ob'ſervations, in which I have endeavoured to ſhew 'that they neither have, nor can have, that certainty 'and aſſurance of her life, and death, and ſanctity, 'which ought to be the bottom of praiſe to God for 'her.' The text of this life is the Engliſh Popiſh life of St Wenefrede, publiſhed by I. F. for we know nothing of him more then thoſe initials of his name, or of the name which he aſſumed; upon which, and upon the Preface, our Biſhop wrote his obſervations; he likewiſe added the Litanies, Prayers, and ſome other Legends relative to the ſame ſtory, which hitherto had lain hid in Libraries, and which might probably have periſhed there if they had not been ſought for upon this occaſion.

[S] *Had a very good effect.*] This Sermon of our excellent Biſhop was publiſhed under the following title.

XXXI. *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of Mr* Noble; *who was executed at* Kingſton, *for the Murder of a Gentleman, with whoſe wife he had criminal converſation.*

The name of the gentleman who was murdered was Mr Sayer, whoſe wife, after running him in debt, had ſeparated from him, and lived in a diſſolute manner. He had obtained a ſearch-warrant, and upon information given him, that Mrs Sayer, her mother, and Mr Noble, who was an Attorney, were at an houſe in Lambeth, Mr Sayer went thither with a peace officer in order to apprehend them, and in a fray which enſued, Mr Sayer was killed by Mr Noble, who was tried for this fact together with the two women, when they were acquitted and he was found guilty. He was a young man of good parts and had much buſineſs, there was, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, a prodigious outcry againſt him till he was found guilty, and then he was in a manner univerſally pitied. Great applications were made to the crown for mercy, but without the leaſt ſucceſs, it was a caſe of ſo ſingular, as well as ſo foul, a nature, that for a long time it was the common topic of diſcourſe; and our charitable Prelate endeavoured to turn this kind of uſeleſs attention to better purpoſe, by repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pathetic terms, the danger of entering into thoſe courſes which lead to ſuch unhappy acts; the wiſdom of embracing ſuch warnings, by recurring to an immediate and ſincere repentance; and finally, the uſefulneſs of ſuch dreadful examples, in order to give a check to the lawleſs vices of men, to protect the innocent from the rage of the guilty, and to execute by the ſword of civil juſtice the ſentence pronounced by the Law of God.

[T] *At the bottom of the page.*] We are in this note to render the reader a ſhort account of ſuch other treatiſes upon different ſubjects as fell from this learned Prelate's pen, and they were theſe.

In this courſe of life he perſiſted with unwearied ſpirit, notwithſtanding the great infirmities

XXXII. *The* Counſellor's Plea *for the* Divorce *of Sir* G. D. and Mrs F.

The caſe upon which this plea was formed was as follows. 'I. G. D. without the knowledge and conſent of his father, then alive, but accounted not of ſound judgment, was, at the age of fifteen, by the procurement and perſwaſion of thoſe in whoſe keeping he was, married according to the Church form to M. F. of the age of fifteen. II. This young couple was put to bed in the day time, according to cuſtom, and continued there a little while, but in the preſence of the company, who all teſtify they touched not one the other, and after that they came together no more, the young gentleman going immediately abroad, the young woman continuing with her parents. III. G. D. after three or four years travel returned home to England, and being ſollicited to live with his lawful wife, refuſed it, and frequently and publickly declared he never would compleat the marriage. IV. Fourteen years have paſſed ſince this marriage ceremony was performed, and each party having, as is natural to think, contracted an incurable averſion to each the other, is very deſirous to be ſet at liberty; and accordingly application is made to the legiſlative power to diſſolve this marriage, and to give each party leave, if they think fit, to marry elſewhere.' The reaſons urged againſt ſuch diſſolution were firſt, that each party was conſenting to the marriage, and was old enough to give ſuch conſent, according to the known laws of the kingdom; the male being fifteen years old, the female thirteen; whereas the years of conſent are by law fourteen and twelve. Secondly, they were actually married according to the form preſcribed by the Church of England, the Miniſter pronouncing thoſe ſolemn words uſed by our Saviour. *Thoſe whom God has joined, let no man put aſunder.* They are therefore man and wife, both by the laws of God, and of the land; and ſince nothing but adultery can diſſolve a marriage, and no adultery is here pretended, the marriage continues indiſſoluble. Our author propoſes a variety of arguments in favour of the divorce, and obſerves, that what makes the marriage contract valid and obliging, is, that a male and female ſhould be at age to conſent, and at liberty to conſent, and ſhould actually conſent to give to each other the uſe and dominion of each other's body, excluſively to all the world beſides, as long as they both ſhall live. This is properly the marriage contract, and common to all nations and religions, and all beyond this is matter of ceremony, decency, and prudence, and ordered by the legiſlative powers of different countries as they ſee convenient. He afterwards ſhews that this was not a compleat marriage, becauſe it never was conſummated. But notwithſtanding all the learned arguments contained in this plea, which were offered at the bar or inſiſted upon in the debate of the Houſe of Lords, the bill was loſt, which was an irreparable misfortune to the parties.

XXXIII. A Thankſgiving Sermon preached at *Elyhouſe* Chapel, June the 7th, 1716.

XXXIV. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of *Ely* at *Cambridge*, Auguſt the 7th, 1716. Lond. 1716. 4to.

In this charge our learned Biſhop takes notice of the Dignity of the Prieſthood, and the envy which has ever attended it, which having traced to its ſource, and proved to be altogether incapable of prejudicing religion, or the miniſters of religion, unleſs they concur with their own acts to depreciate themſelves. His Lordſhip then proceeds to the talents and abilities which are requiſite to qualify a man for the due execution of the holy function. 'In order to this, ſays he, if we conſult the writings of ſome very famous Chriſtian Biſhops and others of old, and be obliged to believe them without departing from them in the leaſt, we ſhould find them ſo great, ſo many, and ſo hard to be obtained, that as I am ſure for my own part, ſo I may reaſonably fear that many of this aſſembly, deſpairing of ſuch attainments, muſt have betaken ourſelves to other callings, who, yet I hope ſhall give a good account to God each of our Stewardſhip.....According to the flights and exaggerations of thoſe devout and overfervid ſpirits, a very few people were they ſerious would ever go into holy Orders, which ſhould it ever happen would be very prejudicial to religion, tho' overſtocking the Church is alſo not without its miſchief. There was ſomething like this happened in the matter of the bleſſed Sacrament, which may partly account for it. For the two or three firſt Centuries the generality of Chriſtians did frequently, even every Lord's Day, partake of the Lord's Supper; but this their frequency did naturally abate much of their devotion in the performance of that holy ſervice, which godly zealous men perceiving, ſet themſelves to write and preach upon that ſubject, and to raiſe the people's devout affections, and revive their antient fervours, ſaid ſo many fine exalted things, uſed ſo many ſtrong and bold alluſions, and lively figurative repreſentations, both of the Prieſt and Sacrifice, and Preſence, that they quickly made the duty of preparation ſo difficult, and the danger of coming to that table ſo great and dreadful, that even good people were afraid to venture, and rather choſe to ſtay away, altho' invited to that ſupper, than come without what was then made to be the wedding-garment. Thus good well meaning men do often cure one miſchief by another, and till they have tried they know not which is greater. The Biſhop remarks, *that it is very well for us, that theſe great* men's examples relieve us againſt the rigour of their rules and inſtructions; for after all they have ſaid, they were themſelves Biſhops and Preſbyters, and tho' very learned, and very good, yet not ſo ſuperlatively ſo, but that others might and did equal them.——In the Poſtſcript to this charge dated at Ely, Auguſt the 30th, 1716. he obſerves, that before theſe ſheets were quite finiſhed at the preſs, he received a letter from the Deputies of the Epiſcopal Reformed Churches in Great Poland, and Poliſh Pruſſia, and of the Epiſcopal Betlenian College in Tranſylvania, wherein they earneſtly entreated him, after the example of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, to recommend the moſt deplorable eſtate thoſe Churches and that College were then in, to the charitable conſideration of the Clergy of his Dioceſe. The requeſt ſays he was ſo reaſonable, and the examples ſo good, that I complied with it and followed it immediately.....The Brief will come amongſt you about a month hence, but I hope and deſire you will in ſome of the interim, uſe your endeavours to diſpoſe your people to a more than ordinary liberality, in contributing to the neceſſities of theſe our Chriſtian Brethren of the ſame houſhold of faith with us.' This charge of the Biſhop's was attacked in a bold aſſuming and inſolent Pamphlet, entitled, *A letter to the Biſhop of* Ely, *upon the occaſion of his ſuppoſed late* Charge *ſaid to be delivered at* Cambridge, *Auguſt the 7th*, 1716. *as far as relates to what is therein urged againſt frequent Communion, and for the pretended* Epiſcopal *Reformed Churches of* Tranſylvania, Great Poland *and* Pruſſia. By *Philalethes*. Lond. 1717. 8vo. This letter is ſaid to have been written by Mr Matthias Earberry, a Nonjuring Clergyman.

XXXV. Papiſts not excluded from the *Throne* upon the account of Religion. Being a vindication of the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*'s (Dr Hoadly) Preſervative, &c. in that particular.

XXXVI. A Sermon preached before the King in the Chapel Royal at St *James*'s on March the ſecond, the firſt Sunday in Lent, 1717.

XXXVII. A Letter from Mr *T. Burdett* who was executed at *Tyburn*, for the murder of Captain *Falkner* to ſome Attornies Clerks of his acquaintance, written ſix days before his execution.

XXXVIII. A Letter to an Inhabitant of the Pariſh of St *Andrew*'s Holborn about new Ceremonies in the Church.

XXXIX. The Juſtice of paying Debts.

XL. A Defence of Praying before Sermon as directed by the LV Canon.

XLI. A Sermon upon Swearing.

XLII. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Ely in Auguſt 1722.

mities brought upon him by his indefatigable labours (z), till at length he found his ſtrength ſo much declined, that he had reaſon to expect a ſpeedy remove from this life to a better, which happened at Tottenham in Middleſex, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air, Auguſt 4, 1723, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age (a), and was interred in the cathedral church of Ely, where a monument is erected to his memory by his Lady, who did not long ſurvive him, with an inſcription, which, having often been publiſhed, it is not neceſſary that we ſhould inſert (b). As to his character, it has been drawn by a very able pen, and one who had the honour and happineſs of being intimately acquainted with him (c), to the following effect: 'He lived an uſeful, ſtudious, and exemplary 'life; ſo conſtantly employed in the good way of his profeſſion, that no man had fewer 'idle hours to anſwer for. He had a juſt ſenſe of the duty of his office, and lived up to the 'dignity of it. He was conſtant in preaching, which duty he diſcharged for many years 'three times a week: it may be truly ſaid, he was the moſt celebrated preacher of his 'time: I need not ſay how uſefully he employed his talent, or with how much elo-'quence; his ſermons fully ſpeak it, which he ſet off with ſuch a ſweetneſs of voice, and 'ſuch a graceful delivery, that he charmed his hearers into the warmeſt attention, and 'left a laſting impreſſion on their minds; and that which made his ſermons more uſeful, 'was the fine vein of caſuiſtry that ran through moſt of them, wherein he diſplayed a 'peculiar talent, in making things plain and eaſy which ſeemed to many difficult, and 'gave diſturbance to weak and honeſt minds: he informed the judgment, and then ſet 'the mind at reſt. To which may be added, what many of his auditors have often ſaid, 'that they ſeldom heard him preach but they learnt ſomething from him, that they had 'never obſerved or heard before. He was a diligent viſiter of the ſick, and a ſkillful 'healer of the wounds of conſcience, for the cure of which ſad malady he was often ap-'plied to by many who were not properly under his care, to whom he was a willing and 'a wiſe inſtructor. And theſe good offices he diſcharged in ſo affectionate and tender a 'manner, that beſides the inward ſatisfaction he had of doing much good, many of thoſe 'who had applied to him expreſſed the grateful ſenſe they had of this his labour of love, 'which he beſtowed upon them, by kind legacies bequeathed to him, ſome of which 'came to his hands after he was a Biſhop. In this ſtation he did not ceaſe to be a 'preacher; he was a conſtant one at St Aſaph, where the choir was well ſuited to his 'voice; not ſo at Ely, where the church was much too large for it; but in his own cha-'pel at Ely-houſe, ſo frequent in the diſcharge of that good part of his office, though in 'the cold ſeaſon of the year, that he has ſometimes preached four and twenty ſermons in the 'ſpace of ſix months. He was a great lover of Antiquities, eſpecially of thoſe of his own 'country; but that did not caſt a ruſt upon his parts, or ſpoil his ſtile, an effect it often 'has upon thoſe whoſe genius leads them early into that kind of ſtudy. He was a uſeful 'Antiquarian, and at the ſame time a fine Preacher. The filling of the churches in the 'dioceſe of St Aſaph, where he was almoſt the general patron, with virtuous and worthy 'men, was what lay near his heart: he often expreſſed the great ſatisfaction he had in 'beſtowing preferments on worthy Clergymen, and was extreamly pleaſed when, upon 'experience and obſervation, he found that the care of their people was matter of con-'ſcience to them. *So may it always be*, he uſed to ſay, *and with increaſe, for without that 'there was no living, but he was ſure no dying, with comfort.* He paid little or no regard 'to the importunate ſollicitations of the great men of that dioceſe, if the perſon recom-'mended was not found, upon due enquiry, to be of an unblemiſhed life; and though 'he could not have the ſatisfaction he wiſhed, of filling his churches with men he tho-'roughly approved in other reſpects, yet he took much pains to fill them with men of 'virtue; and if ever he was moved beyond his uſual temper, it was when he found he 'had been deceived by teſtimonials that had little or no truth in them. He had a gene-'rous heart; his hands were always open to thoſe in want, eſpecially to the poorer clergy, 'to whom he often gave money or books, beſides the remiſſion of their fees. He was a 'liberal encourager of every charitable deſign that came in his way, never ſhewing any 'deſire to be rich, except in good works; and he was much pleaſed when he heard that 'any rich man had left ſomething to good uſes, ſaying ſometimes upon that occaſion, '*It were almoſt reaſonable there ſhould be a moderate Purgatory, for ſuch as live and die ſo 'wealthy without doing any good to any body but their children, when there was ſo much want 'and miſery in the world.* He was much concerned to ſee ſo much paſſion and uncharita-'bleneſs raiſed by difference in opinion in matters of religion, and thought that mere mi-'ſtakes, and ſuch differences as did not influence practice, were to be borne with. He 'was modeſt and humble almoſt to a fault, qualities rarely to be found in a breaſt ſo re-'plete with knowledge as his was; and as he fled from his juſt praiſes, and was always 'uneaſy under them, ſo he was backward to cenſure others. His temper was ſweet 'and even calm and meek, ſo that hardly any thing could diſcompoſe him, no paſſion, 'no reſentment, no partial mixtures, could find a place in his breaſt. To this happy 'temper of mind was joined a good degree of cool and ſedate courage, which he did not 'fail to ſhew whenever a proper occaſion called for it. And, to crown all his other good 'qualities, ſo much innocence of life, integrity of heart, and ſanctity of manners, hardly 'ever met in any one man in a fuller meaſure than they did in him. In a word, this good

(z) His Lordſhip had very ill health for ſeveral years before his death.

(a) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 10.

(b) Willis's Hiſt. of Cathedrals Vol. III. p. 367.

(c) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 8.

'Biſhop excelled in every virtue that conſtitutes a wiſe man, and in every grace that di-'ſtinguiſhes a Chriſtian.' To ſo ample, as well as ſo eloquent a character as this, it would be altogether improper for us to add any thing; but inaſmuch as in a work of this nature it may be juſtly expected, that the teſtimonies to ſo eminent a Prelate's merits ſhould be collected, the reader will find at the bottom of the page ſome inſtances of this kind, from a variety of writers of very different tempers and ſentiments, which may be regarded as an inconteſtible proof of his virtues and abilities; ſince, though it does not always happen, that great and good men are univerſally eſteemed, yet, when the praiſes of different parties are beſtowed upon an eminent perſon, it cannot but be preſumed that his worth muſt be very conſpicuous, to attract the ſuffrages of men of all opinions, in ſpite of thoſe little prejudices and prepoſſeſſions which are ſo apt to warp even the beſt minds, and to hinder them from publickly teſtifying their reſpect for thoſe, whom, in their hearts perhaps, they may ſecretly admire [*U*]. He left behind him an only ſon, Dr Charles Fleetwood, who inherited his paternal eſtate in Lancaſhire, and had been preſented a few years before by his father, as Biſhop of Ely, to the rectory of Cottenham in Cambridge, which he did not enjoy long.

Of this family and name there have been ſeveral other remarkable perſons, not in this only, but in other nations alſo, particularly in Sweden, where, as we have before obſerved, there is a Baron of that name, deſcended in a direct line from the Fleetwoods of Lancaſhire; and the perſon who now enjoys that honour, is highly eſteemed for his abilities, both civil and military, which have lately procured him conſiderable preferments. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the Swedes look upon the title of Baron as that alone which confers true Nobility, as having annexed to it all the ranks and privileges derived to Nobility by their conſtitution. The crown does indeed beſtow other titles of honour, ſuch as Counts, but they are not much regarded; and the caſe is the ſame in Poland, where titles are aſſumed rather to procure reſpect when travelling through foreign countries, than to draw regard in their own.

[*U*] *They may ſecretly admire.*] We find this ſhort character given of our author and his writings, as well as of another Engliſh Prelate, by one whoſe reputation as a critick, will not fail to juſtify what he has advanced in the opinion of all good judges (4). *Biſhop* Fleetwood's *ſoftneſs, and Biſhop* Blackhall's *plainneſs, are their characters; excellent writers both!* The Reverend Dr Hickes (5) acknowledges him for an encourager of his great work, and indeed no wonder it was, that he ſhould lend his aſſiſtance for promoting endeavours ſo advantageous to that ſort of literature, which as it was his earlieſt, ſo it continued to be his lateſt ſtudy. The indefatigable Mr Hearne (6) confeſſes himſelf much obliged to Biſhop Fleetwood, for many ſingular inſtances of his friendſhip, and particularly mentions the preſent he received from him of an antient almanack, which he eſteemed to be, as indeed it was, a very great curioſity; and this ſhews how ready our Prelate was to entertain a free correſpondence with men of real merit, how different ſoever their political principles might be from his own, as in both theſe caſes it is well enough known they were. That candid writer, and eminent Antiquary, Brown Willis, Eſq; ſpeaks according to his manner briefly of our Biſhop (7), of whom he ſays, that *he was a general ſcholar, well ſkilled in Antiquities, and very communicative in imparting to him ſeveral collections.* It has created ſome wonder, that Biſhop Burnet is ſilent as to our author, in his Hiſtory; but whatever his motives might be, other writers within that period of time have purſued a different conduct; one of theſe, after tranſcribing thoſe paragraphs that gave offence to the Houſe of Commons, when his Lordſhip publiſhed his four Sermons, proceeds thus (8). 'Theſe 'words of eternal truth, pronounced in ſo awful and 'moving a manner, did the majority of this Houſe 'of Commons vote to be malicious and factious, and 'condemned his Lordſhip's Preface to be burnt by the 'hands of the common hangman. The good Biſhop, 'imitating the apoſtolical reſignation, as his perſecu-'tors imitated the Pagan barbariſm and inſolence, 'ſaid only when he was told of it, I eſteem myſelf 'happy to ſuffer with the Duke of Marlborough, the 'Earl of Godolphin, and ſo many other illuſtrious 'Patriots, whoſe reputation their enemies endeavour 'to blaſt; on the other hand, ſays our hiſtorian, *this* 'treatment of a Prelate of ſuch ſignal merit, ſo un-'blameable a life, and ſo univerſally eſteemed, parti-'cularly by the Queen herſelf, who before was uſed 'to call him her Biſhop, was highly reſented by many 'true ſons of the Church.' The Reverend Mr William Whiſton, a man of great probity and a free ſpeaker, admired our Prelate as a preacher when he was a young man at the Univerſity, and admired him too as a Biſhop, which appears from the following ſtory that he tells us (9); after having mentioned ſeveral inſtances of the danger that the beſt men run of being corrupted in courts, he proceeds thus. It puts me in mind of what that excellent preacher and liver Biſhop Fleetwood, as I have been informed, ſaid upon the like occaſion. 'This good Biſhop once came to the Houſe of Lords 'a little too early, and overheard certain perſons de-'bating this queſtion, Whether a Courtier could be a 'Chriſtian or not? And when at length the company 'perceived he was there, they would needs have his 'opinion. He replied he was no Courtier, nor would 'determine that queſtion: but he acknowledged that 'he had learned ſo much by their diſcourſe, that it 'was not very fit for a good Chriſtian to go to Court.' In the additions that have been made to an eminent Prelate's hiſtory of Engliſh Biſhops, we are told with regard to this worthy perſon, that his works being in all hands and his character univerſally eſteemed made it unneceſſary to be inſiſted upon there. E

(4) Dr Felton's Eſſay on the Claſſicks.

(5) He contributed to the publiſhing his Linguarum Vet. Septentrionalium Theſaurus.

(6) Liber Niger Scaccarii, p. 351. See alſo his Preface to Fordun's Scotichronicon, p. 47.

(7) Hiſt. of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 367.

(8) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 501, 502.

(9) Memoirs of his own Life, p. 305.

FLEMMING or FLEMMYNGE (RICHARD) Biſhop of Lincoln in the XVth century, and founder of Lincoln-college in Oxford, was deſcended from a good and ancient family (*a*), and born at Croſton in the county of York (*b*). After having been educated in grammar learning in his native county, he was ſent to University-college in Oxford; where he ſo improved himſelf in Logic and Philoſophy, that he met with no difficulty in obtaining his degrees; an honour which was then conferred only upon a few (*c*) [*A*]. On the 22d of Auguſt 1406, he was preſented, or collated, to the prebend

(*a*) *Illuſtris genere* J. Bale, Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria VII. No. 90.

(*b*) A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 159.

(*c*) Ibid. See alſo p. 402.

[*A*] *Which was then conferred only upon a few.*] Mr Wood's own words are (1). Degrees were not ſo common then, as they have been ſince the beginning of

(1) Lib. II. p. 159.

bend of South-Newbald in the church of York, vacant by the resignation of Tho. Langley Bishop of Durham (*d*); and, the next year had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the university of Oxford (*e*) [*B*]: but never was Chancellor of the same, as the famous Mr Leland hath asserted (*f*). Soon after taking his Master of Arts degree, he warmly espoused J. Wiclef's cause; and so strenuously asserted his opinions, that great numbers (and of those some of the first quality) drawn in by his example, or convinced by his arguments, loudly declaimed against the corruptions of the Church of Rome. But, persons whose interest it was to maintain those corruptions, found means either to awe, or to bribe, him into silence. And, which is not much to his credit, he became as violent an opposer of Wiclef's doctrines, as he had heretofore been a patron of them [*C*]. So that the college he founded at Oxford (of which we shall presently give an account) was designed as a seminary for writers and disputers against that learned man's opinions (*g*). In the year 1415, he exchanged his prebend of South Newbald for that of Langford, in the cathedral church of York (*h*): and, some time before, was also made Rector of Boston in Lincolnshire (*i*). His learning, and perhaps withal his zeal against Wiclef, having recommended him to the esteem of King Henry V, he was promoted by him to the bishopric of Lincoln (*k*), having been first appointed by the Pope (*l*). He was then Professor, or Doctor, in Divinity (*m*). The temporalities of his See were restored to him May 23, 1420 (*n*). In the year 1424, he was sent to the Council of Constance, or Sienna; where, in the presence of Pope Martin V, he made a very elegant speech in vindication of his country against the calumnies and aspersions of the Spanish, French, and Scottish Deputies [*D*]; which procured him great applause (*o*). And then, I suppose it was, he was made Chamberlain to Pope Martin aforesaid (*p*). Upon his return from the Council, he caused Wiclef's bones to be taken up and burnt, as had been decreed in that assembly (*q*). The See of York being then vacant by the death of Dr Henry Bowett, the Pope by his own absolute authority translated Dr Flemming to that Archbishoprick; and he had restitution of the temporalities Decemb. 1, 1424 (*r*) [*E*]. But King Henry V, who by his late conquest of France was grown so powerful as to have no cause to dread the Pope's indignation or censures, so vehemently opposed this translation, jointly with the Chapter [*F*], that the Bishop was content to go back to Lincoln again (*s*). But though he met with this great disappointment, he pursued his design, of founding a college in Oxford, to be a seminary for Divines, to write, preach, and dispute against Wiclef's opinions. For that purpose, he obtained a licence from King Henry VI, dated Octob. 12, 1427, wherein he was impowered to found a college [*G*], which

(*d*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. Vol. I. p. 163.

(*e*) Wood, ubi supra, p. 402.

(*f*) Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Edit. Oxon. 1709. p. 460. Vide Wood, ubi supra, p. 402.

(*g*) Wood, ubi supra. p, 159.

(*h*) Willis, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 149.

(*i*) Wood, ibid.

(*k*) Wood, ibid.

(*l*) Catalog. of the Bishops of England, &c. by Fr. Godwin, Bishop of Landaff. Edit. 1615. 4to. p. 306.

(*m*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*n*) Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 54.

(*o*) Wood, ubi supra, p. 159. J. Pale Scriptor. Brytanniæ Centuria Septima, No. 90.—and J. Pits de illustr. Angliæ Scriptorib. ad ann. 1430. No. 794.

(*p*) See his Epitaph, below.

(*q*) Godwin, ubi supra. Wood, ubi supra. Lib. I. p. 193.

(*r*) Ibid. and Willis, Vol. I. p. 40.

(*s*) Godwin, ubi supra, and Latin Translation, Edit. 1616. 4to. p. 357. and Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 40.

of the sixteenth century. For Thomas Arundell, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from the year 1396 to the year 1413, had no other degree but that of Bachelor of Arts (2); tho' he was a very considerable and eminent person in his time. It is well known, how universal and extreme was the ignorance that reign'd in the fifteenth century!

(2) Ibid. p. 202.

[*B*] *And the next year, had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the University of Oxford.*] Whilst he was in that office, he caused the antient book of statutes, belonging to the junior or northern Proctor, to be transcribed for the use of his successors. And that copy is now preserved among the University-Archives, being mark'd on the back with the letter C (3).

(3) Wood, ubi supra, p. 402.

[*C*] *He became as violent an opposer of Wiclef's doctrines, as he had heretofore been a patron of them.*] As an instance of which, he suffered himself to be nominated one of the committee, that was chosen by the University of Oxford, for examining heretical books, and particularly Wiclef's, in the year 1411 (4). Mr Wood questions, whether our R. Flemmyng was one of that committee. His reasons are, that, after the nomination of it, he finds, our author had maintained opinions in the schools, which in those times were accounted downright heresy: That they were condemned by those commissioners, and opposed with so much sharpness by Nicolas Ponce of Merton-college, that Flemmyng appealed to a general congregation. But the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered, his appeal not to be admitted; and injoined, that Flemmyng, and his adherents, whom he called beardless boys, and not fit to appear in the schools, should be punished according to their deserts. Mr Flemmyng thinking himself ill used, carried his complaints to the King, who having examined the whole affair, writ to the University in his favour. But the University making unnecessary delays in taking off the censures they had passed on him, the King sent other pressing letters: which, it is probable, were duly obeyed. —— On these accounts, A. Wood is inclined to believe, either that there were two Richard Flemmyngs then in the University; or that this our Richard was not one of those commissioners; unless perhaps some time after (5). But, since he was one of the Proctors of the University in the year 1407; into which office he would undoubtedly never have been chosen, if he had continued publicly to maintain Wiclef's opinions: And, since J. Bale assures us (6), that his disputes with Ponce were before he was chosen one of the committee; we may therefore conclude, that he had renounced those opinions before the year 1411, or even perhaps before the year 1407.

(4) Wood, ubi supra, Lib. I. p. 206.

(5) Wood, ibid.

(6) Ubi supra.

[*D*] *Against the calumnies and aspersions of the Spanish, French, and Scottish Deputies.*] For there arose a great dispute between the Deputies of those nations, about precedency, and the right of voting first (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 208.

[*E*] *Had the temporalities restored to him Decemb.* 1. 1424.] Mr Willis says, by mistake, that he was translated to York, Anno 1429 (8).

(8) Vol. II. p. 54.

[*F*] *So vehemently opposed this translation, jointly with the Chapter.*] Bishop Godwin gives us this account of it. 'The Pope of his own absolute authority, 'placed then in Yorke Richard Fleming Bishop of 'Lincolne. Many statutes and lawes had beene made 'to represse this tyrannicall dealing of the Pope. But 'his excommunications were such terrible bugs, as 'men durst rather offend the lawes of their country, 'then come within the compasse of his censures. Yet 'the Deane and Chapter of Yorke taking stomacke 'unto them, used such advantage as the Law would 'affoorde them, and by force kept out the new Archbishop from entring his Church. Much ado there 'was between them. The event was, that the Pope 'unable to make good his gift, was faine to returne 'Fleming to Lincolne again. —— (*)

(*) Catalogue of the Bishops, &c. as above, p. 608.

[*G*] *Wherein he was impowered to found a college.*] He was impowered to found this college in the Church of All-Saints in Oxford, of which he was patron; and to unite and annex it to the same, together with the Churches of St Mildred and St Michael near Northgate, which were also in the patronage of his See. And the said Churches so united, annexed, and incorporated, to name the Church of All-Saints; and to erect

which ſhould conſiſt of one Warden, or Rector, and ſeven Scholars; and bear the name of The College of St Mary and All-Saints of Lincoln in the Univerſity of Oxford. Having thus obtained the royal licence, he ſet about his foundation; but before he had made any conſiderable progreſs in it, death ſnatched him away. However, he left money and effects in the hands of ſome perſons, which he appointed Overſeers of his new foundation; and they carried it on, and ſettled it, with all imaginable care and expedition (*t*). He died at his palace at Sleford, January 25, 1430-31; and was buried in Lincoln cathedral, under a raiſed tomb, with a long rhyming Epitaph [*H*], faſhionable in the times of ignorance he lived in (*u*). Bale, and Pits, mention two pieces written by him; and the latter ſays, his Works were long preſerved in the library of Lincoln-college: but they ſeem to have been no more than the ſpeeches he made at the Council of Sienna (*w*). After his deceaſe, his college met with ſeveral benefactors, but none ſo conſiderable as Thomas Rotherham, *alias* Scot, then Biſhop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York [*I*], who deſerves the name of a ſecond founder. Its revenues have been alſo conſiderably augmented, by the munificence of ſeveral other generous and charitable perſons [*K*].

(*t*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Wood, ubi ſupra. p. 159. and Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 54, 55.

(*w*) Vide Bale and Pits, ubi ſupra.

Our

erect and convert it into a collegiate church, or a college; and to annex to the ſame a chantry in the Church aforeſaid, of which the Mayor of Oxford for the time being was patron. Ordaining, that there ſhould be in this new foundation two Chaplains, to be placed or removed at the Rector's pleaſure: that the Rector and Scholars ſhould be perpetual patrons of this Church; and capable of purchaſing lands, rents, and tenements, not exceeding the yearly value of ten pounds.—— This point obtained, the Founder employed ſome perſons to buy tenements, on the ſite whereof he intended to erect his new college. Accordingly they bought Deep-hall, belonging to St John Baptiſt's Hoſpital without East-gate, and a few other buildings. The Biſhop's death ſtop'd their further proceedings, when the firſt ſtone was hardly laid. However, certain truſtees appointed by him on his death-bed, placed a Rector, ſeven Scholars, and two Chaplains in his new foundation; which were to be maintained out of the revenues of the Churches abovementioned. And in the room of Deep-hall; and of two others, call'd Brend-hall, and Wyncheſter-hall, purchaſed about the year 1438; and of St Mildred's Church, taken down in the year 1436, was the college built, partly in the manner in which it now ſtands.

[*H*] *With a long rhyming Epitaph.*] Which was hung on a tablet, and ran in this manner (9).

(9) Willis, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 54.

Iſthuc qui graderis pauliſper perlege quæſo;
Sta, ſpeculans (†) quod eris, in nunc vermibus eſo:
Qui fueram pridie juvenis, forma ſpecioſus;
Artes Oxoniæ diſcens, puer ingenioſus;
Juris (‖) divini creſcens exinde magiſter:
Pape Martini, Camerarii honore, Miniſter;
Hic cum Preſulibus in Lyncolne ſede locavit,
Et propriis manibus mira pietate ſacravit.
Poſt Eboracenſis tituli fulgore ſerenus,
Sub glebis denſis jaceo, quamvis vir amenus.
Mundi pompa, decor, applauſus, culmina queque,
Quid ſunt iſta, precor, niſi ſomnia ſtultitieque?
Vultu blanda favent, quorum caro nil niſi fenum.
Quid labor in Logicis? quid Doctorale cacumen?
Quid dant delicie? quid laus? quid opes operantur?
Omnia ſevitie mortis, velut umbra, fugantur.
O mors dira nimis, non parcens rebus opimis!
Antea ſublimis, per te jam ponor in imis.
Vita brevis vana eſt; habet hunc hec gloria finem;
Foſſa cubile manet, quo mortua membra reclinem.
Hinc recolas, qui laude volas, & corpore flores;
Hoc ſapias: quo (‡) divinas pro me, precor, ores.
Ecce ſub hoc lapide Flemmyng Richardus humatur.
Penſa, plange, vide, ſic omnis honor ſuperatur.
Doctor clarus erat; preſtans & Epiſcopus (*) iſte:
In quem crediderat, nunc eſto ſalus ſua Chriſte.

(†) Quid. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(‖) Divinæ, Ibid.

(‡) Divinies pro me prius ores, ibid.

(*) Ipſe, ibid.

There is nothing remarkable in this long Epitaph; except, that Pope Martin conſecrated him Biſhop of Lincoln with his own hands. The reſt is a doleful deſcant upon the frailty of human nature; which might have been compriſed in much fewer words. ——His arms on his tomb are, barry of ſix argent and azure; in chief three fuſills; in baſe a mullet, gules.

[*I*] *After his deceaſe, his college met with ſeveral benefactors, but none ſo conſiderable as Thomas Rotherham, alias Scot, then Biſhop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York*] This great man was born at Rotherham in Yorkſhire, and ſucceſſively became Fellow of King's College Cambridge, Maſter of Penbroke-Hall, Chancellor of that Univerſity, Prebendary of Sarum, Chaplain to King Edward IV. Provoſt of Beverley, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Secretary to four Kings, Biſhop of Rocheſter, then of Lincoln, and at length Archbiſhop of York, and Lord Chancellor from the year 1475, to 1483, tho' with ſome interruption (10). What induced him to this munificent benefaction, is thus related. *In the year 1474,* coming to Oxford, on his epiſcopal viſitation, John Triſtroppe Rector of this college preached before him, out of Pſalm lxxx. 14, and 15. ver; and from thence took occaſion, ſo pathetically to invite him to commiſerate their tender vine, their poor half-built college, that the Biſhop immediately promiſed he would do what the Rector had ſo earneſtly pleaded for. Accordingly, the year following, he compleated the edifice; increaſed the number of Fellows from ſeven to twelve, appropriating for their maintenance the Churches of Twyford in Buckinghamſhire, and Combe longa in Oxfordſhire; and gave the Society a Body of Statutes (they having none before) ſubſcribed with his own hand, Feb. 11, 1479. wherein he ordained, among other things, that the Fellows ſhould be choſen out of the Dioceſes of Lincoln, York, particularly Rotherham if any fit, and Bath and Wells (11).

(10) See the Article ROTHERHAM (Thomas).

(11) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 161.

[*K*] *Its revenues have been alſo conſiderably augmented, by the munificence of ſeveral other generous and charitable perſons*]. The chief benefactors have been, John Foreſt, Dean of Wells; John Southam, Archdeacon of Oxford; William Finderne, Eſq; Cardinal Henry Beaufort, Biſhop of Wincheſter; John Buketot, and Walter Bate, Prieſts; John Croſby, Treaſurer of Lincoln; William Dagvyle, Gent. Edmund Audley, Biſhop of Saliſbury; William Smyth, Biſhop of Lincoln; Sir William Findern, Knt. John Denham, Rector of Barnake in Northamptonſhire; Mrs Johanna Trapps; John Smith, Rector of Wykeham-Breux; Mr Thomas Hayne; John Randall, Rector of St Andrew Hubbard, London; Thomas Beckyngton, Biſhop of Bath and Wells; and John Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, who built the chapel (12). Finally, the laſt, and one of their moſt conſiderable benefactors, hath been Nathanael Lord Crew, late Biſhop of Durham, and formerly Fellow and Rector of this Houſe. For his Lordſhip added twenty pounds a year to the Rectorſhip; and ten pounds a year to each of the twelve Fellowſhips, for ever: made up the Bible-Clerk's place, and the eight Scholarſhips, which before were very mean, worth ten pounds a year a piece: founded twelve exhibitions, of twenty pounds a year each: and made an augmentation of ten pounds a year a-piece for ever to the Curates of four Churches belonging to this college; viz. All-Saints, and St Michael in Oxford; Twyford in Buckinghamſhire; and Comb

(12) Ibid. p. 160, 161, 162, 169, 170, 171.

Our author's nephew, or kinſman, ROBERT FLEMMING, deſerves alſo to be mentioned here, on account of his learning, and particularly of his ſkill in poetry and polite literature. He was educated at Oxford (*x*), and probably in Lincoln-college, then newly founded by his uncle, or kinſman. On the 21ſt of January 1451, he was admitted Dean of Lincoln (*y*), being famous for his knowledge and ingenuity. But, for his further improvement, he went to Italy, and viſited the Learned, and the univerſities; particularly, he attended the lectures of the celebrated Orator and Poet Baptiſta Guarini, who was Profeſſor of the Greek and Latin languages at Ferrara: And who had the honour of having for his hearers, ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen [*L*], eminent for their birth, and other diſtinguiſhing qualifications (*z*). From Ferrara our author went to Rome, where he ſtayed a year or two (*a*); and contracted an acquaintance with ſeveral learned men, eſpecially with Bartholomew [*M*] Platina, Librarian of the Vatican (*b*). He became alſo known to Pope Sixtus IV, in whoſe praiſe, during a ſummer's receſs at Tibur or Tivoli, he compoſed a poem in two books [*N*], inſcribed to his Holineſs: who was ſo pleaſed with it, that he made the author his Protonotary (*c*). At his return from Italy, he brought over with him ſeveral books curiouſly illuminated, and ſome of them of his own compoſition [*O*], which he bequeathed to Lincoln-college-library (*d*). On the 27th of September 1467, he was inſtalled into the prebend of Leighton-Manor, in the cathedral church of Lincoln (*e*); which he exchanged, December 3, 1478, for that of Leighton-Boſard (*f*). He founded in the cathedral abovementioned, namely in Trinity-chapel, a chantry for two Chaplains, which was valued at 14*l.* 6*s.* 9*d* (*g*). And dying Auguſt 12, 1483 (*h*), was buried near Biſhop Fleming his relation (*i*). His name is mentioned with honour by ſome of his contemporaries [*P*].

(*x*) Leland, ubi ſupra, p. 460.

(*y*) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 77.

(*z*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*a*) Pits, de illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptorib. Ætas XV. ad an. 1470. No. 865.

(*b*) Leland and Pits, ibid.

(*c*) Leland, ibid.

(*d*) Ibid. and Wood Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 170.

(*e*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 209.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 205.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 34.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 77, 205. And not about 1470, as Pits ſays, ubi ſupra. Bale is more in the right, when he ſays, that he flouriſhed in the year 1470.

(*i*) J. Bale, Scriptor. Brytanniæ Centur. VIII, No. 21. And Pits and Leland, ubi ſupra.

(13) See the Article CREW (NATHANAEL)

Comb in Oxfordſhire (13). It is alſo ſaid, that his Lordſhip intended to have rebuilt the college; but being diſobliged by ſome of the members, he altered his deſign.

[*L*] *And who had the honour of having for his hearers, ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen.*] Namely, John Tiptot, Earl of Worceſter, a moſt learned man; William Gray, John Phrea, John Gundorp, &c (14).

(14) Leland, ubi ſupra.

[*M*] *Bartholomew.*] And not Baptiſt, as Mr Leland calls him (15). See the article PLATINA, in Mr Bayle's Dictionary. Our author celebrates that learned man in the following verſe,

(15) Ibid.

Platina magna ſuæ lux & decus ille Cremonæ (16).

(16) Leland, ibid. p. 461.

i. e. Platina the great light and ornament of his country Cremona.

[*N*] *In whoſe praiſe, during a ſummer's receſs at Tibur or Tivoli, he compoſed a poem in two books.*] Which he entitled, *Lucubrationes Tiburtinæ*, i. e. Tiburtine Lucubrations. Mr Leland quotes three verſes out of the firſt book; which, in his opinion, are moſt elegant. *Hi verſus, ex primo libro ſelecti, & Sixto applaudentes, mihi quidem videntur eſſe plane elegantiſſimi.*

Sane quiſquis in hunc oculos deflexerit acreis,
In vultu facieque viri coeleſte videbit
Elucere aliquid, majeſtatemque verendam.

i. e. Whoſoever fixes his eyes on him, will ſee in his face and countenance ſomething heavenly ſhine, and a venerable Majeſty.

[*O*] *And ſome of his own compoſition.*] Leland, Bale, and Pits (17), mention the following. *Dictionarium Græcolatinum*; A Greek and Latin Dictionary. *Carmina diverſi generis, librum unum*; A book of verſes on various ſubjects. *Epiſtolarum ad diverſos, librum unum*; Letters to ſeveral perſons, &c.

(17) Ubi ſupra.

[*P*] *His name is mentioned with honour by ſome of his contemporaries.*] Particularly by Lewis Carbo of Ferrara, who, in his funeral oration on the death of Guarini, thus ſpeaks. *Robertus Flemingé, Decanus Lincolnienſis eccleſiæ, qui ob ſingularem in ſtudiis humanitatis præſtantiam, atque exercitationem, inclyti Anglorum regis procurator Romæ factus eſt.* i. e. Robert Fleminge, Dean of Lincolne, who for his ſingular excellency and practice in polite ſtudies, was made the King of England's Procurator at Rome.

C

FLETCHER (RICHARD) Biſhop of Briſtol, and afterwards tranſlated to Worceſter, and London, in the XVIth century, was born in Kent (*a*). He received his univerſity-education in Bennet, or Corpus-Chriſti, college, in Cambridge, of which he was Fellow (*b*). It doth not appear from the Regiſter-books of that univerſity, when he took his degrees: but, in 1572, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, being four years ſtanding in that degree at Cambridge (*c*); and if ſo, muſt have been admitted about the year 1561. On the 30th of September 1572, he was inſtituted to the prebend of Iſlington in St Paul's cathedral, London, which he reſigned in October 1589 (*d*). The 15th of November 1583 he was made Dean of Peterborough (*e*), but never Biſhop of that See, as Dr Fuller hath aſſerted (*f*). He was inſtalled into the prebend of Sutton longa in the church of Lincoln, January 23, 1585, and reſigned it in 1592 (*g*). He was alſo Rector of Alderkirke in Lincolnſhire (*h*). On the 8th of February 1586, he attended Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay, at the time of her execution; and exhorted her, among other things, 'to apply Chriſt's meritorious obedience to her ſoul 'with the hand of true Faith,——and to make Chriſt her only ſacrifice for her ſins, 'and a ranſom for her redemption.' But ſhe deſired him, three or four times, not to trouble himſelf, nor her. For ſhe was ſettled in the ancient Catholick Romiſh Religion; and in defence thereof reſolved to ſpend her blood (*i*) [*A*]. In the year 1589 he was promoted

(*a*) The Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, D. D. in Kent. p. 72.

(*b*) Catalogue of the Biſhops of England, &c. by Fr. Godwin, Biſhop of Landaff. Lond. 1615. p. 502.

(*c*) Wood, Faſti. Edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 107.

(*d*) Newcourt Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 168.

(*e*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; 4to. Vol. II. edit. 1730. p. 511.

(*f*) Ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Willis, Vol. II. p. 244.

(*h*) Idem. Vol. I. p. 844.

(*i*) Annals of the Reformation, &c. by J. Strype, Vol. III. Edit. 1728. p. 385, &c. Camdeni Ann. Eliz.

[*A*] *And in defence thereof reſolved to ſpend her blood.*] Then Dean Fletcher ſaid to her, 'Madam, 'change your opinion, and repent of your former 'ſins and wickedneſs, and ſettle yourſelf upon this 'ground, that only in Chriſt Jeſu you hope to be 'ſaved.' Then ſhe anſwered again and again with great earneſtneſs, 'Good Maſter Dean, trouble no 'more yourſelf about this matter. For I was born in

moted to the biſhopric of Briſtol; being elected November 13, confirmed Decemb. 12, conſecrated Decemb. 14, and enthronized January the 3d following (*k*). We are told, that he took this See on condition to leaſe out the revenues to Courtiers [*B*], which he did in ſo extravagant a manner, that he left little to his ſucceſſors; inſomuch, that after his removal from thence, it lay vacant ten years (*l*). He was about the end of the year 1592 tranſlated to Worceſter; elected January 24, 1592-3, and confirmed February 19 following (*m*): having, ſome years before, been made Biſhop Almoner (*n*). Upon the death of Dr Aylmer Biſhop of London, in the beginning of June 1594, he made intereſt with the Lord Treaſurer Burghley to be tranſlated to that See: alledging, that he liked London better than any other town in the realm, as being the place of his education, and of his moſt common reſidence; where he had many agreeable friends, and a conſiderable ſhare in the love and eſteem of the citizens, who deſired that he might be their Biſhop; and amongſt whom his influence might be of great ſervice to the Court. But his requeſt ſeems not to have met with immediate ſucceſs. For, not till above ſix months after, namely December 30, 1594, was he elected Biſhop of London: he was confirmed the 10th of January following (*o*). A few days after, he being a widower, took to his ſecond wife a very handſome woman, the Lady Baker of Kent (*p*), ſiſter to Sir George Gifford, one of the Gentlemen Penſioners (*q*). And, perhaps, one of the ſecret reaſons of the Biſhop's earneſt endeavours for being tranſlated to London, was to gratify that Lady's deſire to live near the Court. Queen Elizabeth, who had an extreme averſion and antipathy to the Clergy's marrying, was highly offended at the Biſhop. She thought this marriage ſo very undecent in an elderly Clergyman, and a Biſhop, who alſo had been married before; that ſhe either reprimanded him with her own mouth, or ſent him a meſſage, not to appear in her preſence any more, nor to come to Court. The Biſhop finding himſelf in this bad condition, applied by letter to the Lord Treaſurer, to repreſent his caſe to the Queen, and to do him good offices. Upon the receipt of his letter, the Lord Treaſurer uſed ſome kind and honourable words concerning him.

But,

(*k*) Willis, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 779. Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, by J. Strype, Lond. 1718. p. 322.

(*l*) Willis, Vol. II. p. 779.

(*m*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 648. Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 399.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) The Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift, as above, p. 428, &c.

(*p*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 73.

(*q*) Brief View of the State of the Church, &c. by Sir John Harrington. Lond. 1653. p. 27.

(1) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 388. Annals, Vol. III.

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 385.

(3) Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(4) Annales, ubi ſupra.

(5) Briefe View &c. as above, p. 25, 26.

(6) i. e. So much and ſo much.

' in this Religion; I have lived in this Religion; and ' I am reſolved to die in this Religion.' Then ſaid the Earls [of Kent, and Shrewſbury,] who were commiſſioned to attend at her execution, when they ſaw how ſhe diſliked the Dean's exhortation, ' Madam, ' we will pray for your Grace with Maſter Dean, if ' it ſtands with God's good will, you may have your ' heart lightned with the true knowledge of God's ' good will, and his word; and ſo die therein.' Then anſwered the Queen, ' If you will pray *for* me, I will ' even from my heart thank you, and think myſelf ' greatly favoured by you. But to join in prayer with ' you, my Lords, after your manner, who are not of ' one and the ſelf ſame religion with me, it were a ' ſin: I will not. (1)' It ſeems to have been a very odd undertaking, (and to all appearance unſucceſsful,) to endeavour to perſuade one ſo bigotted to Popery as Mary Queen of Scots was, to renounce, in her laſt moments, that religion whence ſhe expected ſalvation. However, ſo the Queen underſtood it, and ſuch was the drift of the Dean's long and intricate ſpeech, as far as can be collected from the paſſage cited from it above in the text, and alſo from theſe other words out of the ſame..... ' Repent you truly of your former ' ſins and wickedneſs. Juſtify the juſtice now to be ' executed, and juſtify her Majeſty's faithfulneſs to- ' wards you at all times. Have a lively Faith in Chriſt ' our Saviour and Lord: and ſo ſhall you be rightly ' prepared unto death..... The ſpecial means to at- ' tain to forgiveneſs of ſin, is neither in man, nor by ' man, but by Faith only in Jeſus Chriſt crucified..... ' O, Madam, truſt not the devices which God's word ' doth not warrant, which is the true touchſtone, and ' the clear lanthorn to guide our feet into the way of ' peace, Jeſus Chriſt yeſterday, and to day, and the ' ſame for ever.——On him all the Saints call in ' the day of trouble; and have been heard and deli- ' vered, in him have they all truſted, and were never ' confounded. All other ciſterns are broken; and can- ' not hold the water of everlaſting life.—— ' Therefore, Madam, that you may ſo glorify the ' Lord in your laſt paſſage, that you may be glorified ' of him for ever, I moſt humbly beſeech your Grace ' in the tender mercy of God, to join with us preſent, ' in prayer to the throne of Grace; that we may re- ' joice, and you be *converted*; and God may turn his ' loving countenance toward you, and grant you his ' peace.'——This ſpeech, which is preſerved by the induſtrious Mr Strype (2), doth not give a high idea of the author's capacity. And he hath been ſeverely cenſured for it by the admirers of the Queen of Scots; particularly by A. Wood, who obſerves, that he ' being the perſon appointed to pray with, and for, ' her, did perſuade her to renounce her religion, con- ' trary to all Chriſtianity and Humanity (as it was by ' many then preſent ſo taken) to her great diſtur- ' bance (3).' Mr Camden calls it, *Verboſam orationem* (4), a long-winded ſpeech.

[*B*] *We are told, that he took this See on condition to leaſe out the revenues to Courtiers.*] This we learn from Sir John Harrington, whoſe account be pleaſed to take in his own words (5). ' I fortuned to be one ' day at the Savoy with Mr Secretary Walſingham, ' where Mr Fletcher was then upon his diſpatch for ' Briſtoll. A familiar friend of his meeting him there, ' bad God give him joy, my Lord elect of Briſtoll: ' which he taking kindly and courtly upon him, an- ' ſwered, " that it had pleaſed indeed the higher " powers ſo to diſpoſe of him. But, ſaid his friend " in his eare, do you not leaſe out *tot & tot* (6) to " ſuch and ſuch." He, clapping his hand on his ' heart, in a good gracefull faſhion, replied with the ' words of Naman the Syrian, *Herein the Lord be mer- ' ciful to me*; but there was not an Elizeus to bid him ' go in peace.' What ſhall I ſay for him? *Non erat hoc hominis vitium ſed temporis.* [This was not the fault of the man, but of the time.] I cannot ſay ſo, for I have written otherwiſe in a book of mine, *Libro* 3. nº. 80.

' Alaſs a fault confeſt were half amended,
' But ſin is doubled, that is thus defended,
' I know a right wiſe man ſayes and believes
' Where no receivers are, would be no theeves.

' Wherefore at the moſt I can but ſay, *Dividatur*, ' [let it be divided] He was a well ſpoken man, and ' one that the Queen gave good countenance to, and ' diſcovered her favour to him even in her reprehen- ' ſions, as Horace ſaith of Mecænas.

——Rerum tutela mearum
Cum ſis, & prave ſectum ſtomacheris ob unguem;

' for ſhe found fault with him once for cutting his ' beard too ſhort; whereas good lady (if ſhe had ' known that) ſhe would have found fault with him ' for cutting his Biſhoprick ſo ſhort.'

But, notwithſtanding, the Queen ſoon diſpatched an order to Archbiſhop Whitgift, to ſuſpend the Biſhop from the exerciſe of his epiſcopal function: which was accordingly executed, on the 23d of February, by the Archbiſhop himſelf in perſon. The ſeverity of this ſentence filled Biſhop Fletcher with the utmoſt grief and uneaſineſs, as appears by the copy of a letter of his inſerted in the note [C]. He lay ſome months under the weight of this ignominious cenſure, before he was reſtored. For it was not till July 1595 that the Lord Treaſurer ſignified to him, the Queen was in a good meaſure reconciled to him, and would give inſtructions and order to the Archbiſhop, to take off his ſuſpenſion: for which he was extremely thankful [D]. But tho' he was reſtored to the diſcharge of his function, yet, notwithſtanding all the entreaties of his friends, and thoſe ſome of the higheſt quality, the Queen would not permit him to come into her preſence for a twelvemonth; tho' for twenty years before he had waited in his place upon her perſon. This long abſence from Court the Biſhop laid much to heart; which induced him, in January following, to ſollicit the Lord Treaſurer, his former friend and mediator, to prevail upon the Queen that he might be admitted into her preſence. Whether the Biſhop ever recovered the place he once had in her Majeſty's favour, we cannot certainly learn (r); tho' we are told, that ſhe promiſed and gave him a viſit at Chelſea (s) [E]. However, his diſgrace ſat ſo heavy upon his mind, that it is thought to have haſtened his end. He died ſuddenly in his chair, at his houſe in London; being to all appearance well, ſick, and dead, in one quarter of an hour, June 15, 1596 (t). Mr Camden ſays, that he died *by immoderate taking of tobacco* (u) [F]. And others, that he died of diſcontent, thro' the Queen's diſpleaſure at him for his marriage; having had little enjoyment ſince he was made Biſhop of London (w). It is certain that he died ſuddenly, whilſt taking tobacco, which was not uſually taken in thoſe days, unleſs phyſically, or as a melancholy companion (x). He was buried in St Paul's cathedral, without any monument (y) [G]. As to his perſon, and character: He was courtly, and well ſpoken (z); of a comely perſon, and goodly preſence (a) [H]. He loved to ride the great horſe, and had much ſkill in managing thereof: he was condemned for very proud (ſuch his natural ſtately garb) by ſuch as knew him not, and commended for humility by thoſe that were acquainted with him (b). We do not find that he ever publiſhed any thing. One of his ſons, *John Fletcher*, of whom you have an account above, was a very ingenious Poet.

(r) Strype's Life of Whitgift, as above, p. 428, 429, 430.

(s) Sir John Harrington, ubi ſupra, p. 27.

(t) Ibid. p. 430. And Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 205.

(u) Camdeni, Annales, ut ſupra, ad ann. 1596. See alſo Wood, ubi ſupra.

(w) Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 779.

(x) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 430.

(y) Godwin and Willis, ibid.

(z) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 428.

(a) *Præſul Spleudidus.* Camden, ubi ſupra. See Harrington, as above, p. 23.

(b) The Church-Hiſt. of Britain, by T. Fuller, &c. Lond. 1655. Book IX. p. 233.

[C] *As appears by the copy of a letter of his.*] Wherein, among other things, he ſaid——— 'He 'confeſſed it was the more grievous and bitter unto 'him, by the remembrance both of her Highneſs former favour towards him; as alſo, for that he was 'now become unprofitable for the Church, and her 'Highneſs ſervice; to both which he had ſo wholly 'vowed himſelf, and all his poſſibility. Profeſſing '[to the Lord Treaſurer, to whom his letter was 'written] that he could have wiſhed, when he heard 'it, he had alſo heard (if juſtice would ſo have permitted) to have been ſequeſtered from his life itſelf. 'He added, that he knew how much his Lordſhip's 'approbation and grave mediation might in ſuch caſes 'avail with her Majeſty. Which if it might pleaſe 'him to vouchſafe him, he ſhould, he was perſwaded, 'with the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, be honoured for 'it; and give to himſelf matter of bond to his Lord'ſhip in all chriſtian devotion and dutifull obſervance.' This letter was dated from Chelſea, Feb. 24 (7).

(7) Strype, Life, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 429.

[D] *For which he was extremely thankful.*] He expreſſed his great acknowledgment for it in this other letter to the Lord Treaſurer Burghley,——— 'That 'to hear of the leaſt her Highneſs gracious inclination 'towards him, in her princely clemency, he could 'not ſufficiently expreſs to his good Lordſhip, how 'greatly it had recomforted him, having theſe ſix 'months thought himſelf (as the Prophet ſpake) *free 'among the dead, and like unto him that is in the 'grave*; made unprofitable unto God's and her Ma'jeſty's ſervice. That to hear of it alſo, as drawn on 'and wrought by his Lordſhip's honourable interceſ'ſion, and ſo kind mediation, it had greatly added to 'his joy and alacrity. I do therefore, (as he pro'ceeded) give your Lordſhip my intireſt thanks, be'ſeeching your Lordſhip to be perſuaded, that among 'ſo many to whom your Lordſhip hath been *Magnus* 'Εὐεργέτης [a great benefactor] there ſhall be none 'found, whoſe duty and devotion ſhall henceforth 'exceed his, who with his hand and heart giveth your 'Lordſhip this teſtimony of love and obſervance (8).'

(8) Ibid. p. 430.

[E] *She promiſed and gave him a viſit at Chelſea.*] 'There was, as Sir John Harrington informs us (9), 'a ſtayre, and a dore, made of purpoſe for her, in a 'bay-window: of which pleaſant wits deſcanted di'verſly; ſome ſaid, that was for joy, to ſhew he 'would (as the Proverb is) caſt the houſe out at win'dow for her welcome: ſome, more bitingly, called 'it the impreſſe or emblem of his entry into his firſt 'Biſhoprick, viz. not at the doore, but at the win'dow.'

(9) Ubi ſupra, p. 27, 28.

[F] *Mr Camden ſays, that he died by immoderate taking of Tobacco.*] His words are——— *qui, dum curas è nuptiis infauſtis & Reginæ improbatis (quæ Præſules conjugatos minus probavit) Nicoſia immodice hauſta obruit, vitam efflavit.*——— Fuller ſays (10), that he 'died more of grief than any other diſeaſe.' ——Tobacco (like all other faſhions) when it firſt came into uſe, was much decried; it being looked upon not only as nauſeous, but even poiſonous. So that many writers, and, amongſt the reſt, that Royal Pedant King James I (11), drew their pens againſt it. However, tho' ſome are confident that it is of the poiſonous ſort (12), common experience now ſhows, that it may be conſtantly uſed without danger, or even any viſible inconvenience. Peruſe, if you pleaſe, Dr Raphael Thory's excellent poem in its praiſe: intituled, *Hymnus Tabaci, Autore Raphaele Thorio* (13).

(10) Church-Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

(11) See, A Counterblaſte to Tobacco; among King James's Works. Lond. 1616. fol.

(12) See Harleian Miſcellany, Vol. I. p. 521.

[G] *He was buried in St Paul's cathedral, without any monument.*] But the following verſes were, in Sir John Harrington's time (14), handed about as his moſt vulgar Epitaph; being ſome of the many ſarcaſms paſſed upon him on account of his ſecond marriage.

(13) Lond. 1651. 12mo.

(14) See Harrington, ubi ſupra, p. 28.

Here lies the firſt Prelate made Chriſtendom See,
A Biſhop, a huſband unto a Ladee.
The cauſe of his death was ſecret and hid,
He cry'd out, I die; and ev'n ſo he did.

[H] *Of a comely perſon, and goodly preſence.*] 'Qualities, as Dr Fuller obſerves (15), not to be caſt 'away in a Biſhop, though a Biſhop not to be choſen 'for them.' Handſom and comly perſons were in general moſt acceptable to Queen Elizabeth: which made her always, on an equality of deſert, to reflect favourably on ſuch who were of graceful countenance and ſtature (16). Our Biſhop could preach well, and would ſpeak boldly, and yet keep *decorum*. He knew what would pleaſe the Queen, and would adventure on that, though it offended others (17).

(15) Church-Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

(16) Idem, Worthies, in Kent, p. 72.

(17) Harrington, ubi ſupra, p. 26.

FLETCHER (GILES) author *of the Ruſſe Common Wealth*, and brother to Richard Fletcher Biſhop of London, of whom you have an account in the laſt article, was alſo born in Kent. He received his education in Eaton ſchool (*a*); and, in the year 1565, was elected Scholar of King's-college in Cambridge (*b*), where he took the degrees, of Bachelor of Arts in 1569; of Maſter of Arts in 1573; and of Doctor of Laws in 1581 (*c*): and became an excellent Poet (*d*). His abilities recommending him to that great judge of merit, Queen Elizabeth, he was employed by her as Commiſſioner into Scotland, Germany, and the Low-Countries (*e*). In the year 1588, he was ſent Embaſſador to Muſcovy; not only to conclude a league with Theodore Juanowich Emperor of that country, but alſo to re-eſtabliſh and put into good order the decayed trade of our Ruſſia Company. He met at firſt with a cold reception, and even with rough uſage. For the Dutch, it ſeems, envying the excluſive privilege which the Company juſt now mentioned enjoyed of trading thither, had done them ill offices at that barbarous and arbitrary Court. And a falſe rumour then ſpread, of our fleet's being totally deſtroyed by the Spaniſh Armada, had created in the Czar a contempt and diſlike for the Engliſh nation, thinking he might ſafely injure thoſe who were not in a capacity of being revenged. But the Embaſſador ſoon effaced thoſe ill impreſſions, and having obtained good and advantagious conditions [*A*], returned to England with ſafety and honour (*f*) [*B*]. Shortly after his return, he was made Secretary to the city of London, and one of the Maſters of the Court of Requeſts (*g*). Alſo, on the 20th of June 1597, he was conſtituted Treaſurer of St Paul's London (*h*). From the obſervations he had made during his embaſſy he drew up a curious account 'of the Ruſſe Commonwealth: or Manner of Government by the Ruſſe Emperor (commonly called the Emperor of Moſkovia) with the Manners and Faſhions of the People of that Countrey [*C*].' Printed at London in 1591, 8*vo*. But it was quickly ſuppreſſed,

(*a*) The Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, D. D. in Kent, p. 78.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti, Edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 107.

(*c*) From the Regiſters of the Univerſity.

(*d*) Fuller and Wood, ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid. See The principal Navigations, Voyages, &c. of the Engliſh Nation, &c. by R. Hakluyt. Edit. 1600. Vol. I. p. 473.

(*g*) Fuller and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Newcourt, Repertor. Eccleſ. Vol. I. p. 107.

[*A*] *And having obtained good and advantagious conditions.*] They were to this effect. 1. A continuation of league and amity between the Queen and the Emperor Theodore Juanowich, in like manner as was with his father Juan Baſilowich. 2. A confirmation and re-eſtabliſhment of the former privileges of the company of our Engliſh merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with divers neceſſary additions, for the better ordering of their trade in thoſe countreys hereafter; viz. that the ſtate of the privilege granted before in the names of ſome private and particular men, be altered in that point, and the ſame granted by the name and ſtile of their incorporation, viz. to the fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants for the diſcovery of new trades. 3. That upon every ſurmiſe and light quarrel, the ſaid privilege be not revoked and annulled, as before time it hath been. 4. That juſtice ſhall be adminiſtred to the ſaid company and their agent without delay, upon ſuch as ſhall offer them any deſpite or injury, or ſhall exact or impoſe upon them any payment, taxation, or impoſition whatſoever, contrary to the freedom of the ſaid grant. 5. That the goods and commodities of the ſaid company be not forcibly taken as before time they have been by the Emperor's officers or people of authority, either for the uſe of the ſaid Emperor or of his officers. But in caſe they have need of the ſaid commodities, the ſame to be taken at reaſonable prices, and for ready money. 6. That the ſaid company be not charged hereafter with the anſwering of ſuch debts as are made by any Engliſhman not being of the ſociety. 7. That the Emperor's authorized people ſhall not hereafter repute any Engliſhman reſident in that countrey, to be factor, ſervant, or dealer in the ſaid company's affairs, but ſuch as the agent ſhall regiſter by name, within the offices where cuſtom is entered in all ſuch places of the land where the ſaid company have reſidencies to traffick. 8. That the names of ſuch as ſhall be ſo regiſtered be no longer continued in record, nor themſelves reputed as factors or dealers for the ſaid company, than the agent ſhall think good. But in caſe the ſaid agent ſhall think meet to ſtrike out of the regiſter any name of ſuch as have been employed in the company's ſervice, the ſaid perſon to be held as private, and whoſe act in bargaining or otherwiſe, ſhall not charge the ſaid company. 9. That if any Engliſhman within the countrey of Ruſſia be ſuſpected for any notorious crime, as felony, treaſon, &c. the ſame be not ſtraightways ſet upon the Pudkey (*), nor otherwiſe tormented, till ſuch time as he ſhall be convicted by plain and evident proofs: which being done, the whole proceeding to be ſent over to the Queen of England. 10. That the ſaid privilege with the additions, ſhall be publiſhed in all towns and parts of the Emperor's dominions, where the ſaid company have traffick. 11. That the ſaid company ſhall be permitted to uſe a ſole trade through the Emperor's countries, by the river Wolga into Media, Perſia, Bulgaria, and the other eaſt countries. 12. Whereas there was claimed of the ſaid company the ſum of 23,553 marks of debt, *made by certain of* the factors of *the ſaid company, for payment whereof* their whole ſtock was *in danger of* arreſt by publick authority; and alſo 2140 rubles *for* cuſtoms and houſerent, he obtained an abatement of eighteen thouſand one hundred and fifty three marks of the ſaid debt (1). ——The Ruſſia company to which theſe privileges were granted, was firſt incorporated by Charter, in the 1ſt and 2d of Philip and Mary; afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament in the 8th of Queen Elizabeth (2).

(*) i. e. roaſted to death.

(1) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra.

(2) See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, Edit. 1720. Vol. I. Book II. p. 204. And Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 267, &c.

[*B*] *Returned to England with ſafety.*] We are told, 'that after his ſafe return to London, he ſent 'for an intimate friend, with whom he heartily ex- 'preſſed his thankfulneſs to God for his ſafe return 'from ſo great a danger. For the Poets cannot fancy 'Ulyſſes more glad to be come out of the den of Po- 'lyphemus, than he was to be rid of the power of 'ſuch a barbarous Prince; who counting himſelf, by 'a proud and voluntary miſtake, Emperor of all Na- 'tions, cared not for the Law of all Nations; and 'who was ſo habited in blood, that had he cut off 'this Embaſſador's head, he and his friends might 'have fought their own amends, but the queſtion is, 'where he would have found it? (3)' Dr Fuller is miſtaken, when he affirms (4), that our author was agent in Muſcovy in 1583. For the words of Mr Camden, which he refers to, imply no ſuch thing (5).

(3) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(4) Ibid. in the Margin.

(5) Annales reg. Elizab. ad ann. 1583.

[*C*] *Of the Ruſſe Commonwealth.*] This curious and ſcarce little book, is divided into theſe three general parts. I. Coſmography of the Country. II. Policy. III. Oeconomy or private behaviour. And the ſecond part is ſubdivided into theſe four. The ordering of their State. Their judicial proceeding. Their warlike proviſions. Their Eccleſiaſtical State. The whole is compriſed into 28 chapters, of which the titles follow. 1. The breadth and length of the country, with the names of the Shires. 2. The ſoil and climate. 3. The native commodities of the country. 4. The chief cities of Ruſſia. 5. The houſe or ſtocke of the Ruſſe Emperor. 6. The manner of inauguration of the Ruſſe Emperors. 7. The form or manner of their publick government. 8. Their Parliaments and manner of holding them. 9. The Ruſſe Nobility, and means whereby it is kept in an under proportion agreeable to that State. 10. The manner of governing their Provinces or Shires. 11. The Emperor's Privy-Council. 12. The Emperor's cuſtoms and other revenues, and what they amount unto, with the Sophiſmes practiſed for the encreaſe of them. 13. The Ruſſe communalty, and their condition. 14. Their

public

suppreſſed leſt it might give offence to a Prince in amity with England (*i*). Dr Fletcher died in the pariſh of St Catherine Coleman (*k*) in London, in the month of February 1610, and was probably buried in that church (*l*). He left two ſons, both learned men. The eldeſt, Giles, Bachelor of Divinity of Trinity-college in Cambridge, was equally beloved of the Muſes and Graces; and died at Alderton in Suffolk in 1623. Phineas, the younger, of King's-college in the ſame univerſity, was accounted an excellent Poet; and became afterwards Rector of Hilgay in Norfolk. He wrote ſeveral books (*m*); particularly, *De literatis antiquæ Britanniæ, præſertim qui doctrina claruerunt, quique Collegia Cantabrigiæ fundarunt.* Cantabr. 1633, 12*mo*. i. e. Of the learned in Britain, who have founded Colleges at Cambridge.

(*i*) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad an. 1583.

(*k*) Not of St Katharine in Coleman-ſtreet, as Mr Wood ſays by miſtake; for there is no ſuch Church: But of St Katharine Coleman, in Fenchurch-ſtreet.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Ibid.

public juſtice and manner of proceeding therein. 15. The Emperor's forces for his wars, with the officers and their ſalaries. 16. Their manner of muſtering, armour, proviſion for victual, encamping, &c. 17. Their order in marching, charging, and their martial diſcipline. 18. Their colonies and policy in maintaining their purchaſes by conqueſt. 19, 20. Their borderers, with whom they have moſt to do in war and peace. 21. Their Church offices, and degrees. 22. Their Leiturgy or form of Church ſervice, with their manner of adminiſtring the Sacraments. 23. The doctrine of the Ruſſe Church. 24. Their manner of ſolemnizing marriages. 25. The other ceremonies of the Ruſſe Church. 26. The Emperor's domeſtic or private behaviour. 27. The Emperor's houſhold, and officers of his houſe. 28. The private behaviour, and manners of the Ruſſe people.——There are ſeveral particulars in this book, no leſs wonderful than true. As, for inſtance, what he ſays of the intenſe cold of that climate (6).—— 'The rivers and other waters 'are all frozen up a yard or more thick, how ſwift or 'broad ſoever they be. And this continueth com- 'monly five months, viz. from the beginning of No- 'vember till towards the end of March, what time 'the ſnow beginneth to melt. So that it would breed 'a froſt in a man to look abroad at that time, and ſee 'the winter face of that country. The ſharpneſs of 'the air you may judge of by this: for that water 'dropped down or caſt up into the air, congealeth 'into ice before it come to the ground. In the ex- 'tremity of winter, if you hold a pewter-diſh or pot 'in your hand, or any other metal, (except in ſome 'chamber where their warm ſtoves be) your fingers 'will freeze faſt unto it, and draw off the ſkins at the 'parting. When you paſs out of a warm room into 'a cold, you ſhall ſenſibly feel your breath to wax 'ſtark, and even ſtifling with the cold, as you draw 'it in and out. Divers not only that travel abroad, 'but in the very markets and ſtreets of their towns, 'are mortally pinched, and killed withall: ſo that 'you ſhall ſee many drop down dead in the ſtreets, 'many travellers brought into the towns ſitting dead 'and ſtiff in their ſledds. Divers loſe their noſes, the 'tips of their ears, and the balls of their cheeks, their 'toes, feet, &c.——And yet in the ſummer-time 'you ſhall ſee ſuch a new hue and face of a country; 'the woods (for the moſt part which are all of fir and 'birch) ſo freſh and ſo ſweet, the paſtures and mea- 'dows ſo green and well-grown (and that upon the 'ſudden) ſuch variety of flowers, ſuch noiſe of birds '(ſpecially of Nightingales, that ſeem to be more 'loud and of a more variable note than in other coun- 'tries) that a man ſhall not lightly travel in a more 'pleaſant country.——As the winter exceedeth 'in cold, ſo the ſummer inclineth to over-much heat; 'ſpecially in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, 'being much warmer than the ſummer air in England. '—— (7). In winter-time, when all is covered 'with ſnow, and the ground ſo hard frozen, as that 'no ſpade, nor pickax can enter, their manner is not 'to bury their dead, but to keep the bodies (ſo many 'as die all the winter-time) in an houſe, in the ſu- 'burbs, or out parts of the town, which they call 'Bohſedom, that is God's houſe: where the dead 'bodies are piled up together, like billets on a wood- 'ſtack, as hard with the froſt as a very ſtone, till the 'ſpring tide come, and reſolveth the froſt: what time 'every man taketh his dead friend, and committeth 'him to the ground.'——The account he gives of the arbitrarineſs of the government there, is ſurprizing, but well known (8). 'To ſhew his ſovereignty over 'the lives of his ſubjects, the late Emperor Juan Va- 'ſilowich in his walks or progreſſes, if he had miſ- 'liked the face or perſon of any man whom he met 'by the way, or that looked upon him, would com- 'mand his head to be ſtruck off. Which was pre- 'ſently done, and the head caſt before him.'—— He enlarges more fully upon that point, in the dedication of his book to Queen Elizabeth.—— 'My 'meaning, ſays he, was to note things for mine own 'experience, of more importaunce than delight, and 'rather true than ſtrange. In their manner of go- 'vernment, your Highneſs may ſee both: a true and 'ſtrange face of a *tyrannical* State, (moſt unlike to 'your own) without true knowledge of God, without 'written law, without common juſtice: ſave that 'which proceedeth from their *ſpeaking law*, to wit, 'the Magiſtrate who hath moſt need of a law, to re- 'ſtrain his own injuſtice (*). The practiſe hereof as it is 'heavy, and grievous to the poor oppreſſed people 'that live within thoſe countries: ſo it may give juſt 'cauſe to myſelf, and other your Majeſty's faithful 'ſubjects, to acknowledge our happineſs on this be- 'half, and to give God thanks for your Majeſty's 'moſt Prince-like, and gracious Government: as alſo 'to your Highneſs more joy and contentment in your 'Royal Eſtate, in that you are a Prince of ſubjects, 'not of ſlaves, that are kept within duty by love, not 'by fear.'——It was, undoubtedly, for theſe paſſages that the book was ſuppreſſed, as is ſaid above: but it was reprinted at London in 1643. 12mo. and is inſerted in R. Hakluyt's Navigations, Voyages, &c. Vol. 1. p. 474, &c. only a little contracted. Mr Camden, ſpeaking of this book, ſtyles it *libellum, in quo plurima obſervanda* (9), i. e. a book wherein are many things worthy of obſervation.

(6) Fol. 4, &c.

(7) p. 106.

(8) Fol. 21. 6.

(*) They are much civilized, ſince that book was written.

(9) Ubi ſupra, ad ann. 1583.

C

FORTESCUE, FORTESKEWE, or FOSKEWE (Sir JOHN), an able Stateſman, an excellent Lawyer, a general Scholar, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and, as is commonly admitted, Lord High Chancellor of England, in the reign of King Henry the Sixth (*a*). A perſon ſo remarkable every way for abilities, dignities, and misfortunes, that it is, in reality, not a little ſtrange we ſhould not hitherto have had a better account of him; more eſpecially ſince ſeveral attempts have been already made to this purpoſe, and that too by perſons equally capable, and one would have thought willing, to have given the world all the light poſſible into the perſonal hiſtory of ſo worthy, ſo learned, and ſo great a man [*A*]. He was indiſputably deſcended from the antient family of Forteſcue,

(*a*) Bale de Script. major. Brytan. cent. viii. 36. p. 613.

[*A*] *So worthy, ſo learned, and ſo great a man.*] It ſeems a little ſtrange, that Leland, in his hiſtory of Engliſh authors, has not ſo much as mentioned Sir John Forteſcue, and tho' this defect might ſeem to be in ſome meaſure ſupplied by the accounts given of him, by Bale and Pits, yet what they ſay of him is rather by way of character, and even in that they are not much to be depended upon, ſince Bale tells us, that, ſtep by ſtep, he roſe to the office of High Chancellor of England, which great office in the ſtate he executed

teſcue, in the county of Devon; but ſome diverſity there is as to his immediate parentage. The Reverend Mr Prince, who had the inſpection, as he informs us, of pedigrees extracted from the Herald's-Office by Sir William Pole, is very poſitive that he was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Forteſcue of Norreis (*b*) [*B*]. But notwithſtanding this, the late Lord Forteſcue, one

(*b*) Worthies of Devon, p. 304.

executed long with much authority and dignity, and more to the ſame purpoſe (1), tho' it is very certain, that he never executed that office in this kingdom at all. He farther informs us, that he was a long time in exile, but upon what account he confeſſes himſelf ignorant, which is a pretty clear proof, that he was very far from being well acquainted with his perſonal hiſtory. As for Pits, in this, as in moſt other articles, he copies Bale, and whenever he ventures to depart from him is very ſeldom in the right. He is ſo cautious as to ſay, that it was reported Sir John Forteſcue paſſed part of his life in baniſhment, which, conſidering the confuſion of the times in which he lived, he thinks might probably be true enough; and then he proceeds to give us a catalogue of his works, of which, according to his manner, he gives us the title of four pieces, and adds, that he wrote ſeveral more, but, without doubt, he was a very indifferent judge of them, ſince the firſt and the laſt that he mentions, is the very ſame book (2) under different titles, an error which he very faithfully copied from Bale, except that in his performance the titles follow each other. They both profeſs to tranſcribe Robert Record, an author who deſerved a better fate than he met with, for he died a priſoner in the King's Bench in the laſt year of Queen Mary's reign (3), but they neither of them mention from what work of his they copied what they wrote, and perhaps, without breach of charity, we may ſuſpect that Pits never ſaw any of our author's books, or perhaps Record's account of him. We cannot doubt that the famous Mr Selden was much better acquainted with the hiſtory of Sir John Forteſcue, than can be collected either from his preface, or the notes he has written upon his book; and it was certainly a little unkind, not to give the world ſome farther lights as to ſo eminent a perſon, when they lay ſo much within his power. Doctor Fuller mentions him in ſeveral of his works (4), and that I think is the moſt that can be ſaid, for he has preſerved nothing worth reading about him in any of them. We might naturally have expected in the very copious preface, addreſſed to Sir John Holland, by the late Lord Forteſcue (5), a larger or at leaſt a more exact account of this reverend Judge; but it falls out quite otherwiſe, for he is very ſhort, tells us nothing which we did not know before, except, that he was poſſeſſed of a manuſcript which he believes Mr Selden never ſaw, and which, ſometime or other, perhaps, might ſee the light, tho' it never did, nor is he ſo kind as to tell us ſo much as its title. One thing he aſſerts which might have been as well omitted, that the remains of this great man are interred in Campden Church, in which there is a handſome monument to his memory, which induced Biſhop Tanner (6) to doubt whether it might not be ſo, whereas the fact is certain, that he was buried at Ebrighton (7) Ebburton, or Ebberton.

(1) De Script. major. Brytan. cent. viii. 36. p. 613.

(2) De illuſtrib. Angl. Script. Æ. xv. 850. p. 649.

(3) Tanneri Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernia, p. 619.

(4) Worthies, Devonſhire, p. 256. Holy State, p. 236.

(5) Prefixed to our author's Book *The Difference between an abſolute and limited Monarchy.*

(6) Bibliothec. Britannico-Hibernia, p. 293.

(7) Atkins's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 425.

[*B*] *That he was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Forteſcue of Norreis.*] The Reverend Mr Prince begins his account of the learned perſon, who is the ſubject of this article in theſe words (8). 'Sir John Forteſcue, 'Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice, and Lord High Chan'cellor of England, was born moſt likely at Norreis, 'in the Pariſh of North Huiſh, near South Brent in 'this county, he was ſecond ſon of Sir John Forteſcue, 'Knight, Captain of Meaux in France, by his wife '.... daughter and heir of Norreis, of Norreis, who 'was ſecond ſon of William Forteſcue of Wimſton, 'antiently Wimondeſton, in the Pariſh of Modbiry, 'the moſt antient ſeat of this honourable name and 'family in this county or the kingdom, in whoſe poſ'ſeſſion it remained from the days of John King of 'England, to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about 'four hundred years, ſo runs the antient deed, *Rex* 'Johannes, *per Literas ſuas Patentes, Datas anno* 10. '*Regni ſui, conceſſit Johanni Forteſcue, Wymondeſton* 'in Com. Devon.' Yet in the ſpace of a few lines, he gives us ſuch an account of this matter as is not very conſiſtent herewith, his words are theſe; 'Here, 'ere I proceed farther in regard of the great variety 'of the families of this name which flouriſh in this 'county, and ſeveral other parts of England in high 'degree, it may not prove unacceptable to the curi'ous herein, to lay down a brief account of the pedi'gree thereof as an induſtrious Antiquary of our own 'hath collected it from the Heralds Office. William 'Forteſcue of Wimpſton, ſeventh in deſcent from the 'firſt poſſeſſor, by Elizabeth, ſiſter and coheir of 'Thomas Beauchamp of Ryme, had iſſue, William, 'and Sir John Forteſcue, Captain of Meaux, William 'by Mabilia, daughter and heir of John Falwel, had 'iſſue, John, who by Joan, daughter and heir of 'John Pruteſton de Pruteſton, in the pariſh of New'ton Ferrers, had three ſons, John of Wimpſton, 'William of Pruteſton, now Preſton, and John of 'Spridleſton, commonly Spurleſton. Sir John For'teſcue, ſecond ſon of William, Captain of Meaux, 'by the daughter and heir of Norreis as aforeſaid, 'had iſſue three ſons; Henry, who by his firſt wife 'had iſſue, Forteſcue of Wood, whoſe iſſue male fail'ing, his daughter and heir was married unto For'teſcue of Preſton, by his ſecond wife, only daugh'ter and heir of Fallapit, of Fallapit, in East All'wington had iſſue, Richard Forteſcue of Fallapit, 'whoſe heir male failing in the third deſcent, his 'daughter Elizabeth was married unto Lewis, third 'ſon of Forteſcue of Spridelſton, who hath continued 'the name there unto this day. The ſecond ſon of 'Sir John Forteſcue of Norreis, was Sir John For'teſcue our preſent ſubject, his third ſon was Richard, 'from whom iſſued the ſeveral families of this name 'in the eaſt parts of England, as at Poleſborn in Hart'fordſhire, Fulborn in Eſſex, Souldon in Bucks, &c. 'all which ſprang originally from Wimpſton afore'ſaid.' It is needleſs to trouble the reader here with the corrections of this genealogy, ſince it will be ſet in a proper light in the next note; it is ſufficient to obſerve that it cannot be right, becauſe that in more inſtances than one it is inconſiſtent with itſelf, which in all probability aroſe from want of duly conſidering the collections made by Sir William Pole, which are on all hands allowed to have been very authentick. We have a very different account of this matter from Mr Waterhouſe (9), who aſſures us, that he had it from Sir John Forteſcue of Salden in Buckinghamſhire, which is conceived in theſe words. 'He was, ſays he, 'third ſon to Henry Forteſcue, ſon of Sir John For'teſcue, Knight, Captain of Meaux, and Governor 'of Bry in France under Henry the Fifth, which Sir 'John was ſecond ſon of William Forteſcue of Wime'ſton, in the county of Devon, Eſq; ſo that our 'Chancellor being immediate heir in the eighth de'ſcent of Sir Richard Forteſcue, Knight, who came 'out of Normandy in the Conqueror's time, was ge'nerouſly deſcended by his father, and no leſs by his 'mother, who was a daughter and heir of Beau'champ, his eldeſt brother was Lord Chief Juſtice 'of Ireland, and died iſſueleſs.' The laſt part of this paragraph is directly contradicted by Prince, and indeed by all the accounts of the family of Forteſcue that can be relied upon. It is very true, that the male line in the eldeſt branch failed, but not as is here repreſented. There is yet another account which occurs in the labours of ſo careful and ſo judicious a writer, that it deſerves to be particularly examined, it runs thus (10). 'A gentleman of good ſenſe, who is 'very converſant in the affairs of the family, informs 'me, that Sir John Forteſcue, Lord Chief Juſtice, 'and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, was the 'third ſon of John Forteſcue, Knight, Captain of 'Meaux, &c. and not of Henry Forteſcue, Chief 'Juſtice of Ireland, who, according to a pedigree of 'the family in his cuſtody, was the Chancellor's eldeſt 'brother. He thinks it pretty plain, for that, the 'fourteenth of Henry the Sixth, Henry Forteſcue, by 'deed indented, did grant and confirm unto John 'Forteſcue his brother, and Iſabella, who was wife 'of the ſaid John, all the meſſuages, lands, and te'nements, of John Forteſcue, father of the ſaid Henry,

(8) Worthies of Devon, p. 304.

(9) In his Introduction to his Commentary on Forteſcue *de laudibus legum.*

(10) In the Notes to the Preface to the ſecond Edit. of the Tranſlation of Forteſcue *de laudibus legum*, fol. 1741. p. 50.

in

one of the Juſtices of his Majeſty's Court of King's-Bench, and afterwards of the Common-Pleas, is very clear that he was the third ſon of Sir Henry Forteſcue, Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland (*c*); and when the matter comes to be fairly examined, it will be found that he is certainly in the right [*C*]. We have no account where this learned perſon was born (tho' it is very highly probable it was in the Weſt of England), or in what year; we are likewiſe in the dark as to the Univerſity (*d*) in which he ſtudied, or indeed whether he ſtudied in either; but moſt probable it is that he did, and that he applied himſelf particularly to the Civil Law, in which, we have not only teſtimony to prove, but his writings likewiſe ſhew, that he was very learned (*e*). It is true that the Reverend Mr Prince (*f*) thought it probable that he ſtudied at Oxford; and a very learned Prelate (*g*) ſays, that he was educated in Exeter College, in that Univerſity; but as he cites no authority for this, in reſpect to which no man was more accurate, it is reaſonable to believe that he ſpeaks from conjecture alſo, though certainly, in a point of this nature, any conjecture of his ought to have great weight. When he turned his thoughts to the municipal laws of England, and reſolved, according to the example of his father, to betake himſelf to that profeſſion, he ſettled in Lincoln's-Inn, where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very extraordinary manner (*h*), and where it is aſſerted that his lectures were crowded, on account of the high reputation he had acquired in the Civil as well as the Common Law; which is ſo much the more probable, as we have his own authority to prove that the Inns of Court were never in a more flouriſhing condition, or the profeſſion of the Law in greater reverence and eſteem, than at this time (*i*) [*D*]. The firſt date that occurs with reſpect to his preferments,

(*c*) See his Preface to Chancellor Forteſcue's Diſcourſe on a limited Monarchy.

(*d*) Bale and Pits are both ſilent upon this head.

(*e*) Pits de illuſtr. Angliæ Script. Æ xv. n. 850. p. 649.

(*f*) Worthies of Devon, p. 305.

(*g*) Tanneri Bibliо. Britan. Hibern. p. 293.

(*h*) Bale de Script. Major. Brytan. cent viii. 36. p. 613.

(*i*) De laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 49.

' in Overcomb, Efford, and Alſton, in the pariſh of ' Holboughton, Devon.' Againſt this account there ſeem to lie two objections, the firſt is, that there was a long deſcent of Forteſcues, the male line of which ended in Sir Francis Forteſcue, who died at the Bath, November the eleventh, 1729. all claiming a deſcent from Sir Henry Forteſcue, Chief Juſtice of Ireland; which does not at all agree with this account, the other objection is, that this Henry Forteſcue mentioned in the deed, might poſſibly be Henry Forteſcue of Wood, eldeſt ſon to Sir Henry Forteſcue, Lord Chief Juſtice, which will agree very well with the deſcent mentioned in the next note.

[*C*] *That he is certainly in the right.*] There is no doubt, that the houſe of Forteſcue was ſettled in the county of Devon in the reign of King John, if not before, and that their antient manſion was Winſton in Armington hundred, long ſince paſſed into other hands. It appears from Sir William Pole's manuſcript of Charters, the great Antiquary of that county, that in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Edward the Firſt, Adam Forteſcue, ſtiled ſon and heir of Adam Forteſcue, granted to Henry Loppetigges (11), an annual rent of ſeven ſhillings, which Richard the ſon of Philip uſed to pay him for his tenement in Wimonſton, to which his ſeal is affixed, being an oval ſhield charged with a ſtar, circumſcribed Ade Forteſcue. After him was William Forteſcue of the ſame place, a witneſs to the charter of John and William Ferrers, in the thirty fifth of Edward the Third, as the aforeſaid manuſcript ſhews. And in the ſecond of Richard the Second, being wrote William Forteſcue, Senior, he had a grant with Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtney, Knights, from Richard Mauldif, called Somaiſter, of lands in Smytheſton, Crencomb, Wympell, and Thurverton. This William married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John Beauchamp of Kyme, in the county of Lincoln, and had iſſue two ſons, William Forteſcue of Winſton, which branch ended in an only daughter and heir of Thomas Forteſcue, named Jane, married to Edmund Babington of Wyke, in the county of Worceſter, Eſquire. John, the ſecond ſon of the firſt William Forteſcue, was one of thoſe brave Engliſhmen, who ſignalized themſelves under the ſtandard of that victorious Monarch, Henry the Fifth. Which John Forteſcue had the honour of Knighthood conferred on him for his valour in thoſe French wars, and was made Governor of Meaux in Berry. He took to wife ** ****** daughter and heir of William Norris, by whom he had iſſue, Sir Henry Forteſcue, Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland (12), who had three ſons, firſt Henry Forteſcue of Wood, in the county of Devon, Sir Richard Forteſcue, from whom deſcended the Forteſcues of Punſborn, and the third ſon, was Sir John Forteſcue, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and by his appointment Chancellor. This account is clear, conſiſtent, and well ſupported, ſo that there ſeems to be no reaſon why it ſhould not be willingly received, inſtead of thoſe vague, contradictory, unatteſted ſtories, that are to be met with in ſome books.

(11) E. Collect. T. Mellers.

(12) Selden, in his Preface to Forteſcue, *de laudibus legum*, &c.

[*D*] *Than at this time.*] The moſt learned Antiquaries in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whoſe ſentiments we have upon the ſubject of the Inns of Court and Chancery, agree fully in this, that they never were in ſo flouriſhing condition, as in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and that this is a point wholly known from the account given of them by our author, who deſcribes thoſe eſtabliſhments as they ſtood about three hundred years ago, or more, referring that deſcription, not to the time when he wrote his book, but when he ſtudied in them. That very curious relation which cannot but be very acceptable to the intelligent reader, runs thus (13). ' To the intent, *moſt* ' *excellent Prince*, you may conceive the form and ' image of this ſtudy, as I am able I will deſcribe it ' unto you. For there are for theſe ſtudies ten leſſer ' houſes or Inns, and ſometimes more, which are called ' Inns of Chancery, and to every one of them be' longeth an hundred ſtudents at leaſt, and to ſome of ' them a much greater number, tho' at one time they ' be not ever all together in the ſame. Thoſe ſtu' dents for the moſt part are young men, ſtudying the ' originals and the elements of the Law, who profiting ' therein as they grow to ripeneſs, ſo are they admitted ' into the greater Inns, called the Inns of Court, of ' which greater Inns there are four in number. And ' to the leaſt of them belongeth in form abovemen' tioned, two hundred ſtudents or thereabouts, for in ' theſe greater Inns, no ſtudent can be maintained for ' leſs expences by the year, than twenty marks. And ' if he have a ſervant to wait upon him, as moſt of ' them have, then ſo much the greater will his charges ' be. Now by reaſon of this, the children only of ' Noblemen ſtudy the Laws in thoſe Inns, for the ' poorer and common ſort of people, are not able ' to bear ſo great charges for the exhibition of their ' children. And Merchants can ſeldom find in their ' hearts, to burthen their trade with ſo great yearly ' expences. And thus it falleth out, that there is ' hardly any man found within the realm ſkilful in ' the Laws, except he be a gentleman born, and one ' deſcended of a noble ſtock. Wherefore, they more ' than any other kind of men have a ſpecial regard to ' their nobility, and to the preſervation of their ho' nour and fame; and to ſpeak with the ſtrict regard ' to truth, there is in theſe greater Inns, and even in ' the leſſer too, beſide the ſtudy of the Laws, as it ' were an univerſity or ſchool for the acquiſition of ' all commendable qualities requiſite for Noblemen. ' There they learn to ſing, and to exerciſe themſelves ' in all kind of harmony. There alſo they practiſe ' dancing and other genteel accompliſhments, as they ' are accuſtomed to do, which are brought up in the ' King's houſe. On working days moſt of them ap' ply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Law, and on holy ' days

(13) De laudibus legum, cap. 49.

preferments, is the fourth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, when, as Sir William Dugdale informs us, he was made one of the Governors of Lincoln's-Inn, and was honoured again with the ſame employment three years after (*k*). In Michaelmas term 1430, he was promoted to the degree of a Serjeant at Law, and kept his feaſt upon that occaſion, as he himſelf informs us, with very great ſplendour (*l*) [*E*]. In 1441, he was in Eaſter term made one of the King's Serjeants at Law (*m*); and on the twenty-fifth of January 1442, he was conſtituted Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench at Weſtminſter (*n*). He is highly commended, by ſome of our moſt eminent writers, for that wiſdom, gravity, and uprightneſs, with which he preſided in that Court for ſo many years (*o*); but certainly they are ſomewhat miſtaken, or have not conſidered the hiſtory of the times in which he lived, who ſuggeſt that he was one of the King's principal Counſellors, and that the Court was in a great meaſure governed by his advice, the direct contrary of which is moſt likely to be true. For we cannot conceive, that ſo mild and good a man, as Sir John Fortеſcue was, could act otherwiſe than miniſterially in the trial of many of the friends and ſervants of Humphry Duke of Glouceſter, called by the people the *good* Duke of Glouceſter, for high-treaſon, who were convicted upon ſlender evidence, and afterwards treated in a manner of which we find no other inſtance in our own, or in foreign records [*F*]. It is thought that he oppoſed the

(*k*) Origines Juridiciales, p. 142.

(*l*) De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 50.

(*m*) Chron. Series, p. 62, 63.

(*n*) Chron. Juridic. p. 127.

(*o*) Bale, Pits, &c.

'days to ſtudy Holy Scripture, and out of the time 'of divine ſervice to the reading of Chronicles. For 'there indeed are virtues ſtudied, and from them are 'vices exiled. So that for the acquiſition of virtue, 'and eradicating of vice, Knights and Barons, with 'other States, and Noblemen of the realm, place their 'children in thoſe Inns, even, tho' they deſire not 'to have them learned in the Laws, nor to live by the 'practice thereof, but only upon their fathers allow-'ance. Seldom, if at any time, is there heard amongſt 'them any ſedition or grudging; and yet the offen-'ders are no otherwiſe puniſhed, than only by being re-'moved from the company of their fellowſhip, which 'puniſhment they more fear than other offenders, im-'priſonment and irons: for he that is once expelled 'is never received to be a fellow in any of the other 'fellowſhips, and by this means there is continual 'peace, and their demeanour is like the behaviour of 'ſuch as dwell together in perfect amity——— 'But there is one thing more which I would have you 'know, that neither at Orleans, where both the Ca-'non and the Civil Laws are taught, and to which, 'for that reaſon, ſcholars reſort from all the adjacent 'countries; nor at Anjou, nor at Caen, or any Uni-'verſity in France, Paris only excepted, are there ſo 'many youths grown up, employed in ſtudy, as in 'theſe Inns of Court and Chancery, tho' there are 'none that ſtudy there but what are Engliſh born.' This reflects great honour on that age, tho' poſſibly ſomewhat at the expence of this.

[*E*] *With very great ſplendour.*] It is in the ſame book, and in proſecution of the ſame diſcourſe, that our very learned author gives Prince Edward an account of the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law (14), wherein, perhaps, the reader may at firſt imagine there was ſomewhat of vanity, or at leaſt, of an inclination natural enough to old men, that of ſpeaking of himſelf. But whoever conſiders attentively the ſcheme of that book, will ſee quite the contrary. The deſign of its wiſe and worthy author, was to convince the young Prince, his pupil, that England was the country in the world, in which Laws were in the higheſt eſtimation, where they were equally the rule of the King's government, and the meaſure of the ſubjects obedience, and where conſequently neither could deſpiſe them without becoming a tyrant or a rebel. It was natural from hence for him to obſerve, that a Serjeant is a rank or dignity in the Law, unknown in any nation but this, and conſequently the ſtrongeſt mark of the high and univerſal reſpect paid to the profeſſion; to prove this the more fully, he mentions the expence with which the taking this ſtate or dignity was attended, and in doing this he is very brief, he obſerves, that according to the cuſtom then in uſe, they gave a great dinner like the feaſt at a King's Coronation, and continued their entertainments for ſeven days, which when there were eight Serjeants made at a time, amounted to three thouſand two hundred marks, or four hundred marks a piece; he is very particular in marking the number and price of the gold rings, of which, he ſays, not ſo much as a clerk in the Common Pleas, but received one, and that when himſelf was called, thoſe rings coſt him fifty pounds. He takes notice likewiſe, that none could be raiſed to the office of a Judge, either in the King's-Bench, or Common Pleas, but muſt be of the degree of a Serjeant, to which degree men could not be then raiſed till they had been at leaſt ſixteen years at the bar, which I the rather mention, becauſe it will enable us to form ſome notion of his own age, ſince, if we conſider, that he was called to the degree of Serjeant in 1430 (15), we may very well conclude, that he was born in or about the year 1395, which remark, tho' in itſelf a matter of no great conſequence, will have its uſe hereafter, when we come to mention his tranſactions in the laſt part of his life, where we have great need of conjecture and reflection to conduct us.

(14) Ibid. cap. 50.

(15) Chron. Juridic. p. 123.

[*F*] *In our own or in foreign records.*] If this was a convenient place, and the nature of the work would allow us room, what is advanced in the text might be proved beyond all contradiction; that is to ſay, it might be ſhewn that ſuch things were done by the Court, or, to ſpeak ſtrictly, by the Queen and her favourites, as no good man could behold but with great concern. The ſingle inſtance hinted at in the text will be more than ſufficient, conſidering the narrow bounds within which we are circumſcribed, to juſtify what has been ſaid. We take this inſtance however a little higher, for the ſake of connection and perſpicuity, than the fact pointed at in the text abſolutely required (16). 'Humphry, the renowned Duke 'of Glouceſter, Lord Protector, felt the firſt ſtroke of 'the evil angel, which was ſent to puniſh England 'and to root out her nobles. This Duke was much 'hated by the Queen, and her faction, as the only 'man who by his prudence, as alſo by the honour 'and authority of his birth and place, ſeemed to im-'peach that ſovereign command, which they pre-'tended to ſettle in the King's own perſon, but meant 'indeed, as the manner is under ſoft Princes, to reign 'themſelves in another's name. Many great Lords 'were drawn on at the time of a Parliament then in 'February 1477, holden at Saint Edmund's Bury, to 'concur for his ruin, not perceiving that thereby they 'pluckt up the floodgate at which the Duke of York 'entered, overwhelming all of them in a deluge of 'blood. Whether they had any true or juſt fear of 'Glouceſter himſelf, leaſt, perhaps, he ſhould take 'revenge upon ſome particular perſons among them, 'is doubtful, tho' it be probable enough that they 'had. Here are ſome things that forewent this Par-'liament. About five or ſix years before the Ducheſs 'of Glouceſter, Eleanor, was convented for witch-'craft and ſorcery, and afterward indicted of treaſon 'in the Guild-hall, in London, before the Earls of 'Huntington, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, 'and certain Lords, as Stanhope and Hungerford, 'with others, and Judges of both Benches, of which 'crimes ſhe was appealed by one Bolingbrook an Aſtro-'nomer, and Thomas Southwell a Canon, which 'Southwell was charged to have ſaid Maſſes over cer-'tain inſtruments, by which the Aſtronomer ſhould 'practiſe Necromancy againſt the life of the King. 'Theſe being taken, accuſed her as acceſſary, ſhe hav-'ing deſired the help of their art to know what would 'befall her. Some part hereof ſhe confeſſed, for 'which

(16) Speed's Chronicle, p. 661.

the Duke of Suffolk (*p*), who, tho' a man of ſingular abilities, but very ambitious, became at laſt ſole Miniſter, and directed all things at his pleaſure. Yet, notwithſtanding the credit that nobleman had with the Queen, Sir John Forteſcue remained in great favour with the King, of which, in the twentieth year of his reign, he received a ſignal proof, by an unuſual augmentation of his ſalary (*), concerning which there ſeems to be ſomething obſcure, or miſtaken, in the writings of a celebrated author [*G*]. He held his high office throughout the whole reign of his gracious maſter King Henry the Sixth, to whom he ſteadily adhered, and ſerved him faithfully in all his troubles; and for this, in the firſt Parliament under King Edward the Fourth, which began at Weſtminſter on the fourth of November 1461, he was attainted of high-treaſon (*q*), by the ſame Act of Parliament in which King Henry the Sixth, Queen Margaret, Edward their ſon, Henry Duke of Exeter, Henry Duke of Somerſet, Thomas Earl of Devonſhire, Jaſper Earl of Pembroke, and, in the whole, one hundred and fifty-three perſons of diſtinction were likewiſe attainted (*r*). On the thirteenth of May following, Sir John Markham was made Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench (*s*). After this misfortune, King Henry the Sixth flying into Scotland, it is generally believed that he conſtituted Sir John Forteſcue Chancellor of England (*t*), George Nevile then Biſhop of Exeter, to whom the Great-Seal had been delivered July the twenty-ſixth 1460, remaining in the Service of King Edward the Fourth; and this is the reaſon that the name of our great Lawyer does not occur in the records as Chancellor of England

(*p*) Coke's Inſtitutes, p. 111. cap. 99. p. 208.

(*) P. 1. rot. pat. 20. Hen. VI. m. 10.

(*q*) Wilhelmi Wyrceſtre Annales Rerum Angliæ. A. D. 1461.

(*r*) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 670.

(*s*) Chron. Juridic. p. 133.

(*t*) Selden's Preface to Forteſcue De Laudibus Legum Angliæ.

'which ſhe was put to publick and ſolemn penance 'in London, upon three ſeveral days with wonderful 'ſhame to her perſon; and after ſhe was committed 'to perpetual priſon under the ward of Sir Thomas 'Stanley in the caſtle of Cheſter, but from thence 'removed to Kenelworth. Her pride, avarice, and 'lechery, were cauſes of her confuſion, ſaith Stowe, 'who hath ſet forth that buſineſs very diligently, tho' 'not ſeeming to attribute much credit to that accuſation of treaſon. The Duke of Glouceſter, her 'unhappy Lord and Huſband, whom ſhe by love cups 'and enchantments, was ſaid to have inveigled, uſing 'therein one Margaret Gurdmain, a witch of Eye in 'Suffolk, who was burnt in Smithfield, ſtung with 'this reproach, might reaſonably be thought not unwilling to do ſomewhat. Howſoever that was, his 'deſtruction borrowed countenance from that opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in 'this Parliament at Bury, was arreſted of High-Treaſon, by John Lord Beaumont, High-Conſtable of 'England, the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerſet, 'with others. Certain of the King's Houſhold were 'appointed to guard him. Not long after he was 'found dead. His body was ſhewed to the Lords and 'Commons, as if he had died of a palſy, or an apoſteme. Of thirty and two of his ſervants which 'were attached, Sir Roger Chamberlain, Knight, 'Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, Arthur Turſey, Eſquires, and Richard Needham, Gentleman, 'were condemned of High-Treaſon, and had this unexampled puniſhment: they were drawn from the 'Tower to Tyburn, hanged, let down quick, ſtript 'naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and 'then a charter of pardon ſhewed for their lives, by 'the Marqueſs of Suffolk. But the Yeoman of the 'Crown had their livelihood, the Executioner their 'cloaths. Their pardons were thus obtained, by the 'earneſt diligence of Doctor Gilbert Worthington, a 'famous preacher, Parſon of St Andrew's in Holborn. 'Thomas Wilde, Eſq; the Duke's ſervant, alſo being 'condemned, and pardoned among others, had for a 'preamble in his letters patents words importing, that 'he had been one among many other traitors againſt 'the King, with Humphry, Duke of Glouceſter; 'who went about and practiſed to deliver Eleanor, 'late wife to the Duke, from out of priſon; for 'which purpoſe he had gathered a great power and 'number of men to come to the Parliament at Bury, 'there to have contrived the King's deſtruction.' This which is drawn wholly from Speed, who had the beſt helps, and wrote under the wiſeſt directions of any of our old Hiſtorians, muſt be diſtinguiſhed and explained to prevent miſtakes. Eleanor Cobham was proceeded againſt in 1440, but her enemies being able to make nothing of the charge of treaſon, brought her before Eccleſiaſtical Judges, who put her to that ſevere and extraordinary penance (17). But upon mature deliberation, this was conſidered as ſo dangerous a precedent, that it produced an Act of Parliament, for allowing women of quality, a trial by their Peers (18). As for her confederates, they were tried before Commiſſioners in the Guild-hall, London, and convicted of High-Treaſon, tho' none but Bolingbrook ſuffered; and there was in this, ſo much of hardſhip, and the publick clamour purſued the Lord Chief Juſtice Hody, who condemned them; ſo ſtrongly, that he broke his heart (19). It was in his room, that Sir John Forteſcue ſucceeded. In 1444, King Henry married Margaret, the Daughter of the titular King of Naples, Sicily, and Jeruſalem, at the monaſtery of Tichfield in Hampſhire (20); and on May the thirtieth, 1445, ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter (21); within two years after which, followed the Tragedy of Humphry, Duke of Glouceſter and his followers, whoſe ſentences were afterwards reverſed by that Duke's being declared to die the King's good ſubject, by Act of Parliament (22). When the reader duly conſiders theſe facts, he will certainly eſteem it no compliment to be repreſented, as having a large ſhare in ſuch an adminiſtration.

(17) Wilhelmi Wyrceſtre Annales Rerum Angliæ, A. D. 1440.

(18) Stat. 20. H. VI. c. 9.

(19) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 382.

(20) Cowper's Chronicle, fol. 262.

(21) Hiſt. Croylandenſis Contin. p. 504, 505.

(22) Stowe's Annals, p. 400.

[*G*] *In the writings of a celebrated author.*] We are told by the late Judge Forteſcue, in reference to this venerable perſon, that he had extraordinary favours ſhewn him from his Prince; for beſides the uſual ſalary of a Chief Juſtice, he had granted him an augmentation of it two ſeveral times, by two ſeveral annuities (23). 'The laſt of which, was an annuity of 'one hundred eighty marks out of the Hanaper, a 'great ſum in thoſe days, that he might *Statum ſuum* '*decentius manutenere*, as the record ſays; and with 'that, was granted the ſum of one hundred ſixteeen 'ſhillings, eleven pence half penny, *percipiendum ſin*'*gulis annis, ad feſtum natalis Domini, pro una Roba* '*& Furrara pro eadem, erga idem Feſtum, and* ſixty 'ſix ſhillings and ſix pence, *ſingulis annis, ad Feſtum* '*Pentecoſtes, pro una Roba, & Linura pro eadem erga* '*idem Feſtum*; the like favour, as Mr Selden obſerves, 'having never been granted to any Judge before.' We are not told by this learned perſon, where Mr Selden ſays, that this was a favour, the like of which was never granted to any Judge before; but certain it is, that where he mentions this Grant from the King, and gives us the date of it, there is no ſuch thing ſaid. Sir John Hody, his predeceſſor, had a grant of the very ſame nature, of a hundred and forty marks (24) &c. and whereas it is aſſerted, that Sir John Forteſcue had his ſalary twice augmented, and that this large augmentation, was the laſt; there is great reaſon to believe otherwiſe, and that it was in reality the firſt; after which, he had a grant for a hogſhead of wine annually during his life, to be received from the head Butler in the Port of Briſtol; and after that, another grant of the like kind, which laſt veſſel of wine was to be received from the ſame Port on the feaſt of St Michael the Archangel (25); the ſecond augmentation of his ſalary, was by Letters Patents, dated May the twenty eighth, 1447. by which forty pounds *per annum* were granted to him over and above what had been given him before, and this was in the twenty fifth year of that reign (26); neither were favours of this kind at all uncommon, tho' not altogether in ſuch high proportions to other Judges, which, however, does

(23) In his Preface to the *Difference between a limited and abſolute Government.*

(24) Chron. Juridic. p. 127.

(25) Pat. 21. H. VI. p. 2. m. 9.

(26) Chron. Juridic. p. 129.

land [*H*]. In the month of April 1463, he embarked with Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, the Duke of Exeter, Dr John Morton, Dr Robert Mackerell, and other perſons of diſtinction, who followed the fortunes of the Houſe of Lancaſter, to the number in the whole of two hundred, at Bamburg, and landed ſafely at Sluys in Flanders, from whence they were conducted to Bruges, and thence to Liſle, where the Queen had an audience of the Duke of Burgundy, to whom, with tears, ſhe related the long ſeries of her misfortunes, and the extreme miſery to which ſhe was reduced; with which the Duke being exceedingly moved, comforted her in the beſt manner that he could, made her a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſent her, with moſt of the Engliſh attending her Majeſty, into Lorrain, where her father then was, who gave them a caſtle to reſide in, till he ſhould be able to make further proviſion for them (*u*). In this exile he remained for many years, retiring from place to place as the neceſſities of the Royal Family required; for though, during that ſpace, the Queen and Prince were often in motion, and great efforts were made to reſtore King Henry, yet, conſidering the age of the Chancellor Sir John Forteſcue, it is by no means probable that he was ſuffered to expoſe himſelf to ſuch hazards, more eſpecially as he might be capable of rendering great ſervices, by ſolliciting their intereſt at different Courts; and could not at that time of life, being near fourſcore, be in any condition to ſuſtain the fatigues of war (*w*). It does not indeed appear, from any of the hiſtories that are extant, that our Chancellor had any hand in that negotiation, by which Queen Margaret, and the potent Earl of Warwick, were reconciled; but it is, notwithſtanding, extremely probable that he had. We know very well, that the Queen was a high ſpirited woman, and that ſhe was not, without reaſon, highly provoked againſt that ambitious nobleman; and therefore we may well preſume, that it muſt have been ſome perſon of diſtinguiſhed character, and who ſtood very high in her favour, who could ſo far pacify her reſentment, as to engage her in a treaty firſt, and prevail upon her afterwards, to think of marrying the Prince of Wales, her only child, to the Lady Anne Nevile, younger daughter to the Earl of Warwick; the elder, Iſabel, being before married to George Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth, whom the Queen conſidered as the uſurper of her huſband's throne (*x*). We may the more eaſily yield credit to this, when we are told that our Chancellor, in a certain book of his, ſtill preſerved though not publiſhed, repreſents himſelf as a Chief Counſellor of State at that time (*y*); which, if he was, he muſt undoubtedly have had a large ſhare in a tranſaction which was by far the moſt important of any that happened after the Queen and Prince retired out of England, which gave ſo great a turn to their affairs, and which was very near retrieving their deſperate game, and reſtoring the Line of Lancaſter, at that time, to the poſſeſſion of the imperial diadem of England. But whatever weight there may be in theſe conjectures, moſt certain it is, that the Chancellor obſerving the quick parts, and excellent underſtanding of his young maſter, who applied himſelf wholly to military exerciſes, and ſeemed to think of nothing beſide qualifying

(*u*) Wilhelmi Wyrceſtre Annales Rerum Angliæ, A. D. 1463.

(*w*) See his own introduction to his book De Laudibus, &c.

(*x*) See Grafton, Stowe, Speed.

(*y*) Selden's Preface before cited.

does not at all leſſen the argument which is drawn from thence of Sir John Forteſcue's ſtanding highly in the King's favour, but on the contrary, ſtrengthens and confirms it.

[*H*] *In the records as Chancellor of England.*] We have in an old Chronicle, the following account of ſome tranſactions at this time, which may poſſibly ſhew the reaſon, why Sir John Forteſcue was attainted by King Edward, and alſo point out with more certainty than has been hitherto done, the time after which he muſt have been made Lord Chancellor (27). 'Edwarde Erle of March, by cauſe King Henry had 'broken covenantes, was made King at Weſtminſter, '*Anno Domini*, 1459. and ſtrayte King Edward rode 'northward, and at Towton not far from York on 'Palmes Sunday, advengid his fathers death and wan 'the field, where were ſlain XXM people on both 'parties. The Erle of Northumberland, the Lord 'Clifford, Sir John Nevil, the Erle of Weſtmorlandes brother, and Andrew Trollop, were killed at 'this time, King Henry, the Prince, the Queen, the 'Duke of Somerſet, Henry Duke of Exceſtre, the 'Lord Roos, Syr John Forteſcue, Chief Juge of England, and Tailboys Erle of Kyme, beyng at York, 'and hering of this fled firſt to Newcaſtle, and then 'to Berwick, delivering it to the Scots.' This plainly ſhews, that he was only Chief Juſtice when he attended his maſter, King Henry, into Scotland; and as from the time he left him there he never ſaw him any more, there ſeems to be no room to doubt, that he received the Great-Seal from that King there, as ſoon as it was known that George Biſhop of Exeter, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, continued to bear the title, and execute the Office of Lord Chancellor, by the authority of King Edward. It is true, that ſome have doubted whether he was ever Chancellor at all; as for inſtance, Mr Thynne, a very learned Antiquary in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who expreſſes himſelf thus (28). 'Sir John Forteſcue was only Chief Juſtice of the 'Bench, and not Chancellor of England, as he is untruly called by Molcaſter, in tranſlating his book 'of the Laws of England, ſince he was only Chancellor to the youngeſt Prince Edward, and his mother, after he fled with them into France.' This, however is falſe, for Sir John Forteſcue, in the preface to his own book, does poſitively ſtile himſelf *the King of* England's *Chancellor*. So, as Mr Selden proves, he did in another work of his (29). Mr Whitlocke, who was perfectly well read in the Laws and Hiſtory of this nation, made no ſcruple of differing in this reſpect from Mr Thynne, his words are theſe (30): 'Forteſcue, that lived in Henry Sixth, and Edward 'the Fourth's time, and was Chancellor of England, 'and being of the faction of Lancaſter, lived an exile 'in France, when that family was depreſſed writ a 'ſmall pamphlet of the Law of England, in that his 'baniſhment, wherein he reporteth, &c.' It was probably upon theſe motives, that Sir Henry Spelman, who was ſo perfectly verſed in every thing relating to our Hiſtory and Antiquities, has added the name of Sir John Forteſcue to the Chancellors in the reign of King Henry the Sixth (31), upon a ſuppoſition that he muſt have been ſo appointed by that Monarch while in Scotland, which, as he truly ſays, is a ſufficient reaſon why nothing of this kind appears in our records at all; indeed it is impoſſible it ſhould, ſince from the time he was Chancellor, King Henry was never acknowledged, or at leaſt, not for above ſix months, during which ſpace thoſe who ſet him at liberty, and reſtored him to the title of King, obliged him to acknowledge the Archbiſhop of York for his Chancellor, that prelate being brother to the potent Earl of Warwick, who valued himſelf on making and unmaking Monarchs at his pleaſure.

(27) Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 499. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 671.

(28) Hearne's Collection of Diſcourſes of famous Antiquaries, p. 113.

(29) The MS. of which Mr Selden had.

(30) Hearne's Collection of Diſcourſes, p. 130.

(31) Gloſſographia, p. 111.

[*I*] *Than*

qualifying himſelf for an expert commander (*z*); he thought it high time to give him ſome other impreſſions, and to infuſe into his mind juſt notions of the conſtitution of his country, as well as due reſpect to it's laws, that, if Providence ſhould favour his deſigns, he might govern as a king, and not as a tyrant or a conqueror (*a*). That theſe impreſſions might not eaſily wear out of his mind, but that by frequently reviewing what had paſſed in theſe converſations, he might the better fix them in his memory, and ſtrengthen them by his own meditations, the Chancellor digeſted them into a little treatiſe, written in the Latin tongue (*b*); which, how ſhort ſoever it fell of it's primary intention, that hopeful Prince being not long after cruelly murdered, yet will remain an everlaſting monument of this great and good man's reſpect for his country, and affection to his countrymen, which could not be better teſtified than it was by this ſhort treatiſe [*I*]. There may poſſibly ſome doubts ariſe about the preciſe time in which this valuable work was compoſed, and indeed ſomething of this kind has been already intimated, by writers of great authority (*c*). However, ſuch as will look carefully into the work itſelf, and compare it with the hiſtory of theſe times, will very plainly ſee that it was written within a year or two of Prince Edward's death; for the eſtabliſhing of which opinion, the proofs requiſite will be found at the bottom of the page [*K*]. This very curious and conciſe vindication, as well as elogium, of

(*z*) This appears from his own introduction.

(*a*) De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 37.

(*b*) So it appears from his own introduction.

(*c*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſt. Library, p. 232.

[*I*] *Than it was by this ſhort treatiſe.*] This diſcourſe of Sir John Forteſcue's, has, in the moſt eminent degree, thoſe two great properties, from which works of learning are juſtly ſtiled excellent, ſolidity in point of matter, and elegance in reference to its form. It is written in the way of dialogue, in which the characters are ſuſtained with great dignity and ſpirit; he ſhews the Prince, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for one of his condition to have a good underſtanding in the Laws, and a juſt regard for them too, in order to make himſelf eaſy, and to keep up the reverence due to them amongſt the people; he demonſtrates the advantage of a conſtitution governed by ſtated Laws, in making of which the ſubject has an intereſt; beyond that of a government, depending on the abſolute pleaſure of a Prince. He puts proper objections into the mouth of his pupil, and propoſes them with a great air of freedom, and then he reſolves them briefly, decently, and with much perſpicuity; he obſerves, that what was requiſite for a Prince to know in theſe matters lay within a narrow compaſs, and that there is no reaſon he ſhould apprehend any thing, either tedious or difficult in acquiring ſuch knowledge. Our author then proceeds to prove, that the Common Law is the moſt rational, as well as the moſt antient, in Europe. That the conviction of criminals by juries, and without racking, is more juſt and humane than the methods of neighbouring nations, our challenging of panels, writs of attaint upon corrupt verdicts, and the uſual wealth of our juries, ſuch ſecurities to the lives and property of the ſubject, as other countries are incapable of affording; that our Kings are greater and more potent in the liberties and properties of their people, than arbitrary tyrants in the vaſſalage of their ſlaves; that the Civil Law is more unreaſonable than ours in the legitimation of children born before marriage, as alſo in its axiom *partus ſequitur ventrem*, tuition of orphans, &c. that our Inns of Court are more convenient for the ſtudy of the Engliſh Law than their Univerſities, and that the degree of Serjeant at Law is as honourable, as that of Doctor in the Univerſities: and, in the laſt place, that the proceedings in our Courts of Juſtice are leſs dilatory than in thoſe of other nations. Theſe important and ſome of them too perplexed points, are handled with ſuch clearneſs and ſtrength of reaſon as may be truly ſaid to carry with them conviction; with great reaſon therefore, did a wiſe and worthy author, upon nearly the ſame ſubject, deliver his opinion of this work in theſe terms (32). 'If the Noblemen of this realm would ſee their 'children brought up in ſuch manner, that they ſhould 'have learning and knowledge more than they com- 'monly have, eſpecially of the grounds and princi- 'ples of the Law of the Realm, tho' they had not 'the cunning of the whole body of the Law, but af- 'ter ſuch manner as Mr Forteſcue, in his book *De* '*Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, advertiſeth the Prince to 'have, I ſuppoſe it would be a great help hereafter 'to the miniſtration of juſtice, and a right great glad- 'neſs to all people.' Sir Edward Coke, who often mentions our author, and this work of his, mentions him always with applauſe; in one place he tells us, that beſides his profound knowledge in the Law, he was alſo an excellent Antiquary (33); and in another, he points out ſome particular chapters in this work, which he aſſures us are ſo excellent (34), that they deſerve to be written in letters of gold.

(32) D. 2. c. 46.

(33) In the Preface to the ſixth part of his Reports, fol. 1, a.

(34) In the Preface to the eighth part of his Reports, fol. 14.

[*K*] *At the bottom of the page.*] In the courſe of the converſation the Prince propoſes it as an objection, that notwithſtanding the excellency of the Engliſh Laws, yet ſome of the Kings, his predeceſſors, had been deſirous of introducing the Civil Laws, of which therefore he deſires to know the reaſon. The Chancellor tells his Highneſs that he need not be at a loſs, for that ſince Princes might be eaſily conceived willing enough to change the Laws of England, becauſe of their binding alike upon them and their ſubjects, for the Civil Law built upon a principle directly oppoſite, *quòd principi placuit legis habet vigorem*, that the will of the Prince ſhall have the force of a Law. Upon this it has been demanded, what authority the Prince had to affirm, that any Monarch of England ſhould form a deſign of changing the Common for the Civil Laws? The very learned Mr Selden diſcourſes thereupon thus (35). 'I 'confeſs, I here underſtand him not. What Kings of 'England ever deſired the Civil Laws of Rome? I 'have read of a proteſtation againſt them in Parlia- 'ment, by the King and Lords, which you may ſee 'in Rot. proceſſ. & jud. of the appeal of Thomas 'Duke of Gloceſter, and others, againſt Alexander 'Archbiſhop of York, Robert de Veer Duke of 'Ireland, Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, and 'Robert Treſilian, Chief Juſtice, in Rich. 2. Parla- 'mento Weſtm. 3 Febr. Anno 11. where upon de- 'fault of the appellees, the appellants deſire that the 'Court would proceed to judgment. I remember 'alſo King Stephen, his publick edict againſt the Laws 'of Italy, but remember not any ſtory or authority 'teaching that any of our Kings would have had 'them here uſed. That of Stephen is related by that 'noble and moſt learned Friar, Roger Bacon, in his '*Compendium Theologiæ*, or his *Opus minus* (both thoſe 'names are of one Ms book) where he is ſpeaking of 'the Civil Laws of Italy, and that they are abuſed and 'too much affected by Clergymen, leaving their pro- 'feſſion to ſtudy thoſe Laws.' What he quotes from Bacon to this effect, he ſays, that the ſeveral countries of Europe, ſuch as England, France, Spain, Germany, were governed by Laws and conſtitutions of their own reſpectively, and ſo were the people of Italy, therefore no reaſon that the Engliſh Clergy ſhould endeavour to bring in the Italian Laws, but rather that they ſhould live as their anceſtors had done under the Laws of their own country. King Stephen, ſays he, by a publick edict prohibited ſo much as the keeping the Italian Laws in a man's cuſtody, and if a Lay King took ſuch a method to prevent Laymen from being ſubjected to them, much more ought the Clergy to diſdain theſe Laws that were made by and belonged to Laymen. Mr Selden afterwards obſerves, that tho' Bacon is ſo clear about the Civil Law, yet another author, of full as great authority in things of this nature, ſuggeſts, that it was a book of the Canon Law, which Archbiſhop Theobald brought with him from Rome. All this, however, is very little to the purpoſe, and if it proves any thing, proves directly the contrary of what our author has put into the mouth of Prince Edward. Let us hear now, what another great

(35) In his Notes on Forteſcue *de laudibus legum Angliæ*.

of our laws, was received with that eſteem and credit which it deſerved, immediately after it's

great oracle of the Law takes to be the meaning of this paſſage (36). 'H. 6. had William de la Pole, 'Duke of Suffolk, &c. who endeavoured to have 'brought in the Civil Laws, which was the occaſion 'that the Chief Juſtice Forteſcue wrote in the com-'mendation of the Laws of England, preferring them 'for the government of this Land before the Civil 'Laws. This Duke, with others, plotted the death 'and deſtruction of Humfry the good Duke of Gloce-'ſter who ever ſtood in his way.' It is highly probable, that Sir John Forteſcue might differ with the Duke of Suffolk, and it is not at all impoſſible, that the Duke of Suffolk might have a high opinion of the Civil Law, tho' it would be no eaſy matter to produce any proof of either. But what then? The Duke of Suffolk had been dead many years, and the whole ſcope of this treatiſe plainly proves, that it was writ upon a ſudden occaſion, and all at a time. The laſt commentator, whoſe name I am ſorry it is not in my power to mention, gives quite another and a better turn to this (37). 'King Henry the Sixth's Queen 'was neice to the Queen of France, and came out of 'a country where an arbitrary Government prevails: 'in order to raiſe her own power, ſhe inſiſted and 'infuſed into her favourites, that the Duke of Glouce-'ſter's adminiſtration according to the ſtrictneſs of the 'national Laws was mean, and below the dignity of 'that ſovereign power and dominion which the Civil 'Law conferr'd on the King's perſon, and therefore 'ſhe countenanced ſuch proceedings as looked impe-'rious and abſolved from all reſtriction. Why may 'not our author have reſpect to this particular cha-'racter and caſe?' This is very ſenſible and very clear, and, to ſay the truth, the Chancellor's whole book is very plainly built upon his apprehenſions, that a foreign education, and living ſo long in the earlier part of his life in a foreign country, might have bad effects upon the young Prince's mind, and bring him to have a diſlike, or at leaſt an indifference for the Laws and conſtitution of his native country. Sir John Forteſcue was a man of probity, a man of loyalty, and a man of letters, which his whole book and his whole conduct ſhows, for they are indeed reciprocal comments upon each other. His probity appears in his making the conſtitution of England his firſt and greateſt temporal concern; his loyalty was without reproach, he adhered to King Henry and Prince Edward ſo long as they lived; if he afterwards embraced the part of King Edward, it was when Providence and the Laws of the land had declared in his favour; his knowledge and learning are placed beyond diſpute, by this and by his other treatiſe, both which are ſhort, plain, and convincing. It remains, that in this note, according to the promiſe made in the text, we eſtabliſh the juncture at which his treatiſe *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* was written, and if this cannot be done in few words yet no more ſhall be uſed than are neceſſary. The paſſage that I rely upon to fix within a year or ſo at the fartheſt, is that which follows, and I inſiſt upon it the rather, becauſe there is not a word ſaid of it by any of the learned commentators, upon this excellent work; it is in theſe words (38). 'Now what man is 'there ſo ſtout or reſolute, who has once gone through 'this horrid trial by torture, be he never ſo innocent, 'who will not rather confeſs himſelf guilty of all 'kinds of wickedneſs, than undergo the like tortures 'a ſecond time, who would not rather die once, ſince 'death would put an end to all his fears, than to be 'killed ſo many times, and ſuffer ſo many helliſh tor-'tures, more terrible than death itſelf? Don't you re-'member, my Prince, a criminal, who when upon the 'rack impeached of treaſon a certain noble Knight, 'a man of worth and loyalty, and declared that they 'were both concerned together in the ſame conſpi-'racy: and being taken down from the rack he ſtill 'perſiſted in the accuſation, leaſt he ſhould again be 'put to the queſtion. Nevertheleſs, being ſo much 'hurt and reduced by the ſeverity of the puniſhment, 'that he was brought almoſt to the point of death, 'after he had the Viaticum and Sacraments admini-'ſtred to him, he then confeſſed and took a very ſo-'lemn oath upon it, by the Body of Chriſt, and as 'he was now as he imagined juſt going to expire; 'he affirmed that the ſaid worthy Knight was inno-'cent, and clear of every thing he had laid to his 'charge; he added, that the tortures he was put to 'were ſo intolerable, that rather than ſuffer over 'again, he would accuſe the ſame perſon of the ſame 'crimes, nay, his own father, tho' when he ſaid this, 'he was in the bitterneſs of death, when all hopes of 'recovery were over. Neither did he at laſt eſcape 'that ignominious death, for he was hanged, and at 'the time and place of his execution, he acquitted 'the ſaid Knight of the crimes wherewith he had not 'long before charged him. Such confeſſions as theſe, 'alas! a great many others of thoſe poor wretches 'make, not led by a regard to truth, but compelled 'to it by the exquiſiteneſs of their torments.' It is very evident, that this ſtory was at that time of ſo great notoriety, as not to lay the Chancellor under any neceſſity of mentioning the perſon's name; in the next place, it is very apparent, that it was a very recent thing with which the Prince was well acquainted, and therefore likely to move him the more. Laſtly, the circumſtances mentioned in the ſtory are ſuch as diſtinguiſhed it ſufficiently. The informer was a mean man, the perſon accuſed a Knight, and otherways of diſtinguiſhed reputation; this accuſation brought him into great trouble and danger, out of which, however, he was at length extricated, and as for the informer, his infidelity turned upon himſelf, and he was executed upon his own evidence. Let us hear then what a certain Hiſtorian ſays, who lived in theſe times, and was himſelf Sheriff of London, conſequently well acquainted with what he relates, and whoſe authority therefore ought not to be doubted. The ſtory he tells us, is in the year 1468, and, in his own words, runs thus (39). 'Sir Thomas Cooke late Mayor of London, was by 'one, named Hawkins, appeached of treaſon, for the 'which he was ſent to the Tower, and his place 'within London ſeized by the Lord Rivers, and his 'wife and ſervants clearly put out thereof. The cauſe 'was this. The forenamed Hawkins came upon a 'ſeaſon unto the ſaid Sir Thomas, requeſting him to 'lend a thouſand marks upon good ſurety, whereunto 'he anſwered, that firſt he would know for whom it 'ſhould be, and for what intent. At length under-'ſtanding it ſhould be for the uſe of Queen Margaret, 'he anſwered he had no current wares, whereof any 'ſhifts might be made without too much loſs, and 'therefore required Hawkins to move him no further 'in that matter, for he intended not to deal withal, 'yet the ſaid Hawkins exhorted him to remember 'what benefits he had received by her, when ſhe was 'in proſperity, as by making him her wardrober and 'cuſtomer of Hampton, &c. But by no means the 'ſaid Cooke would grant goods nor money, altho' at 'laſt the ſaid Hawkins required but an hundred pounds, 'he was fain to depart without the value of a penny, 'and never came again to move him, which ſo reſted 'two or three years after, till the ſaid Hawkins was 'caſt into the Tower, and at length brought to the 'brake called the Duke of Exceſter's daughter, by 'means of which pain he ſhewed many things, amongſt 'the which, the motion was one that he had made 'to Sir Thomas Cooke, and accuſed himſelf ſo far 'that he was put to death. By means of which con-'feſſion, the ſaid Sir Thomas was troubled, as before 'is ſhewed, when the ſaid Sir Thomas had lain in the 'Tower from Whitſuntide till about Michaelmas, in 'the which ſeaſon many enquiries were made to find 'him guilty, and ever quit, till one jury, by means of 'Sir John Fog, indicted him of treaſon, after which 'an Oyer and Terminer was kept at the Guild-hall, 'in which ſat with the Mayor the Duke of Clarence, 'the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Rivers, Sir John 'Fog, with other of the King's Council. To the 'which place the ſaid Thomas was brought, and there 'arraigned upon life and death, where he was ac-'quitted of the ſaid indictment, and had to the Coun-'ter in Bread-Street, and from thence to the King's-'Bench. After a certain time that he was thus ac-'quitted, his wife got again the poſſeſſion of her 'houſe, the which ſhe found in an evil plight, for ſuch 'ſervants of the Lord Rivers, and Sir John Fog, as 'were aſſigned to keep it, made havock of what they 'liſted.

(36) Coke's Inſtitutes, P. iii. cap. 99.

(37) De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, p. 74.

(38) Ibid. p. 44.

(39) Fabian's Chron. p. 497.

it's being communicated to the learned men of the profeſſion (*d*), then flouriſhing in this kingdom; and yet, notwithſtanding the reputation both of the piece and it's author, it continued long as a kind of jewel in private libraries; and, when it was at laſt publiſhed, came abroad in a manner little ſuitable either to the value of the performance, or the reſpect due to the memory of this reverend Sage in the law (*e*); but, by degrees, all theſe inconveniencies have been removed, and, in conſequence of ſeveral new editions, we have it now in that ſtate in which ſo uſeful a book, and ſo honourable for our conſtitution, deſerved juſtly to appear [*L*]. But to return to our famous Chancellor. He had, without doubt, a very good opinion of the ſtate of King Henry's affairs, when he had intelligence that the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, had releaſed him out of the Tower, placed him again upon the throne, and forced his competitor King Edward to leave England. Theſe ſucceſſes determined him not only to conſent to the propoſition made for Queen Margaret's going over with her only ſon Prince Edward, but made him alſo reſolve to accompany her himſelf (*f*). Great preparations were made for this expedition, in which they were favoured by the French King (*g*); but before they were in a condition to put to ſea, there happened a new change of affairs in England. For King Edward landing in the North, advanced with a very ſmall body of forces to York, where, upon his ſolemn declaration that he did not aim at the crown, but ſought only reſtitution to his duchy of York, and the eſtates belonging to his family (*h*), he quickly gained a ſuperior force, with which, paſſing by Marquis Montacute, he entered London, and made King Henry the Sixth once more a priſoner (*i*). Then marching to Barnet, with his brother the Duke of Clarence, now reconciled to him, he fought the Earl of Warwick, who ſtiled himſelf King Henry's Lieutenant, upon Gladmore-Heath, on Eaſter-Sunday, April the fourteenth 1471, and there gained a compleat victory (*k*). This, without doubt, was very unwelcome news to Queen Margaret,

(*d*) Bale and Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) See the Preface to the folio Edit. A.D. 1741.

(*f*) Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 503.

(*g*) Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, Vol. VI. p. 433.

(*h*) See Fabian, Grafton, Stowe, and Speed's Chronicles.

(*i*) Contin. Hiſt. Croylandenius, ap. Gale Scriptor. veter. rerum Anglican. Tom. I. p. 554.

(*k*) Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 534, 535.

'liſted. Alſo at his place in Eſſex, named Giddi-'hall, were ſet another ſort to keep that place, the 'which deſtroyed his deer in his park, his conies, and 'his fiſh, without reaſon; and ſpared not braſs, pew-'ter, bedding, and all that they might carry, for the 'which might never one penny be gotten in recom-'pence; yet could not Sir Thomas Cooke be deli-'vered till he had paid eight thouſand pounds to the 'King, and eight hundred pounds to the Queen.' We are farther told by Stowe, that Sir John Markham, Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, having directed the Jury that Sir Thomas Cooke's offence was but miſpriſion of treaſon, the Lord Rivers, and the Ducheſs of Bedford, his wife, informed the King thereof, and prevailed upon him afterwards to diſmiſs him from his office (40). If therefore this be the ſtory to which our learned author alludes, as methinks there is no great reaſon to doubt that it muſt be; then, it follows plainly the diſcourſe could not be written before the year 1469, and indeed there are ſome other circumſtances in that treatiſe, which might be urged to the ſame purpoſe, but this being remarkably clear, and ſo well atteſted by our antient Hiſtorians, there does not ſeem to be any neceſſity of alledging farther evidence, when nothing can poſſibly be oppoſed to it, but bare conjectures without proof, or even probability to ſupport them.

(40) Annals, p. 420. Fuller's Holy State, p. 262. Burton's Leiceſterſhire, p. 577.

[*L*] *Deſerved juſtly to appear.*] The hiſtory of the ſeveral editions of this celebrated work, is not a bare matter of curioſity, but alſo of uſe, becauſe (except very briefly, by Biſhop Tanner) (41) we have not hitherto had ſo diſtinct a catalogue of them, as might be wiſhed. It firſt appeared in Latin only, under the following title, which ſeems to have been that of the manuſcript from whence it was printed.

(41) Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernia, p. 493.

Prænobilis militis cognomento Forteſcue, *De politica adminiſtratione & legibus civilibus Florentiſſimi regni* Angliæ *Commentarius.* Lond. *per* Ed. Whitchurch, *temp. Henr.* VIII. 12*mo.*

It was again printed in Latin and Engliſh, by the care of Robert Mulcaſter, Lond. 1567, 12*mo.* it was alſo publiſhed in Engliſh alone, under the following title,

A learned Commentary of the Politic Laws *of* England: *Wherein, by moſt pithy reaſons and demonſtrations, they are plainly proved to excel, as well the* Civil Laws *of the* Empire, *as alſo all other* Laws *of the* World; *with a large diſcourſe of the difference between the two Governments of Kingdoms, whereof the one is only* regal; *and the other conſiſteth of* regal *and* politic *adminiſtration conjoined.* Lond. 1599. 8vo.

It was again publiſhed both in Latin and Engliſh, with the following title.

De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, *written by Sir* John Forteſcue, *Lord Chief Juſtice, and after Lord Chancellor to King* Henry *the* Sixth. *Hereto are added the two ſums of Sir* Ralph de Hengham, *Lord Chief Juſtice to King* Edward *the* Firſt, *commonly called* Hengham Magna, & Hengham Parva, *with notes, both on* Forteſcue *and* Hengham. *By that famous and learned Antiquary,* John Selden, *Eſq; Lond.* 1616, 1640. 8vo. 1672. 12mo.

Some of theſe, and more eſpecially the laſt edition, were very faulty; the Stationers, as a certain author juſtly obſerves, regarding no body's profit but their own. In the mean time it came out again, ſoon after the Reſtoration, in a very flouriſhing dreſs; and tho' I cannot ſay with, yet involved in the following pompous title.

Fortescutus Illustratus; or a *Commentary on that nervous treatiſe,* De Laudibus Legum Angliæ; *written by Sir* John Forteſcue, *Knight, firſt Lord* Chief Juſtice, *after Lord* Chancellor *to King* Henry *the* Sixth, *which treatiſe dedicated to Prince* Edward, *that King's ſon and heir whom he attended in his retirement into* France, *and to whom he loyally and affectionately imparted himſelf in the virtue and variety of his excellent diſcourſe, he purpoſely wrote to conſolidate his princely mind in the love and approbation of the good* Laws *of* England, *and of the laudable cuſtoms of this his native country. The heroick deſign of whoſe excellent judgment and loyal addiction to his Prince, is humbly endeavoured to be revived, admired, and advanced by* Edward Waterhouſe, *Eſquire.* Lond. 1663. folio.

The very language of this title is a ſufficient ſample of the book, where the reader will find a profuſion of learning, and yet meet with very little ſatisfaction. A ſhort chapter, a line, nay, a word, furniſhes occaſion, I cannot prevail upon myſelf to ſay, matter, for a folio page, diverſified with variety of languages, and embroidered with numerous quotations from Schoolmen and Divines, as well as Lawyers. This Commentary however was licenſed by the Judges, and dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and perhaps with a view to this dedication, the book was in ſome meaſure written, as the reader may perceive, from the following parallel, which our commentator has drawn between his author and his patron (42). 'My noble text, Maſter, and your noble ſelf, ſays 'he, to the Earl of Clarendon were——Both Gen-'tlemen by birth, both Lawyers by breeding, both 'Knights by degree, both wiſe men by experience, 'both loyal attendants on your Sovereigns receſſes 'abroad, and both honoured by your Sovereigns with 'the truſt and ſtate of Chancellors.' The laſt edition we ſhall mention, is that printed at London in folio, in 1732, again in 1741, with a copious preface, and with large, learned, and uſeful annotations, an accurate index, and whatever elſe is neceſſary to ſatisfy a curious and inquiſitive reader.

(42) Forteſcutus illuſtratus, Lond. 1663. fol.

Margaret, who, with Prince Edward, Sir John Forteſcue, ſtiled Lord Chancellor of England, the Prior of St John's, who had the title of Lord High-Treaſurer, Lord Wenlock, and ſeveral others, landed the very ſame day at Weymouth, in Dorſetſhire (*l*). However, being joined by the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Devonſhire, ſhe reſolved to proſecute her deſign, and to make head againſt the conqueror, relying upon a great reinforcement which was expected from Jaſper Earl of Pembroke, who was raiſing men in Wales for the ſervice of King Henry (*m*). But this was prevented by the vigilance of King Edward, who, having recruited his army as ſoon as poſſible, marched Weſtward, and reduced his enemies to the neceſſity of fighting near Tewkſbury, in Glouceſterſhire. This battle was fought on Saturday the fourth of May 1471, and was very bloody; but at length ended in the total defeat of the Queen's army, the Queen herſelf, the Prince, and moſt of the great perſons in her army, being either killed or taken priſoners (*n*). There is ſaid to be a tradition, that, after this deciſive ſtroke, Sir John Forteſcue retired to his ſeat at Ebberton or Ebrighton, three miles from Camden in Glouceſterſhire, where he paſſed the remainder of his days in privacy (*o*). But Hiſtory ſpeaks another language; for by that we are informed, that Prince Edward, being delivered by the gentleman who took him, upon promiſe of preſerving his life, was, for a haughty anſwer given to King Edward, baſely murdered by the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, the Lord Haſtings, and others (*p*). The Duke of Somerſet, the Lord St John, Sir Humphry Audley, and Sir Gervaſe Clifton, having retired into a church in Tewkſbury, continued there upon the King's promiſe of pardon, though they might have eſcaped from Saturday to Monday, when they were taken out and beheaded (*q*); at the ſame time Queen Margaret, the Lady Anne, Widow to Prince Edward, the Counteſs of Devonſhire, the Lady Catherine Vaus, Sir John Forteſcue, Sir John Sainctlowe, Sir Henry Rous, Thomas Ormond, Dr Mackerell, and five others, were ſpared (*r*). It is very certain, that in a ſhort time King Edward was prevailed upon to pardon and releaſe Sir John Forteſcue (*s*); nor is it at all impoſſible that he likewiſe reſtored him to this eſtate, which was of the value of four hundred pounds a year. This, I ſay, is not at all improbable, ſince Sir John Burg, to whom the manor of Ebrighton had been given, died the very ſame year (*t*). There is no manner of doubt that our Chancellor, ſeeing the affairs of the Houſe of Lancaſter entirely overturned, endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to the victorious Edward the Fourth, and that in this he ſucceeded; and it was in order to facilitate this reconciliation, that he wrote a kind of apology for his own conduct, which treatiſe the learned Selden had ſeen (*u*), and of which ſome manuſcript copies are ſtill preſerved, tho' it has never yet been publiſhed [*M*]. After all theſe extraordinary changes, as well of his maſters as of his fortunes, Sir John Forteſcue preſerved his old principles, in regard to the conſtitution, as appears from another learned and valuable work of his, written in the Engliſh

(*l*) Hiſt. Croyland. Continuat. p. 555.

(*m*) See Fabian, Grafton, Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed.

(*n*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 267.

(*o*) Nicholſon's Engl. Hiſtor. Library, p. 233.

(*p*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 688.

(*q*) See Stowe, Grafton, Speed.

(*r*) Leland Collectanea, Vol II. p. 506.

(*s*) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 693.

(*t*) Sir Robt. Atkins's Hiſt. Glouceſterſhire, p. 425.

(*u*) As appears from his Preface to Forteſcue's Book *de laudibus*.

[*M*] *Tho' it has never yet been publiſhed.*] The title of the piece hinted at in the text at large, runs thus.

Sir John Forteſcue's *Declaracioun upon certayn wrytingis ſent out of* Scotteland, *againſt the Kyngis title of his Roialme of* Englond (43). *By way of Dialogue.*

(43) MS. Digby in Biblioth. Bodleian. 198.

There is no doubt at all with me, that if we had this treatiſe publiſhed, we ſhould ſee that he made a very grateful return to the King for his mercy, which, more than one writer intimates, he freely obtained; but having formerly written in direct terms againſt the title of the Houſe of York, as well as in defence of that of Lancaſter, he judged it highly expedient for him now to give a fair account of his changing his ſentiments, for this may be well deduced from what Selden ſays in his preface, where ſpeaking of our author's taking the title of Chancellor, he delivers himſelf thus. 'In his *Declaration*, or rather *Retractation*, 'of that he had written againſt the title of the Houſe 'of York, himſelf, puts in the mouth of a friend of his 'expoſtulating with him theſe words, *conſidering that 'ye were the chief Chancellor to the ſaid late King.*' But tho' we mention this, to ſhew the ſenſe he had of the royal mercy extended to him, yet we have in the text refuted from authority, the groundleſs inſinuation of a certain writer a little too apt to advance things at random, contained in theſe words (44). 'I 'ſuppoſe he grew weary of baniſhment, and the inte- 'reſts of the Houſe of Lancaſter, ſome time before the 'unhappy return of the Queen and her ſon, upon the 'Earl of Warwick's revolt, ſince we do not hear of 'him in their retinue.' It is ſhewn in the text, that he was in their retinue, if that expreſſion muſt be uſed towards a man of his rank, and that he ſhared in the diſmal conſequences of the deciſive defeat at Tewkſbury; ſo that to ſay, as the ſame writer does, that he changed his ſide and his principles is extremely harſh, and was certainly the effects of that writer's not knowing the true ſtate of his caſe. But a captious reader may poſſibly have it at his tongue's end to ſay; ſince you acknowledge that you have not ſeen this treatiſe, how, with any certainty, can you know it? To this it is very fit that an anſwer ſhould be given; for to be angry with a man's conjecture, without offering any thing towards the diſproof of it, is not only acting rudely, but ridiculouſly. But mark what is the true ſtate of the queſtion. I very readily acknowledge that he changed his political opinions, but I deny that he either changed his ſide or his principles. Not his ſide, for he adhered to King Henry and Prince Edward as long as they lived, ſo that he did not paſs from ſide to ſide, but very wiſely ſubmitted when he ſaw that reſiſtance was both vain and unjuſt. Not his principles either, for we ſhall ſee that he ſteadily maintained them after he acknowledged the right as well as the power to be in the Houſe of York. Now to prove all this, notwithſtanding that remarkable dialogue of his ſtill ſhut up in a library, let us hear what Sir Edward Coke ſays (45), who had peruſed this treatiſe, and who will not only give us a general view of its contents, but his opinion likewiſe of his predeceſſor's practice, and a better opinion than his in a point of this nature, all things conſidered, cannot be eaſily had; take it then in his own words. 'Forteſcue '*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ:* this book was written 'in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, in commen- 'dation of the Laws of England, containing withal 'much excellent matter worthy the reading: he wrote 'alſo a book in defence of the title of King Henry 'the Sixth, his Sovereign Lord and Maſter, to the 'Crown of England, but after, out of truth and con- 'ſcience, retracted the ſame, both which I have: where- 'in he deſerved ſingular commendation, in that he 'was not amongſt the number of thoſe, *qui ſuos amaſ- 'ſent errores*, but yielded to truth when he found it. 'This Sir John Forteſcue was Lord Chief Juſtice of 'England, and his poſterity remain in great and good 'account to this day.' This certainly is deciſive, and comes up fully to all that I have ſaid.

(44) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtor. Library, p. 233.

(45) In the Preface to the tenth Part of his Reports.

[*N*] *Which*

liſh language (*w*), and publiſhed in the reign of Queen Anne; which, tho' it has not been hitherto obſerved, appears, from ſome paſſages contained therein, to have been written not only after his being pardoned, but for the ſervice of Edward IV. my reaſons for aſſerting which will appear in the notes [*N*]. As to his other writings, as we know nothing more

(*w*) See a large Account of this Book in the Notes.

[*N*] *Which will appear in the notes.*] The title of this work, as it ſtood in it's original edition, runs thus: *The Difference between an* abſolute *and* limited Monarchy, *as it more particularly regards the* Engliſh *Conſtitution; being a Treatiſe, written by Sir* John Forteſcue, *Knight, Lord* Chief Juſtice, *and Lord* High Chancellor *of* England, *under King* Henry VI. *Faithfully tranſcribed from the Manuſcript Copy in the* Bodleian Library, *and collated with three other Manuſcripts. Publiſhed with ſome Remarks, by* John Forteſcue Aland, *of the Inner-Temple, Eſq*; F. R. S. Lond. 1714, 8*vo*.

In reference to the genuineneſs of the peice, and to the certainty of it's being our author's, hear what the right honourable editor thereof, John, Baron Forteſcue of Credans, in the County of Waterford, (for ſo Mr Forteſcue Aland was afterwards created) ſays in his Preface. 'The firſt copy of this piece, I ſaw at Oxford ſome years ago, in the Bodleian Library, among the manuſcripts of Mr Selden, and being taken with the excellency of the ſubject, I procured a tranſcript of it, which I carefully examined myſelf in Oxford, and collated the ſame with three other manuſcript copies, two of which I found in the ſame library, among the manuſcripts of Archbiſhop Laud, and Sir Kenelm Digby; and the third, I found in the Cotton Library. But this copy is the faireſt, moſt perfect, and compleat of them all, and was tranſcribed by Sir Adrian Forteſcue's own hand, who was a deſcendant from our author, and lived in the reign of King Henry VIII; for I find written upon this copy, theſe words: *Iſte Liber pertinet* Adriano Forteſcue, *Militi, manu propria ſcriptus, Anno Domini* 1532, *& Anno Regis H. VIII.* 24 (46). But Archbiſhop Laud's copy ſeems to be the moſt ancient, for therein are to be found ſeveral Saxon characters in ſeveral places, and ſome very old words different from thoſe in this copy; but all the various readings which are material, for the curious Antiquary, I have noted in the margin of this book. As to the language, it is the Engliſh of thoſe times, participating very much of the nature of the Saxon tongue; for it has in it many words, and terminations of words, as alſo many phraſes, purely Saxon: And I choſe to publiſh it in it's own native dreſs, not only as it is a curious piece of antiquity, but that every man may be judge for himſelf of the true ſenſe and meaning of our author; and lay no imputation on the publiſher of altering the ſenſe, in attempting to give it a more modern dreſs.'

(46) See an Account of this Sir Adrian Forteſcue in the next Article; from whence will appear he was not the Chancellor's deſcendant.

It is not eaſy to apprehend what the cauſe might be, which hindred the noble editor from ſpeaking clearly of the occaſion and deſign for, or time in, which it was written; but certain it is, that none of theſe are particularly marked, neither is the leaſt word ſaid, that this treatiſe was penned in favour of King Edward the Fourth, which, notwithſtanding, may be proved from ſeveral paſſages in the book itſelf, though it cannot be denied, that in the title of the manuſcript in the Cotton Library, it is ſaid to be addreſſed to King Henry the Sixth (47); this treatiſe is divided into twenty chapters, we will briefly run over the contents of them all. In the firſt, he ſhews the difference between an abſolute and a limited monarchy, which he very plainly and ſenſibly places in a King's ruling by laws of his own making, which he calls *Dominium Regale*; and in a Prince's governing by laws made with the conſent of his ſubjects, which he calls *Dominium Politicum & Regale*. In the ſecond chapter, he points out the means by which theſe differences in government grew, and that with equal perſpicuity and ſagacity. He ſuppoſes, that in rougher and more barbarous times, ſuch as had followers, and power, made uſe of them to ſettle principalities, and ſo ruled their people when ſettled, as they did before, that is, by their mere will and pleaſure. But when men were become milder and more civilized, he thinks they choſe their own governors, and preſcribed the terms upon which they would be governed; hence he takes occaſion to obſerve, that when Brute firſt ſettled this iſland, he brought with him a colony, and conſequently muſt have previouſly agreed with them how public affairs ſhould be adminiſtred. Let no haſty critic, or forward politician, blame our reverend author for giving credit to what others ſtile a fable; but let them obſerve the good uſe he has made of this piece of vulgar hiſtory, whether true or falſe, viz. to ſhew that there never was ſuch a thing as abſolute government eſtabliſhed in this iſland, and before they reject his reaſons for it, let them be ſure they can aſſign better. The buſineſs of his third chapter, is to ſhew the fruits of an abſolute and of a limited government; he inſtances, as to the former in France; and ſhews that the government there became abſolute by our invaſions, when their Kings, pleading neceſſity for raiſing ſupplies, and the impoſſibility of calling their Eſtates, took thence occaſion to tax the common people at their pleaſure, whence had ariſen their poverty and diſtreſſed condition, which he largely and pathetically deſcribes; and he deduces the power and ſtrength of the Engliſh nation, from their living under the other form of rule, which enabled them not only to defend themſelves, but to conquer their neighbours; and thus, ſays he, we may judge of the nature of governments by our Saviour's rule, *by their fruits ſhall ye know them.* Theſe three chapters fall in ſo exactly with the beginning of his book, *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*; that, as the laſt and beſt commentator upon that piece obſerves, it is impoſſible he ſhould not have referred to it, as he does to another treatiſe, if that work had not been compoſed before this. In his fourth chapter, he ſhews how the French King's revenues come to be double to that of the King of England; becauſe, ſays he, the French King takes what he pleaſes, and the King of England what his people will pleaſe to give him. In the fifth chapter, he ſhews the miſchiefs that ariſe from a King's being poor, and more eſpecially from his being in debt; and this he does very fully, though very conciſely, arguing, that as he muſt always pay more in ſuch circumſtances, than he would need to pay if in better; ſo what he pays, coming in the end out of his peoples pockets, the nation muſt be impoveriſhed that ſuffers their King to be diſtreſſed. In the ſixth chapter, he ſhews the ordinary charges of the realm, in which he obſerves, that tonnage and poundage ought not to be conſidered as a part of the King's general revenue, ſince it is given for a particular uſe, and ſhould only be applied to the maintaining his dominion of the ſeas. His ſeventh chapter, treats of the extraordinary expence of the crown. In the eighth, he ſhews, that if the King's ſettled revenue be not ſufficient, it is the duty of his ſubjects to ſupply him, and in this kingdom more eſpecially, where both the King's ordinary and extraordinary expences, are employ'd for the benefit of his people. He inſiſts in his ninth chapter, on the danger of ſubjects becoming too potent; and he obſerves, that in France, the government was never ſubverted but by ſuch potent ſubjects; here I muſt crave the liberty of citing his own words. 'In our days, ſays he, we have ſeen a ſubgett of the Frenche Kyng gyvyn battel to the ſame Kyng, and put him to flight, and afterward beſegid him in Pariſe, his gretteſt Cyte, and ſo kepte hym ther, unto the time his ſaid Kyng had made ſuch end with him, his adherents, and fautours, as he deſired. We have alſo ſeen in our Realme, ſum of the Kyng's ſubgetts gevyn hym batell, by occaſyoun that their lyvelood and offices were the gretteſt of the lond, and els they would nor could have done ſo. The Erlys of Lyceſtre, and of Glouceſtre, which then war the gretteſt Lords of England, roſe ageyn theyr Kyng, Herry the thirde, and toke hym and his ſon priſoners in the feld. Whiche maner of demeanyng the Kyng of Scotts, that laſt dyyd, dredyng to be practyſyd in his lond, put out of the ſame lond, the Erles Dowglas, whoſe lyvelood and myght was nere hand equivalent to his owne, movyd therto by non other cauſe, ſave only drede of his rebellion.' The reaſon of citing this paſſage, is, on account of it's helping us to ſeveral dates. The French ſubject, who

(47) Claudius, A. viii. 21.

defeated

more of them than the titles, and the commendations that have been beſtowed upon them by ſuch as have peruſed them, we cannot pretend to ſay when they were written, one only excepted,

defeated his Sovereign, and ſhut him up in the city of Paris, till he made a treaty to his ſatisfaction, was Charles Count de Charolois, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of Burgundy, who formed a league of the great French Lords, againſt Lewis XI, which produced the civil war, covered with the ſpecious title of *the Publick Good*; he gained the battle of Montlehery, on Tueſday, July 16, 1465, and forced the King to grant him and his aſſociates what they pleaſed (48). The King of Scots ſpoken of, as long before deceaſed, was James the Second, who died in 1460 (49). In the tenth chapter, he enquires how the Crown may be beſt endowed; and therein he determines, that, all things conſidered, the beſt method for increaſing the King's Revenue, was to augment his Crown Lands. In the eleventh chapter, he ſhews how this may be done by a reſumption, but with due care, and under proper reſtrictions; and therein he ſeems to exempt the King's brethren, to whom, for their ſervices, as well as their being nigh in blood to his Highneſs, he ſays, the King had given lands, and that it did not become his magnificence to act otherwiſe. This plainly ſhews, that the King he means, was Edward the Fourth; for conſidering the dates formerly fixed, he could mean no other; at the cloſe of the chapter, he propoſes that a large ſubſidy ſhould be given the King by his people, that he may be able to give ample rewards to thoſe from whom the lands which he had inconſiderately beſtowed upon them, ſhould be taken, and this to prevent the King's falling into poverty again. The diſmal conſequences that muſt neceſſarily follow the bringing the Commons of this Realm into poverty, is the ſubject of the twelfth chapter, which, though at firſt ſight it may ſeem, in a great meaſure, antiquated; *yet*, if ſtrictly and ſoberly conſidered, the grounds of his obſervations will yet be found true; for he ſays, that on one hand, theſe needy Commons will be moſt ready to riſe up againſt the government; and, on the other, ſuch as are not inclined to riſe, will not have wherewithal to help the government; whence he infers, that if a people be rich, the King ought to be rich; but, if the people be not rich, the King muſt be poor: It appears from the particular mention of taxes in this chapter, that this treatiſe muſt have been written after the year 1474. In the thirteenth chapter, he labours to prove, that the only reaſon why the French do not rebel, is their want of courage; and upon this, he advances a very odd fact, that there were more men hanged in a year in England, for robbery and manſlaughter, than in ſeven years in France for the ſame crimes; he ſays, that in Scotland, there was hardly a man hanged for robbery once in ſeven years; but, in England, ſays he, if a man be very poor, and ſee another very rich, whom he may deſpoil by force, he will not fail to do ſo. In France, therefore, ſays he, it is not their poverty, but their want of heart, that keeps men from riſing. In the fourteenth chapter, he propoſes an act of Reſumption, and a large ſubſidy, as the only means by which the grandeur of the Crown could be reſtored; and the Commons freed from the neceſſity of giving continual ſupplies. The title of his fifteenth chapter is, how the King's Council may be beſt choſen and eſtabliſhed; this ſeems to have been a favourite deſign of his, and to have coſt him much more pains than any in his book; and therefore, as well as becauſe it is ſhort, we well give it the reader preciſely in his own words. 'The Kings Counceile 'was wont to be choſyn of grete Princis, and of the 'gretteſt Lords, both Spirituellis and Temporallis, of 'the Realm; and alſo of other men that wer in grete 'auctorite and offices. Which Lords and Officers, had 'nerehand as many matters of their own to be treatid 'in the Counceile, as had the Kyng. Wher thorow 'whan thay came togeders, thay was ſo occupyyd 'with their own maters, and with the maters of their 'kynne, ſervants, and tenaunts, that they intendyd but 'lityll, and other while, nothyng to the Kyng's ma'ters: and alſo, ther war but fewe maters of the 'Kyng's, but if the ſame maters, towchid alſo the 'ſaid Counceylors, their coſyns, their ſervaunts, te'naunts, or ſuch other as thay owy'd favor unto. And 'what lowar man was than ſytting in that Counceile, 'that durſt, ſay, ageyn the opynyoun of any of the grete 'Lords? And might not than men make, by meanys 'of corrupcion, ſum of the ſervaunts and Counceillours, 'of ſome of the Lords, to move the Lords to parcya'lite, and to make them favourable and parcyal, as 'wer the ſame ſervaunts, or the parties that ſo movyd 'them. Than could no mater treatid in the Councile, 'be kepte privy and ſecrete. For the Lords oftyn 'tymes tould to their Counceylours and ſervaunts, that 'had ſewyd to them for the maters, hou thay had 'ſped in them, and who was ageyn them. Hou may 'the Kyng be councelid to reſtrayne gevyng away of 'his lond; of gevyng of offices corodyes, or pencions 'of abbeys, by ſuch gret Lords, to other menys ſer'vants, ſythen they moſt deſyer ſuch gyfts for them'ſelf and their ſervants. Which thyngs conſydery'd, 'and alſo many other, which ſchal be ſchewy'd here'after, hyt is thought good, that the Kyng had a 'Counceile choſyn and eſtabliſchid, in the fourme that 'followith, or in ſome other fourme like thereunto. 'Firſt, that ther were choſyn xii temporal men, and 'xii ſpirituall men, of the wiſeſt and beſt diſpoſyd 'men that can be found in al the parties of the lande; 'and that they be ſworne to counceile the Kyng, after 'a fourme to be devyſyd for their othe. And in eſpe'cyall, that thay ſchal take no fee, nor clothyng, 'nor reward, of any man, excepte only of the Kyng, 'like as the Juſtices of the Kyng's Benche, and of the 'Common Place, be ſworne, whan thay take their 'offices. And that thees xxiv be always Counceilors; 'but, if ther be any defawte fownd in them, or that 'yt lyſt the Kyng, by the advyſe of the more partie 'of them, to chaunge any of them. And that every 'year, be choſyn by the Kyng, iv^er Lords Spiritual, 'and iv^er Lords Temporal, to be for that yere of the 'ſame Counceile, in like fourme as the ſaid xxiv ſchal 'be. And that they al have an heede, or a cheffe 'ruler, one of the ſaid xxiv, and choſyn and appoin'tyd by the Kyng, havyng his office at the Kyng's 'pleaſure, which may then be callid *Capitalis Concili'arius*. Hyt ſchal not be neceſſarye, that the xij ſpi'ritual men of this Counceile, have ſo grete wages as 'the xij temporal, becauſe they ſchal not nede to kepe 'an houſehold in their countrey, while thay be abſent, 'as the temporal men muſt needs do, for their wives 'and children. By which conſyderation, the Spiritual 'Judges, in the Court of Parlement of Paris, takyn 'but CC franks by the yere; whereas, the Temporal 'Judges thereof, takyn by the year CCC frankes. 'The ſaid viij Lords alſo, which, by reaſon of their 'Baronies and aſtats, ben to the Kyng always, *Conſili'arii nati*, and therfor oughtyn to counceile him at al 'tymys, whan he woll nedyn not to have grete wags 'for their attendaunce to this Conceile, which ſhall laſt 'but for a yere. For temporal men, which, by rea'ſon of their enheritance and lyvelood, been made 'Scheriffs for a yere, takyn of the Kyng lityl and al'moſt no thyng, for their ſervice of that yere. And 'though that wages of the ſaid xxiv Counceilors, ſeme 'a new and a grete charge to the Kyng, yet, whan it 'is conſidered hou grete wages the grete Lords, and 'other men, which wer of the Kyng's Counceile, in 'tymes paſſed, toke for their attendaunce therunto, 'which maner of Counceile was nothyng ſo behovefull 'to the Kyng, and to his Realme, as this wol be, 'which wags ſchal than forwith ceaſſe; the wages of 'the xxiv Counceillors ſchal appere no grete charge to 'the Kyng. And I can ſuppoſe, that ſumme Kyngs 'before this tyme, have gevyn to ſum one man that 'hath ſervyd him, as mych lyvelood yerely, as the 'ſaid wages woll come unto. And if the ſame wags 'be thought ſo grete charge unto the Kyng, the fore'ſaid Counceillours may be in leſs nombre, as to be 'xvi^en Counceillours of private perſonys, with ij Lords 'Spiritual, and ij Lords Temporal, ſo as than they 'be in all xx^ti Perſons. Thees Counceillours may 'continually, at ſuch houres as ſchall be aſſigned to 'them, comeune and deliber upon the maters of de'ficultie, that fallen to the Kyng; and than upon the 'maters of the polycie of the Realme: as how the 'going out of the money may be reſtraynyd; how bul'lion may be brought into this land; how alſo plate, 'jewels,

(48) Du Tillet Chronique abbrege du Roys de France, p. 135, 136.

(49) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 108.

excepted, to which he refers in a treatiſe already mentioned; but, however, we have taken all the care poſſible to repreſent thoſe titles diſtinctly, and to give the reader the beſt lights we can, where they may yet be found and conſulted by ſuch as have the curioſity to enquire after the labours of this excellent perſon, which, from what we have ſeen of his compoſitions, cannot but be eſteemed every way worthy of peruſal [O]. We know nothing

' jewels, and money, late borne oute, may be getyn ' yn ageyn, of which, right wiſe men may ſoon find ' the meanys. And alſo, hou the pricys of merchaun- ' diſes, growyn in this lond, may be holden up and ' encreaſyd, and the prycys of merchaundiſe, brought ' into this lond, abatyd. How our Navye may be ' maynteny'd and augmentyd; and upon ſuch other ' pointz of polycie, to the gretteſt profit and encreaſe ' that ever came to this lond. Hou alſo the Lawy's ' may be amendyd in ſuch thyngs as thay nede refor- ' mation in, wher thorough the Parlements ſchall or may ' do more good in a moneth, to the amendment of ' the Lawe, than thay may do in a yere, if the amend- ' ment thereof be not debatid, and by ſuch counceile ' rypynd to their hands. Ther may be of this Coun- ' ceile, when they liſte to come thereunto, or that ' they be deſyryd by the ſaid Counceilors, the gretteſt ' officers of the land, as Chauncelor, Treſorar, and ' Pryvye Seale, of which the Chancelor, whan he is ' preſent, may be Hye Preſident, and have the ſu- ' preme rule of al the Counceile. Alſo, the Juges ' and Barons of th' Eſcheker, and the Clerk of the ' Rollis, and ſuch Lords as the ſaid forſaid Counceil- ' lors woll deſyer to be with them, for matters of ' grete diffyculty may be of this Counceile, whan they ' be deſyryd, and els not. All other maters which ' ſchal conſerne this Counceile, as whan a Counceilor ' dyyth, hou a new Counceylor ſchal be choſyn, how ' many howrs of the day this Counceil ſchal ſyt, whan ' they ſchal have any vacation, how long any of them ' may be abſent, hou he ſchal have his leve and ' lycenſe, with al other articles neceſſary for the de- ' meanyng and rule of this counceile may be con- ' ceyvyd by leyſure and put in a boke, and that boke ' kept in this counceile as a regiſtre, or an ordynal ' hou thay ſchal do and be orderyd in every thyng.' The ſixteenth chapter ſhews how the Romans proſpered while their ſenate was maintained in its full authority, and how it declined when the credit and freedom of that venerable aſſembly decay'd. In the ſeventeenth chapter, inſtructions are given as to the manner in which places ought to be beſtowed, and it is therein obſerved, that the King had above a thouſand offices in his gift. In the eighteenth are adverti- ſements concerning the beſtowing of penſions. In the nineteenth, the advantages which might ariſe from theſe regulations are fully ſtated, and in Archbiſhop Laud's manuſcript this chapter ends abruptly, part of it being loſt, but in Sir Adrian Forteſcue's manuſcript this is ſupplied, and therein is a prayer in direct terms for King Edward the Fourth, for whoſe uſe, as from many other circumſtances, we have proved this treatiſe was undoubtedly written. The twentieth, that is the laſt chapter, demonſtrates the expediency of the King's beſtowing no gifts but by letters patent under his great ſeal, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, which, as this able ſtateſman very judiciouſly obſerves, would not only prevent improper and exceſſive gifts, but alſo ſave the King the trouble of denying, or, at leaſt, his being expoſed to unſeemly and importunate ſollicitations. Take it altogether, and it will appear to be a work which affords as full evidence of the learning, wiſdom, uprightneſs, publick ſpirit, and loyal gratitude of its author, as any that is extant, either in ours or in any modern language; and which as it is illuſtrated with the learned Judge Forteſcue's notes, may certainly be of very great uſe to all who are inclined to ſtudy the original and true foundation of our laws and civil conſtitutions.

[O] *Every way worthy of peruſal.*] The care with which this great man's works have been ſo long preſerved, the variety of copies, in different libraries, as well as numerous editions of his little treatiſe, in praiſe of the Laws of England, are more than ſufficient to refute that ill grounded, as well as ill bred, cenſure, of one, whoſe rank and function, ſhould have reſtrained from ſuch indecent language, more eſpecially of ſo great a man, and one ſo long ſince in his grave (50):

(50) Eng. Hiſtor. Library, p. 233.

' he wrote, ſays he, other two books of the diſtinc- ' tion, betwixt *Dominium Regale & Politicum*, and a ' retractation of his errors, about the title of the ' Houſe of York, both which are ſtill pretty common ' in manuſcript, but have not yet been thought worthy ' of the preſs. A third, he compiled likewiſe, as ' himſelf tells us, for the uſe of Prince Edward, which, ' treated, *de naturâ legis naturæ*; and, in the opi- ' nion of its author, was a notably ſhrewd piece: but ' whether 'tis now loſt, or was deſtroyed, and recanted ' upon the forementioned change of his ſide and prin- ' ciples, I cannot tell.' We may believe him, ſince we ſhall ſhew that his intelligence, at leaſt in this point, was of no greater extent than his good manners. All the pieces that he ever was acquainted with, have been already mentioned, one only excepted, that, and the reſt, are as follows.

Opuſculum de Natura legis Naturæ, &c. (51). A pretty fair book for the time when it was written. ' A cu- ' rious MS. on paper, ſmall folio, with large margins, ' eſpecially at the bottom, writ on both ſides, with- ' out introduction, dedication, or preface.' Each chapter hath its contents. The whole title is,

Opuſculum de Natura legis Naturæ, & de ejus cenſura in Succeſſione Regnorum Supremorum. i. e. ' A ' ſhort treatiſe of the Nature of the Law of Nature, ' and its influence in the Succeſſion of Independent So- ' vereignties.' It is diſtinguiſhed as a firſt part *(pars prima)*. The concluſion of this piece [cap XLVIII] ſeems to intimate, an argument upon the rules of Succeſſion to Kingdoms in general. It is in the following words; *Scriptor progreditur, alium ſuperinde, quod de jure ſuccedendi in regnis, ſupremis intitulabitur, exordiens ſic bbellum.* This ſecond part is now loſt, or probably deſtroy'd by its author. Mr Waterhouſe, in his commentary on Forteſcue, mentions the *Opuſculum* (52), under the character of an excellent treatiſe; a book of worth and weight, purpoſely penned to ſet forth to the Prince the juſt meaſure of government, according to the law of nature and nations. Tho' the language be a little incorrect, the ſenſe, conſidering the time when the author wrote, is very extraordinary; and he muſt be allowed to have been a perſon of general and uſeful learning. This is alſo in the Worſley Library, under the title of *Tractatus de Naturâ legis Naturæ, per D. Joannem Forteſcue* (53). The book *de Vigore legis Naturalis*, mentioned by both Bale and Pits, probably is the *Opuſculum*.

Defenſio Juris Domus Lancaſtriæ (54).

A Defence of the Houſe *of* Lancaſter one leaf (55).

Genealogy of the Houſe *of* Lancaſter (56).

Of the title of the Houſe *of* York (57).

Genealogia Regum Scotiæ. In the ſame hand (58).

Defence of the Houſe *of* York. 4to (59). *In Coll. MS. Jameſii. Quædam excerpta ex Forteſcue, contra Titulum Edwardi* (60), in which you will find remarkable. *Ad quæ dicit miles prædictus, quod nulla mulier, obſtantibus lege & conſuetudine Angliæ, in Jure Coronæ & Regni illius ſuccedere poteſt. Sed*, &c.

A Dialogue *between* Underſtanding *and* Faith (61), ſix leaves fol. written by Sir John Forteſcue, in the time of King Henry the Sixth, *in quo, oſtendit, quibus modis & rationibus*, Deus *ſæpe caſtigat & punit* Reges *per eos, qui magis contra illum deliquerunt.*

A Prayer Book which ſavoureth much of the times we live in (62).

A Liſt of the Commodities of ENGLAND, *as rivers, havens, with their deſcription, ground, ſheep, cloth, tin, lead, gold, ſilver, &c. Then, wherein the honour of this land conſiſts, and what commodities our merchants bring out of ſeveral other countries* (63).

But it may be doubted, whether this was written by our author or not. Dugdale aſcribes to him *an abridgment of the book of aſſizes* (64), in which he ſeems to be miſtaken; yet it is very far from being impoſſible, that there may be other works of our author ſtill preſerved in manuſcript, with which the learned world is not yet acquainted, and it may be, that ſome of his

(51) Cat. lib. MS. 66. a. 72. & 83. b.

(52) Forteſcutus illuſtratus, p. 215, 423.

(53) Catt. lib. MS. ii. 213. a.

(54) Biblioth. Cott. Otho. A. 3. fol. 98.

(55) Ibid. 4. F. 110.

(56) Ibid. A. 5. 91. miſplaced by the Bookbinder, F. 111.

(57) Ibid. 6. F. 92.

(58) Ibid. 7. F. 96.

(59) Ibid. 8. F. 67.

(60) Catt. lib. MS. p. 262. b. Wood's Athen. Vol. I. col. 616.

(61) Biblioth. Cott. Vitell. E. X. 25. F. 196.

(62) Riſdon, Devon. II. 244, 354.

(63) Cod. Laudian. i. 47.

(64) Orig. Juridic. p. 58.

thing of the remaining part of his life, which was very probably ſpent in an honourable retirement in the country, free from the cares, and remote from the dangers, that neceſſarily attend thoſe who paſs their time in Courts. Neither is there any diſtinct account preſerved of his death; we are only told in general, that he was near ninety-years of age (*x*) when he breathed his laſt, which the circumſtances of his life render very probable. His remains were interred in the Pariſh-Church of Ebburton, where one of his deſcendants, in the year 1677, cauſed a monument to be repaired, upon which was the effigies of this venerable perſon in his robes, and added an inſcription to his memory (*y*) [*P*]. It has been very truly reported, that all good men, and lovers of the Engliſh conſtitution, ſpeak of him with honour (*z*); and that he ſtill lives in the opinion of all true Engliſhmen, in as high eſteem and reputation as any Judge that ever ſat in Weſtminſter-Hall. He was a man acquainted with all ſorts of learning, beſides his knowledge in the Law, in which he was exceeded by none, as will appear by the many learned judgments he gave when on the Bench, in the year-book of Henry the Sixth. His character in Hiſtory, is that of pious, loyal, and learned; and he had the honour to be called the Chief Councellor of the King. He was a great courtier, and yet a great lover of his country. It would carry this article into too great a length, if we ſhould inſert here all that is even neceſſary to be ſaid of his learning and virtues; and therefore ſome points relative to theſe, and ſerving to ſet his character in a true light, are placed at the bottom of the page [*Q*]. His ſon and heir, Martin Forteſcue, Eſq; eſpouſed

(*x*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 307.

(*y*) See the inſcription in the notes.

(*z*) Lord Forteſcue, in his Preface to the Difference between an abſolute and a limited Monarchy.

writings are loſt. John Speed (65) quotes him in his hiſtory, in a place where nothing occurs, at leaſt, in his publiſhed works, that has any relation to that paſſage; and yet Speed was too honeſt and too correct a writer, either to miſlead others, or to be miſled himſelf. It would be certainly a great benefit to the learned world, if all his manuſcripts were printed, for he was a man of general knowledge, great obſervation, and one who has given many uſeful notices, in relation to the dark parts of our Hiſtory and Antiquities.

(65) Chronicle, p. 681.

[*P*] *And added an inſcription to his memory.*] He lies buried in the Pariſh Church belonging to Ebburton, now written more frequently Ebrighton, where, in the chancel, there is a monument erected for him; probably, ſoon after his interment, by the appearance of its antiquity and workmanſhip ſ on this old tomb, lies his effigies at full length, in freeſtone, in his robes of Lord Chief Juſtice, which doubtleſs was done at the time that the ſaid monument was firſt erected; on the ſides and ends, are the Forteſcue's arms: over this tomb, a table of marble was faſtened, at the charges of the late Colonel Robert Forteſcue, of Weare and Filleigh, his direct heir (66), with the following inſcription engraven thereon.

(66) Copied from the Monument, by Anthony à Wood.

In
Fœlicem & immortalem Memoriam
Clariſſimi viri Domini,
Johannis Forteſcuti
Militis Grandævi, Angliæ Judicis Primarii
Et Proceſſu temporis ſub Hen. 6. Rege &
Edwardo Principe, ſummi Cancellarii,
Regis, Conſiliarii prudentiſſimi
Legum Angliæ, peritiſſimi
Nec non earundem
Hyperaſpiſtis
Fortiſſimi
Qui
Corporis exuvias lætam Reſurrectionem expectantes
Hic depoſuit
Marmoreum hoc Monumentum
poſitum eſt A. D.
MDCLXXVII.
Voto & expenſis Roberti Forteſcuti
Armigeri ejuſdem Familiæ Hæredis nuper Defuncti.

Angligenas intra Cancellos juris & æqui
Qui tenuit, cineres jam tenet urna viri
Lex viva ille fuit patriæ, lux ſplendida legis,
Forte bonis ſcutum, ſontibus & ſcutica.
Clarus erat Titulis, clarus majoribus, arte
Clarus, Virtute eſt! clarior emicuit!
Jam micat in tenebris, veluti Carbunculus, orbi
Nam virtus radios non dare tanta nequit.
Vivit adhuc Forteſcutus laudatus in ævum;
Vivit & in legum laudibus ille ſuis.

In Engliſh thus.

To
The happy and immortal Memory,
Of that moſt famous man,
SIR JOHN FORTESCUE;
An ancient Knight, Chief Juſtice of England,
And in proceſs of time under Henry VI.
And Prince Edward, High Chancellor;
Of the King, the moſt prudent Councellor;
In the Laws of England, profoundly learned;
And of thoſe Laws alſo
A Champion,
Invincible;
Whoſe earthly remains in expectation of
a joyful Reſurrection
are here depoſited;
This Marble Monument
Is erected,
MDCLXXVII.
By the direction, and at the expence of
ROBERT FORTESCUE, Eſq;
The direct heir of this family lately deceaſed.
Of him, who juſtice could the beſt explain,
This little URN doth all that's left contain.
His country's living Law, that Laws great light,
The ſcourge of wrong, and the defence of right.
His birth diſtinguiſhed, merit gave him ſtate,
Learning, applauſe, but virtue made him great.
Through darkneſs now a carbuncle he ſhines,
Nor wiſdom's rays the gloomy grave confines;
To lateſt times ſhall FORTESCUE be known,
And in the LAWS juſt PRAISE be read his own.

[*Q*] *Are placed at the bottom of the page*] We are told by Bale (67), upon the credit of Robert Record, a very ſenſible and learned man, and one well acquainted with the perſonal Hiſtory of Engliſh Scholars and Stateſmen, as well as with the civil Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation; that this reverend perſon, through the whole courſe of his life, was a great lover of polite literature, and that he obtained great reputation for his learned lectures on the Civil-Law (the Common he probably means) while he was yet reſident in the Inns of Court. There is ſomething remarkable in the author's Latin Diction, and therefore I beg leave to cite his own words, *Excoluit tum juvenis, tum etiam ſenex, virtutem: literaſque politas, ut qui maximè, ſemper amavit. Inter forenſes Londini clariſſimus juris civilis interpres admittebatur: ac nobiliores in ſchola juvenes, peculiares à regibus conditas leges perdocuit.* This commendation of him is very juſt and well founded, ſince his writings plainly ſhew that he was a man of general learning, and of great reading for thoſe times; for we find him quoting Ariſtole, Tully, Quintilian, Boetius, St Au-

(67) De Script. major. Brytan. cent. viii. 36. p. 613.

eſpouſed the daughter of Richard Denſell, of Filleigh; and in her right was ſeated at Filleigh in Devonſhire (*a*), and had iſſue two ſons, John and William; the firſt married Jaquet, eldeſt daughter of Ralph St Leger, and had iſſue a ſon Bartholomew, who dying without iſſue, the eſtate at Filleigh devolved on William Forteſcue, Eſq; his uncle, which William was before ſeated at Buckland Filleigh, and by Maud his wife, daughter and heir of John Atkyns, of Milton, in the county of Devon, had iſſue three ſons, John, Edward, and James; as alſo a daughter Jaquet, married to William Dennis, of Southcomb in Devonſhire, Eſq; (*b*). The eldeſt ſon John Forteſcue, of Filleigh, Eſq; married Chriſtian, daughter of John Arſcott, of Holleſworth in the ſame county, Eſq; and had iſſue two ſons, William and John, and a daughter Alice, married to John Farry, Eſq; (*c*). William Forteſcue, Eſq; the eldeſt ſon, took to wife Anne, daughter of Sir Roger Gifford, of Brightley in Devonſhire, and had iſſue five ſons and eight daughters (*d*). Of his ſons, two of the youngeſt of them, Faithful and Nicholas, had the honour of knighthood conferred on them, and were diſtinguiſhed for their eminent abilities [*R*]. His eldeſt ſon was John

(*a*) Riſdon, Devonſh.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 30.

(*c*) From the Pedigree.

(*d*) Notes on Philpot's Catalogue of Knights.

St Auſtin, Aquinas, Ægidius, Romanus, Pariſienſis, and many other good authors; but he was far from drawing all his knowledge from books, he gathered much from his own experience, and was very communicative with reſpect to the fruits of it, of which it may not be amiſs to give here an inſtance or two, as in reality they make a part of his hiſtory, and are beſides, curious in themſelves, and not to be met with any where elſe. In anſwering an objection made by the Prince, that cauſes were often very tedious in England; he obſerves two things, firſt, that this was not an inconvenience to which the Engliſh laws only were liable; and next, that too much haſte, was a greater inconveniency than too little (68). Upon this ſubject, he adds: 'There 'are in France, in the Supreme Court of Parliament, 'ſome cauſes which have been depending upwards of 'thirty years. I myſelf know a caſe of appeal proſe- 'cuted in the ſaid court, which has been depending 'now theſe ten years, and it is likely will be ſo for 'ten years more, before it can be decided. While 'lately at Paris, my hoſt ſhewed me his proceſs in 'writing, which had been before the Court of Parlia- 'ment for eight years, for four French Sols rent, which 'of our money, makes but eight-pence, and he had 'no proſpect of obtaining judgment in leſs than eight 'years more. I have known other caſes of the ſame 'nature: And for what appears to me, the laws of 'England do not admit of ſo great delays, as the laws 'of France. But it is really neceſſary there ſhould be 'delays in legal proceedings, provided they be not too 'dilatory and tedious. By theſe means the parties, in 'particular the party proſecuted, is better provided 'with his proper defence and advice of counſel, which 'otherwiſe neither of them could be either to proſe- 'cute or defend, judgment is never ſo ſafe when the 'proceſs is hurried on. I remember once at an Aſſizes 'and Goal Delivery at Saliſbury, that I ſaw a woman 'indicted for the death of her huſband within the year: 'ſhe was found guilty and burnt for the ſame. In 'this caſe the Judge of Aſſize, after the whole pro- 'ceedings before him were over, might have reſpited 'the execution of the woman even after the expira- 'tion of the year. At a ſubſequent Aſſizes I ſaw a 'ſervant of the man who was ſo killed, tried and con- 'victed before the ſame Judge for the ſame murder, 'who made an ample public confeſſion, that he was 'the only perſon who was guilty of the ſaid fact, and 'that his miſtreſs who had been executed was entirely 'innocent of it: wherefore he was drawn and hanged; 'and at the time and place of his execution, he la- 'mented the caſe of his poor miſtreſs upon account 'of her innocence, and her being in no wiſe privy to 'her huſband's death. The fact being thus, how 'may we ſuppoſe the Judge to be affected with a ſenſe 'of conſcience and remorſe, for being ſo haſty in 'awarding judgment of execution, when it was in his 'power to have ſtay'd for ſome time further proceſs 'againſt her: he often owned to me with concern, 'that he ſhould never be able to ſatisfy it to his con- 'ſcience, for ſuch his precipitate behaviour. *Deli- 'beration often brings judgment to maturity, which 'ſeldom or never happens where the proceedings are 'too much hurried on.* Wherefore the Laws of Eng- 'land admit *Eſſoins*, a ſort of practice not known in 'the Laws of other countries.' There is a caſe ſtill more remarkable than this to the ſame purpoſe, in the

(68) *De laudibus legum Angliæ.*

works of Sir Edward Coke (69), whoſe high opinion of our author we have already mentioned, and with reſpect to this very chapter, he commends it particularly, and adviſes that the rule which Sir John Forteſcue lays down, ſhould be always kept in mind by ſuch as are deſirous of rendering rather true than quick juſtice. That true Patriot, and moſt judicious Hiſtorian, Sir Walter Raleigh, ſpeaking of our reverend author, ſtiles him, *that notable bulwark of our Laws* (70). He had reaſon ſo to do, for never any author, either antient or modern, took more pains than he did to ſecure them againſt the ambition of Princes, as well as the paſſions and vices of private men. It is a very ſhrewd inſinuation of his, that how abſolute ſoever ſome conſtitutions might be upon the Continent, yet it was impoſſible an iſland ſhould be planted upon thoſe terms (71). The followers of Brute, ſays he, before they embarked, reſolved to unite themſelves into a ſociety, hence ſprung their policy, and to facilitate the execution of this deſign, they conſented to be governed by a ſingle perſon, hence aroſe our Monarchy. The remark of the late Judge Forteſcue upon this, is extremely ſenſible. 'It may be obſerved here, that 'our author does not affirm the ſtory of Brute to be 'true, but only produces it as an inſtance, which up- 'on the ſuppoſition of its truth is very appoſite: tho' 'whether it be really true or no, is not material in 'this place, and is left to every man's own opinion.' We may from hence gather the reaſon why our learned author, and after him Sir Edward Coke, and many others, maintained that the Laws of the Britons were never cancelled, but ſubſiſted always; which, tho' oppoſed by the ingenious Mr Hakewill, and other learned Antiquaries, is a very good poſition; becauſe in matters of great obſcurity, that ſuppoſition ought to be held for truth, whence the beſt conſequences may be drawn, and as there cannot be a better reaſon for our remaining free than that we were always ſo, it is right to ſay, that the Laws of the antient Britons which were certainly favourable to liberty, never were or can be cancelled. Agreeable to this notion it was laid down for Law in the reign of Edward the Fourth, *that the* Common Law *has been from the* Creation *of the* World, *for it is* common reaſon (72). To conclude, there is hardly any writer of note, who has mentioned this great and good man, but has at the ſame time applauded his notions, and afforded a juſt tribute of praiſe to his great abilities and inflexible virtue. This character indeed may be well given him, for as adverſity could not break, ſo proſperity could not corrupt him, for when King Henry the Sixth, in the thirty fourth year of his reign, made another Sheriff for the county of Lincoln, than the Statute warranted, the two Chief Juſtices, Sir John Forteſcue, and Sir John Priſot, declared publickly for themſelves and their brethren, *that the* King *therein did an* error (73), and with this notable and noble inſtance of his integrity let us conclude this note.

(69) Inſtitut. P. iii. cap. 104. p. 232. Preface to the eighth Part of his Reports, p. 29.

(70) Hiſt. of the World, Lond. 1614. P. i. B. ii. ch. iv. §. 16. p. 247.

(71) The Difference between a limited and abſolute Government, p. 12.

(72) See the Maxims prefix'd to Jenkins's Centuries.

(73) Coke's Inſtitutes, P. ii. p. 559.

[*R*] *And were diſtinguiſhed for their eminent abilities.*] The Noble Hiſtorian gives us a good account of the ſervice performed by Sir Faithful Forteſcue, at the battle of Edge-hill, in which he quitted the Parliament army, and threw himſelf at the beginning of the action into that of the King. It is indeed ſo good an account, that the reader ought to ſee it in his own words, which are theſe (74). 'As the right wing of 'the

(74) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 252.

John Forteſcue, of Filleigh, Eſq; who married Anne, daughter of Walter Porter, of Thetford in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; his eldeſt ſon, I preſume, was Robert Forteſcue, of Filleigh, Eſq; who married Grace, daughter of Sir Bevil Grenville, of Stowe, and ſiſter to John Earl of Bath; by whom having no iſſue male (*e*), the eſtate deſcended to Hugh Forteſcue, of Filleigh, Eſq; who married Bridget, ſole daughter and heir of Hugh Boſcawen, of Tregothnan, in the county of Cornwall, by Margaret his wife, fifth daughter, and at length co-heir, of Theophilus Earl of Lincoln, and Baron Clinton; whoſe ſiſters having no ſurviving iſſue, the barony of Clinton devolved on Hugh Forteſcue, of Filley, Eſq; ſon and heir of the beforementioned Hugh and Bridget; which Hugh having demanded a writ of ſummons to Parliament, purſuant to his claim, was, on the 16th of March 1721, called up to the Houſe of Peers, and took his ſeat according to the rank of the antient Barons Clinton, who, by ſeveral ſummons, had enjoyed it from the ſixth of February 1298, the twenty-ſixth of Edward the Firſt (*f*). In 1721, his Lordſhip was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Devonſhire, and, on the twenty-ſeventh of May 1725, was elected a Knight of the moſt honourable order of the Bath: On his preſent Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, he was again conſtituted Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Devonſhire, and one of the Lords of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber; but in 1733 reſigned his places (*g*). On a ſucceeding alteration of affairs, his Lordſhip came again into employment; and, as a teſtimony of reſpect paid to his ſervices, he was, by letters patents bearing date July the fifth 1746, created Baron Forteſcue, of Caſtle-Hill in the county of Devon, and Earl Clinton (*b*). Of this family likewiſe was the late William Forteſcue, Eſq; firſt Attorney-General to the Prince, and afterwards Maſter of the Rolls; and indeed there have been ſo many eminent perſons of this ſirname, and of theſe not a few bearing the ſame chriſtian-name, that it is a thing of very great difficulty to diſtinguiſh and ſtate their deſcents truly, more eſpecially as the heireſſes of the elder branches commonly married ſome gentleman of their own name; ſo that their deſcendants ſeem, from the lands which they inherit in right of their mothers, to be of elder families than they really were, a caſe not at all common in other numerous families.

(*e*) Baronettage, Vol. III. p. 555.

(*f*) From the Caſe upon the Claim.

(*g*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 31.

(*b*) Ibid.

'the King's horſe advanced to charge the left wing, 'which was the groſs of the enemy's horſe, Sir Faith-'ful Forteſcue, who having his fortune and intereſt in 'Ireland, was come out of that Kingdom to haſten 'ſupplies thither, and had a troop of horſe raiſed for 'him for that ſervice; but as many other of thoſe 'forces were, ſo his troop was likewiſe diſpoſed into 'that army, and he was now Major to Sir William 'Waller; he with his whole troop advanced from the 'groſs of their horſe, and diſcharging all their piſtols 'on the ground within little more than carabine ſhot 'of his own body, preſented himſelf and his troop to 'Prince Rupert, and immediately with his Highneſs 'charged the enemy. Whether this ſudden accident 'as it might very well, and the not knowing how 'many more were of the ſame mind, each man look-'ing upon his companion with the ſame apprehen-'ſions as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of 'Prince Rupert and the King's horſe, or altogether 'with their own evil conſciences wrought upon them, 'I know not, but that whole wing having unſkilfully 'diſcharged their carabines and piſtols into the air, 'wheel'd about, the King's horſe charging in the 'flank and rear, and having thus abſolutely routed 'them, purſued them flying, and had the execution 'of them above two miles.' We may be ſatisfied, that this matter is not repreſented in too ſtrong a light in this relation, ſince it is placed rather in a ſtronger by the Hiſtorian of the Parliament, who aſcribes the great diſorder of their cavalry, which might, and indeed muſt, have been fatal to the Earl of Eſſex and his army, if Prince Rupert had ſhewn as much conduct as courage, to the going over of Sir Faithful Forteſcue with his troop (75). But how advantageous ſoever this might be to his Majeſty's cauſe, it was in ſome meaſure fatal to that corp, for in the confuſion that afterwards happened as they forgot to pull off their orange coloured ſcarfs, ſome of the royaliſts fired upon them, by which ſeventeen or eighteen were killed (76). It may be eaſily conceived, that this gentleman's behaviour drew upon him a very heavy load of reproach from thoſe whom he left. His juſtification however was very ſhort and explicit, his troop was raiſed for the Iriſh ſervice, and therefore when the Parliament obliged him to act againſt the King, it was taking ſuch an advantage of him, as left him no other means of recovering his freedom, and doing what he took to be his duty, than that of quitting their forces the firſt opportunity that offered. Their own proceeding was a leſſon to him, and by whatever arguments they could hope to juſtify their compelling him to take ſervice under the Earl of Eſſex, his leaving that ſervice muſt be likewiſe juſtified (77). His Brother, Sir Nicholas Forteſcue was a Knight of Malta, and was alſo Knighted by King James the Firſt at Whitehall (78), on the ſecond of February 1617. He was, as one characteriſes him, a perſon of ſo dexterous an addreſs, that when he came into notice, he came into favour, when he entered the court he had the chamber, yea, the cloſet of a Prince, open. A gentleman that did much in his perſon, and, as he would ſay, *let reputation do the reſt* (79). He and Sir Edmund Forteſcue were always obſerved ſo wary as to have all their enemies before them. He loſt his life in the ſervice of King Charles the Firſt in Lancaſhire (80). Of Sir Edmond Forteſcue of Vallowpit, or Fallowpit, before mention'd, and who alſo ſuffered deeply in the ſame cauſe, there are likewiſe ſome few particulars preſerved. After having ſerved Charles the Firſt with great courage and fidelity, as a brave Commander in the wars, and made as honourable articles for the ſurrender of Charles Fort at Salcombe, Devon, whereof he was Governor, as could be demanded. Upon the fall of the King, and his cauſe, he fled beyond ſea, and died in Holland, he was interred at Delft, where is a monument erected to his memory (81). He was forced to compound for his eſtate at ſix hundred and ſixty pounds and upwards in the ſame troubles. There was one John Forteſcue of Cookill in Worceſterſhire, Eſq; who paid two hundred thirty four pounds for his loyalty, and John Forteſcue of Bridleſt, Devon, perhaps, it ſhould be Spridleſtow, who paid two hundred and two pounds (82). In the next article ſome farther account will be given of the eminent perſons of this family, and whoever is deſirous of being ſtill better informed, may find abundant proofs of our not having exhauſted this copious ſubject (83).

(75) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, lib. iii. ch. i.

(76) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 253.

(77) Dr Ryves's Remark.

(78) Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, p. 668.

(79) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 31.

(80) Liſt of loyal Sufferers in the late diſmal times.

(81) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 312.

(82) Lloyd's loyal Martyrs, p. 668.

(83) In the Preface to Forteſcue *de laudibus legum Angliæ*, 1741. folio.

FORTESCUE (Sir JOHN), a very learned gentleman, a true patriot, an able ſtateſman, Privy-Councellor, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the Firſt. He was deſcended in a direct Line from the elder brother, or rather one of the elder brothers, of Chancellor Forteſcue, before-mentioned, who was his father's great uncle (*a*), as the reader will ſee by the account of his family in the notes [*A*]. He was but very young at the time the firſt misfortune befel his family, in the perſon of Sir Adrian Forteſcue, Knight of the Bath, his father (*b*), who having unfortunately entered into a cloſe alliance with a family under the extreme diſpleaſure of King Henry the Eighth, had the ill luck, notwithſtanding he had ſtood for many years very high in that monarch's favour, to be involved in one of thoſe proſecutions which he thought neceſſary for his ſafety (*c*); and being attainted for high-treaſon, of which we have but a very dark account in our hiſtories, loſt his head (*d*); but died very much pitied, as being eſteemed a perſon of great learning and wiſdom, as well as a gallant man and a great officer, and one who fell rather to gratify the royal ſuſpicions, than from his being guilty of any formed deſign to the prejudice of the crown (*e*) [*B*]. To whom the care of his children devolved, we have not, at this

(a) According to the Pedigree ſet forth in the former Article.

(b) Who received that honour when Henry the Eighth was created Prince of Wales.

(c) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 360.

(d) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 946, 947.

(e) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 264.

[*A*] *In the notes.*] As there are few families in England ſo numerous, or divided into ſo many branches, ſettled in different parts of the kingdom as this of Forteſcue (1); ſo the confuſion and miſtakes which this has occaſioned, has thrown ſome obſcurity on very material paſſages in our hiſtory, which, as far as we are able, we have, in theſe two articles, endeavoured to rectify and ſet in a true light. It has been ſhewn, that Sir Henry Forteſcue, Chief Juſtice of Ireland, had three ſons, the ſecond of which was Sir Richard Forteſcue (2), who was the father of Sir John Forteſcue of Punſburn, in the county of Hertford (3), who married Alice youngeſt daughter of Sir Jeffery Bullen, Lord Mayor of London, by Anne his wife, daughter, and one of the heirs of Thomas Lord Hoo and Haſtings, Knight of the Garter, and was grandfather to Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, the father of Queen Anne Bullen, the mother of Queen Elizabeth (4). From which match proceeded Sir *John Forteſcue of Punſburn, porter of the town of Calais* (5), who in the third year of King Richard the Third, having ſet at liberty John Vere Earl of Oxford, impriſoned by that King, went with him into France, and came over with Henry, Earl of Richmond, when he attained the Crown of England by his victory at Boſworth field, that Earl, upon his landing at Milford-Haven, knighted this Sir John Forteſcue (6); who in the ſecond of Henry the Seventh, for his valour at the battle of Newark on Trent, when John, Earl of Lincoln, and Lambert Simnel were defeated, was made Knight Banneret (7), and his brother Sir Adrian Forteſcue was made one of the Knights, at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, on the eighteenth of February, in the nineteenth year of Henry the Seventh (8), during whoſe reign both brothers were in high favour. This Sir Adrian Forteſcue was a valiant ſoldier, and ſerved King Henry the Eighth in his wars (9). In the fifth of Henry the Eighth, he and John Forteſcue, Eſq; had the King's letters of protection (10) going with Sir Charles Herbert, Knight, in that expedition, when Teroven and Tournay were taken, and a memorable battle fought, called, by our Hiſtorians, *the battle of Spurs* (11); we alſo find this Sir Adrian Forteſcue attended on the Queen at that famous interview, *Anno* 1520, between King Henry the Eighth, and the French King (12). Alſo in the fifteenth of the ſame King, he was one of the principal commanders of thoſe forces that took Bray and Montdidier, and ravaged thoſe parts of France (13). But notwithſtanding all theſe ſervices he fell into diſgrace, and, as will be ſhewn in the next note, was executed for high-treaſon (14). He married firſt, Anne, daughter of Sir William Stoner, of Stoner in Oxfordſhire, by whom he had iſſue, Margaret, married to Thomas Lord Wentworth, and Frances, to Thomas Lord Fitzgerald, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Kildare (15). But this Sir Adrian by his ſecond wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Rede of Rockingham Caſtle in Northamptonſhire, had iſſue three ſons, John, the ſubject of this article, Thomas, and Anthony; as alſo two daughters, Mary, married to William, ſon and heir of John Norris of Fyfield in Berkſhire, and Elizabeth, married to Thomas Bromley of the county of Salop, Eſquire, lineally deſcended from the famous Sir John Bromley, who in the fourth year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, recovered the Standard of Guyen, in that memorable battle of Corby (16) then gained by the French, for which eminent ſervice, he had not only the dignity of Knighthood conferred on him, but offices of ſpecial power and truſt, with lands of great value in the Duchy of Normandy, as alſo the ſame Standard of Guyen for his creſt. In which reign was alſo Henry Bromley, and Richard Bromley, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in thoſe wars, the firſt being a principal officer in the town of Caen (17), and in the ſeventh of Henry the Fifth, had in conſideration of his ſervices, a grant of all the lands and tenements, rents and ſervices, of Ralph Ruet: and the other being ſtiled of Harfleur, had a grant of all the lands, &c. of Sir Lionel de Recheburgh, Knight, and Jane his wife. From which Sir John Bromley, deſcended William Bromley, Eſq; Principal Secretary of State in the reign of Queen Anne. It appears from hence, our Stateſman Forteſcue was on all ſides honourably deſcended.

[*B*] *To the prejudice of the Crown.*] In order to underſtand this matter perfectly, we muſt take things a little higher. In the year 1536, there was a Rebellion againſt King Henry the Eighth, in Lincolnſhire, and in the northern counties; the former gave the King ſome apprehenſion, and therefore the Duke of Suffolk, who was ſent to ſuppreſs it, had inſtructions and authority to make uſe of fair means as well as foul, and it was by the former that he chiefly prevailed (18). Againſt the northern Rebels the Duke of Norfolk was ſent, who was aſſiſted by the Marquis of Exeter, and Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was owing to the Duke's great prudence, and by his timely applying for and publiſhing a general pardon, that all things were pacified and the King kept upon his throne; one Aſke, who had been at the head of the northern rebels, was invited to Court, kindly received by the King, who it was thought drew out of him ſome informations (19). Upon his return into the country it was ſaid that ſome new meetings were held, upon which the King was releaſed from the promiſes he had made in his pardon, many of the rebels were executed by martial law, many more tried, convicted, and put to death in different parts of the country, and the Lords Darcy and Huſſey being tried by their Peers, the Marquis of Exeter ſitting as High-Steward, found guilty, and beheaded, the former on Tower-hill, and the latter at Lincoln (20). The next year Sir Jeffery Pole gave ſome informations, upon which Henry, Marquis of Exeter, Henry Lord Montacute, elder brother to Cardinal Pole, and Sir Jeffery, and ſeveral other perſons, were apprehended, tried and executed, in the month of January following at Tower-hill and Tyburn (21). Sir Nicholas Carew, Maſter of the Horſe and Knight of the Garter, having preſumed to ſay that theſe proceedings were ſomething harſh, conſidering the Marquis was the King's couſin-german, and the grandſon of Edward the Fourth (22), he was tried, convicted, and executed on the third of March following; and now we come to the caſe of Sir Adrian Forteſcue, in which we ſhall uſe the beſt authorities we can find, and particularly that of a learned prelate, than whom there was no body better verſed in this period of our hiſtory (23). 'After theſe executions 'followed the Parliament in the year 1539, in which 'not only theſe attainders that were already paſſed 'were

(1) Preface to *Forteſcue de laudibus legum Angliæ*, Lond. 1741. p. xlix.

(2) From the Collections of T. Meller.

(3) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 310.

(4) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 799.

(5) Hall's Chronicle, f. 47. a.

(6) Jekyl's Cat. of Knights.

(7) Collections to the reign of Henry VII.

(8) From the MS. Collections of T. M.

(9) Hall, Stowe, Hollinſhed, Speed, Herbert.

(10) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XIII. p. 372.

(11) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 5.

(12) Rymer's Fœdera, XIII. 712.

(13) Hall's Chronicle, f. 114. a.

(14) A Catalogue of thoſe put to death for Religion or Treaſon, in the reign of Henry VIII.

(15) Baronag. Angliæ, MS. fol. 28.

(16) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, P. 153.

(17) Pat. Norman. 7. H. V. p. 1. n. 219.

(18) Herbert's Hiſt. of the reign of Henry VIII.

(19) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, II. p. 943, 944. There is an excellent account of this Rebellion in Speed.

(20) Catalogue of thoſe put to death for Religion or Treaſon, in the reign of Henry VIII.

(21) Biſhop of Durham's Sermon on this Plot, makes Sir Geofry Pole the Diſcoverer.

(22) See the old Hiſtorians, Hollinſhed, Stowe, Speed.

(23) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. P. 360.

this diſtance of time, been able to diſcover; but moſt certain it is, that due care was taken of them; ſo that the eldeſt, Mr John Forteſcue, became diſtinguiſhed for his extenſive knowledge, for his ſingular ſagacity, and for his perfect acquaintance with the beſt Latin and Greek authors (*f*). Theſe qualifications, joined perhaps to ſome diſtant affinity in blood, which there was between him and her Majeſty on the mother's ſide (*g*), brought him very early to the knowledge and eſteem of Queen Elizabeth, who made uſe of his learning in the direction of her ſtudies, to which ſhe was conſtant during her whole life, and rewarded the pains he took, in that reſpect, with the place of Maſter of the Wardrobe (*h*). We cannot doubt but the Queen had a great eſteem for, and a very high confidence in, him, ſince the ſecond great misfortune in his family, which was the conviction of his brother Sir Anthony Forteſcue, Knt. for high-treaſon (*i*), did not in the leaſt affect him; but, on the contrary, it may be preſumed his intereſt had a conſiderable ſhare in obtaining, from the clemency of the Queen, the pardon of that offence; which, tho' the criminals endeavoured to extenuate, they never attempted to deny, but were convicted upon their own confeſſions [*C*]. It does not appear, that, in the courſe of this reign, our

(*f*) Camden. Annal regn. Eliz. p. 1.

(*g*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 799.

(*h*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 444.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 89.

' were confirmed, but new ones of a ſtrange and unheard-of nature were enacted. It is a blemiſh never ' to be waſhed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the moſt ſacred and ' unalterable rules of juſtice which is capable of no ' excuſe, it was the attainting of ſome perſons whom ' they held in cuſtody without bringing them to a ' trial.' Concerning which I ſhall add, what the great Lord Chief Juſtice Coke writes (24). ' Altho' I queſtion not the power of the Parliament, for without ' queſtion the attainder ſtands of force in Law, yet ' this I ſay of the manner of proceeding, *Auferat oblivio ſi poteſt, ſi non utrumque ſilentium tegat.* For ' the more high and abſolute the juriſdiction of the ' Court is, the more juſt and honourable it ought to ' be in the proceedings, and to give example of juſtice to inferior Courts." " The chief of theſe were the Marchioneſs of Exeter, and the Counteſs of Sarum, the ſpecial matter charged on the former, is her confederating herſelf to Sir Nicholas Carew in his treaſons; to which is added, that ſhe had committed divers other abominable treaſons. The latter is ſaid to have confederated herſelf with her ſon the Cardinal, with other aggravating words. It does not appear by the journal that any witneſſes were examined, only that day that the bills were read the third time in the Houſe of Lords, Cromwell ſhewed them a coat of white ſilk, which the Lord Admiral had found among the Counteſs of Sarum's cloaths, in which the arms of England were wrought on the one ſide, and the ſtandard that was carried before the rebels was on the other ſide. This was brought as an evidence, that ſhe approved of the rebellion. Three Iriſh Prieſts were alſo attainted for carrying letters out of Ireland to the Pope and Cardinal Pole, as alſo Sir Adrian Forteſcue for endeavouring to raiſe Rebellion, Thomas Dingley, a Knight of St John of Jeruſalem, and Robert Granceter, Merchant, for going to ſeveral foreign Princes and perſuading them to make war upon the King, and aſſiſt the Lords Darcy and Huſſie in the Rebellion they had raiſed. Two gentlemen, a Dominican Frier and a Yeoman, were by the ſame Act attainted for ſaying, that that venomous ſerpent the Biſhop of Rome was ſupreme Head of the Church of England. Another gentleman, two Prieſts, and a Yeoman, were attainted for treaſon in general, no particular crime being ſpecified. Thus ſixteen perſons were in this manner attainted, and if there was any examination of witneſſes for convicting them, it was either in the Star-chamber or before the Privy-Council, for there is no mention of any evidence that was brought in the Journals: there was alſo much haſte made in the paſſing this bill, it being brought in the tenth of May, was read that day for the firſt and ſecond time, and the eleventh of May for the third time. The Commons kept it five days before they ſent it back, and added ſome more to thoſe that were in the bill at firſt, but how many were named in the bill originally, and how many were afterwards added cannot be known. Forteſcue and Dingley, ſuffered the tenth of July. As for the Counteſs of Sarum, the Lord Herbert ſaw in a record, *that Bulls from the Pope were found in her houſe; that ſhe kept correſpondence with her ſon; and that ſhe forbade her tenants to have the New Teſtament in Engliſh, or any other of the books that had been publiſhed by the King's authority.* She was then about ſeventy years of age, but ſhewed by the anſwers ſhe made, that ſhe had a vigorous and maſculine mind. She was kept two years priſoner in the Tower after the Act had paſſed; the King, by that reprieve, deſigning to oblige her ſon to a better behaviour; but upon a freſh provocation by a new rebellion in the north, ſhe was beheaded, and in her the name and line of Plantagenet determined. The Marchioneſs of Exeter died a natural death." Tho' there is a moſt commendable ſpirit of juſtice, and an honeſt zeal for truth in what Biſhop Burnet ſays, yet having this opportunity it may not be amiſs to add ſome other hiſtorical lights in reſpect to theſe dark paſſages, which in the opinion of the beſt judges is the great uſe of works of this nature, in which ſuch points are frequently canvaſſed as are hardly diſcuſſed in any other place. Whoever conſiders the foregoing narration, will perceive, that here was a great number of perſons of high rank, or of much experience, or of great influence, taken out of the world, upon ſtrange ſurmiſes, and very forced conſtructions, even upon the face of the proceedings againſt them, for which no competent reaſon appears; for if the Marquis of Exeter had been truly guilty of raſh expreſſions, he might have pleaded real ſervices which far outwent them; or if he denied the words, his marching againſt the northern rebels, and his ſitting as Lord High-Steward at the trial of the Lords Darcy and Huſſey, were facts very much in his favour. But theſe could be of little uſe, if only a colour was ſought to ſweep off at once the Marquis and the friends of his family. A certain Hiſtorian, who, as we have more than once obſerved, had very extraordinary aſſiſtances, has ſuggeſted one cauſe why the King was ſo deſirous of having the Marquis of Exeter out of his way. They were ſiſters children, and the King in the earlier part of his reign had ſuch an affection for him, as to declare him his ſucceſſor, but now having a ſon of his own, he entertained apprehenſions that were not to be quieted by any milder methods (25). It might be objected to this, that the extraordinary inſtances the Marquis had given of his zeal for the King's perſon and government, might have over balanced theſe ſuſpicions. To this another Hiſtorian ſupplies us with an anſwer, which is, that the King took notice with how much eaſe he raiſed many thouſand men to ſuppreſs the rebellion (26), and the thoughts of his having ſo great an influence, inſtead of diminiſhing, augmented his fears, and added weight to his ſuſpicions. The ſame maxim extended itſelf to all the reſt who were involved partly by their connections with families allied to the Crown, and partly by the knowledge the King had of the courage of ſome, and the abilities of others. The ſame ſpirit is thought to have ruled in ſubſequent councils, for Edward Courtney, the ſon of the Marquis of Exeter, remained a priſoner all the reign of Edward the Sixth, tho' but a child, releaſed indeed by Queen Mary when a man, but ſent to the Tower again upon Wyat's inſurrection, ſet at liberty once more and ſuffered to travel, but at length, as was commonly reported, poiſoned at Padua, either on account of his deſcent from Edward the Fourth, or which, perhaps, was a greater crime, preferring in his affections the Lady Elizabeth to her royal ſiſter (27).

(24) IV. Inſt. 37, 38.

(25) Speed's Chronicle, p. 779.

(26) Godwin's Annals, p. 123.

(27) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. I. p. 643.

[*C*] *But were convicted upon their own confeſſions.*] The death of his father could not divert his youngeſt ſon from his attachment to the family of Pole, of which

our ſtateſman ever addicted himſelf to any party (*k*); he had a good eſtate, a profitable employment, and the Queen's favour, which he kept by doing his duty aſſiduouſly, and never interfering in buſineſs but when he was called to it. In the Parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-ninth of October, in the twenty-eighth year of her reign, he ſat as Burgeſs for the town of Buckingham, with Chriſtopher Edmonds, Eſq; (*l*). In the ſame year we find him joined with John Wolley, Eſq; of her Majeſty's Privy-Council, in a commiſſion to inſpect the money, jewels, and other valuable things, left by Anne Ducheſs of Somerſet, Widow of the Protector (*m*). In the Parliament ſummoned to meet on the fourth of February, in the thirty-firſt of the ſame reign, he was elected Knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks, with Thomas Taſburgh, Eſq; (*n*). In the ſucceeding year, upon the death of Sir Walter Mildmay, he was raiſed to the great office of Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, which he enjoyed during the remaining part of that reign (*o*); in this poſt he was very uſeful to the Lord-Chancellor, to whom he was related, and who relied upon him entirely (*p*). His time was now, in a great meaſure, wholly taken up with the care of the revenue, in which he behaved with much prudence and circumſpection, as well as the higheſt probity (*q*); ſo that his royal miſtreſs was pleaſed to ſay of him and Secretary Walſingham, 'that they not only came 'up to, but exceeded, her expectations; the former in point of integrity, and the latter 'by his activity in her ſervice (*r*).' We need not wonder therefore, that, as well in regard to his parts and fidelity, as on account of his office, the Queen thought fit to take him into her moſt honourable Privy-Council (*s*). In the Parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter November the nineteenth, in the thirty-fifth year of her reign, he was again choſen, with Sir Robert Dormer, Knight for the county of Buckingham (*t*); in 1592, we find his name in a commiſſion with Henry Lord Hunſdon, Thomas Lord Buckhurſt, Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, John Wolley, Eſq; and others, for the trial of Sir John Perrot, who, while intruſted with the government of Ireland, had been guilty of ſome indiſcretions, and had particularly indulged himſelf in paſſionate and diſreſpectful expreſſions of her Majeſty; and upon his trial being found guilty, he was nevertheleſs recommended to the Queen, as an object fitter for pity than rigour, which prevented his ſuffering according to his ſentence (*u*). In ſeveral other weighty affairs, and more eſpecially thoſe reſpecting the revenue, references were continually made to Sir John Forteſcue, for he was now knighted, and it appears that he dealt in them all with equal candour and caution; ſo that while he diſcharged the duties of his place with irreproachable fidelity, he gave general ſatisfaction, by that calmneſs with which he heard whatever was offered on the part of thoſe who had any favours to aſk, or buſineſs to tranſact with him (*w*). So high he ſtood in the Queen's eſteem, that when, through the ſtruggles amongſt her miniſters, ſhe found it difficult to know where to beſtow the ſeals of the duchy of Lancaſter, ſhe lodged them with him, till at length, upon long conſideration, they were delivered to Sir Robert Cecil (*x*). In the Parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter October the twenty-fourth, in the thirty-ninth year of that reign, he was, with Francis Goodwin, Eſq; choſen Knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks (*y*). The ſame year, in conjunction with ſeveral Privy-Counſellors, he was appointed to confer with miniſters ſent from the States-General, in which conference he dealt very roundly with them, and expoſtulated in pretty high terms on the large expences which they endeavoured to throw upon the Queen; by which he brought them to abate in their demands (*z*). In 1598, he was in another commiſſion for treating with the Dutch Ambaſſadors, and had a great ſhare in concluding a treaty

(*k*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 347, 350, 359, 369, 377, 382.

(*l*) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 90.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. Append. No. xxi. p. 168, 169.

(*n*) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 78.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. p. 613.

(*p*) As appears from many paſſages in the Sidney Papers.

(*q*) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 562. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVI. p. 82, 201.

(*r*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 556.

(*s*) Liſt of Queen Elizabeth's Counſellors, amongſt Burleighan MSS.

(*t*) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 78.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 645, 646. Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, Chap. xii.

(*w*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 30, 33, 44, 45, 46, 64, 71, 79, 137.

(*x*) Who held them alſo in truſt, and had not the Office of Chancellor.

(*y*) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 79.

(*z*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 5, 6, 7.

which family he married a lady, who as ſome ſay, was ſiſter, but others with greater probability make her neice, to the Cardinal. In Queen Mary's reign this alliance was of uſe, it procured him the honour of Knighthood, and being ſent to Ireland with the title of Marſhal, from whence he returned and became Comptroller of the Houſhold to that Cardinal when Archbiſhop of Canterbury (28). In a very ſhort time after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, he was committed for practiſing with conjurers, to know how long the Queen would live, and for this, and other indiſcretions, orders were given to Dr Bonner, Biſhop of London (for he was not yet deprived) to proſecute Forteſcue, and thoſe concerned with him, in the Eccleſiaſtical Court (29). Yet even this did not prove a ſufficient warning, for by the perſuaſion, or at leaſt with the privity, of the French and Spaniſh Miniſters (30), Sir Anthony Forteſcue embarked in new ſchemes, for which he was again ſent to priſon; of the nature, ground, and iſſue of this plot, Camden gives us the following fair and clear account, viz. that Arthur Pole, and Jeffery Pole his brother, who were grandſons to George Duke of Clarence, with Sir Anthony Forteſcue and ſome others, entered into a deſign of withdrawing themſelves to France, where, by the aſſiſtance of the Houſe of Guiſe, they were in hopes of levying a conſiderable force, which they propoſed to tranſport into Wales, and there to proclaim Mary Queen of Scots, Queen of England, and Arthur Pole, Duke of Clarence. Forteſcue made a very full and clear confeſſion, but pleaded for himſelf and his friends, that they meant not to diſturb Queen Elizabeth's Government, becauſe none of their ſchemes were to take place till after her death, which they were aſſured would happen within the courſe of that year 1562; this, tho' it did not ſave them from condemnation, prevented their execution, her Majeſty being unwilling that ſo much Royal Blood ſhould be ſpilt upon the ſcaffold (31). She carried her compaſſion ſtill farther, and ſpared Preſtal the conjurer, becauſe he acted only an under part in this deſign. Both his misfortune and his eſcape ſhew plainly enough, that ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm prevailed ſtrongly in thoſe times; for as he fell into this condemnation, by pretending to knowledge that he had not; ſo he obtained his liberty the ſame way, for he made his keeper believe that he was poſſeſſed of the Philoſopher's ſtone, upon which report the Earl of Pembroke begged his diſcharge as a new year's gift, which the Queen granted in 1566 (32). Such was the end of a very dangerous, and at the ſame time very ridiculous buſineſs, which if it had happened but a few years later in that reign, might have

(28) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 7.

(29) Memorials of the Dangers of Queen Elizabeth, in a ſuccinct View of the Treaſons contrived againſt her, p. 3.

(30) Camden. Annal. regn. Eliz. p. 89. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 366.

(31) Camden. Annal. p. 89.

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 366.

a treaty of equal benefit to the Crown and to the States [D]. In the troubles of the Earl of Eſſex, he conducted himſelf with ſuch prudence as to give no offence, either to the Queen or to thoſe who were that unfortunate nobleman's enemies; and was, notwithſtanding, underſtood throughout the whole to be his friend (a). In the proceedings in the Star-Chamber, at the cloſe of Michaelmas-term 1599, when all the great officers of State were called upon in publick, to ſpeak their ſentiments on that nice ſubject, with a view probably of obliging them to take either one part or the other; Sir John Forteſcue had the addreſs to ſpeak to the ſatisfaction of the audience, without falling into any of the heats with which others were tranſported. He firſt gave a clear account of the Queen's care and concern for the reduction of Ireland, and the meaſures purſued for that purpoſe, ſo far as they fell within the cognizance of his own office. He obſerved, that he was not called to Council when theſe matters were firſt in debate; he ſaid, that ſince he came rarely thither, moſt of his time being taken up in the management of the revenue, that, notwithſtanding this, he had a general knowledge of what paſſed in Council, from which general knowledge, however, he could collect nothing more than that notwithſtanding all the Queen's pains and providence, things were then in a worſe ſtate in Ireland than when the army firſt landed. After this, raiſing his voice, he complained, with tears in his eyes, of libels ſcattered abroad, to inflame the minds of the people; of the fatal conſequences of theſe factious intrigues amongſt great men; and cloſed his ſpeech with a pathetic recommendation of affection to the Queen's Majeſty, and a ſincere regard to the peace and welfare of the nation. He was one of the Commiſſioners, March the fifth 1600, preſent at the trial of Sir Chriſtopher Blount, Sir Charles Davers, Sir John Davis, Sir Gelly Merrick, and Henry Cuffe, for high-treaſon; but it does not appear that he took any ſhare therein, except that of being preſent on the Bench (b). At the time of the death of the Queen his miſtreſs, he was poſſeſſed of the offices of Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, and Maſter of the Great Wardrobe; and was likewiſe a member of the Privy-Council (c). It is alſo very remarkable, that one of the laſt publick acts of her government, was a commiſſion directed to him, and others of the Privy-Council, for dealing with, and ſeeing baniſhed and tranſported out of her dominions, all ſeminary prieſts and jeſuits, as well thoſe then in priſon as out of priſon, or that at any time after ſhould come into or be found in her dominions; and directing, that a certificate of their proceedings ſhould be tranſmitted, under the hand of the Principal Secretary of State, to the Clerk of the Crown in the King's-Bench, in order to their being enrolled in the Crown-Office. Some writers affirm, that he oppoſed the admiſſion of King James to the vacant throne, but upon certain terms; for which that monarch is ſaid to have borne him ever afterwards a grudge (d). Yet there does not appear to be any evidence of either of theſe facts; but, on the contrary, many circumſtances which ſeem to be incompatible with either. It is not eaſy to conceive, by ſuch as are acquainted with our conſtitution, who could have taken upon them, with any hopes of ſucceſs or ſafety, to frame or preſcribe ſuch articles. An overture of this ſort, looks not very conſiſtent with the cautious and circumſpect conduct of Sir John Forteſcue, in the preceding part of his life. Beſides, upon the demiſe of the Queen, there appeared to be no doubt at all about the ſucceſſion, ſince the Privy-Council directed King James to be proclaimed before noon, at the Croſs in Cheapſide, the very day that the Queen died (e); and the only ſtruggle ſeems to have been, who ſhould aſſume the merit of communicating this acceptable news firſt to the King of Scots (f) [E]. We may add to theſe conjectures

(a) See the Proceedings annexed to the Earl of Eſſex's Apology.

(b) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 209.

(c) As appears from comparing our Hiſtorians. Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 489.

(d) Oſborn's Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James, § iii. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 22. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 307.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 817.

(f) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 12.

have coſt the actors in it very dear. Sir Anthony Forteſcue ſurvived this many years, and by his Lady Catherine Pole, left a ſon John behind him.

[D] *Of equal benefit to the Crown and to the States.*] In order to this negotiation, the States-General ſent over John Duenvoord, Admiral of Holland; John Oldenbarnevelt, Keeper of the Seals; John Verke, John Hooting, and Andrew Heſſel, and joined in the ſame commiſſion, Sir Nowel Carron, their Agent in England, who being mightily for promoting the war did in the month of Auguſt hold a conference with Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, the Earl of Eſſex, the Admiral, George Lord Hunſdon, the Lord Buckhurſt, Sir William Knolles, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Forteſcue, commiſſioners appointed by the Queen (33), and ſubſcribed to the following articles: that the treaty made *Anno* 1585, ſhould be ratified and confirmed, excepting ſome articles relating to the civil adminiſtration: that the Confederate States ſhould pay to the Queen eight hundred thouſand pounds of Engliſh money, viz. thirty thouſand pounds yearly during the continuance of the war, to be employed againſt the common enemy, until four hundred thouſand pounds were paid: and if a peace were agreed on between the King of Spain and the Queen, there ſhould be paid of the remaining ſum twenty thouſand pounds yearly, till the eight hundred thouſand pounds were fully diſcharged. That eleven hundred and fifty Engliſh ſoldiers, who were in the garriſons of Fluſhing, Briel, and the adjacent ports, ſhould be paid by the States. That they might have the liberty to levy men in England under Engliſh officers, who ſhould ſerve under their pay: that if the Spaniard ſhould make a deſcent on the Iſles of Wight, Guernſey, Jerſey, or Scily, the States ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt the Queen with five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: that if it 'twas neceſſary to equip a fleet in England to ſerve againſt Spain, they ſhould provide an equal number of ſhips: that if any Engliſh forces were ſent over into Flanders or Brabant, they ſhould provide and furniſh out the ſame number of men: as for the money due to Pallavicini, the Queen ſhould reimburſe herſelf from Brabant and Flanders, and the reſt of the Provinces which were not within the union (34). By this treaty all the ends of true policy were anſwered, a juſt proviſion made for the continuance of the war againſt Spain, and the Queen's expence reduced one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a year. In this negotiation, Sir John Forteſcue was underſtood to ſpeak the ſenſe, and to have the ſecret of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, who at that time laid dangerouſly ill and died very ſoon after.

(33) Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 340.

(34) Camden. Annal. regn. Eliz. p. 776.

[E] *To the King of Scots.*] We have this matter very clearly ſet down in Stowe, where it is aſſerted, that the Lords cauſed King James to be proclaimed at the Palace Gate, by eight of the clock in the morning; by

conjectures and probabilities, a matter of fact relating to this gentleman, and his ſenſe of the point in queſtion; for within four days after the death of the Queen, he ſubſcribed, with other perſons of the firſt quality, a letter to the Lord Eure, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners then engaged in a negotiation at Bremen (*), ſignifying that King James was proclaimed with ſuch univerſal acclamation of all perſons, as declared the undoubted aſſurance, in every man's conſcience, of his rightful ſucceſſion; and betokened, as they hoped, the

(*) Bibl. Cotton. Galba, E. 1. fol. 40.

by eleven, he was likewiſe proclaimed in Cheapſide (35), Mr Secretary Cecil reading the proclamation in perſon, with a loud voice, being attended there, by moſt of the Nobility and the Privy Council. But the moſt diſtinct, perfect, and authentic account that can be had of this matter, and which fully proves the truth of what is aſſerted in the text, is that contained in the relation of Sir Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, who was nearly related to Queen Elizabeth, a great favourite with King James, and who, was the very perſon that carried him the news of her deceaſe (36). We will give it in his own words. 'I went to my 'lodging, and left word with one in the Cofferer's 'Chamber, to call me, if that night (Wedneſday, 'March the twenty-third) it was thought ſhe would 'die, and gave the Porter an angel, to let me in at any 'time when I called. Between one and two of the 'clock on Thurſday morning, he that I left in the Cof-'ferer's chamber, brought me word, the Queen was 'dead. I roſe and made all haſte to the gate to get 'in. There I was anſwered, I could not enter; the 'Lords of the Council having been with him, and 'commanded him, that none ſhould go in and out, 'but by warrant from them. At the very inſtant, one 'of the Council, the *Comptroller* (37), aſked whether 'I was at the gate? I ſaid *yes*. He ſaid to me; if I 'pleaſed, he would let me in; I deſired to know how 'the Queen did? He anſwered, pretty well. I bad 'him good night. He replied and ſaid, Sir, if you 'will come in, I will give you my word and credit 'you ſhall go out again at your own pleaſure. Upon his 'word I entered the gate, came up to the Cofferer's 'chamber, where I found all the ladies weeping bit-'terly. He led me from thence into the Privy-Cham-'ber, where all the Council was aſſembled. There I 'was caught hold of, and aſſured I ſhould not go for 'Scotland, till their pleaſure was farther known. I 'told them I came on purpoſe to that end. From 'thence they all went to the Secretary's Chamber; 'and as they went, they gave eſpecial command to 'the porters, that none ſhould go out of the gate, but 'ſuch ſervants as they ſhould ſend to prepare their 'coaches and horſes for London. There was I left in 'the midſt of the court to think my own thoughts, 'till they had done Council. I went to my brother's 'chamber, who was in bed, having been over watched 'many nights before. I got him up with all ſpeed, 'and when the Council's men were going out of the 'gate, my brother thruſt to the gate. The porter 'knowing him to be a great officer, let him out. I 'preſſed after him, and was ſtaid by the porter. My 'brother angrily ſaid to the porter: *Let him out, I 'will anſwer for him*. Whereupon I was ſuffered to 'paſs, which I was not a little glad of. I got to 'horſe, and rode to the Knight-Marſhal's lodging by 'Charing-Croſs; and there ſtaid till the Lords came 'to Whitehall-Garden (38). I ſtaid there till it was 'nine o'clock in the morning; and hearing that all 'the Lords were in the old orchard at Whitehall, I 'ſent the Marſhal to tell them, that I had ſtaid all 'that while to know their pleaſures, and that I would 'attend them, if they would command me any ſer-'vice. They were very glad, when they heard I 'was not gone, and deſired the Marſhal to ſend for 'me, and I ſhould with all ſpeed be diſpatched for 'Scotland. The Marſhal believed them, and ſent Sir 'Arthur Savage for me. I made haſte to them, one 'of the Council, my Lord of Banbury that now is, 'whiſpered the Marſhal in the ear, and told him, if 'I came they would ſtay me, and ſend ſome other in 'my ſtead. The Marſhal got from them, and met 'me coming to them between the two gates. He 'bad me be gone, for he had learned for certain, that 'if I came to them they would betray me. I returned, 'and took horſe between nine and ten a clock, and 'that night I rode to Doncaſter. The Friday night 'I came to my own houſe to Wetherington, and pre-'ſently took order with my deputies to ſee the bor-'ders kept in quiet, which they had much to do, and 'gave order that the next morning the King of Scot-'land ſhould be proclaimed King of England, &c. 'at Morpeth and Alnewick. Very early on Saturday 'I took horſe for Edinburgh, and came to Norham 'about twelve at noon, ſo that I might well have 'been with the King by ſupper time, but I got a great 'fall by the way, and my horſe with one of his heels 'gave me a great blow on the head, that made me 'ſhed much blood. It made me ſo weak that I was 'forced to ride a ſoft pace after, ſo that the King 'was newly gone to bed by that time I knocked at 'the gate. I was quickly let in and carried up to the 'King's chamber. I kneeled by him, and ſaluted 'him by his title of England, Scotland, France, and 'Ireland. He gave me his hand to kiſs, and bade 'me welcome. After he had long diſcourſed of the 'manner of the Queen's ſickneſs, and of her death, 'he aſked what letters I had from the Council, I told 'him, none, and acquainted him, how narrowly I eſcaped 'from them, and yet I had brought him a blue ring 'from a fair lady (39), that I hoped would give him 'aſſurance of the truth that I had reported. He took 'it and looked upon it, and ſaid it is enough, I know 'by this you are a true meſſenger. Then he commit-'ted me to the charge of my Lord Hume, gave ſtrait 'command that I ſhould want nothing. He ſent for 'his Chirurgeons to attend me, and when I kiſſed his 'hand at my departure, he ſaid to me theſe gracious 'words, *I know you have loſt a near kinſwoman and 'a loving miſtreſs, but take here my hand I will be 'as good a maſter to you, and will requite this ſervice 'with honour and reward.*' The firſt author who ſuggeſted any thing in relation to Sir John Forteſcue was Francis Oſborn, Eſq; and the very title of his treatiſe ſhews, that it is not to be put into the balance with what we are told, by thoſe who were eye and ear witneſſes of what they relate; his account however is worth reading, and runs thus (40). 'The news of 'the Queen's death was brought him firſt, as I have 'heard, by Carey after Lord Lepington, and ſince Earl 'of Monmouth, who not able to ſatisfy ſuch a con-'courſe of doubts and queſtions, as far more reſolute 'natures than his do generally muſter upon leſs occa-'ſions, the King ſtood as in a maze, being more af-'fected thro' the fear of oppoſition, than pleaſed with 'the preſent report, till by a lamer poſt he was adver-'tiſed of his being joyfully proclaimed in London by 'the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and of the unque-'ſtioned reception, his title in all places met with, no 'leſs than that the hopes of ſome, and fears of the 'major part, aſſiſted by the prudent carriage of the 'Treaſurer, and ranting proteſtations of the Earl of 'Northumberland, that in all places vapoured he 'would bring him in by the ſword, had ſtop'd their 'mouths that deſired, in regard of the known feud 'between the nations, he might be obliged to articles: 'and amongſt theſe noble and publick ſpirits, was Sir 'John Forteſcue, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Cob-'ham, &c. all frowned upon after by the King.' In direct contradiction to this Mr Winwood, after Sir Ralph Winwood and Secretary of State, in a private letter written to his intimate friend the Duke de Tremouille, immediately upon the death of the Queen, has theſe words (41). *The ſame day the late Queen died, the King of Scots was proclaimed King in the city of London, between the hours of ten and eleven, with inexpreſſible applauſe, as he has been ſince through the whole kingdom, without* the leaſt oppoſition *being given by* any perſon *of what* quality *ſoever either by* word *or* deed. It is not eaſy to ſuppoſe, that Mr Winwood was not as well informed as Mr Oſborn, and it cannot be imagined that he would have written a direct falſehood to a perſon of ſuch quality, when he might have ſo eaſily avoided it by ſaying nothing.

(35) Stowe's Annals, p. 818.

(36) Taken from *Memoirs of his own Life*, a MS. which was in the hands of the late Lady Eliz. Spelman.

(37) Sir Henry Cock.

(38) King James was proclaimed before this at the Court Gates at Richmond.

(39) The Lady Scroop, who was deep in the King's ſecret, and had promiſed this token.

(40) Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James, by Fran. Oſborn, §. 3.

(41) Literal Tranſlation from Winwood's French Letter, which is the laſt of his firſt Volume.

the future happineſs of his reign. Now how much ſoever of ceremony and compliment there might be in this, one cannot well believe that Sir John Forteſcue would have ſet his name to it, if he had ever raiſed any objections againſt King James's coming in except upon terms. On the ſecond of May 1603, when King James came to Brockeſborne in the county of Hertford, the Seat of Sir Henry Cock, Comptroller of the Houſhold to Queen Elizabeth, the members of the Privy-Council were preſented to his Majeſty, and were continued in that high ſtation (*g*). When his conſort Queen Anne came from Scotland, the King went to meet her, and on the twenty-ſeventh of June dined with her, Prince Henry, and the Lady Elizabeth, at the houſe of Sir George Fermor, in Northamptonſhire, from whence he proceeded the ſame night to Sir John Forteſcue's, at Salden in Buckinghamſhire, where they lay (*h*); and certainly this could not paſs for any inſtance of diſtaſte or reſentment, but rather the contrary. On the twenty-fourth of July following, Sir Francis Forteſcue, ſon to Sir John, was made a Knight of the Bath, previous to the Coronation, which was another mark of royal favour (*i*). It is indeed true, that, inſtead of Chancellor of the Exchequer, the King made Sir John Forteſcue Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter (*k*), which is the ſingle matter of fact that has been ever urged to ſhew the probability of his declining in the King's eſteem; and yet it is very poſſible, that this might be done without the leaſt diſreſpect to Sir John, and upon terms with which he might be well ſatisfied. We may the rather eſteem this to have been the caſe from a ſubſequent fact, one of the moſt remarkable in our ſtateſman's life, and none of the leaſt memorable in that Monarch's reign (*l*). The King having ſummoned the firſt Parliament in his reign, to meet at Weſtminſter March the nineteenth 1603-4, a writ was iſſued to the Sheriff of Buckinghamſhire, Sir Francis Cheyne, to return two Knights for that county (*m*). The Sheriff accordingly brought on the election January the twenty-fifth, at Brickhill, and not at Ayleſbury, becauſe the plague was there. It was intended, that Sir John Forteſcue, and Sir Francis Goodwin, ſhould be elected; but upon the Sheriff's propoſing them, the freeholders cried out, *a Goodwin, a Goodwin*, notwithſtanding that the moſt conſiderable gentry, and the Juſtices of Peace, were in the intereſt of Sir John Forteſcue. Upon this, Sir Francis Goodwin himſelf came, and laboured all that was in his power, to induce the freeholders to conſent that Sir John Forteſcue's name ſhould ſtand firſt in the return; but they adhered to their former opinion, and, upon receiving the poll, Sir Francis Goodwin, and Sir William Fleetwood, were returned, by the Sheriff, Knights of the Shire for the county of Bucks (*n*). This was repreſented to the King, as a great *inſult* upon Sir John Forteſcue, an old Privy-Counſellor, and, as ſuch, worthy of honour and reſpect. It was diſcovered, that Sir Francis Goodwin was outlawed, which was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient bar to his ſitting in Parliament; of which the Sheriff being informed, he made ſuch a return to the writ, viz. that Sir Francis Goodwin was choſen, but diſabled by being outlawed; which return was drawn for him by Sir Edward Coke, then the King's Attorney-General (*o*). The Lord Chancellor Egerton, upon this, iſſued a ſecond writ, which was delivered to the Sheriff by Sir John Forteſcue, and upon this Sir John was returned (*p*). On Thurſday the twenty-ſecond of March, when the Houſe met, Sir William Fleetwood moved, that Sir Francis Goodwin might take his ſeat as Knight with him for Buckinghamſhire; which the Houſe ordered the next day, and Sir Francis did take his ſeat accordingly (*q*). This occaſioned a long diſpute between the Houſe and the King, the true point in debate being this, Whether the Houſe was the proper judge of the return, or the Chancellor? For if the latter was not, then the ſecond writ was void in it's own nature; this diſpute laſted to the eleventh of April, when the King propoſed it to the Houſe as an expedient, that both theſe gentlemen ſhould be ſet aſide, and a new writ iſſued for the choice of a member (*r*). Upon this difference between the King and the Houſe of Commons, ſo many and ſuch ſtrange reports went abroad, that it was judged expedient, by the Lord Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, who was then at the head of the adminiſtration, to give the King's Miniſters at foreign Courts an account of it, which he did (*s*) [*F*]. Upon mature deliberation

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 822. Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 491.

(*h*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 356.

(*i*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 17. Stowe's Annals, p. 827.

(*k*) So he is ſtiled in the Proceedings on the Election for Buckinghamſhire, in 1603-4.

(*l*) Coke's Detection of the four laſt Reigns, p. 22. Hiſt. of the High Court of Parliament, Vol. II. p. 414.

(*m*) Proceedings in the Caſe of Sir F. Goodwin, and Sir John Forteſcue, in State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 76.

(*n*) So in the Sheriff's Examination before the Houſe of Commons.

(*o*) Affirmed by Sir Francis Cheyne.

(*p*) So in his Examination.

(*q*) On Wedneſday March 23, but forbore coming afterwards.

(*r*) See the Speaker's Warrant in Note [*G*].

(*s*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 18.

[*F*] *Which he did.*] The following paſſage is extracted from a letter to Mr afterwards Sir Ralph Winwood by the Lord Cecil, dated April the twelfth 1604, the very day that the laſt writ was iſſued (42), 'If you have heard any thing of any queſtion between 'the King and the Lower Houſe of Parliament, you 'may ſatisfy yourſelf whatſoever you may hear, that 'the cauſe was only by lack of underſtanding of what 'was intended by his Majeſty, and not any other 'point of importance. So as if I did not conceive 'that idle diſcourſers are apt to make comments upon 'all things according to the levity of their own brain, 'I ſhould not have touched it at all, for to be ſhort, 'it was no more but this. That Sir Francis Goodwyn having laboured to be Knight of Buckingham-'ſhire, to the excluſion of an antient Counſellor Sir 'John Forteſcue, it was adviſed by the King's learned 'Counſel and Judges, whether there were not ſome 'means by the Laws to avoid it. Whereupon it being found that he was outlawed, and ſo certified by 'the Sheriff, conſequently a new writ was ſent forth 'by virtue whereof Sir John Forteſcue was choſen. 'Notwithſtanding the Lower Houſe having had notice that he was once choſen, and having found that 'the outlawry was pardoned, in effect, by his Majeſty's 'general pardon upon his Inauguration, altho' in true 'conſtruction of Law, he is not *Rectus in Curia*, until he hath ſued out his *ſcire facias*, they ſomewhat 'ſuddenly fearing ſome oppoſition which was never 'intended, allowed of him and rejected the other, 'which form of proceeding appeared harſh to the 'King, rather in form than matter. And therefore 'being then deſirous that the Higher Houſe might 'have ſome conference with the Lower Houſe (which 'we as of ourſelves did intimate unto them) they grew 'jealous of that propoſition as a matter which they 'miſliked to yield to after a judgment, and therefore 'did rather chooſe to ſend to the King, that they 'would

(42) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 18.

deliberation the Houſe of Commons thought fit to accept the propoſition the King had made, provided Sir Francis Goodwin, whom they had admitted to his ſeat, gave his conſent, which he very readily did; upon which a new writ iſſued, and Chriſtopher Pigott, Eſq; was choſen (*t*). It may be fairly preſumed, tho' the King did not carry his point in this matter, that Sir John Forteſcue thought himſelf much obliged; nor is it in any degree credible, that he would himſelf have meddled in this affair, as indeed he tranſacted many things in it perſonally, if he had been but ſlightly attached to the King, or in his principles an enemy to the Prerogative. We do not meddle with the merits of the caſe, but with the conduct of Sir John Forteſcue, who, being generally reputed a very wiſe man, as well as a man of honour, would have been aſhamed to have changed ſides in a few months, in ſo glaring a manner as to claim the aſſiſtance of that Prince's power which he had publickly adviſed ſhould be curtailed. Some authors have repreſented this as an act of great violence and injuſtice in King James, and that, as ſuch, it gave very high diſtaſte to his firſt Parliament (*u*). In order to countenance theſe notions, a very imperfect caſe upon this ſubject has been printed (*w*); but forty years after it happened, the Houſe of Commons ordered all that was entered upon that head in their journals to be printed (*x*), and from thence it appears in the light in which it is here placed; and to leave the reader without any doubt of this, Sir Francis Goodwin's letter, the Speaker's report of the thanks of the Houſe given to the King, together with his anſwer, and the warrant for the new writ, are inſerted in the notes (*y*) [G]. A little attention will ſhew, that this indiſputable matter of fact, is very hardly, if at all, reconcileable to what is ſuggeſted of Sir John Forteſcue's oppoſing

(*t*) Willis's Notitia Parliament. Vol. II. p. 79.

(*u*) Coke's Detection of the four laſt Reigns, p. 22. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 22.

(*w*) As an Appendix to the ſecond Edition of Lex Parliamentaria.

(*x*) This Order of the Houſe of Commons, is dated March 14, 1704.

(*y*) Theſe are not in the Caſe at the End of Lex Parliamentaria.

'would be glad to ſhew himſelf the reaſons, to whom 'they owed all duty as their Sovereign, rather than 'to any other, taking it ſomewhat derogative from 'their Houſe, to attribute any ſuperiority to the 'Higher Houſe, ſeeing both Houſes make but one 'body, whereof the King is the Head.' This being 'done, after two conferences, in the preſence of the 'King, the Council, and Judges, the matter was compounded to all men's likings, wherein that which 'is due is only due to Cæſar, for, but for his wiſdom 'and dexterity, it could not have had any concluſion 'with ſo general an applauſe. This being found by 'debate to be moſt certain, namely, that neither of 'them both were duly returned, and therefore reſolved of all parties, that a new writ ſhould go forth 'by warrant from the Speaker, wherein none of them 'ſhould ſtand to be elected, and ſo much for the truth 'of that cauſe.' This and the following papers might have been conſulted by an author who ſtates this matthus (43). 'He (i. e. the King) let them know in 'the caſe of the conteſted election, between Sir Francis Goodwin, and Sir John Forteſcue to be Knight 'of the Shire, for the county of Bucks, that he would 'have differences determined by his abſolute power; 'and tho' the Commons voted Sir Francis duly elected, 'yet the King commanded them to let the matter be 'heard before the Houſe of Lords, and the Judges: 'but Sir Francis Goodwyn fearing it might cauſe a 'rupture between the King and the Houſe of Commons, petitioned that a new writ might be iſſued to 'elect a Knight for that county in his ſtead.' It appears from the proceedings, that the King deſired the Houſe to confer with the Judges, not as Umpires, but as his Counſellors, that he might receive ſatisfaction (44). It alſo appears from the paper which the Houſe ſent the King, that this was no new diſpute, ſince they alledged that in the twenty third year of the preceding reign a Burgeſs was returned dead, and another choſen, and returned by a new writ, but the party returned dead appearing, the Houſe of Commons admitted him to his ſeat, and notwithſtanding the Sheriff's return rejected the other. The very ſame year a Burgeſs for Hull was returned a lunatick, and a new one choſen upon a ſecond writ. The perſon firſt returned, appeared and claimed his place, the Houſe examined the matter, and found the firſt return to be true, and therefore they refuſed him, which they would not have done if the return had been falſe. In the twenty ninth year of the ſame reign, a writ was awarded into Norfolk for the choice of Knights, and election made and returned, but before the Parliament met, the Chancellor awarded a ſecond writ, and upon that alſo return was made, the Commons being attended with both writs and returns by the clerk of the Crown, examined the cauſe, allowed the firſt, and rejected the ſecond (45). The fault therefore in this caſe, lay in thoſe who adviſed the King to inſiſt ſo much upon this matter. But after all, the final reſolution was not taken upon Sir Francis Goodwin's petition, but upon the King's propoſal and Sir Francis Goodwin acquieſced under that reſolution of the Houſe, as the reader will ſee in the next note.

(43) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stu- Vol. I. p. 22.

(44) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 75.

(45) D'Ewes's Journal of Parliaments in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 396, 397, 398, 399.

[G] *Are inſerted in the notes.*] The reader will doubtleſs obſerve, that the Lord Chancellor Egerton, and Sir Edward Coke then Attorney-General, had at this time a good underſtanding, and through them it is plain this advice with reſpect to the ſecond writ was both given and executed (46). The King therefore had reaſon to tell the Houſe of Commons as he did, that both the gentlemen were his good ſubjects, and that in one ſenſe it was indifferent to him, whether Sir John or Sir Francis was choſen; but in another, he was unwilling that any diſgrace ſhould be thrown upon an old Privy-Counſellor, ſince it was a thing himſelf had carefully avoided, and indeed it appears to have been from the accident of the plague's being at Ayleſbury, which frighted many of the better ſort from attending the county Court that Sir John Forteſcue loſt his election. But it is time to come to the papers, as we find them entered in the Journal Book of the Houſe of Commons (47).

(46) See Sir Francis Cheyne's Examination.

(47) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 76, 77.

Sir FRANCIS GOODWYN's Letter.

SIR,

'I AM heartily ſorry to have been the leaſt occaſion, either of queſtion between his Majeſty and 'that honourable Houſe, or of interruption to thoſe 'worthy and weighty cauſes, which by this time in 'all likelihood had been in very good furtherance; 'wherefore underſtanding very credibly, that it pleaſed 'his Majeſty when the committees laſt attended him, 'to take courſe with them for a third writ and election 'for the Knightſhip of the county of Buckingham, I 'am ſo far from giving any impediment thereunto, 'that, contrarywiſe, I humbly deſire his Majeſty's 'direction in that behalf to be accompliſhed and performed. So praying you, according to ſuch opportunity as will be miniſtred, to give furtherance there-'unto, I take my leave, and reſt

Your's

FRA. GOODWIN.

Weſtm. this 11th of April 1604.

Directed to the Right Worſhipful Sir Edward Phelips, *Knight, Speaker of the Honourable* Court *of* Parliament.

Die Veneris, viz. 13° *die Aprilis* 1604.

Mr Speaker returneth to the Houſe, the effect of his meſſage of thanks delivered the laſt day in the name of

(z) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 556.

oppoſing King James, and of the King's reſentment ever after (z). For if this had been a thing generally known, the affront put upon him by his county, would have been a compliment to the King; as, on the other hand, one cannot eaſily conceive how the King could have been prevailed upon to interfere ſo far as he did, if he had not had a very high perſonal eſteem for Sir John Forteſcue. We may add, to ſhew that even this diſappointment did not leſſen this accompliſhed courtier's credit with his maſter, that there was a current report, the very next year, that he would have been created a Baron; the like honour being intended for the Chief Juſtice Sir John Popham, Sir Edward Coke, who was to ſucceed Sir Francis Gawdy as Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and Sir Thomas Knivet, who was very active in detecting of the powder-treaſon (a). But the laſt only had that honour, which it is not at all improbable Sir John Forteſcue, who was a very modeſt and diſintereſted perſon, might decline. He was alſo, which ought to be conſidered as a very remarkable act of confidence, one of thoſe Privy-Counſellors to whom the King, in 1606, executed an indenture (*), ſignifying what lands ſhould be for ever annexed, and what jewels ſhould be held and reputed jewels belonging to the Crown; which, tho' one part of the indenture was under the Great-Seal, was in reality a family tranſaction, till confirmed (as the King intended it ſhould) by Act of Parliament. After this, we are able to meet with no farther particulars worthy of the reader's notice, which will not ſeem ſtrange if we remember that he muſt have been now above fourſcore, ſince he was a man, tho' a very young man, at the time of his father's death; he had, however, the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his ſon, Sir Francis Forteſcue, Sheriff of the county (b), which he had alſo repreſented in the laſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth (c). He died, as Mr Camden tells us, December the twenty-third 1607 (d), at which time he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, Maſter of the Great Wardrobe (e) and a Privy-Counſellor. His parts and learning firſt introduced him at Court, where, from the beginning to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was in conſtant favour, and, in the latter part of it, employed in matters of the higheſt importance; ſo that if we had ſet down every commiſſion in which he is named, and dwelt minutely upon all his ſervices, it would have ſwelled this life to a much larger extent (f), tho' there is not twenty lines to be met with about him in all our Biographers. His laſting love to literature, was rendered evident by his contributions to the library, which, through the care and diligence of Sir Thomas Bodley, was erected at Oxford; and the nature of his ſtudies, agreeable to what Camden reports, is no leſs evident from the titles of ſome of the books beſtowed by him upon that library, amongſt others, by a Sophocles, with manuſcript Scholia in Greek; for which Sir Thomas held himſelf ſo much obliged, that he gave particular directions for Sir John's being received with all imaginable reſpect, when, going occaſionally to Oxford, he went to viſit the library (g). He was a particular friend and patron to the learned Camden, and, as he acknowledges, gave him great aſſiſtance in compiling his Annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (h); which paſſage indeed is not in the Engliſh tranſlation, or in moſt of the Latin editions, but occurs in that of Mr Hearne's, printed from the author's own copy, which was in the poſſeſſion of Dr Smith. It might be probably for this reaſon, as well as in virtue of his office as Clarencieux King at Arms, that he aſſiſted at his funeral, which, if the memorandum he left be right, was ſolemnized on the fourth of July enſuing his death, that learned perſon being diſabled, by a fall from his horſe, from making ſuch a journey ſooner (i). His poſterity for ſeveral generations remained poſſeſſed of his eſtate and fine ſeat at Salden, and became extinct in Sir Francis Forteſcue, who died at Bath November the eleventh 1729, without iſſue.

(a) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 198.

(*) Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 641.

(b) Fuller's Worthies, Buckinghamſhire, p. 140.

(c) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 79.

(d) In his Diary, commonly called his Annals of King James.

(e) So entered in the Viſitation Book.

(f) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVI. p.

(g) Reliq. Bodleian, p. 108, 123.

(h) Annal Regn. Eliz. p. 613.

(i) Amongſt his ſhort Latin Notes relative to his own Life, at the cloſe of his Diary.

of the Houſe to his Majeſty, as alſo of his Majeſty's anſwer, viz.

'That he related to this Houſe, the humble and 'dutiful acceptation of what his Majeſty had done, 'together with the humble thanks of the Houſe, for 'his zealous and paternal delivery of his grace unto 'us by his own mouth, what wonder they conceived 'in his judgment, what joy in his grace, what com-'fort they had in his juſtice, what approbation they 'made of his prudence, and what obedience they 'yielded to his power and pleaſure. That his direc-'tion gave all men ſatisfaction, that they were deter-'mined to purſue the courſe he had preſcribed. That 'now they were become ſuitors, he would be pleaſed 'to receive a repreſentation of the humble thanks and 'ſervice of the Houſe.

'His Majeſty anſwered that upon this ſecond ac-'ceſs, he was forced to reiterate what he ſaid before. 'That this queſtion was unhappily caſt upon him, for 'he carried as great a reſpect to our privileges as ever 'any Prince did, he was no ground ſearcher, he was 'of the mind that our privileges were his ſtrength, 'that he thought the ground of our proceeding, was 'our not underſtanding that he had intermeddled be-'fore we had decided, that he thought alſo we had 'no wilful purpoſe to derogate any thing from him, 'for our anſwer was a grave, dutiful, and obedient 'anſwer.

The Warrant *for a new Election of a* Knight *for* Bucks, *read and allowed in this form.*

'Whereas the Right Honourable Sir *John Forteſ-'cue*, Knight, Chancellor of his Majeſty's Duchy of 'Lancaſter, and Sir *Francis Goodwyn*, Knight, have 'been ſeverally elected and returned Knights of the 'Shire for the county of *Bucks*, to ſerve in this pre-'ſent Parliament; upon deliberate conſultation, and 'for ſome ſpecial cauſes moving the Commons Houſe 'of Parliament. It is this day ordered and required 'by the ſaid Houſe, that a writ be forthwith awarded 'for a new Election of another Knight for the ſaid 'Shire. And this ſhall be your Warrant.

Directed to my very loving friend Sir *George Coppin*, Knight, Clerk of the Crown in his Majeſty's High-Court of Chancery.

FOSTER (SAMUEL), an eminent Engliſh Mathematician in the XVIIth century, and Aſtronomy Profeſſor in Greſham College. As to this gentleman's family we are able to ſay nothing; all that is preſerved of him, in that reſpect, being no more than this, that he was a native of Northamptonſhire (*a*), and, in all probability, his parents were in competent, tho' not in affluent, circumſtances; ſince himſelf, and his elder brother Walter, were both ſent to Emanuel College in Cambridge (*b*). Samuel was admitted a Sizer there April the twenty-third 1616, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1619, and that of Maſter in 1623 (*c*); he applied himſelf early to the ſtudy of the Mathematicks, and attained to a great proficiency in that kind of knowledge, of which he gave the firſt ſpecimen in the year 1624, as the reader will ſee at the bottom of the page [*A*]. He never had a Fellowſhip, and is therefore placed, by Mr Fuller (*d*), among the learned writers of Emanuel College, who were not Fellows. Upon the death of Mr Henry Gellibrand, Aſtronomy Profeſſor in Greſham College, February the ninth 1636 (*e*), our author, Mr Foſter, made intereſt to ſucceed him, and was accordingly choſen (*f*) on the ſecond of March following, but for what reaſon does not appear; he quitted it again on the twenty-fifth of November in the ſame year, and was ſucceeded therein by Mr Mungo Murray (*g*), a Scots gentleman. He continued, however, to purſue his mathematical ſtudies with great diligence; and, in 1638, he gave another proof of this, in a work of his (*h*) that was then extreamly well received, and is to this day very much eſteemed [*B*]. In the mean time Mr Murray having been preſented to the rectory of Welles in Norfolk, by the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Arundel, and marrying in 1641, his Profeſſorſhip was thereby vacated (*i*); and, as Mr Foſter had formerly made way for him, ſo, by this alteration in his condition, he made way for Mr Foſter, who was accordingly choſen May the twenty-ſixth the ſame year (*k*); the civil war breaking out very ſoon after his becoming a ſecond time Aſtronomy Profeſſor at Greſham College, he became one of that worthy and learned ſociety of gentlemen who had ſtated meetings for cultivating the new Philoſophy, to whoſe parts and induſtry this nation, and indeed the whole republick of letters, ſtand ſo much indebted (*l*). In 1646, Dr Wallis, another Member of that Society, received from Mr Foſter a Mathematical Theorem, which he afterwards publiſhed (*m*). Neither was it only in this branch of ſcience that he excelled, but he was likewiſe well verſed in the antient languages, as appears from his reviſing and correcting the LEMMATA of Archimedes, which had been tranſlated from an Arabick manuſcript into Latin, but not publiſhed by the learned Mr John Greaves (*n*). Our author made alſo ſeveral curious obſervations of Eclipſes, both of the ſun and moon, as well at Greſham College as in his native county of Northamptonſhire, at Coventry, and in other places (*o*); and was particularly famous for inventing, as well as improving, of Aſtronomical and other Mathematical inſtruments. We have mentioned all the treatiſes of his publiſhed in his life-time; but, beſides theſe, he wrote many more, which his long and great infirmities, hindered him from fitting for the preſs in the manner he intended (*p*). Theſe, however, have not been loſt to the world, ſince the greateſt part of them at leaſt, have been printed by the care of ſeveral of his learned friends, particularly Dr John Twyſden, and Edmund Wingate, Eſq; as the reader will be informed at the bottom of the page [*C*]. Our author, who did not live to ſee

(*a*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 85.

(*b*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambrige, 147.

(*c*) As appears from the College Books.

(*d*) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(*e*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 147.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) He was profeſſor in Philoſophy at St Andrews.

(*h*) See an account of this Work in note [*A*].

(*i*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 89.

(*k*) Id. ibid. p. 85.

(*l*) Wallis's remarkable paſſages in his own life.

(*m*) Mechanics, ch. v. prop. 24. p. 869.

(*n*) Foſter's Mathematical Miſcellanies, §. xi.

(*o*) See this explained in the notes.

(*p*) See Dr Twyſden's Preface.

[*A*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It is neceſſary to inform the reader, that this treatiſe, divided into two parts, was originally publiſhed at the end of the ingenious Mr Edmund Gunter's deſcription of the Croſs Staffe in three books. The titles ran thus.

I. *The deſcription and uſe of a ſmall portable* QUADRANT *for the more eaſy finding of the hour of Azimuth.* 4to.

The Deſcription and uſes of another Quadrant *fitted for daily practice for finding the hour and Azimuth, and other things of the ſun's courſe in reference to the Horizon, with new lines ſerving to the forementioned and other purpoſe more accurately. Invented by* Mr Samuel Foſter *ſometime* Profeſſor *of* Aſtronomy *in* Greſham-College. *Lond.* 1624. 4to. 1662. 4to. 1673. 4to. 1652. 8vo.

The laſt mentioned edition of this book was publiſhed within a ſmall time after the author's deceaſe, by one Anthony Thomſon mathematical inſtrument maker (1), who in his preface tells us, they were intended as appendices to Mr Gunter's treatiſes, and the reader is farther to know, that the quarto editions were actually printed as ſuch, only ſome few copies that were printed ſeparately of the firſt edition for the uſe of the author's friends. In this as in all our author's other works, there is a preciſeneſs and a perſpicuity which could not fail of recommending them extremely, more eſpecially in thoſe days when theſe ſciences were not ſo well or ſo generally underſtood as at preſent. But how much ſoever the modern mathematicians may ſurpaſs thoſe of the laſt age, yet there is certainly great reſpect due to the memories of thoſe worthy men, by whoſe diligence and induſtrious application the firſt ſteps were made towards thoſe improvements, which have ſince followed, and which like ſcaffolds in building were abſolutely neceſſary to the raiſing thoſe ſtately piles that now attract every eye.

(1) As appears by the Preface to Foſter's Miſcellanies.

[*B*] *And is to this day very much eſteemed.*] There might poſſibly be ſome particular reaſon for our author's reſigning his Profeſſorſhip, tho' we have no account of it; to which conjecture, I am led by the obſervation of the moſt judicious and accurate Hiſtorian of Greſham-College, that upon the reſignation of our author, Mr Mungo Murray, was recommended by King Charles the Firſt. The title of the latter work of our author, publiſhed after he reſigned his employment, and before he was rechoſe is,

II. *The Art of Dialling.* Lond. 1638, 1675. 4to.

The edition in 1675, has ſeveral additions and variations taken from the author's own manuſcript, as alſo a ſupplement by the editor William Leybourne, who was firſt a Printer, then an editor, and laſtly an author of books, and who, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion more than once to remark, was particularly inſtrumental in the preſerving and publiſhing ſeveral of Mr Foſter's writings.

[*C*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We are now come to ſpeak of ſuch of this gentleman's treatiſes as were publiſhed after his deceaſe, and which indeed make far the greater part of his works, the titles of them follow.

III. Poſthuma Foſteri: *containing the deſcription of a* ruler, *upon which are inſcribed divers* ſcales, &c. Lond. 1652. 4to.

ſee the fruits of his own and his friends endeavours, by which a foundation was laid for the Royal Society that happily ſprung from their meetings, after having been long in a declining.

This was publiſhed ſoon after the author's death by Mr Wingate.

IV. Four Treatiſes *of* Dialling. *Elliptical or azimuthal horologiography. Circular horologiography. Rectilineal or diametrical horologiography. Elliptical horologiography by ſpherical and not projective work.* Lond. 1654. 4to.

V. MISCELLANIES *or* MATHEMATICAL LUCUBRATIONS *of Mr* Samuel Foſter, *ſometime publick Profeſſor of* Aſtronomy *in* Greſham-College *in* London, *publiſhed, and many of them tranſlated into Engliſh, by the care and induſtry of* John Twyſden. C. L. M. D. *whereunto he hath annexed ſome things of his own.*

As the greateſt part of this book is printed both in Latin and Engliſh, ſo there are prefixed to it two dedications, the firſt in Latin addreſſed to Sir Henry Yelverton, Baronet, who was nephew to the editor Dr Twyſden by his mother, in which he tells him that he had collected theſe pieces of Mr Samuel Foſter out of his looſe papers, and had added to them ſome few pieces of his own, that Sir Henry might have ever at his hand what might put him in mind of the moſt learned author, and prevent himſelf alſo from ſlipping out of his memory when removed from this world. The other dedication is in Engliſh. To the Right Honourable Lady Suſanna Longueville, Baroneſs Grey, Ruthin, Haſtings, Waſhford and Valence. The epiſtle to the reader is alſo both in Engliſh and in Latin, beginning thus. 'Courteous reader, we have at laſt 'made publick theſe poſthumous works of that learned, 'induſtrious, and moſt ſkilful Mathematician, Mr Samuel Foſter. They would have come out more poliſhed and with greater luſtre, had himſelf lived to 'have added his laſt hand unto them. But ſince it 'hath pleaſed God to deny this unto us, we have rather made choice to bring them to their birth with 'our hands, ſuch as they are, than ſuffer thoſe things 'to periſh which we judged worthy of the preſs, or 'that the learned world ſhould be longer deprived of 'the genuine offſpring of ſo worthy a perſon. The 'treatiſes themſelves are of different kinds, ſome of 'them written by the author in Latin, ſome in Engliſh, others promiſcuouſly in both languages. The 'Aſtroſcope, Planetary inſtruments, and ſome others we 'have tranſlated into Latin, and cauſed them to be 'printed in a double column, to the end that thoſe of 'our own nation who are not much ſkilled in the 'Latin tongue, may read them in their mother language. But ſtrangers not remain deprived of the 'knowledge of new and profitable inventions. Some 'others of them are put out without any verſion, becauſe in truth being employed in other things, I 'could not get leiſure enough to do them; peradventure, if they ſhall bear a ſecond impreſſion, and no 'body elſe prevent me, I may labour in that alſo.' In this volume there are no leſs than twelve ſmall treatiſes of Mr Samuel Foſter's, the titles of which are very exactly ſet down, as indeed every thing is, by the judicious and induſtrious Mr Ward, in that laſting monument which he has raiſed to the honour of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College. We ſhall however ſet down theſe titles ſomewhat more at large, and with a ſhort account of each.

1. Stellæ fixæ, *quas* Tycho *ad mille, in catalogum congeſſit, &* Keplerus *tabb.* Rudolphinarum *operi adnexuit ad annum incarnationis* 1671. *adſervatis eiſdem Latitudinibus, quoad Longitudines, ex additione nimirum gradus unius integri correctæ; & à polo Ecliptic ad polum mundi, quorum diſtantia eſt* 23 *grad.* 31 *min. reductæ: hoc eſt in aſcenſiones rectas & declinationes, eidem anno debitas conjectæ. A* Samuele Foſtero, *olim Aſtronomiæ Profeſſore in Collegio* Greſhami, *Londini.* That is, *A catalogue of the fixed ſtars which may ſerve for the year* 1671. In Latin, but with a table of the ſun's right aſcenſion for every degree of the ecliptic, at the end in Engliſh; being a neceſſary introduction to the next treatiſe.

2. ASTROSCOPIUM, *pro facillimâ ſtellarum dignotione,* that is, *Aſtroſcopium, an inſtrument for the ready finding of the ſtars in the Heavens.* Written by Mr Foſter in Engliſh, with the Latin prefixed by Dr Twyſden. At the time the author invented this inſtrument it was equally curious and uſeful, being calculated for the ſervice of young Aſtronomers, with a view to encourage their progreſs in the ſcience.

3. *De inſtrumentis Planetariis. Cui uſui inſerviunt, & quomodo ſunt tractanda.* That is, *Of the Planetary inſtruments; to what end they ſerve, and how they are to be uſed.* In two columns, the Latin by Dr Twyſden, and the Engliſh by Mr Foſter.

4. *Eclipſium tam Solarium quam Lunarium obſervationes.* That is, *Some obſervations of* Eclipſes *of the* Sun *and* Moon. In ſeveral of theſe obſervations our author was aſſiſted by Dr Twyſden, who has alſo added to them his own obſervations, as to the motion of a comet at Eaſton in Northamptonſhire from December the 14th, 1652. to the 24th of the ſame month, as alſo an account of a ſpot ſeen in the ſun at the ſame place, July the 2d, 1651.

5. *Ratio facillima computandi altitudinem Solis horarium ad quamlibet latitudinem, ſtruendis Tabulis altitudinem commodiſſima: quam à D.* Foſtero *olim acceptam, communicavit mihi D.* Palmerus, Ectonenſis. That is, *An eaſy way to calculate tables of the ſun's horarie altititude for any* latitude, *which being communicated to* Dr Twyſden, *by* Mr John Palmer *of* Ecton, *who received it long ſince from Mr* Foſter, *I thought worthy to be here inſerted.* In two columns Latin and Engliſh.

6. *Problemata Geometrica varia.* That is, *Geometrical Propoſitions of divers kinds.* In Latin and Engliſh.

7. *De Conſtructione Canones, Sin. Tang. & Secantium.* That is, *Of the Conſtruction of the Canon of Sines, Tangents, and Secants.* In Latin only.

8. *Quadrantis Horometrici olim editi demonſtratio.* That is, *A demonſtration of an horometrical Quadrant formerly publiſhed,* in Latin only.

9. *Epitome* Ariſtarchi Samii *de magnitudine* Solis & Lunæ. That is, *An Epitome of* Ariſtarchus Samius, *concerning the magnitude of the* Sun *and* Moon, in Latin only. This great Philoſopher Ariſtarchus Samius flouriſhed long after Pythagoras, and a little before Archimedes; our author ſuppoſes, that he flouriſhed two hundred and eighty years before Chriſt. He held that which is now ſtiled the new ſyſtem, that the earth moved and the ſun remained at reſt; there is nothing extant of his, except his treatiſe of the magnitudes and diſtances of the ſun and moon, which, together with the learned commentary of Pappus of Alexandria, was publiſhed in Latin by the famous Ferdinand Commandine at Piſa in 1572.

10. *Lemmata Archimedis, apud Græcos & Latinos jam pridem deſiderata, e vetuſto codice M.S. Arabico; à Johanne Gravio tradu&a; et nunc primùm cum Arabum ſcholiis publicata. Reviſa & pluribus mendis repurgata a* Samuele Foſter. That is, *The* Lemma's *of* Archimedes *not extant either in* Greek *or* Latin, *tranſlated from an old* Arabick *manuſcript by* John Greaves, *and now firſt publiſhed with the* Scholia *of a learned* Arabian. *Reviſed, and in many places corrected, by* Samuel Foſter. In Latin only.

11. *The* Geometrical Square *with the uſe thereof in plain and ſpherical Trigonometrie, chiefly intended for the more eaſy finding of the hour and Azimuth.* In Engliſh only.

12. *The conſtruction and uſe of the* horizontal planiſphere *in projective Dialling refractive Dials.* In Engliſh only.

To theſe are added two pieces of Dr Twyſden's, one of dialling, and the other of fortification, to which is annexed, an Appendix publiſhed by Mr William Leybourne conſiſting of three pieces, two written by Mr Halton, and the third entituled, Equations ariſing from a quantity divided into two unequal parts: and *the* ſecond *book of* Euclid's *elements demonſtrated by ſpecies by* John Leeke.

VI. *The* Sector *altered, and other ſcales added, with the deſcription and uſe thereof, invented and written by* Mr Samuel Foſter, *ſometime publick Profeſſor of* Aſtronomy *in* Greſham-College *in London, and now publiſhed by* W. L. London 1661, 1673. 4to.

This

clining ſtate of health, departed this life in the month of July 1652, in his own apartment at Greſham College, and was buried in the church of St Peter le Poor in Broad-ſtreet (q). There have been two other perſons of his name, who have publiſhed ſome mathematical pieces, and therefore it may not be amiſs to give ſome little account of them; indeed all the account we are able to give, is very far from being conſiderable, but it may nevertheleſs be of uſe to prevent miſtakes, and to avoid confuſion. The firſt of theſe was William Foſter, who, in his youth, was a diſciple of the famous Mr Oughtred's, and afterwards a teacher of the Mathematicks in London (r). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a book he publiſhed, and dedicated to the celebrated Sir Kenelm Digby, of which the reader may find ſomewhat more in the notes [D]. The other was one Mark Foſter,

(q) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College, p. 85.

(r) See the note [D].

This was an improvement of Mr Gunter's Sector, and therefore publiſh'd amongſt his works, the fourth edition of which was printed in the former of theſe two years, and the fifth in the latter. In this laſt edition, Mr Leybourne corrected ſome overſights and miſtakes which were in the fourth edition from Mr Foſter's own manuſcript. Beſides theſe printed pieces, there was in the hands of the late William Jones, Eſq; a manuſcript treatiſe in folio, compoſed by Mr Foſter with this title,

VII. *The uſes of a general* Quadrant *invented by Mr* Samuel Foſter, *late Profeſſor of* Aſtronomy *in* Greſham-College.

We have before mentioned our author's plain and perſpicuous manner of treating abſtruſe ſubjects, a ſhort inſtance will beſt ſupport what we have advanced; and this ſhall be taken from his deſcription of thoſe planetary inſtruments he called *Theoricks* (2). His words are theſe.

(2) Miſcellanies, §. iii. p. 18, 24, 27.

'The finding out of the places of the five planets, 'in reſpect of Longitude and Latitude, is the thing 'principally intended in theſe Theoricks. Now this 'having been already declared, it ſhall not be amiſs 'to add ſomewhat of the principal paſſions belonging 'unto them, of which there are theſe three chief 'heads.

'Firſt, at ſometimes theſe five planets, in reſpect 'of that motion which they make according to the 'Longitude of the Ecliptic, do appear to go forward, 'agreeably to the order and ſucceſſion of the ſigns, 'that is, they appear to be direct in motion. Sometimes again they ſeem to go backward in motion, or 'to be retrograde, and in their changes from the one 'of theſe motions to the other, they muſt neceſſarily 'appear to be ſtanding ſtill or to be ſtationary.

'Secondly, their places being compared in reſpect 'of diſtance from the ſun, or one from the other, the 'planets may have ſeveral aſpects; as conjunction, when 'they are (any two of them) in one place of Longitude; oppoſition, when they are in oppoſite Longitude; Trine, when they are $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a circle, or four 'ſigns, diſtant from each other; Quartile, when they 'are three ſigns or a Quadrant of a circle diſtant; Sextile, when they are $\frac{1}{6}$ part of a circle or two ſigns 'diſtant. Venus and Mercury cannot make any of 'theſe aſpects with the Sun. And one of them with 'the other can make none, but the ſextile which often 'they do.

'Thirdly, their places being compared with the 'ſun's place, they are either under the ſun's beames, 'and are then ſaid to be combuſtible, or elſe they 'riſe after the ſun riſing when the ſun is up, and are 'called oriental; or they ſet after the ſun while the 'ſun is down, and are called occidental; or are oppoſite to the ſun, and are called acronychal. Venus 'and Mercury can never be acronychal, becauſe they 'never go far enough from the ſun: Venus only forty 'eight degrees, Mercurius only twenty nine degrees.

'Theſe things will not be well diſcovered by theſe 'Theoricks, it being a difficult buſineſs to ſet the 'juſt times of theſe changes in their courſes. If you 'deſire to know in which of theſe motions any planet 'is, the beſt way will be, when you have found their 'places for any one day, to enquire their Longitudes 'about five or ten days after in Saturn, Jupiter, and 'Mars, or about two or four days after, for Venus 'and Mercurius, becauſe the motions of theſe are 'much ſwifter than of the other. And ſo having 'found their places of longitude at two ſeveral times, 'you ſhall perceive what courſe they hold in reſpect 'of progreſs, regreſs, or ſtanding ſtill. For it muſt 'always be noted, that if a planet paſs from direct 'motion to ſtation, then that ſtanding is the firſt ſtation. But if it paſs from retrograde motion, then 'is the ſtation following to be taken for the ſecond 'ſtation.'——How modeſt he was in his opinion of his own abilities, and how ſenſible that, what he publiſhed in this treatiſe was valuable only to the younger ſtudents in Aſtronomy, we may gather from hence. ——The poetical kinds of riſing and ſetting, are called coſmical, acronychal, and heliachal. Theſe and ſome other paſſions of the planets, ſuch as are the emerſions and occultations are not to be expected from theſe Theoricks. They are difficult to be found, eſpecially for the planets which are always in motion, not reſiding any long time in one Longitude and Latitude. Beſides the ſame things have relation to the elevations of the pole above ſeveral horizons, which kind of concluſions are not proper for Theoricks, but muſt be referred to Aſtrolabes and other Spherical Inſtruments. The moſt exact practice this way is to be had in the aſtronomical tables, and trigonometrical ſpheric works to be conjoined therewith for ſuch purpoſes. They therefore that would have more; muſt there ſeek help and ways to ſatisfy themſelves. This that is here done may ſerve for an introduction to more exact workings: at leaſt it may ſupply the wants of ſuch whoſe ſkill and deſires reach not ſo far for whoſe ſakes it was principally intended——and that he was appriſed of the ſuperior merit of other Aſtronomers is plain from hence.——The way that I go is (in general) agreeable to Copernicus his frame of the world, and in particular to that which Kepler uſeth in his Rudolphin Tables. Only this difference there is: Kepler makes the orbits of the planets to be ellipſes, which is the better way; and I here do make them perfect circles, which is the eaſier way. And tho' it be defective, yet it makes no great difference in theſe ſmall inſtruments.

[D] *In the notes.*] The title of the book which he tranſlated and publiſhed, runs at large thus.

The Circles *of* Proportion *and the* Horizontal Inſtrument. *The former ſhewing the manner how to work* Proportions *both ſimple and compound, and the ready and eaſy reſolving of* Queſtions, *both in* Arithmetic, Geometry, *and* Aſtronomy, *and is newly increaſed with an additament for navigation. All which rules may alſo be wrought with the* pen *by* Arithmetic, *and the* Canon *of* Triangles. *The latter teaching how to work moſt* Queſtions, *which may be performed by the* Globe, *and to delineate* Dials *upon any kind of* Plain. *Hereunto is annexed the excellent uſe of* two Rulers *for calculation, invented and written in* Latin, *by* W. C. *tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and ſet out for the publick benefit, by* William Foſter. Lond. 1633. 4to. The dedication to Sir Kenelm Digby, is dated May 1. 1632. and in it, he writes thus.

'Being in the time of the long vacation, 1630, in 'the country of the Reverend, and my moſt worthy 'friend and teacher, Mr William Oughtred, to whoſe 'inſtruction I owe, both my initiation and whole progreſs in theſe ſciences. I, upon occaſion of ſpeech, told 'him of a ruler of Numbers, Sines, and Tangents, 'which one had beſpoken to be made, ſuch as is 'uſually called Mr Gunter's rule, ſix feet long, to be 'uſed with a pair of beam compaſſes. He anſwered, 'that was a poor invention, and the performance very 'troubleſome. But, ſaid he, ſeeing you are taken 'with ſuch mechanical ways of inſtruments, I will 'ſhew you what devices I have had by me theſe many 'years. And firſt he brought to me two rulers of that 'ſort to be uſed, by applying one to the other with-

'out

Foſter, who publiſhed a *treatiſe* of *Trigonometry* (*s*), but lived later in point of time than either of the other two. As for our author's eldeſt brother, Mr Walter Foſter (*t*), who was himſelf likewiſe no mean proficient in the Mathematicks, he became Fellow of his College, and Rector of Allerton in Somerſetſhire, as the reader will ſee, with ſome other circumſtances relating to him, at the bottom of the page [*E*]. Dr John Twyſden, above-mentioned, was a Phyſician, brother to Sir Roger Twyſden, Baronet, a very learned man (*u*), a lover of the Mathematicks, and one who had been an intimate friend, and the companion of his ſtudies, to our author (*w*), Mr Samuel Foſter; and, in the careful publication of his poſtumous works, may juſtly be ſtiled the executor of his fame.

(*s*) Ward's Lives &c.

(*t*) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, P. 437.

(*u*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 214.

(*w*) As he affirms in his Preface, and in the Work.

'out any compaſſes. And after that, he ſhewed me 'thoſe lines caſt into a circle or ring, with another 'moveable circle upon it. I ſeeing the great expe-'diteneſſe of both theſe ways, but eſpecially of the 'latter, wherein it far excelleth any other inſtrument 'which hath been known, told him I wondered he 'could ſo many years conceal ſuch uſeful inventions, 'not only from the world, but from myſelf, to whom 'in other parts and myſteries of art he had been ſo 'liberal. He anſwered, that the true way of art is 'not by inſtruments, but by demonſtrations, and that 'it is a prepoſterous courſe of vulgar teachers to begin 'with inſtruments, and not with the ſciences, and ſo 'inſtead of artiſts to make their ſcholars only doers of 'tricks, and as it were juglers, to the deſpite of art, 'loſs of precious time, and betraying of willing and 'induſtrious wits upon ignorance and idleneſs. That 'the uſe of inſtruments is indeed excellent, if a man 'be an artiſt, but contemptible being ſet and oppoſed 'to art. And laſtly, that he meant to commend to 'me the ſkill of inſtruments, but firſt he would have 'me well inſtructed in the ſciences. He alſo ſhewed 'me many notes and rules for the uſe of thoſe circles, 'and of his Horizontal inſtrument which he had pro-'jected about thirty years before, the moſt part writ-'ten in Latin. All which I obtained of him leave to 'tranſlate into Engliſh, and make publick for the uſe 'and benefit of ſuch as were ſtudious and lovers of 'thoſe excellent ſciences. Which thing, while I with 'mature and diligent care, as my occaſions would give 'me leave, went about to do, another, to whom the 'author in a long conference diſcovered his intent, 'uſing more haſte than good ſpeed, went about to 'pre-occupate, of which untimely birth and prevent-'ing, if not circamventing forwardneſs, I ſay no more, 'but adviſe the ſtudious reader only ſo far to truſt as 'he ſhall be ſure doth agree to truth and art.'

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] All the proof we have, that the Reverend Mr Walter Foſter, was elder brother to our author Samuel, is, that he took his degrees ſomewhat earlier, for he was admitted Bachelor of Arts, in 1617, Maſter in 1621, and Bachelor of Divinity, in 1628, at which time he was Fellow of his College, had an exceeding fair character there, and was well beloved, as fully appears from the following paſſage in a letter written by Dr Samuel Ward to the Lord Primate *Uſher* (3).

'As for Dr Walſall's manuſcript of Rathrammus, 'I know where it is. I think it were not amiſs to 'print both thoſe treatiſes of Rathram's, with that '*De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, which is already 'extant. If I do not print them, your Lordſhip ſhall 'have a copy. As for the Latin copy of Ignatius's 'Epiſtles in Caius College Library, I was in good 'hope it had been the ſame with an old printed tran-'ſlation which I have, but comparing them together, 'I find them differ much. I acquainted Mr Thomas 'Whalley, now Dr Whalley, with that you wrote in 'your letter. He ſeemed to me not unwilling to un-'dertake, but now in this contagious time he is gone 'into the country. I ſpoke alſo with Mr Foſter of 'Emanuel College, who it ſeemeth hath taken ſome 'pains already in it, but then he was to go into the 'country. I am informed by ſome Fellows in that 'College, that being ſhortly to depart from the Col-'lege by his time there allotted, finding in himſelf 'ſome impediment in his utterance, he could wiſh to 'be employed by your Lordſhip in ſuch like buſineſs. 'He is a good ſcholar, and an honeſt man. The 'worſt is, the book cannot be lent out of the College. 'I will ſee (by God's grace) at the return of our ſtu-'dents what can be done, if God ſend life.' But notwithſtanding what is ſaid of the impediment in his ſpeech, he continued his ſtudies in Divinity, entered into Holy Orders, and poſſeſſed the living in Somerſetſhire, which is mentioned in the text. Dr Twyſden in his epiſtle to the reader, prefixed to Mr Foſter's Mathematical Lucubrations, ſpeaks of Mr Walter Foſter in the following terms. 'In the laſt place, 'ſays he, let me admoniſh thee (courteous reader) 'that I have here obtruded nothing upon thee, which 'was not firſt taken out of the author's adverſaries 'written with his own hand, which were communi-'cated to me by that learned Divine Mr Walter Foſ-'ter, Bachelor in Divinity, ſkilful alſo in theſe ſtudies, 'to whom of right it belonged, to have raiſed up this 'ſeed to his deceaſed brother, had not his infirm health 'and domeſtick affairs held him in the country a 'great many miles diſtant from this place.' E

(3) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, P. 437.

FOWLER (EDWARD) Biſhop of Glouceſter in part of this and the laſt century, and a moſt rational and moderate Divine, was born, in the year 1632 (*a*), at Weſterleigh in Glouceſterſhire, of which place his father William Fowler, was miniſter. His education in Grammar-learning was at the College-ſchool in Glouceſter, under William Ruſſell who had married his ſiſter. In the beginning of the year 1650. he became Clerk of Corpus-Chriſti-College in Oxford, and on the 14th of December 1653. one of the Chaplains thereof (*b*). The 23d of the ſame month, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*). Afterwards retiring to Cambridge for a time, he took his Maſter of Arts degree, as a member of Trinity-college in that Univerſity; and ſoon after returning to Oxford, was incorporated in the ſame degree July 5. 1656 (*d*). About that time he became Chaplain to Amabella Counteſs-dowager of Kent [*A*], who preſented him to the Rectory of North-hill in Bedfordſhire (*). Having been educated in the Preſbyterian way [*B*] he ſcrupled embracing for a while the terms of Conformity, at the Reſtoration (*e*); but he conform'd afterwards, and became a great ornament to the Church. His excellent moral

(*a*) He was in the 82d year of his age at the time of his death in 1714. Epitaph.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1029.

(*c*) Ibid. & Faſti, col. 101.

(*d*) Idem, Faſti. col. 112.

(*) Wood Ath. as above.

(*e*) Dr Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. II. p. 302.

[*A*] *Amabella Counteſs-dowager of Kent*] She was daughter of Sir Antony Ben, Recorder of London, widow of Antony Fane, Eſq; third ſon to Francis, Earl of Weſtmoreland, and ſecond wife to Henry, Earl of Kent. He died in 1649, but ſhe did not die till Aug. 17. 1698. aged 92 (1). Dr Fowler acknowledges his relation to her, in the dedication to his *Libertas Evangelica*.

(1) The Peerage of England by Ar. Collins, Eſq; ed. 1735. Vol. I. p. 234.

[*B*] *Having been educated in the Preſbyterian way.*] His father was ejected from the Vicarage of Weſterleigh, for Non-conformity, in 1662 (2).

(2) Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 1029.

[*C*] *With*

moral Writings rendred him ſo conſiderable, that Archbiſhop Sheldon, in order to introduce him into the metropolis of the kingdom, the city of London, collated him, Auguſt 25. 1673, to the Rectory of Allhallows-Breadſtreet (*f*). The 29th of February 1675-6, he was inſtall'd into the fourth Prebend in Glouceſter-Cathedral (*g*): And the 31ſt of March 1681, had inſtitution to the Vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate, vacant by the death of Dr John Prichett Biſhop of Glouceſter, who had held it in commendam (*h*). The 10th of June following he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*i*). During the ſtruggle between the Proteſtant Religion and Popery in this Kingdom, our Author appear'd to great advantage in defence of the former (*); being one of thoſe illuſtrious Champions of the Reformation, which were an honour both to the Church and to the Age in which they lived (*k*). But this rendered him obnoxious, among the reſt, to the Court, and its adherents: and, in all probability, cauſed an ill-natur'd proſecution againſt him, in 1685, by ſome of his pariſhioners; who alledged, That he was guilty of Whiggiſm; That he admitted to the Communion excommunicated perſons before they were abſolv'd &c. We are told, this matter was carried ſo far, that Decemb. 9. after a tryal at Doctors-Commons, our author was ſuſpended, under pretence of his having acted ſeveral things contrary to the Canons of the Church, &c. (*l*). However, this affront did not intimidate or diſcourage him from performing what he thought his duty. For he was the Second who, in 1688, ſigned a Reſolution, entered into by the principal of the London clergy, Not to read King James the Second's new Declaration for liberty of conſcience (*m*). A perſon of ſo much learning and merit as Dr Fowler, was not left neglected or unrewarded at the Revolution. For April 23. 1691, he was nominated Biſhop of Glouceſter, (upon the deprivation of Dr Robert Frampton for refuſing to take the oaths,) confirmed July 2. and conſecrated the 5th of the ſame month (*n*). In this See he continued, without any tranſlation, till his deceaſe; which happened at Chelſea Auguſt 26. 1714. He lies buried in a vault on the north ſide of Hendon Church-yard in Middleſex; within the Chancel of which Church there is ſet up a handſome monument for him, with an inſcription [C] containing his Character (*o*). This learned Author hath publiſhed, I. 'The Principles and Practices of certain Moderate Divines of the Church 'of England, abuſively called Latitudinarians (greatly miſunderſtood) truly repreſented 'and defended; Wherein (by the way) ſome Controverſies of no mean importance, 'are ſuccinctly diſcuſſed: In a free Diſcourſe between two intimate Friends [D]. II. 'The Deſign of *Chriſtianity*; or, a plain Demonſtration and Improvement of this 'Propoſition, viz, That the enduing men with inward real Righteouſneſs or true Holineſs, 'was the *Ultimate End* of our Saviour's coming into the world, and is the *Great Intendment* 'of his bleſſed goſpel [E]. III. *Libertas Evangelica*: or, a Diſcourſe of Chriſtian 'Liberty. Being a further purſuance of the argument of The Deſign of Chriſtianity [F]. IV. He

(*f*) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. I. p. 247.

(*g*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Glouceſter, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 742.

(*h*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 358.

(*i*) Wood, Faſti, ubi ſupra, col. 218.

(*) See below note [G].

(*k*) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. ed. 1724. p. 462.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III ed. 1719. p. 510. note [c].

(*n*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716. p. 102.

(*o*) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 727.

[C] *With an inſcription.*] Being as follows. 'To 'the pious memory of the Right Reverend Edward 'Fowler, late Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter; to which 'ſtation he was advanced by King William, in the 'year 1691. for his known ſteadineſs to the true in-'tereſt of the Church of England, and of his country 'in times of danger. He approved himſelf worthy 'of that dignity, by a faithful and diligent diſcharge 'of his paſtoral office; till diſabled by age and bodily 'infirmities, he reſted from his labours in the 82d 'year of his age, admitted to partake of his reward. 'He departed this life, Aug. 26. 1714. and was in-'terred in the grave of his firſt wife, in this Church; 'leaving behind him, in the excellent treatiſes publiſhed 'by himſelf, laſting monuments of learning, judgment, 'piety, and chriſtian temper of mind. He was twice 'married, firſt to Ann, daughter of Arthur Bernar-'diſton, of the Inner Temple, Eſq; one of the Maſ-'ters of Chancery; ſhe departed this life, Dec. 19. '1696. He had by her three ſons, Nathaniel, Ed-'ward, and Richard; and five daughters, Anne, Anne, 'Suſannah, Elizabeth, and Mary; of whom Edward 'and Richard, Suſannah, Elizabeth and Mary, ſur-'vived him. His ſecond wife, Elizabeth, who like-'wiſe ſurvived him, was Elizabeth, widow of the Re-'verend Dr Ezekiah Burton, and daughter of Ralph 'Trevor of London, Merchant.'

At the bottom of this Epitaph, it is obſerved, that Richard, the younger ſon, 'did by his laſt will direct 'his executors, to cauſe a vault to be made, which 'for want of room in the Church, was made in the 'Church-yard, at the weſt-corner of that wall;' where-in were removed the Biſhop's body, that of his firſt wife, and thoſe of the ſaid Richard, and his wife and daughter, in 1717 (3).

(3) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 727, 728.

[D] *The principles and practices of certain moderate Divines, &c.*] The firſt edition of this book was printed at London, 1670. 8vo. and a ſecond edition came out in 1671.—Some of the rational principles of thoſe moderate Divines, were as follow. They admitted the uſe of reaſon in matters of religion, and preached the reaſonableneſs of the chriſtian precepts; for which they were, in contempt, called the rational preachers (4). They maintained, that moral good and evil are ſo eſſentially in their own nature; and not becauſe God commands the one, and forbids the other (5). They ſo handled the doctrine of imputative righteouſneſs, as to ſhew the neceſſity of inherent righteouſneſs, and did not build it upon a ſtrong faith only (6). They aſſerted, that faith juſtifieth only as it implyeth obedience (7). And they condemned the barbarous doctrine of unconditional and abſolute Predeſtination (8)

(4) See p. 40. &c. 70, 103.

(5) p. 12.

(6) p. 115. &c.

(7) p. 159.

(8) p. 192. &c.

[E] *The deſign of Chriſtianity, &c.*] This was firſt printed in 1671. and there was a ſecond edition in 1676. 8vo. The ſubſtance of it is ſummed up in theſe two propoſitions, in the contents. 1. That true holineſs is the deſign of Chriſtianity. 2. Upon what accounts the buſineſs of making men holy, came to be preferred by our Saviour before any other thing, and to be principally deſigned by him.——John Bunyan, the Antinomian, having writ againſt this excellent book, the author vindicated it, in *Dirt wiped off: or, a manifeſt diſcovery of the groſs ignorance, erroneouſneſs, and moſt unchriſtian and wicked ſpirit of one John Bunyan, Lay-preacher in Bedford, which he hath ſhewed in a vile pamphlet publiſhed by him againſt the deſign of Chriſtianity, &c.* Lond. 1672. 4to.

[F] *Libertas Evangelica, &c.*] Publiſhed at London, 1680. 8vo. The ſubſtance of this alſo, is ſummed up in theſe two propoſitions. 1. 'That the moſt ex-'cellent and moſt highly to be valued liberty doth 'conſiſt in an intire compliance with the laws of righ-'teouſneſs and goodneſs: or in freedom from the do-'minion of corrupt and ſinful affections. 2. That 'this freedom to holy obedience and true goodneſs, or 'which

'IV. He also published some pieces against Popery [G], as I have intimated above: 'V. And on the Doctrine of the Trinity [H].' Likewise several Sermons [I]; and other Tracts [K].

'which consisteth in an entire compliance with the 'laws of righteousness, is our Christian liberty.'—— The value of these most excellent books hath been little understood, else they would have borne more impressions than they have.

[G] *He also published some pieces against Popery*] Namely. 1. The Resolution of this case of conscience, whether the Church of England's symbolizing so far as it doth with the Church of Rome, makes it lawful to hold Communion with the Church of England? Lond. 1683. 4to. 2. A defence of the Resolution, &c. in answer to a book intituled, *A modest Examination of the Resolution, &c.* Lond. 1684 4to. 3. Examination of Cardinal Bellarmine's 4th note of the Church, viz. Amplitude, or Multitude and Variety of Believers. 4. The Texts which Papists cite out of the Bible, for the proof of their Doctrine concerning the obscurity of the Holy Scriptures examined. Lond. 1687. 4to (9). Antony Wood ascribes also to him another tract in this controversy: viz. 'The Texts 'examined which Papists cite out of the Bible, for 'the proof of their Doctrine concerning the insufficiency of the Scriptures, and necessity of Tradition.' But it was written by J. Williams, afterwards Bishop of Chichester (10).

(9) Both these are printed in the *Preservative against Popery*, fol.

(10) See ibid.

[H] *And on the Doctrine of the Trinity.*] viz. 1. Certain propositions, by which the Doctrin of the H. Trinity is so explain'd, according to the ancient Fathers, as to speak it not contradictory to natural reason. Together with a defence of them, in answer to the objections of a Socinian writer, in his newly-printed *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrin of the Trinity*, occasioned by these propositions, among other discourses. In a letter to that author. Lond 1694. 4to. 2. A second defence of the propositions, by which the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity is so explained, according to the ancient Fathers, as to speak it not contradictory to natural reason. In answer to a Socinian manuscript, in a letter to a friend. Together with a third defence of those propositions, in answer to the newly-published reflexions, contained in a pamphlet, entituled, *A Letter to the Reverend Clergy of both Universities.* Lond. 1695. 4to.

[I] *Likewise several Sermons.*] 1. A Sermon preached before the Judges, in the time of the Assizes, in the Cathedral Church at Gloucester, Aug. 7. 1681. on 1 Tim. i. 19. Lond. 1681. 4to. published to put a stop to false and injurious representations: 2. A Discourse of Offences in two Sermons, Aug. 19. and Sept. 2d 1683. in the Cathedral Church of Gloucester, both on Matth. xviii. 7. Lond. 1683. 4to. published by reason of the heinous offence that was taken at the former, by some of that city, particularly the Common-Council, who made a wonderful wise order thereupon, which is printed at the end. 3. A Sermon preached at the general meeting of Gloucestershire-men; for the most part inhabitants of the city of London: in the Church of St Mary le Bow, December the 9th 1684. on 1 Pet. ii. 17. Lond. 1685. 4to. 4. The great wickedness and mischievous effects of slandering, preached in the Parish Church of St Giles's, Nov 15. 1685. on Psalm ci. 5. Lond. 1685. 4to. with a large preface of the author, and conclusion in his own vindication. 5. Sermon before the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen on Wednesday in Easter-week, in the Church of St Andrew in Holbourn, being one of the Anniversary Spital-Sermons on Luke xvi. 9. Lond. 1688. 4to. 6. Sermon before the Lord-Mayor, &c. in the Church of St Mary le Bow, Apr. 16. 1690. being the Fast-day, on Hosea xi. 8. Lond. 1690. 8vo. 7. Sermon before the Queen at White-hall, March 22. 1690, on Jam. ii. 10. Lond. 1691. 4to. 8. Sermon before the Lord-Mayor, and the Court of Aldermen, on Easter-Monday 1692, being one of the Anniversary Spital-Sermons. Lond. 1692. 4to. 9. Sermon at the meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, in St Mary Le Bow Church. Dec. 6. 1692. on John xiii. 34. Lond. 1692. 4to.

[K] *And other Tracts.*] viz. 1. An answer to the paper delivered by Mr Ashton at his execution. Lond. 1690. 4to. 2. A discourse of the great disingenuity and unreasonableness of repining at afflicting Providences; and of the influence which they ought to have upon us, on Job ii. 10. published upon occasion of the death of Queen Mary; with a preface containing some observations touching her excellent endowments and exemplary life. Lond. 1695. 8vo (11). ——The first of these he begins, with observing, that 'the paper which passed under the name of *Mr* '*Ashton's speech*, seemed to him to be composed with 'too much *art* and *care*, to be the work of one who 'professed, he *thought it better to employ his last mi-* '*nutes in devotion.*——And, as the whole nation was 'therein charged with the guilt of *Perjury* and *Rebel-* '*lion*, therefore, he rather believed it to be drawn 'up by some persons of more art and leisure; who 'thought it best to convey their own *sentiments* (as 'they called them) under the more popular name of 'one who suffered for their cause.'

(11) A. Wood, ubi supra; and from the books themselves.

C

FOX (EDWARD) an eminent Statesman in the XVIth Century, Almoner to Henry VIII. and bishop of Hereford, was born at Dursley in Gloucestershire, and educated at Eton School (*a*). Thence he was admitted Scholar of King's College in Cambridge, March 27, 1512, and elected Provost of the same Decemb. 27, 1528 (*b*), which place he kept to the time of his death (*c*). He was in his youth a person of great vivacity, but having withal prudence to govern that spirit, it only served to raise him, and render him eminent. His relation to Richard Fox bishop of Winchester made him a Scholar, and his own inclination a politician (*d*). Being recommended as such to Cardinal Wolsey, he took him into his service; and, if our author is entirely to be credited (*e*), it was he that put the Cardinal upon aspiring to the Papacy. However, being noted for a man of great sense and address, he was, in the beginning of the year 1528 (*f*), sent embassador to Rome, jointly with Stephen Gardiner afterwards bishop of Winchester, in order to obtain new Bulls from Pope Clement VII, for King Henry the Eighth's divorce from his queen Catharine of Arragon (*g*). He was then Almoner to that King, and reputed one of the best Divines in England (*h*). Having soon obtained the desir'd Commission or Bull from the Pope to the Cardinals Wolsey and Campegio, to try the affair in England; 'tis probable that they return'd from their Embassy, along with Campegio, who came over the October following (*i*). After that, Mr Fox whose abilities were sufficiently known, had the honour of being employed in Embassies both in France and Germany (*k*). [A] It was

(a) The Worthies of England, &c. by T. Fuller, D.D. in Gloucestershire, p. 355.

(b) Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 655.

(c) Fuller, ibid. and Godwin de Præsulibus, edit. 1616, 4to. p. 544.

(d) State-Worthies, &c. by D. Lloyd. 1679. p. 87.

(e) Ibid. p. 88.

(f) He and Gardiner were dispatched Feb. 10. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. 2d. edit. part I. p. 52.

(g) Life and reign of King Henry VIII. by Edward Lord Herbert, in the Complete Hist. of Eng. &c. Vol. II. edit. 1706. p. 100.

(h) Burnet, ibid.

(i) Ibid. p. 54, 55, and Herbert, p. 103. Gardiner was sent back again to Rome, the beginning of the year following. See Burnet, ubi supra, p. 62, 63.

(k) Wood, ubi supra. Et J. Balei Scriptorum Brytanniæ, Centuria Nona. No. 25. p. 711.

[A] *Had the honour of being employed in embassies both in France and Germany.*] During which, as he was discoursing one day of terms of peace, he said, 'Honourable ones last long, but the dishonourable no 'longer than till kings have power to break them: 'the surest way therefore, said he, to Peace, is a 'constant

was in converſation with him, in 1529, that Thomas Cranmer afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury diſcover'd a plainer and ſhorter way for the King's divorce, than a tedious application to Rome; namely, by taking the Opinions of the moſt learned perſons and Univerſities of Chriſtendom: and it was He that made it known to the King as Cranmer's advice, when Stephen Gardiner, who was preſent at that converſation, would have put it off as his own. To him therefore Cranmer owed his introduction to Court, and by natural conſequence his advancement to the See of Canterbury (*l*). In 1530, he was employed with Stephen Gardiner at Cambridge, to obtain that Univerſity's determination about the King's marriage and divorce above mention'd (*m*) [*B*]. On the 27th of September 1531, he was inſtall'd Archdeacon of Leiceſter, upon the reſignation of Dr Stephen Gardiner (*n*); and in November 1533, was made Archdeacon of Dorſet (*o*). It was he that appriz'd the Clergy of their being fallen into a Præmunire, and adviſ'd them to make their Submiſſion to the King (*p*); which they did, by acknowledging him Supreme Head of the Church of England, and making him a preſent of a hundred thouſand pounds (*q*). In the year 1535, he was promoted to the Biſhopric of Hereford, having obtain'd the Royal aſſent to his election, September 2. and receiving conſecration Septemb. 25, and the Temporalities Octob. 4 following (*r*). He was the principal pillar of the Reformation, as to the management of the politick and prudential part of it; being of more activity, and no leſs ability than Cranmer himſelf (*s*). But he took care not to bring himſelf in danger of ſuffering perſecution on that account (*t*) [*C*]. A few months after his conſecration, namely on the 6th of December 1535, he was ſent Embaſſador to the Proteſtant Princes in Germany, then aſſembled at Smalcald; whom he exhorted to unite, in point of Doctrine, with the Church of England (*u*) [*D*]. He ſpent the winter at Wirtemberg, and held ſeveral Conferences with ſome of the German Divines, endeavouring to conclude a Treaty with them upon many articles of Religion, but nothing was effected (*w*) [*E*]. He return'd to England in the year 1536; and, after having enjoy'd his Epiſcopal dignity but two years and ſeven months, dy'd at London May 8. 1538 (*x*). According to his deſire,

(*l*) Burnet, as as above, p. 79, 80.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 86. and Herbert, ubi ſupra, p. 153.

(*n*) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 114. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Wood, ibid.

(*p*) D. Lloyd, ubi ſupra, p. 89.

(*q*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 112, 113.

(*r*) Br. Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 520.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupr.

(*t*) See Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) J. Sleidani Comment. de Statu Religionis, &c. lib. 9.

(*w*) Ibid. lib. 10. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. III. p. 111. &c.

(*x*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

'conſtant preparedneſs for war. Two things he 'would ſay, muſt ſupport a Government; Gold and 'Iron: Gold, to reward its friends; and Iron, to keep 'under its enemies.' The Emperor offering him once a ſum of money, he did not accept of it: And, as his attendants ſcrupled to take what he had refuſed, 'Take 'it, ſays he to them, for you are not all the King of 'England's embaſſadors.' This ſaying was frequently in his mouth, 'Time and I will challenge any two in 'the world (1).'

(1) D. Lloyd, ubi ſupra, p. 88, 89.

[*B*] *In* 1530 *he was employed with Stephen Gardiner at Cambridge, to obtain that Univerſity's determination about the King's marriage and divorce.*] When they came to Cambridge, they ſpake to Dr William Buckmaſter the Vice-chanellor, whom they found very ready to ſerve the King; as was alſo Bonner, and ſeveral others, but there was a contrary party that met together and reſolved to oppoſe them. So that, at length, it was (not without a conſiderable oppoſition,) determined, 'That the King's Marriage was 'againſt the Law of God.' And 'it is thought 'ſtrange, as Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that the King who 'was otherwiſe ſo abſolute in England, ſhould meet 'with more difficulty in this matter at home, than he 'did abroad.' This the Biſhop reſolves, into the Univerſity's averſion in general to Luther's Doctrine, which was profeſſed by the chief promoters of the Divorce (2).

(2) See his Hiſt. of the Reformat. Part I. p. 86, 87. And Collection of Records, Book II. No. 32. p. 85. And Part III. Collect. of Records, No. 16. p. 20.

[*C*] *But he took care not to bring himſelf in danger of ſuffering perſecution on that account.*] This Biſhop Godwin hints at, when he ſays, that he was *Reformationis Eccleſiaſticæ illius tempore coeptæ, clanculum fautor:* a ſecret Favourer of the Reformation. That is, to the length of the eſtabliſhment, in the reign of King Henry VIII, as Mr Collier expreſſes it (3).

(3) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 153.

[*D*] *Whom he exhorted to unite, in point of Doctrine, with the Church of England:*] After having obſerved, how nearly related the Kings of England and the Electors of Saxony were; he aſſures them of the King's great favour and affection to them, on account of their endeavours to propagate the true knowledge of God. And though they had been much reviled for caſting off the Pope, yet King Henry retain'd a very good opinion of them, and look'd upon them as honeſt perſons, who would not do any thing unſeemly, nor without ſufficient reaſon, and whoſe only aim was to promote the glory of God by the true preaching of the Goſpel. That the King his maſter's deſign was the ſame, as was manifeſt by the alterations he had made in England, having aboliſhed many errors, and renounced, with his Parliament's conſent, the Pope and all his impoſtures. And ſince they concurred in the ſame laudable work, the King had conceived a ſingular regard for them, and deſired them to go on ſo, that they might all profeſs the ſame doctrine, this being the moſt ſolid ground for a perpetual and laſting peace. That the King knew by experience, what confuſions aroſe from diverſity of opinions; and inſtanced in the Anabaptiſts amongſt them. That the Pope pretended now to call a Council; but unleſs there was a perfect agreement between the King his maſter and them, they would find themſelves under a great inconvenience, when they ſhould repair to that Council. They ought therefore to think of ſuch a peace, as ſhould be grounded on the ſure foundation of Scripture. The Pope would endeavour to the utmoſt to obſtruct ſuch an union, and therefore it could not be accompliſhed ſo long as his tyranny laſted. That the caſting off his uſurped authority in England, and reſtoring that kingdom to its original liberty, had put that idol and antichriſt in ſuch a rage; that what he could not do by force, (i. e. to reduce it again to ſlavery) he endeavoured to do, by ſtirring up underhand all the Princes in Europe againſt the King. But he was ſo well prepared, that he deſpiſed all his attempts: and he had informed them of it, not that he was afraid of the Pope, but that they might ſee, notwithſtanding his pretended peaceable diſpoſition in calling a Council, that he was far from thinking of peace. That a fair debate of the controverted points of religion, the King was ſenſible, would be very ſerviceable to the Church. But no Council ought to be ſuffered, which would only tend to eſtabliſh the papal tyranny. Therefore he exhorted them not to approve of ſuch a Council, till peace was reſtored to the Chriſtian World. In concluſion, he deſired a private conference upon thoſe points with ſome perſons appointed by them (4).

(4) Sleidan, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *Endeavouring to conclude a Treaty with them, &c.*] The reader may ſee a particular account of this negotiation, in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation (5); by which it appears, that the Elector of Saxony thought King Henry had only a political deſign in all this negotiation; intending to bring the German Proteſtant Princes into *a dependance on himſelf*, without any ſincere intentions with regard to religion. Biſhop Fox preſſed them alſo to approve of all that the King had done in the matter of his divorce, and of his ſecond marriage; but they could never be prevailed upon (6).

(5) Part or Vol. III. p. 111. &c.

(6) Ibid. And Sleidan, ubi ſupra, L. 10.

[*F*] *He*

desire, expreſſed in his will, he was buried in the Church of St Mary Monthaw in Thames-ſtreet (y); in which pariſh the Biſhops of Hereford had then a Houſe, now divided into Tenements (z). But there was no monument erected to his memory (a). He was a very learned man [F], and author of ſome pieces, whereof we ſhall give an account in the Note [G].

(y) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(z) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's additions, Vol. I. book 3. p. 211. 212.

(a) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 520.

[F] *He was a very learned man.*] So we are aſſured by Biſhop Godwin, who calls him, *Vir egregie doctus*, a man excellently learned (7). Wood alſo ſtyles him 'an eminent ſcholar of his time (8).' And D. Lloyd repreſents him as a fine preacher; but adds, that 'his inclination to politics, brake through all 'the ignoble reſtraints of pedantique ſtudies to an 'eminency (more by obſervation and travel, than by 'reading and ſtudy) that made him the wonder of 'the Univerſity, and the darling of the Court. When 'he was called to the pulpit or chair, he came off 'not iſl, ſo prudential were his parts in Divinity; 'when advanced to any office of truſt in the Univer-'ſity, he came off very well, ſo incomparable were 'his parts for government (9).'

(7) Ubi ſupra.

(8) Ubi ſupra.

(9) D. Lloyd, as above.

[G] *And author of ſome pieces.*] He publiſhed a book, *De vera differentia Regiæ Poteſtatis & Eccleſiaſticæ, & quæ ſit ipſa veritas & virtus utriuſque.* Lond. 1534, & 1538. i. e. Of the true difference between the Royal and Eccleſiaſtical Power, &c. Tranſlated into Engliſh by Henry Lord Stafford (10). —— He alſo wrote *Annotations upon Mantuan, the Poet.* There is likewiſe an *Oration* of his, extant in the ſtory of the Lord Tho. Cromwell, in J. Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. And a letter from him and Gardiner, about their proceedings at Cambridge; in the collection of records, at the end of the 1ſt part of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation (11.)

(10) Bale, ubi ſupra. And Wood, Vol. I. col. 108, 655. Athenæ.

(11) Book II. No. 32. p. 85.

C

FOXE, or FOX, (RICHARD) a famous ſtateſman and biſhop in part of the XVth and XVIth centuries, and Founder of Corpus-Chriſti-College in Oxford, was born at Ropeſley near Grantham in Lincolnſhire [A] about the latter end of the reign of King Henry VI; being the Son of Thomas Fox and Helene his wife, perſons in mean circumſtances (a). His education in Grammar-learning was at Boſton, or according to ſome at Wincheſter. When fit for the Univerſity, he was ſent to Magdalen-college in Oxford, where he ſoon ſurpaſſed all his equals in knowledge and reputation. But the plague obliged him to retire from thence, and to go and finiſh his ſtudies at Penbroke-hall in Cambridge (b). He is ſaid to have taken the Degree of Doctor in law at Oxford (c); but it could not be till ſome years after. When he had ſtayed a competent time at Cambridge, he went, for his farther improvement, to Paris, where he ſtudied Divinity and the Canon-law. In this place, he became acquainted with Dr John Morton Biſhop of Ely, whom the cruelty of that wicked uſurper Richard III. had forced to quit his native country, and to fly thither (d). By him probably, who knew his great learning and abilities, he was introduced to Henry Earl of Richmond; that was then meditating a deſcent upon England, in order to dethrone the uſurper: and, with the reſt of the Engliſhmen reſiding at Paris, He vowed and ſware to take his part (e). The Earl immediately received Dr Fox into ſecret familiarity (f): And having applied to Charles VIII king of France for aſſiſtance in his deſigned expedition, but being called away by multiplicity of buſineſs before he could obtain his deſire, he left the further proſecution of this matter to the Doctor, whom he thought the fitteſt man to manage ſo important an affair. Nor was he deceived in him; for he acted with that induſtry and prudence, that he ſoon procured men and money from the Court of France (g). Henry having gained the Crown of England, by his glorious victory at Boſworth on the 22d of Auguſt 1485, took care to reward thoſe who had faithfully ſerv'd him. Among the reſt, he made his truſty friend Dr Fox one of his Privy-counſellors, that he might continue to have the benefit of his good counſel and advice [B]. About the ſame time, the Doctor was collated to the Prebend of Biſhopſton in the Church of Sarum; and, in February 1485-6, to the Prebend of South-Grantham in the ſame Church (h). The February following he was nominated Biſhop of Exeter (i), and had reſtitution of the Temporalities April 2. 1487 (k). On the 24th of February 1486-7, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy-ſeal; for the better diſcharge of which office his Majeſty granted him, the 5th of July following, a penſion of twenty ſhillings a day (l). He was alſo made Principal Secretary of State, and Maſter of St Croſſe near Wincheſter (m). And the King employed him continually either in matters of counſel at home, or in Embaſſies of great importance abroad (n). In September 1487, he was ſent Embaſſador, with Sir Richard Edgecombe Comptroller of the Houſhold, to James III. king of Scotland [C], and concluded

(a) A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. II. p. 227. And Mr Fulman's MSS. Collections.

(b) Wood, ibid. And Biſhop Godwin's Catal. of the Biſhops of Eng. edit. 1615. p. 246.

(c) Fulman's Collect.

(d) Wood, ubi ſupra, p 228. M. Parker, Antiq. Britan. edit. Hanov. 1605. p. 300.

(e) Edw. Hall's Chronicle, in Rich. III. fol. 47. b.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Godwin's Catal. of the Biſhops, edit. 1615. p. 245.

(h) Wood, Athenæ, Vol. I. edit. 1721. col. 665.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Rymer. Fœd. &c. Vol. XII. p. 322.

(l) Pat. 2 Hen. VII. p. 2. m. 5.

(m) Godwin, ubi ſupra. And Fulman's MSS.

(n) Godwin, ibid.

[A] *Was born at Ropeſley near Grantham in Lincolnſhire.*] Mr William Fulman (who had made collections for writing the life of Biſhop Fox (1), an extract of which has been communicated to me,) ſays, 'that the old houſe in which he was born is yet ſtand-'ing.' And Mr Wood adds, that the Fellows of Corpus-Chriſti-College uſed to viſit it, in their yearly audits (2).

(1) They are in Corpus-Chriſti-College Library.

(2) Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra.

[B] *Among the reſt, he made his truſty friend Dr Fox one of his Privy-Counſellors, &c.*] He was the perſon in whom his Majeſty placed the moſt confidence, next to Dr John Morton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. They were both vigilant and ſecret, and ſuch as kept watch with the King almoſt upon all men elſe. They had been both verſed in his affairs before he came to the Crown, and partakers of his adverſe fortune; therefore he was reſolved to promote them in the Church as much as he could (3).

(3) Lord Verulam's Life of Henry VII. under the year 1485.

[C] *In September* 1487, *he was ſent Embaſſador, with Sir Richard Edgecombe, to James III. King of Scotland, &c.*] Biſhop Godwin (4), and after him Antony Wood (5), are miſtaken, when they affirm, that it was after his return from this embaſſy that Dr Fox was made Biſhop of Exeter: for he was ſo before. —— And Edward Hall (6), as well as moſt of our Hiſtorians, are not accurate in ſaying, that in this embaſſy a ſeven years truce was concluded between England and Scotland; for, it was only a prolongation of the

(4) Catalogue, ubi ſupra.

(5) Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. II. p. 228.

(6) In Henry VII. fol. II.

concluded a Treaty with him, on the 28th of November; wherein the Truce between England and Scotland was prolonged to the 1ſt of September 1489 (*o*). He alſo was employed in an embaſſy to the King of France, about the beginning of the year 1491, with Thomas Earl of Ormond, and the Prior of Chriſt's-Church in Canterbury; and returned to England in November following (*p*). February 8. 1491-2, he was tranſlated from Exeter to the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, vacant by the death of Robert Stillington, and had reſtitution of the Temporalities May 4. 1492 (*q*) From this See he was removed to that of Durham, of which the Temporalities were reſtored to him Dec. 8. 1494 (*r*). He made great improvements at his palace in this city; walled round his park near the ſame; and repaired Hertlepole-caſtle (*s*). In the year 1494, he was at the head of an embaſſy to James IV. King of Scotland; but could not, with all his addreſs, end ſome differences ſubſiſting between the two nations about the fiſhery of the river Eſk (*t*). In 1497, the caſtle of Norham belonging to his See, being beſieged by the king of Scotland [*D*], was relieved by the Engliſh under the command of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey (*u*). And the Biſhop being ſhortly after ſent Embaſſador to Scotland, ſigned a ſeven years truce between that kingdom and England on the 30th of Sept. 1497 (*w*): About which time, overtures were made for a marriage between James IV. king of Scotland, and Margaret King Henry's eldeſt daughter; which the latter had deſigned ever ſince the year 1495 (*x*). The propoſal being well received, Biſhop Fox was ſent into Scotland to negotiate that affair, but it was not fully concluded till January 24. 1501-2 (*y*). In the mean time, the Univerſity of Cambridge, out of a due ſenſe of the Biſhop's great authority and intereſt, choſe him their Chancellor in 1500, which honourable office he bore till 1502 (*z*). Upon the death of Dr Thomas Langton Biſhop of Winchеſter, he was removed to that See, whereof the Temporalities were reſtored to him October 17. 1500 (*a*). Here he ſpent the reſt of his life in great affluence and proſperity. For ſuch was his favour with the King, that no one could ever do ſo much with him; and no man there was upon whoſe counſel he ſo much relied (*b*) [*E*]. Being not only a grave counſellor for war and peace, but alſo a good ſurveyor of works, and a good maſter of ceremonies, and any thing that was fit for the active part belonging to the ſervice of the Court or State of a great King; he had, upon that account, the ordering of the nuptial-ceremony of Prince Arthur with the Lady Catherine, which was performed on the 14th of November 1501, with great and true magnificence (*c*). One of our Biſhop's Chaplains, was the famous Thomas Wolſey, whom he afterwards introduced to Court; that he might be a check to the overgrown intereſt of the Earl of Surrey (*d*). About the beginning of Auguſt 1507, the Biſhop was choſen Maſter of Penbroke-hall in Cambridge, which place he kept till May 1519 (*e*). In 1507, and part of 1508, he was employed at Calais, with other Commiſſioners, to negotiate a treaty of marriage between Mary the King's third daughter and Charles Archduke of Auſtria, afterwards the moſt renowned Emperor Charles V (*f*). Thus was Biſhop Fox generally employed in matters of the greateſt importance; and thus did he continue to the laſt in the higheſt degree of favour with King Henry VII, who appointed him in his Will one of his Executors, and particularly recommended him to his Son and ſucceſſor King Henry VIII (*g*). But the Biſhop's Credit greatly declined at Court, and his excellent abilities and talent for buſineſs were ſlighted by the young luxurious Prince, (who minded nothing but pleaſures and diverſions,) chiefly through the artifices of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Lord Treaſurer. This nobleman having been the Biſhop's rival in the late King's favour, continued to be ſo ſtill in his ſon's, endeavouring to win the affection of his new maſter by a blind compliance to his will. In order therefore to undermine and ſupplant ſo dangerous an adverſary, the Biſhop introduced Thomas Wolſey to Court, as hath been already obſerved, who ſoon engroſſed the King's favour (*h*). When the affair of King Henry's marriage with the Princeſs Katherine, widow of his brother Prince Arthur, was debated in council, Biſhop Fox adviſed the conſummation of that marriage, contrary to the opinion of Archbiſhop Warham (*i*). Being

(*o*) Rymer, as above, Vol. XII. p. 329. Ed. Hall, in Hen. VII. fol. xi. a.

(*p*) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 435.

(*q*) Rymer, ibid. p. 476. And J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 33.

(*r*) Rymer, ibid. p. 566. And J. Le Neve, p. 347.

(*s*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 228.

(*t*) Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 551, 554.

(*u*) Lord Verulam, under the year 1497.

(*w*) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 673.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 721.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 722, 765, 787. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 228. And Rapin, ubi ſupra, p. 677, 685.

(*z*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 390.

(*a*) Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 767.

(*b*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 245.

(*c*) Lord Verulam, under the year 1501. Or in Complete Hiſt. of Eng. edit. 1706. Vol. I. p. 628.

(*d*) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 309, 313.

(*e*) Godwin de Præſulibus, ex edit. clar. Gul. Richardſon, fol. Cant. 1743. p. 235. Note (*r*).

(*f*) Lord Verulam, under the years 1507 and 1508. See Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII.

(*g*) Fulman's MSS.

(*h*) Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. I. fol. p. 704.

(*i*) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 307. And Lord Herbert in the reign of K. Hen. VIII. near the beginning.

the truce, which was to expire July 3. 1488, till Sept. 1. 1489, as appears from Rymer's Fœdera.——

(7) Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. I. edit. 1732. fol. p. 652.

Mr Rapin obſerves (7), after my Lord Verulam (8), that 'Henry loved to employ Eccleſiaſtics, becauſe 'he had always Church-preferments ready for their 'reward. But he took care to promote them by degrees from ſmaller to more conſiderable Sees. Therein he found his own profit; for by tranſlating Biſhops 'from one See to another, he made the more vacancies, and conſequently the firſt-fruits which accrued 'to the King, were greatly multiplied.'

(8) Ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *In 1497, the caſtle of Norham belonging to his See, being beſieged by the King of Scotland.*] The Biſhop, aware of this Scottiſh invaſion, had cauſed that caſtle to be ſtrongly fortified, and furniſhed with all kind of munition: and had mann'd it, likewiſe, with a very great number of tall ſoldiers, more than for the proportion of the caſtle; reckoning rather upon a ſharp aſſault, than a long ſiege. And for the country likewiſe, he had cauſed the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into faſt places, that were not of eaſy approach; and ſent poſt to the Earl of Surrey (who was not far off in Yorkſhire) to come in diligence to his ſuccour. Whereupon King James retired into Scotland; and the Earl purſuing him, took the caſtle of Aton, then reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt places between Berwick and Edenburgh (9).

(9) Lord Verulam, under the year 1497.

[*E*] *And no man there was upon whoſe counſel he ſo much relied.*] But, what Biſhop Godwin adds in the ſame place, ſeems to be a miſtake. His words are theſe. 'Amongſt other honors done unto him, it was 'not the leaſt, that he [King Henry VII.] made him '*Godfather* unto his ſecond ſonne, that was afterward 'King Henry the VIII (10).' For Fr. Sandford, Eſq; (whoſe authority is the beſt upon this point, ſeeing he had his information from the College of Heralds,) relates (11), that the Prince's two godfathers were John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Peter Courtney, Biſhop of Wincheſter: but indeed he was *baptized* by Dr Richard Fox, then Biſhop of Exeter, which might occaſion the miſtake.

(10) Catal. p. 246.

(11) Geneal. Hiſt. of the Kings of Eng. edit. 1707. p. 479.

Being appointed by Margaret Counteſs of Richmond one of the Executors of her Will, and alſo one of the Superviſors of the ſame [*F*], he fully perform'd his part, in founding and compleating the ſettlement of St John's-college in Cambridge (*k*). In March 1509-10, he was ſent embaſſador to France, jointly with the Earl of Surrey, and the Biſhop of Durham, and on the 23d of the ſame month concluded a new Treaty of alliance with King Lewis XII (*l*). About the ſame time, a ſharp diſpute aroſe between him and William Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, concerning the extent of the juriſdiction of the Prerogative Court, and its claiming the probate of Wills when the Teſtators had *bona notabilia* in divers Dioceſes. The diſpute at length grew ſo high, that an Appeal was made to the Pope. But it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in 1513 (*m*) [*G*]. This ſummer, he attended the King in his Expedition into France, with a large retinue, and was at the taking of Terouenne (*n*). Alſo the 15th of October following, jointly with Thomas Grey Marquis of Dorſet, he concluded a new Treaty with the Emperor Maximilian againſt France (*o*). In 1515, being no longer able to bear the repeated mortifications he received from Cardinal Wolſey, a creature of his own making, he withdrew in diſcontent to his own Dioceſe (*p*) [*H*]: But it is not known when he reſigned the Privy-ſeal. The reſt of his days he ſpent wholly in works of Charity and Munificence. Particularly, about this time, he was employed in the noble and generous Foundation of Corpus-Chriſti-College in Oxford [*I*]. which hath produced ſeveral learned and eminent men in every profeſſion. In 1522 he founded a free ſchool at Taunton in Somerſetſhire, where he had a fine manor as Biſhop of Wincheſter, and built a convenient houſe for the maſter. The like he alſo did at Grantham near his native place [*K*]. At Wincheſter, he covered the Choir of the Cathedral, the preſbytery and iſles adjoining, with a good vault; and new glazed all the windows of that part of the Church. He likewiſe built a handſome wall round the preſbytery, on the top of which he placed, in leaden coffins, the bones of ſuch Princes and Prelates, as had been buried in divers parts of the Church (*q*): but they were moſtly deſtroyed during our unhappy civil wars. He had the misfortune of being blind for about ten years before his deceaſe: However he attended the Parliament in 1523 (*r*). Cardinal Wolſey meanly taking advantage of his infirmities, would fain have perſuaded him to reſign his Biſhoprick to him, and to be content with a penſion; but the

(*k*) Fulman's MSS.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII. p. 270, &c.

(*m*) M. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 307, 308, 309.

(*n*) Hall's Chr. in Hen. VIII. fol. 26. And Fulman's MSS.

(*o*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII. p. 379. See Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 723.

(*p*) Lord Herbert, in Complete Hiſt. of Eng. edit. 1706. Vol. II. p. 24.

(*q*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra. Godwin's Cat. p. 246.

(*r*) Godwin, *ibid.* And Fulman's MSS.

[*F*] *Being appointed by Margaret Counteſs of Richmond one of the executors of her will, and alſo one of the ſuperviſors of the ſame.*] This lady made her will June 6. 1508 (12), and died June 29. 1509. The executors of her will, were, Richard [Fox] Biſhop of Wincheſter, John [Fiſher] Biſhop of Rocheſter, Charles Somerſet Lord Herbert, Thomas Lovel, Henry Marney, John St John, Knights; and Henry Hornby, and Hugh Aſhton, clerks. And Biſhop Fox, and Dr Hornby, were alſo ſuperviſors of the ſame, with liberty to alter, add, and diminiſh ſuch articles, 'as in their 'ſadneſs and good diſcretions they thought moſt con- 'venient and according to her will.' The Charter of this noble foundation was given April 9. 1511 (13).

(12) MS. note of the late Mr Strype.

(13) T. Baker's Preface to Biſhop Fiſher's funeral Sermon of the Lady Margaret, &c. Lond. 1708. p. 31, 32, 50.

[*G*] *But it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in* 1513.] Biſhop Fox was ſeconded in this diſpute by the Biſhops of London, Lincoln, and Exeter. And what they inſiſted upon, was, that no ſum under *ten* pounds ſhould be accounted *bona notabilia*: that deſperate debts ſhould not be taken in, to make up that ſum: and, that the oaths of executors and adminiſtrators ſhould be ſufficient, without the Archbiſhop's appointing other perſons to value the goods of the deceaſed. All which the King determined againſt the Archbiſhop, in favour of the appellant Biſhops: tho' Warham pretended, that *bona notabilia* to the amount of forty ſhillings were ſufficient to found his prerogative. The King alſo decreed againſt him, that none but chattels or moveables were within his juriſdiction; and that he had no authority to intermeddle with real eſtates (14).

(14) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 307, 308.

[*H*] *He withdrew in diſcontent to his own Dioceſe.*] As did alſo Archbiſhop Warham to his, about the ſame time. Before their departure, they beſought the King, that he would not ſuffer any ſervant to be greater than his maſter; alluding to John xiii. 16. Henry knowing that they meant this of the Cardinal, made anſwer, that he would diligently ſee, that every ſervant ſhould obey, and not command (15).

(15) Holinſhed's Chron. ed. 1587. p. 839.

[*I*] *Particularly about this time, he was employed in the noble and generous Foundation of Corpus Chriſti-College in Oxford.*] His deſign at firſt, was, to erect in Oxford a College or Seminary for eight Monks, members of St Swithin's Priory in Wincheſter, and profeſſed of the ſame, with a few ſecular ſcholars: for which he obtained a licence in Mortmain, dated March 12. 1512-13. But he altered his deſign, chiefly, as 'tis ſaid, through the perſuaſions of Hugh Oldham, Biſhop of Exeter; who thus repreſented to him, 'What, my Lord, ſhall we build houſes, and provide 'livelihoods for a company of buſſing Monks, whoſe 'end and fall we ourſelves may live to ſee? No, no, 'it is more meet a great deal, that we ſhould have 'care to provide for the increaſe of learning, and for 'ſuch as by their learning ſhall do good in the Church 'and Commonwealth.' To this Biſhop Fox readily yielded, accepting of Biſhop Oldham's kind aſſiſtance, who contributed no leſs than 6000 marks towards the building of this college (16). Having therefore purchaſed three tenements, called Corner-hall, Nevills-inne, and Nunhall, with ſome parcels of land adjoining; and having obtained a new licence in Mortmain, dated November 26. 1516; he went on with his new foundation, the charter of which bore date the firſt of March following. He dedicated it to the honour of God Almighty, of the moſt ſacred Body of Chriſt, [*Corporis Chriſti*] of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, of St Peter, and St Paul; and of St Andrew, St Birinus, St Cuthbert, and St Swithin, the tutelar patrons of the Cathedral Churches of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Wincheſter: directing, that it ſhould be named Corpus-Chriſti-College. In the Statutes, dated 1517, he ordained, that it ſhould conſiſt of a Preſident, twenty Fellows, twenty Scholars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, and two Choriſters. And he endowed it with poſſeſſions, lands, &c. to the yearly value of 401 *l.* 8 *s.* 11 *d.* Biſhop Hugh Oldham abovementioned enlarged its revenues, beſides what he contributed towards the building. And its moſt conſiderable benefactors ſince have been, *William Froſt* of Yavington in Hampſhire, who gave the manor of Mapplederwell; *John Claymond*, and *Robert Morwent*, the two firſt Preſidents; Richard Pate, Eſq; Sir George, St Paul, Bart. Dr Reynolds, Dr Thomas Turner, &c (17).

(16) J. Hooker, alias Vowell, in Holinſhed's Chr. edit. 1587. p. 839, 840. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. L. II. p. 231.

(17) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra, &c. p. 229, 230.

[*K*] *The like he alſo did at Grantham near his native place.*] He deſigned at firſt to have built this in a little grove, at Ropeſley, near the houſe wherein he was born: but conſidering, that it would be much more uſeful in a town than in ſo obſcure a village, he built it for that reaſon at Grantham (18).

(18) Wood, ibid. p. 229.

[*L*] *But*

the good old Biſhop ſtoutly rejected his inſinuations (s) [L]. He died Septemb. 14. 1528 (t), in a very advanced age; and was buried on the South ſide of the high Altar in Wincheſter-cathedral, in a Chapel of his own building (u). In his will he left ſeveral legacies to the Church and See of Wincheſter, and many others; which Wolſey, who ſeized upon his effects by his Legatine authority, refuſed to pay (w). Biſhop Fox appears by his picture [M] to have been a man of a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution. His great wiſdom and abilities were approved and eſteemed by one of the wiſeſt Princes of his age. And of his Charity he hath left laſting monuments. Beſides which, he maintained ſeveral poor ſcholars at the Univerſity, before he founded his College; and is ſaid to have been a generous Patron of learned men (x). Yet I do not find that he ever publiſhed any thing: But a letter of his is printed in Mr Strype's Memorials (y), and in the Collections, at the end of Dr Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey (z) [N].

(s) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 313.

(t) Obitu. Cant.

(u) Will. de Chambre, in Anglia Sacr. Vol. I. p. 779.

(w) M. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 314.

(x) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 229.

(y) Vol. I. p. 46, &c. And Appendix, No. X.

(z) P. 105, 106. from the Cotton Libr. Fauſtina, C. 7.

[L] *But the good old Biſhop ſtoutly rejected his inſinuations.*] He bid the meſſenger, that came from Wolſey with this propoſal, tell his maſter; 'That 'tho', by reaſon of his blindneſs, he was not able to 'diſtinguiſh white from black, yet he could diſcern 'between true and falſe, right and wrong: and plainly 'enough ſaw, without eyes, the malice of that un-'grateful man, which he did not ſee before. That 'it behoved the Cardinal to take care, not to be ſo 'blinded with ambition, as not to foreſee his own 'end. He needed not trouble himſelf with the Bi-'ſhoprick of Wincheſter, but rather ſhould mind the 'King's affairs (19).'

(19) M. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 313.

[M] *Biſhop Fox appears by his picture, &c.*] Which is ſet up in the hall of Corpus-Chriſti-College, being painted on board. There is a very fine print, taken from it, in Dr Fiddes's life of Cardinal Wolſey.

[N] *A letter of his is printed in Mr Strype's Memorials, and in the Collections at the end of Dr Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey.*] The ſubject of that letter, is the Cardinal's intended general viſitation and reformation of the Engliſh Clergy. Our author expreſſes great joy at it; and ſays, he wiſhed as ardently to ſee that day, as Symeon did the ſight of the Meſſiah: that, for three years paſt, all his ſtudies, labours, thoughts, and cares, had been almoſt bent that way within his own particular juriſdiction, &c. *Ingentem atque mirificam, Pater ampliſſime, ex proximis veſtris ad me literis cepi conſolationem atque voluptatem, quod ex eis intellexi D. V. R. univerſi cleri reformationem ſecum inſtituiſſe, & ad eam inchoandam atque aggrediendam, diem brevi futuram præfiniiſſe & præſcripſiſſe; eum namque profecto diem jam diu, non minus quam Symeon ille Evangelicus expectatum Meſſiam, votis omnibus videre expetivi. Et ex quo illas D. V. R. literas legi, reformationem ampliorem & multo exactiorem univerſæ Anglorum Eccleſiaſticæ Hierarchiæ mihi videor tantum non ſentire & palpare, quam ego hac hominum ætate vel faciundam vel ineundam divinare potui, nedum ſperare. Conatus ſum enim facere, quod mearum erat partium, in ditione hac mea peculiari & exigua, quod V. Præſt. Dominatio inſtituit in utraque hujus regni Provincia, & hoc fere perpetuum triennium illi uni negotio diligenter incubui; omniaque mea ſtudia, labores, vigilias, ſudores in ea fere una collocavi, &c.*

C

FOX (JOHN), the famous Martyrologiſt, was born at Boſton in the county of Lincoln, in the year 1517 (a). His father dying when he was very young, and his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law, with whom he dwelt till the age of ſixteen, when he went to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered of Braſen-Noſe College, under the care of Mr John Hawarden, Fellow of that College, and was Chamberfellow with the famous Dr Nowell, afterwards Dean of St Paul's. May the ſeventeenth 1538, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b). His great parts and learning ſoon diſtinguiſhed him, inſomuch that he was choſen Fellow of Magdalen College, and proceeded Maſter of Arts in 1543, which was the higheſt degree he attained in the Univerſity (d). He diſcovered, in his younger years, a genius for poetry, and wrote ſeveral Latin comedies [A], but the ſubjects were choſen from the Scriptures; and in theſe, his firſt eſſays, he gave an earneſt of his ſtrong and natural bent to the ſtudy of Divinity, to which he ſoon betook himſelf with rather more fervency than circumſpection, diſcovering himſelf in favour of the Reformation then in hand, before he was known to thoſe who maintained and ſupported the cauſe, or had power to protect the maintainers of it; and hence began his troubles. In order to make himſelf a ſufficient judge of the controverſies which then divided the Church, his firſt care was to ſearch diligently into the antient and modern hiſtory of the Church; to learn it's beginning, by what arts it flouriſhed, and by what errors it began to decline; to conſider the cauſes of thoſe controverſies and diſſentions which had ariſen in the Church, and to weigh attentively of what moment and conſequence they were to Religion. To this end he applied himſelf with ſuch zeal and induſtry, that before he attained to thirty years of age, he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin Fathers had left in their writings, the Schoolmen in their diſputations, the Councils in their acts, or the Conſiſtories in their decrees; and alſo acquir'd a competent ſkill in the Hebrew language (e). But from this ſtrict and ſevere application, by night as well as by day, from his

(a) Life of J. Fox, written by his ſon, and prefixed to the *Acts and Monuments*, edit. 1641. BALEUS. Script. illuſt. Cent. 9. cap. 92. p. 763. edit. Baſil. 1557.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 230. edit. 1721.

(d) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(e) Vita J. Foxii, ut ſupra.

[A] *Wrote ſeveral Latin comedies.*] Our author's ſon tells us, that theſe comedies, which were taken from ſubjects in ſacred hiſtory, were then extant, and written in an elegant ſtyle. We have a comedy of his, intitled, *de Chriſto Triumphante*, printed at London 1551; and at Baſil in 1556, in 8vo. Mr Wood aſſerts (1), that it was written at Baſil in the houſe of Operinus the Printer, but this muſt be a miſtake, becauſe Mr Fox did not go to Baſil till the reign of Queen Mary, who did not come to the Crown till 1553. This play was tranſlated into Engliſh by Richard Day, ſon of John Day the famous Printer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and publiſhed with this title, *Chriſt Jeſus triumphant, wherein is deſcribed the glorious triumph and conqueſt of Chriſt over ſin, death, and the law, &c.* London, 1579; and in 1607, in 8vo. It was again publiſhed in 1672, at London in 8vo. and dedicated to all ſchoolmaſters, in order that it might be admitted into their reſpective ſchools, for the peculiar elegance of its ſtyle, by T. C. M. A. of Sidney-College in Cambridge.

(1) Athen. Ox. ut ſupra.

[B] *Con-*

his forſaking his friends, for the moſt ſolitary retirement; the great and viſible diſtractions of his mind; and, above all, his abſenting himſelf from the public worſhip of the Church, of which before he had been a moſt conſtant frequenter, aroſe the firſt ſuſpicions of his alienated affections from the Church, and in which his enemies were ſoon confirmed, upon a more narrow inſpection into his conduct, which was too open not to expoſe him to the ſnares which were laid for his ruin; and having been accuſed of hereſy, he was, by the judgment of the College, condemned as an heretick, and expelled the Houſe; and was thought to have been favourably dealt with, that he eſcaped with his life [*B*]. This misfortune, however, was the heavier upon Mr Fox, as it loſt him the favour and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to countenance or protect one condemned for a capital offence; and his father-in-law took a handle from hence, to with-hold Mr Fox's own father's eſtate from him, thinking that he who ſtood in danger of the Law himſelf, would with difficulty find relief from it. Being thus forſaken by his friends, he was reduced to great diſtreſs, when he was taken into the houſe of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickſhire, to be tutor to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter of Coventry, and continued in Sir Thomas's family till his pupils were grown up, after which, with ſome difficulty, he procured entertainment from his father-in-law, and his wife's father at Coventry; from whence he removed to London a few years before King Henry's death, where, having no employment nor preferment, he was again driven to great neceſſities and diſtreſs, from which he was ſeaſonably relieved, in a remarkable manner, as we ſhall relate in the note [*C*], and was ſoon after taken into the Ducheſs of Richmond's family, to be tutor to her nephew the Earl of Surrey's children, who, upon the commitment of the Earl and his father the Duke of Norfolk to the Tower, were committed to the care of the Ducheſs of Richmond to be educated. In this family Mr Fox lived, at Ryegate in Surrey, during the latter part of King Henry's reign, the five years reign of King Edward the Sixth, and part of Queen Mary's reign, being at this time protected by one of his pupils then Duke of Norfolk, and is ſaid to have been the firſt perſon who preached the Goſpel at Ryegate (*f*). Anthony Wood alſo ſays, he was reſtored to his fellowſhip in Magdalen College, under Edward the Sixth (*g*). But Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who hated him, and fearing leaſt the heir of one of the nobleſt families in the kingdom, ſhould, as might naturally be expected, tread in the ſteps of his tutor, by him greatly reſpected and honoured, ſought by many ſnares and ſtratagems to work his ruin; inſomuch, that Mr Fox, very much againſt the Duke's inclination (*h*), was obliged to quit his native country, and ſeek ſhelter abroad. Accordingly, the Duke having cauſed every thing neceſſary to be prepared for his tutor's voyage, he ſet ſail from Ipſwich-haven, taking his wife along with him, who was then big with child, and ſome other perſons who went abroad on the ſame account. But a ſtorm ariſing, they were obliged the next day to put back to port, where, having with much difficulty arrived, Mr Fox found that Biſhop Gardiner had iſſued out a warrant for apprehending him, and cauſed the moſt diligent ſearch to be made after him; upon which, having prevailed upon the Maſter of the ſhip to put to ſea again, to the great peril of their lives, they arrived ſafe in two days at Newport-haven, from whence Mr Fox and his company travelled to Antwerp and Franckfort, and thence to Baſil in Germany, where great numbers of Engliſh ſubjects reſorted in thoſe times of perſecution [*D*]. This city was

(*f*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*g*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 195.

(*h*) Vita J. Foxii, ut ſupra.

[*B*] *Condemned as an Heretick, and expelled the Houſe.*] Anthony Wood ſays (2), he reſigned his fellowſhip in 1545, merely, as it was thought, to prevent expulſion; and the ſame writer in his Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford (3), ſays that he was in a manner obliged to reſign his fellowſhip. But Mr Fox's own ſon informs us (4), that our author being ſuſpected of hereſy, and upon examination, not concealing his ſentiments, was condemned as an heretick, and actually expelled the College; and his enemies affirmed that he was favourably dealt with by that ſentence, and that he might have been queſtioned for his life, if they had not deſigned to have uſed clemency towards him.

(2) p. 231.

(3) Lib. 2. p. 195.

(4) In Vita Foxii.

[*C*] *Was relieved in a remarkable manner.*] As he was ſitting one day in St Paul's Church, almoſt ſpent with long faſting, his countenance wan and pale, and his eyes hollow, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have ſeen before, who ſitting down by him, accoſted him very familiarly, and put into his hands an untold ſum of money, bidding him be of good chear, and to be careful of himſelf, and uſe all means to prolong his life; and that within a few days, new hopes were at hand, and more certain means of ſubſiſtence. Mr Fox uſed all his endeavours to find out the perſon, by whoſe bounty he was ſo ſeaſonably relieved from extreme neceſſity, but in vain; however the prediction was fulfilled, for within three days afterwards Mr Fox was taken into the ſervice of the Ducheſs of Richmond (5).

(5) Vita J. Foxii.

[*D*] *He travelled to Baſil in Germany, &c.*] We have followed his ſon, the Hiſtorian of his life, in this account, who muſt certainly be ſuppoſed to have been beſt informed in all particulars of his father's life. *Anthony Wood* however differs in his account of Mr Fox's travels; he ſays, that he went over to Baſil in King Henry the Eighth's time, when he was about thirty years old, and became a laborious writer, at the houſe of one Operinus a Printer there. After King Henry's death, he returned to Magdalen-College, and after a ſhort ſtay there went again to his charge at Ryegate, and remained there till after Queen Mary came to the Crown, when he again left England, and as Dr Heylyn ſays, was at Franckfort, and appeared in the ſchiſm among the Engliſh there; for we find his name among thoſe of the Engliſh Proteſtants who took refuge in that city, in the tract entitled, *The troubles of Franckfort*, printed in 1575; was againſt the Church of England as ſettled in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and took part with Knox and Whittingham (6). Afterwards he retired to his old landlord at Baſil, where he continued a ſevere drudge at writing, till Queen Elizabeth was ſettled in the throne, when he again returned to England. The former part of this account however contradicts itſelf, for if Mr Fox was born in 1517, and firſt went abroad at thirty years of age, that muſt have been in 1547, which was in King Edward's reign; whereas Mr Wood ſays, he went abroad in King Henry's time. It ſeems much more probable, as we have before ſhewn, that he did not leave England till Queen Mary's reign, according to his ſon's account.

(6) See Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. 8. §. 3. p. 32.

[*E*] *The*

was at that time one of the moſt famous in Europe for Printing; and moſt of thoſe who retired thither got their ſubſiſtence by reviſing and correcting the preſs; and to this employment Mr Fox betook himſelf, and it was here he laid the firſt plan of his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*. Upon the death of Queen Mary, which (according to the teſtimony of Dr Elmare, afterwards Biſhop of London) Mr Fox in a ſermon foretold the day before it happened; and, as ſoon as he found the Proteſtant religion likely to be eſtabliſhed, he ventured to return to his native country, where he ſtill found a faithful and ſerviceable friend in his quondam pupil, the Duke of Norfolk, and was entertained by him at his Manor-place called *Chriſt-Church*, in London, as long as his Grace lived, and at his death he ſettled a penſion upon him, which his ſon the Earl of Suffolk confirmed to him (*i*). Mr Secretary Cecil alſo obtained for him of the Queen, the rectory or prebendſhip of Shipton, in the church of Saliſbury, tho' Mr Fox himſelf would have declined accepting it; and tho' he had many great and powerful friends, as Sir Francis Walſingham, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Thomas Greſham, Sir Drue Drury, the Biſhops Grindal, Pilkington, Elmare, &c. who would have raiſed him to very conſiderable preferments; yet he declined them, being, as *Anthony Wood* ſays, always averſe to ſubſcribe to the Canons, tho' tendered to him by Archbiſhop Parker, and to ſome part of the ceremonies of the Church [*E*]. But tho' he was a Nonconformiſt, he was a moderate one, and diſapproved of the heats of the rigid Puritans [*F*]. In 1564, he ſent a Latin panegyric to the Queen, upon her indulgence to ſome noncomplying Divines, and ſuffering them to hold dignities in the Church [*G*]. In July 1575, he wrote a Latin Letter to the Queen, to diſſuade her Majeſty from putting to death two Anabaptiſts who had been condemned to be burnt [*H*]. He

(*i*) Vita Foxii.

[*E*] *Tho' tender'd to him by Archbiſhop Parker*]. Dr Fuller tells us (7), that the Archbiſhop ſummoned him to ſubſcribe, 'that the general reputation of his 'piety might give the greater countenance to Conformity.' That the old man produced the New Teſtament in Greek, *to this*, ſays he, *will I ſubſcribe*. And when a ſubſcription to the Canons was required of him, he refuſed it, ſaying, *I have nothing in the Church ſave a Prebend at Saliſbury, and much good may it do you, if you will take it away from me*. However he continued in his place till his death, ſuch reſpect, as Dr Fuller obſerves, did the Biſhops, moſt of them formerly his fellow-exiles, bear to his age, parts, and labours.

(7) Church Hiſt. Book ix. p. 76.

[*F*] *And diſapproved of the heats of the rigid Puritans.*] Dr Fuller obſerves (8), that tho' Mr Fox *came not up in all particulars to cleave the pin of Conformity (as refuſing to ſubſcribe) yet he utterly diſtaſted the factious people of that age*. The Hiſtorian then gives us a Latin letter written by our author to a Biſhop, upon occaſion of his ſon Samuel's being expelled by the Puritan party from his fellowſhip of Magdalen-College in Oxford, after his return from his travels abroad, upon the groundleſs imputation of his having turned Papiſt. In this letter he ſays, 'I confeſs it 'has always been my great care, if I could not be 'ſerviceable to many perſons, yet not knowingly to 'injure any one, at leaſt of all thoſe of *Magdalen-College*. I cannot therefore but the more wonder 'at the turbulent genius which inſpires thoſe *factious Puritans*, ſo that violating the laws of gratitude, 'deſpiſing my letters and prayers, diſregarding the 'interceſſion of the Preſident himſelf, without any 'previous admonition, or aſſigning any cauſe, they 'have exerciſed ſo great tyranny againſt me and my 'ſon; were I one, who, like them, would be *violently outragious* againſt Biſhops and Archbiſhops, or join 'myſelf with them, that is, would become *mad*, as 'they are, I had not met with this ſevere treatment; 'now becauſe, quite different from them, I have 'choſen the ſide of *modeſty* and publick tranquillity, 'hence the hatred they have a long time conceived 'againſt me, is at laſt grown to this degree of bitterneſs. As this is the caſe, I do not ſo much aſk 'you what you will do on my account, as what is to 'be thought of for your ſakes; you who are Prelates 'of the Church, again and again conſider. As to 'myſelf, tho' the taking away the fellowſhip from my 'ſon, is a great affliction to me; yet becauſe this is 'only a private concern, I bear it with more moderation; I am much more concerned upon the account of the Church, which is publick. I perceive 'a certain race of men riſing up, who if they ſhould 'increaſe and gather ſtrength in this kingdom, I am 'ſorry to ſay what diſturbance I foreſee muſt follow 'from it. Your prudence is not ignorant how much 'the Chriſtian Religion ſuffered formerly by the diſ'ſimulation and hypocriſy of the Monks. At pre'ſent in theſe men I know not what new ſort of 'Monks ſeems to revive; ſo much more pernicious 'than the former, as with more ſubtle artifices of 'deceiving, under pretence of perfection, like Stage-'players who only act a part, they conceal a more 'dangerous poiſon: who while they require every 'thing to be formed according to their own *ſtrict diſ'cipline*, and conſcience, will not deſiſt till they have 'brought all things into Jewiſh bondage.' Upon this letter, Dr Fuller (9) bids us remark the *violence of rigid Nonconformiſts*. 'We may perceive, ſays he, by 'this letter how powerful the party of Nonconfor'miſts was grown at that time, and to what violences 'and extravagancies, ſome went in their practices, 'inſomuch that Dr Humphreys, then Preſident of *Mag'dalen*, and Mr Fox himſelf (both which ſcrupled 'ſubſcription in ſome particulars) were deſerted by 'them as lukewarm, and remiſs in the cauſe.' Mr Fox's ſon however was at laſt reſtored to his fellowſhip by the Queen's mandate.

(8) Book ix. p. 106.

(9) P. 107.

[*G*] *In* 1564, *he ſent a Latin panegyric to the Queen, upon her indulgence of ſome Divines, &c.*] In the beginning of this addreſs, he mentions her Majeſty's retrieving the kingdom from the laſt degree of miſery and declenſion; that ſhe had reformed religion and the ſtatute book, corrected idleneſs, ſuppreſſed robberies, and made the country orthodox and quiet. That ſhe had recovered the mint to its old ſtandard; and that the manners of her ſubjects were no leſs refined and brightned than the coin. That theſe ſtate regulations, tho' very valuable in their kind, came ſhort of the bleſſings in religion. That now truth was no longer perſecuted, conſcience had its juſt liberty, and ſuperſtition gave way to the goſpel. 'And of 'this, ſays he, we have a remarkable inſtance in your 'Majeſty's anſwer to the petition of ſome divines con'cerning the *eccleſiaſtical habit*. What ſatisfaction 'this gracious indulgence gave the univerſal Church, 'what an advantage after-ages would receive by it; 'and what an immortal honour would deſcend upon 'her memory, is ſcarcely to be imagined.' From hence he proceeds to commend her for her encouragement of learning, and the expectations of favour which ſhe had given to the Univerſity of Cambridge. In the cloſe he acquaints her Majeſty that he deſigned to write her hiſtory, and had prepared ſome materials for that purpoſe; but that theſe would be imperfect without further information from her Majeſty; and after all, he thought her own genius nobly furniſhed to deſcribe her reign, and that no body could do her juſtice better than herſelf (10).

[*H*] *He wrote a Latin letter to the Queen to diſſuade her Majeſty from putting to death two Anabaptiſts, who had been condemned to be burnt.*] Fuller, who

(10) Collier's Ch. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 501. Foxii, MS.

He was remarkable for his piety and great zeal for Religion, his charity, humility, and intenſe application to the duties of his function. He died on the eighteenth of April 1587, in the ſeventieth year of his age, greatly lamented, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St Giles's Cripplegate, where a monument was erected to his memory on the ſouth wall, and an inſcription on it. It is ſaid Mr Fox had the vicarage of St Giles's; but, as Mr Wood ſays (if he had it at all), he kept it but a little while in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In the note is an account of our author's writings [*I*]. He left two

who tranſcribed this letter from the original, has publiſhed it in his *Church Hiſtory* (11); Mr Collier obſerves (12), that it is written in *a very handſome Chriſtian ſtrain*. In this letter, Mr Fox declares, that with regard to thoſe fanatical ſects, he does not think they ought to be countenanced in a ſtate, but chaſtiſed in a proper manner. But that to puniſh with the flames, the bodies of thoſe who err rather from blindneſs than obſtinacy of will, is cruel, and more ſuitable to the example of the Romiſh Church, than the mildneſs of the goſpel. He declares he does not write thus out of an indulgence to error, but as he is a man, out of regard to the lives of men, that they may have an opportunity of repenting of their errors; and entreats her Majeſty therefore to ſpare the lives of theſe wretches, or at leaſt to change the ſhocking manner of their puniſhment; to baniſh them, or commit them to perpetual impriſonment; or ſtigmatize, or even hang them; at leaſt not to revive the Smithfield fires, which thro' her Majeſty's care had been ſo long extinguiſhed. If this could not be granted, at leaſt to allow them a month or two, in order that endeavours might be uſed to reclaim them from their errors, and thereby to prevent the deſtruction of their ſouls as well as bodies. But Fuller tells us, that tho' the Queen conſtantly called Mr Fox her *father*, yet ſhe gave him a flat denial as to the ſaving of their lives, if after a month's reprieve, and conference with Divines, they would not recant their errors; and they continuing ſtill inflexible, were accordingly burnt in Smithfield.

(11) B. ix. p. 104, 105.

(12) Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 549.

[*I*] *In the note is an account of our author's writings.*] Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he wrote, *Syllogiſticon admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapſis per errorem in Eccleſiam reſtituendis. A Latin tranſlation of the controverſy between Archbiſhop Cranmer, and Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, about the Euchariſt.* This our author did at Baſil, and there was only a part of it printed. *De cenſura, ſeu excommunicatione Eccleſiaſtica, interpellatio ad Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem.* London 1551. in 8vo. *A Sermon preached at St Paul's Croſs, on Good-Friday, upon the ſubject of Chriſt's Crucifixion*, printed by John Day, at London, 1570, in 4to. It was dedicated, 'to all 'ſuch as labour and be heavy laden in conſcience, to 'be read for their ſpiritual comfort.' The text is, 2 Cor. v. 20, 21. and the Sermon is divided into two parts, to which are ſubjoined, *a prayer made for the Church, and all the States there*; and a *poſtſcript to the Papiſts*. Mr Wood mentions (13) an edition of this Sermon at London, 1609. in 8vo. and a Latin tranſlation of it intitled, *De Chriſto crucifixo: concio in Die Paraſcev. in 2 Cor. cap. v. verſ. 20, 21. London* 1571, in 4to. Mr Strype, who does not appear to have ever ſeen the edition of this Sermon in 1570, is miſtaken in ſaying (14) that it was preached in 1578, and printed in 1585, unleſs reprinted in that year. His argument that it was preached about 1578, is drawn from a paſſage in the prayer, wherein Mr Fox ſays, that *the Queen had doubled the years of her ſiſter and brother*; but theſe very words are alſo to be found in the prayer publiſhed in the edition of the Sermon in 1570. *Tables of Grammar*; London 1552. Wood tells us (15) that theſe *Tables* were ſubſcribed in print by eight Lords of the Privy-Council; but that they were ſoon laid aſide, as being far more too ſhort, than King Henry VIIIth's Grammar was too long. *Articuli ſive Aphoriſmi aliquot Joh. Wiclevi. Sparſim aut ex variis illius opuſculis excerpti per adverſarios papicolas, ac concilio Conſtantienſi exhibiti. Collectanea quædam ex Reginaldi Pecocki Epiſcopi Ciceſtrienſis opuſculis exuſtis conſervata, & ex antiquo pſegmate tranſcripta. Opiſtographia ad Oxonienſes.* Theſe three laſt are printed with his *Commentarii rerum in Eccleſia geſtarum*; at Straſburgh, 1554, in 8vo. *Locorum communium Logicalium tituli & Ordinationes* 150, *ad ſeriem prædicamentorum decem deſcripti*, &c. Baſil 1557, in 4to. *Probationes & reſolutiones de re & materia Sacramenti Euchariſtici.* This was printed at London about the year 1563. *De Oliva Evangelica; concio in Baptiſmo Judæi habita, Londini* 1. *Apr. cum narratione capitis* XI. *D. Pauli ad Romanos.* London 1578. tranſlated into Engliſh by James Bell. To this Latin Sermon is ſubjoined our author's comedy, *De Chriſto triumphante*, before mentioned. *Concerning man's election to ſalvation.* London 1581, in 8vo. *Certain notes of election, added to Beza his treatiſe of Predeſtination.* London 1581, in 8vo. *De Chriſto gratis juſtificante, contra Jeſuitas.* London 1583, in 8vo. *Diſputatio contra Jeſuitas & eorum argumenta quibus inhærentem juſtitiam ex Ariſtotele confirmant.* Rupell. 1585, in 8vo. *Eicaſmi ſeu meditationes in Apocal. S. Johannis Apoſtoli & Evangeliſtæ.* London 1587, fol. Genev. 1596. in 8vo. *Papa confutatus: vel ſacra & apoſtolica eccleſia papam confutans.* This was tranſlated into Engliſh by James Bell, and printed at London in 4to. *Brief exhortation, fruitful and meet to be read in the time of God's viſitation, where miniſters do lack, or otherwiſe cannot be preſent to comfort them.* London in 8vo. He alſo tranſlated from Latin into Engliſh, 1. *A Sermon of* John Oecolampadius *to young men and maidens.* London in 12mo. 2. *An inſtruction of Chriſtian Faith, how to lay upon the promiſe of God, and not to doubt of our ſalvation.* Or otherwiſe thus; *neceſſary inſtructions of faith and hope for Chriſtians to hold faſt, and not to doubt*, &c. London 1579, ſecond edition in 8vo. written by Urbanus Regius. He alſo finiſhed *An anſwer apologetical to* Hierome Oſorius *his ſlanderous invective*; which had been begun in Latin by Walter Haddon, LL.D. London 1577, and 1581, in 4to. and he publiſhed *the four Evangeliſts in the old Saxon Tongue, with the Engliſh thereunto adjoined.* London 1571, in 4to. Bale mentions ſeveral other writings of his, but Mr Wood ſays ſome of them were never printed; we ſhall therefore proceed to give ſome account of the principal and greateſt of our author's works, his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, commonly called, Fox's *Book of Martyrs*. We have before obſerved that the author firſt applied himſelf to write this Hiſtory of the Church, whilſt he was at Baſil, but he reſerved the greateſt part of it againſt his return into his own country, that he might have the authority and teſtimony of more witneſſes. It appears by the author's own notes, that this moſt laborious work was eleven years in hand; and in this, as well as in ſome others of his labours, Mr Fox was greatly aſſiſted by that pious prelate Dr Grindal, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who beſides his conſtant counſel and advice in the courſe of the work, ſupplied him with materials, which he digeſted and methodized himſelf; for whilſt Dr Grindal was abroad, he had eſtabliſhed a correſpondence in England for this purpoſe, by which means accounts of moſt of the acts and ſufferings of the perſecuted in Queen Mary's reign, came to his hands (16); and it was owing to Dr Grindal's ſtrict and tender regard to truth, that the Martyrology was ſo long in hand, for he rejected all common reports and relations that were brought over, till more ſatisfactory evidence could be procured; and hence he adviſed Mr Fox at firſt only to print ſeparately the acts of ſome particular men, of whom any ſure and authentic memoirs came to hand, till materials for a more compleat hiſtory of the Martyrs and their perſecutions and ſufferings could be procured. In purſuance of this advice Mr Fox publiſhed at Baſil, diverſe hiſtories of the Engliſh Biſhops and Divines, in ſingle pieces, ſoon after their reſpective ſufferings and martyrdoms. He had alſo publiſhed at Straſburgh, in 1554, in octavo, *Commentarii rerum in Eccleſia geſtarum*,

(13) Col. 232.

(14) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 550.

(15) Vol. I. Col. 135.

(16) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindal, p. 17, & ſeq.

two ſons, Samuel and Thomas. Samuel the eldeſt ſon was born in the city of Norwich, December the thirty-firſt 1560 (*k*), and in 1576 became Demi of Magdalen College, and afterwards

(k) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Book iii cap. 16. p. 255.

tarum, maximarumque per totam Europam perſecutionum a Wiclevi temporibus ad hanc uſque ætatem deſcript. in one book; to which he added five more books, all printed together at Baſil, in 1559. in folio. It was alſo by the advice of Dr Grindal, that the *Martyrology* was printed both in Latin and Engliſh, for the more general uſe, the author having began it in Latin. It was publiſhed at London 1563, in one thick volume in folio, with this title, *Actes and Monuments of theſe latter perillous days touching matters of the Churche, wherein are comprehended and deſcribed the great perſecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practiſed by the Romiſh Prelates, ſpeciallye in this Realme of England and Scotland, from the yeare of our Lorde a thouſand unto the time now preſent, &c. gathered and collected accordynge to the true copies and wrytinges certificatorie, as well of the parties themſelves that ſuffered, as alſo out of the Biſhops regiſters, which were the doers thereof* By John Fox. *Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Alderſgate beneth St Martin's, Anno* 1563, *the 20th of March. Cum gratia & privilegia regiæ Majeſtatis.* Mr Fox preſented a copy of this edition to Magdalen-College, Oxford, and at the ſame time wrote a Latin letter to Dr Lawrence Humphreys, printed by Mr Thomas Hearne in his appendix, No. 5. to his *Preface to Adami de Domerſham Hiſt. de Rebus Geſtis Glaſtonenſibus*, Oxon. 1727, in 8vo 2 Vols. There was a fourth edition at London 1583, in two volumes in folio, and it was reprinted in 1632, in three volumes folio. The ninth edition was printed at London in three volumes in folio, with copper cuts, the former Editions having only wooden ones. Mr Wood obſerves (17), that the undertakers of this edition had in a manner obtained a promiſe from King Charles II. to revive the order made in Queen Elizabeth's time, of placing it in the common halls of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, Heads of Colleges, &c. according to the Canons of Dr Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1571. Mr Strype tells us (18), that when this book was firſt publiſhed, our author was thought, 'to have done very 'exquiſite ſervice to the Proteſtant cauſe, in ſhewing, 'from abundance of antient books, regiſters, records, 'and choice manuſcripts, the encroachments of Popes, 'Papalins, and the ſtout oppoſitions that were made 'by learned and good men, in all ages and countries 'againſt them; and eſpecially under King Henry the 'VIIIth, and Queen Mary here in England; preſerv-'ing to us the memories of thoſe holy men and wo-'men, thoſe Biſhops and Divines, together with their 'hiſtories, acts, ſufferings, and their conſtant deaths, 'willingly undergone for the ſake of Chriſt and his 'goſpel, and for refuſing to comply with Popiſh doc-'trines and ſuperſtitions.' Archbiſhop Whitgift (19) ſtiles Mr Fox *that worthy man*, and tells Mr Cartwright the Puritan, that he had read over his *Acts and Monuments* from the one end to the other; and declares that Mr Fox hath *very diligently and faithfully laboured in this matter*, (of Archbiſhops and Metropolitans) *and ſearched out the truth of it as learnedly as I know any man to have done.* Camden likewiſe gives him and his work this character (20); *Ex eruditorum numero obiit* Johannes Foxus *Oxonienſis, qui Eccleſiaſticam Angliæ Hiſtoriam ſive Martyrologiam indefeſſo veritatis ſtudio, primum latine, poſtea anglice auctius, magna cum laude contexuit.* The Papiſts were very angry at the publication of this hiſtory; in which their lyes and cruelty were ſo fully expoſed; and accordingly did all they could to blaſt the credit both of that and its author. They called it *Fox's golden Legend*, and repreſented it an huge fardel of notorious lyes and falſehoods (21). In 1603, above forty years after the publication of Mr Fox's book, father Robert Parſons publiſhed, under the name of N. D. that is, of Nicholas Doleman, *A Treatiſe of the three converſions from Paganiſm to the Chriſtian Religion*, in three volumes in 8vo. the principal deſign of which is to expoſe Mr Fox's Church Hiſtory. In this performance he charges Mr Fox with falſities and impoſtures, manifeſt foolery and lying, with having a wicked ſpirit, being guilty of tergiverſation, uſing impertinent arguments, ſhewing a contempt of antiquity, &c. of wilful corruptions and falſifications of authors, particularly of Venerable Bede He tells us Mr Fox endeavoured to corrupt the acts of old Martyrs, nay, that he diſcredited his own Martyrs, and pretends to have found no leſs than 120 lyes in leſs than three leaves of his book (*). Mr Collier, who takes all opportunities of depretiating Mr Fox's character, and undervaluing his work, accuſes him of diſingenuity and ill nature, and ſays he ought to be read with caution. That a vein of ſatire and coarſe language runs thro' his Martyrology (22), and inſtances in his calling (23) the Biſhop of Wincheſter an inſenſible aſs, and ſaying he had no feeling of God's Spirit, in the matter of Juſtification Mr Fox does certainly ſometimes fail in decency and temper; but this was no more than was common to the zealous promoters of the Reformation, who it muſt be confeſſed were ſometimes hurried on by their zeal to lengths by no means defenſible Mr Wood ſays Mr Fox was a ſevere Calviniſt, and ſhewed himſelf a very bitter enemy in his writings, againſt the Roman Catholicks, exceeding as ſome conceive the rules of charity. He obſerves (24), that as our author 'hath taken a great deal of pains 'in his work, and ſhewed ſometimes much judgment 'in it; ſo hath he committed many errors therein, by 'truſting to the relations of poor ſimple people, and 'in making ſuch Martyrs as were living after the firſt 'edition of his book came forth, tho' afterwards by 'him excuſed and omitted.' He charges Mr Fox likewiſe (25) with committing a moſt egregious falſity in reporting, that one Grimwood of Higham in Suffolk, died in a miſerable manner for ſwearing and bearing falſe witneſs againſt one John Cooper a Carpenter of Watſam in the ſame county, for which he loſt his life. The account which Fox gives of his death, is this. 'When he was in labour ſtacking up 'a goffe of corn, having his health, and fearing no 'peril, ſuddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and 'immediately moſt miſerably he died.' Now Wood relates, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth one Prit became Parſon of the pariſh where the ſaid Grimwood dwelt, and preaching againſt perjury, not being acquainted with his Pariſhioners, cited the ſaid ſtory of Fox; and it happening that Grimwood being then alive and in the church, he brought an action upon the caſe againſt the Parſon. But Judge Anderſon, who ſat at the Aſſizes in the connty of Suffolk, adjudged it not maintainable, becauſe it was not ſpoken maliciouſly. Mr Wood refers to the *abridgement of many caſes and reſolutions of the Common Law*, written by Judge *Henry Rolles*, p. 87. Sect. 7. tit. *action ſur caſe*. But Mr Strype has ſhewn (26), that Mr Fox has not had juſtice done him in this paſſage, ſince there was one Grimwood who died in the manner above mentioned, though Mr Fox was miſled in inſerting this ſtory in his Martyrology, becauſe the ſaid John Cooper was not tried for his religion, but for ſpeaking rebellious words againſt the Queen. But there are many other facts, in the relation of which, Mr Fox is not to be depended upon; particularly in his account of the death of the perſecuting Biſhop Gardiner. He tells us (27), as he ſays from credible intelligence, that the Biſhop refuſed to go to dinner on the day Ridley and Latimer were burnt, till his ſervants who were poſted on the road for that purpoſe had brought him word that the faggotts were kindled about them; that this barbarous reſolution occaſioned the dinner to be kept back till four o' clock, and that the old Duke of Norfolk, who that day dined with the Biſhop, was uneaſy at ſtaying ſo long. That when Gardiner heard the two Biſhops were burning, he was tranſported with the news, and went immediately to dinner, but was ſeized at table, carried to his bed where he lay a fortnight, and died. To diſprove this tragical ſtory, it may be ſufficient to obſerve that Gardiner appeared twice in the Houſe of Lords, after he is reported to have been ſeized with this mortal diſtemper; and the old Duke of Norfolk had been dead above a year, when Fox makes him at dinner at the Biſhop of Wincheſter's

(*) See the Treatiſe of three Converſions of Eng. by H. Parſons; alſo his *Relation of a Trial held in France about Religion*, printed 1604. p. 59, 60.

(22) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 45, 233.

(23) Fox. Vol. II. p. 5, and 6.

(24) Col. 232.

(25) Col. 691, 692.

(26) Annals of the Reformat. Vol. I. cap. 21. Ann. 1561.

(27) P. 527.

(17) Athen. Ox. Vol. I. p. 232.

(18) Annals of the Reformat. p. 238.

(19) Defence of the Anſwer to the Admonition, p. 333.

(20) Annales Eliz. p. 558. edit. 8vo.

(21) Preface, p. 14. to the Life of John Wickliffe, D.D. by John Lewis, A.M. Miniſter of Margate. 8vo. edit. Lond. 1723.

afterwards Fellow, and Maſter of Arts. In 1586 he had a leaſe of the manor annexed to the prebend of Shipton, ſettled on him by his father [*K*]. He was ſteward to Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; and in 1589 married Mrs Anne Leveſon, in the houſe of Sir Moyle Finch, of Eaſtwell in Kent (*l*). In 1610, he wrote the Life of his father, prefix'd to the *Acts and Monuments of the Church* (*m*). Thomas Fox, the younger ſon of our author, was educated at King's College Cambridge, and became afterwards an eminent Phyſician at London, and Fellow of the College of Phyſicians (*n*). His daughter Anne, who was his heir, married Sir Richard Willis, of Ditton in Eſſex, Bart. ſome time Colonel-General of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Rutland, and Governor of the town and caſtle of Newark.

(*l*) Strype, ibid.

(*m*) Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 233.

(*n*) Strype, p. 254.

cheſter's, for he died at Framingham caſtle, September 1554, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon, who could not then be an *old Duke*, as the ſtory ſays. As to Gardiner he died of the gout, as Godwin relates, and not of a ſuppreſſion of urine as Fox would have it (28). Mr Fox, as Mr Collier alſo obſerves, is particularly ſevere upon the memory of the famous Cardinal Wolſey, and in many places of his Martyrology laſhes him and loads him with cenſure, ſometimes wrongfully, and diſingenuouſly. He gives a remarkable inſtance (29) of an exaggeration of Mr Fox, in the account he gives of the charge exhibited againſt the Cardinal by the Privy-Council, in the fourth article of which, Wolſey is accuſed of preſumption in ſpeaking and writing in this manner, *The King and I would you ſhould do thus*; and, *the King and I do give you our thanks*, &c (30). This to be ſure was an high preſumption in the Cardinal, but Mr Fox has ſwelled it much higher, by making him ſet himſelf before the King, and ſpeak in the language of *Ego & rex meus*, as Fox reports he did (31). The ſame author (32) alſo gives us, among others, a very remarkable inſtance of Mr Fox's intemperate zeal, which hurried him almoſt to a degree of prophaneneſs. When it was thought that Queen Mary was with child, there were prayers printed and diſperſed about the kingdom, for her Majeſty's happy delivery, &c. which Fox has taken the freedom to ridicule (33), and to rally the people's devotion upon this occaſion, with this extraordinary and odd ſentence in his margin; *cry up louder you Prieſts, peradventure your God is aſleep*; as if (as Mr Collier juſtly obſerves,) their devotions had been directed to *Baal* or *Aſhteroth*; as if the Papiſts had worſhipped one God, and the Proteſtants another. 'I can't perceive (ſays Mr Collier) that the Martyrologiſt had any right to Elijah's ſarcaſm; his zeal was without doubt too much imbittered; he was plainly ridden by his paſſion, and puſhed, by diſſaffection, towards prophaneneſs.' Mr Strype (34) remarks that the eſteem of our author grew low among ſome even of the Clergy; and it is intimated by Dr Walker (35), that 'the Diſſenters pay a known and particular regard to Mr Fox's *Acts and Monuments*;' which paſſage is animadverted upon by the Reverend Mr John Lewis (36), who obſerves, that 'as to private ſtories, Mr Fox and his friends uſed the utmoſt diligence and care, that no falſehood might be obtruded on the reader, and were very ready to correct any miſtakes that might happen.'

(28) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of Reformat. Part 2. p. 320. compared with Fox. Heylin's Hiſt. Ref. Q. Mary, p. 39. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 586.

(29) Collier, Vol. II. p. 43.

(30) Coke's Inſtitutes, part 4. fol. 89. Cotton Library. Julius J. fol. 24.

(31) Fox, Vol. II. p. 255.

(32) Collier, Vol. II. p. 375.

(33) Fox, Vol. III. p. 116.

(34) Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Book iii. cap. 16. p. 255.

(35) Attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and ſufferings of the Clergy of the Church of Eng. Preface, p. 20. edit. Lond. 1714. folio.

(36) Preface, p. 14. to his Life of John Wickliffe, D.D.

(37) Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

[*K*] *In* 1586, *he had a leaſe of the manor annexed to the Prebend of Shipton ſettled on him by his father.*] Mr Strype tells us (37), that this was done upon Mr Samuel Fox's return home from his travels, which was about the end of June, as appears from a journal of his; but Dr Piers, Biſhop of Sarum, a Court Prelate, had begg'd it of the Queen to collate it, and accordingly had the grant of it. Upon this, Mr Fox applied himſelf in his father's name to Archbiſhop Whitgift, declaring his caſe, who immediately gave him a letter dated July the 14th, to the Biſhop of Sarum, and the Biſhop readily granted his requeſt, 'out of a due ſenſe, (ſays Mr Strype) of a man that 'had ſo well deſerved of the Church for his vaſt written labours of the Hiſtory of the Church, and the 'perſecutions of the true profeſſors of it. Nay, more 'than his requeſt, for he promiſed to ſettle an exhibition upon father Fox's ſecond ſon, whoſe name 'was *Thomas*, bred up in King's-College, Cambridge; 'and when he was capable of it, of a Prebend in his 'Church of Sarum. For to this tenour did the Biſhop's anſwer to the Archbiſhop run, dated the ſame 'day with the Archbiſhop's to him. This was the 'judgment and venerable eſteem the Archbiſhop and 'Churchmen in thoſe days, had of that reverend and 'learned confeſſor and his labours.' H

FREIND (JOHN), a learned Philoſopher, an excellent Phyſician, and a moſt elegant Writer in the XVIIIth Century. His father was Rector of Croton, in Northamptonſhire, a man of great learning, piety, and integrity; and extreamly careful in the education of his ſons (*a*). Of theſe, John was born in 1675, and, together with his brother Robert, put under the care of the celebrated Dr Richard Buſby, then Maſter of Weſtminſter-School; under whom both brothers diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as well by the quickneſs of their parts, as the ſteadineſs of their application. From thence, John was elected into Chriſt's-Church College in Oxford, in 1690, where he had again the ſignal advantage of being under the eye of the famous Dr Aldrich, who, for his exemplary vigilance, true zeal for learning, and well conducted generoſity, was univerſally admired and applauded while living, whoſe memory will be ever revered in that ſeat of the Muſes, where he made it the buſineſs of his life to promote uſeful and polite literature (*b*), and whoſe praiſes ought always to accompany thoſe of the great men formed under his care. In conſequence of that warm ſpirit of emulation which then prevailed in Chriſt-Church, as well as the natural inclination of our young ſcholar, he applied himſelf with the greateſt vigour to ſtudy the writings of the moſt celebrated Poets, Orators, and Hiſtorians, among the Antients; by which he acquired an early facility in writing elegant Latin, in Verſe as well as Proſe, and a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, of which he gave ſome publick ſpecimens, which were generally and juſtly admired (*c*) [*A*]. He was not however diverted, either by the pleaſure

(*a*) Johan. Wigan, Præfatio ad opera medica, J. Freind.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1055.

(*c*) Act. Eruditor. Lipſien. Menſ. Septemb. 1696. p. 439.

[*A*] *Which were generally and juſtly admired.*] It may be affirmed without the leaſt flattery, or even complaiſance towards the memory of this learned perſon, that even in the earlieſt part of his life he gave unqueſtionable teſtimonies of thoſe two admirable qualities, which when conjoined never fail of producing great men in every profeſſion, genius, and application. We have obſerved in the text, that it was impoſſible for one endowed with ſuch ſignal advantages, not to receive all imaginable encouragement in that ſeminary of

pleaſure that accompanies this kind of reading, or the reputation he had acquired by his proficiency therein, from the deſign which he had formed of purſuing ſeverer ſtudies; and accordingly began with great diligence to cultivate thoſe ſciences, without the knowledge of which it is impoſſible to become abſolutely maſter of Phyſick (*d*). His firſt care was to digeſt thoroughly the true and rational principles of Natural Philoſophy, Chymiſtry, and Anatomy; and to theſe he added a ſufficient acquaintance with the Mathematicks, reading afterwards the beſt phyſical authors antient and modern, examining, weighing, and comparing what they ſaid, and labouring to gain a true judgment of their excellencies and defects, from the dictates of ſound reaſon and the unbiaſſed light of experiments. How well this method ſucceeded, and how ſoon he became a great maſter in this truly noble and uſeful ſcience, appeared from a letter of his, dated from Oxford July the twenty-ſixth 1699, to Sir Hans, then Dr Sloane, which was very ſoon after publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*e*) [*B*]. In this firſt exerciſe of his pen, on the proper buſineſs of his

(*d*) Vid. Præfat. ad opera medica, J. Freind.

(*e*) No. 256. for Sept. 1699.

of learning, where Dr Aldrich preſided. Under his auſpice, Mr Freind undertook, together with another young gentleman of great parts and riſing reputation, to publiſh a Latin tranſlation, with ſeveral neceſſary helps, of two Greek orations (1), one of Æſchines and the other of Demoſthenes, which were at that time generally well received, and have been ſince reprinted. The title of this book runs thus.

(1) J. Wigan. Præfatio ad opera medica, J. Freind.

Æſchinis contra Cteſiphontem, & Demoſthenis de corona orationes, interpretationem Latinam, & locum difficiliorum explicationum adjecerunt. P. Foulkes & J. Freind, *Ædis Chriſti Alumni. Oxoniæ*, 1696. 8vo. It. *Oxoniæ* 1715. *in* 8vo.

About the ſame time, being then in the twenty firſt year of his age, he was prevailed upon to reviſe that edition of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, which had been prepared in France for the uſe of the Dauphin, which was then re-printed at Oxford (2) with the following title.

(2) Niceron, Memoires des Hommes illuſtres, Tom. XXV. p. 257.

Ovidii Metamorphoſeon libri XV. *cum interpretatione* Danielis Criſpini *in uſum Delphini, à* Joan. Freind *recenſiti. Oxoniæ* 1696. *in* 8vo.

To theſe proofs of his diligence and learning, let us alſo add one of his genius excited by a very melancholy occaſion, that of the death of his Royal Highneſs, William Duke of Glouceſter, which happened July the thirtieth 1700, at Windſor, in the eleventh year of his age. It was upon this ſubject, that Mr Freind addreſſed a Latin Ode to Dr Edward Hannes (3) an excellent Phyſician, and one who was alſo diſtinguiſhed by his poetic writings in the ſame language. The concluſion of this Ode, which has been always regarded as an admirable performance, as well in point of ſentiment as elegance, cannot but be acceptable to the reader at the ſame time, that it juſtifies what is aſſerted in the text. After expatiating on the high hopes that were entertained of this promiſing young Prince, he returns to the ſad ſubject of his loſs in theſe ſtanzas.

(3) Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta. Vol. III. p. 27.

Depinge aduſti ſanguinis impetu
Venas micantes: mox celeri caput
Volutat orbe, mox voraci
Pectora depopulatur igne.
Febrilis ardor; ſuetaque lucidùm
Fulgere quondam lumina, pondere
Lædicta torpeſcunt inerti.
Ah! quid agis ſtudioſa chari
Cohors *Glovernii*, quo Tibi ſpiritus
Receſſit, ægro militiæ Ducæ?
Ut dextra friget! ut recurvo
Scuta tholo galeæque pendent!
Pendent capilli, fœmineus decor,
Vulſæque compto vertice tæniæ:
Nymphæque, jam primum moleſta
Semianimi Dominæ caterva,
Vanis miniſtrant officiis opem:
Hæc Te requirit, ſpeſque ſuas Tibi
Commendat ultro, certa, ſiquid
Herba potens valeat, ſalutis.
Tu quicquid Hortus vel Chymicus labor
Promit, ſalubri ſuppeditas manu;
Sed impotentem ſpernit artem
Non Medico ſuperanda Febris.
Quin mox *Glovernùm* pectine Leſbio
Addes recentem ſideribus Deum;
Vitaque donabis perenni
Invidiam faciente *Parcis*.

[*B*] *Which was very ſoon after publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] This letter contains the hiſtory of a very remarkable Hydrocephalus, or watry head, and is more preciſe, and at the ſame time more perſpicuous, than almoſt any thing of the ſame kind extant in other authors (4). The external dimenſions of this head before it was opened, were from the eye brows over the crown to the nape twenty three inches, the circumference from the nape round the *Oſſa Bregmatis* twenty ſix, but round the *Os Frontis* twenty four; from ear to ear over the crown nineteen, from the eye brows to the chin four, from one extremity of the eye brows to the other, four and a half from the chin to the coronal ſuture, ſeven and a half, the circumference from the chin round the crown thirty, from one extremity of the ear backwards to the other; round the noſe twelve, and round the nape ſix and a half, from temple to temple over the forehead eleven; the circumference of the head round the *Os Frontis* and *Occipitis* twenty nine; the circumference of the neck nine and two thirds, the length of the neck two, the length of the body thirty three, the circumference of the *Thorax* eighteen, the length of the foot four and a half, from the end of the middle finger to the *acromion* twelve and a half, the circumference of the arm five, of the calf five and a half, and of the thigh eight inches. After the integuments were removed, the top of the *Cranium* appeared ſoft and membranous, the extent of the membrane from one temple to the other was eight inches, between the *parietal* bones three and a half, from the *Os Frontis* to the *Os Occipitis* twelve; in the middle, juſt upon the crown, lay a bone in ſome places a little cartilaginous five inches long and one broad, joined to the membranes on every ſide of the ſame thickneſs, with the reſt of the upper part of the *Cranium* that was bony, which was extremely thin every where, and the *Laminæ* lay ſo cloſe, that in many places no *Diploe* could be diſcerned, the membrane was as thin as the *Pericranium*, which yet was eaſily divided from it, none of the ſutures were entirely cloſed, thoſe of the upper jaw were very looſe in the *temporal* and *lambdoidal* ſutures, there was a vaſt number of the *Triquetra wormiana*, all which had ſo many diſtinct ſutures: upon piercing the *Dura Mater*, a great quantity of water guſhed out which lay in the ventricles of the brain, as well as between the *Dura Mater*, and the *Pia*; the liquor was thin, pale, and inſipid, of which there was taken out five quarts; the *Dura Mater* was firm and entire, of its uſual thickneſs, and it ſtuck very cloſe to the bony as well as membranous parts of the *Cranium*; all its proceſſes and ſinus's were ſingular, the fourth ſinus ſomewhat larger than ordinary, a very large vein of the *Dura Mater* entered the longitudinal ſinus directly forwards towards the *Criſta Galli*, contrary to the courſe of the blood.

(4) No. 256, Sept. 1699.

The *Pia Mater* was very much diſtended, and ſeemed to be ſtretched as much as it could bear, it lay ſmooth and equal upon the ſurface of the brain, there being neither any circumvolutions in the brain for it to go between, nor any partition to the *Corpus calloſum*, tho' there was a large *Falx* in the *Dura Mater*; the lateral ventricles were very thin, their upper part to-

his profeſſion, he ſhewed the ſame exactneſs, regard to method, and modeſty in expreſſing his own ſentiments, which were ſo conſpicuous in his ſucceeding Treatiſes. He was very careful in reſtraining that eagerneſs which is naturally incident to young men, and without ſuffering himſelf to be led away by the commendations of his friends, continued his aſſiduity in his ſtudy and practice, from whence he would rarely ſuffer himſelf to be drawn aſide by the deſire of adding to that fame which conſtantly attended his writings. However, in the ſpring of 1701, he wrote to the ſame worthy perſon a Latin letter, concerning ſome extraordinary caſes of perſons afflicted with convulſions in Oxfordſhire *(f)*, which, at that time, made a very great noiſe, and might very probably have been magnified into ſomething ſupernatural, if our author had not taken great pains to ſet them in a true light [C]. He was already known and conſidered in the Faculty, when he began to medi-

(f) No. 270. for March and April 1701.

tate

wards the *Cerebellum* was quite waſted, ſo that nothing was left to cover the cavity in that place but the *Pia Mater*, this was ſo thin that in bending down the head to empty the water it broke, and hindered the knowing exactly how much water the lateral ventricles contained, but by their cavity which was very large, one might gueſs they held at leaſt a pint each. The third and fourth ventricles had a little water in them, but were ſcarcely larger than uſual, as *Steno* obſerved in his *Hydrocephalus* calf; the brain had all its parts plain and entire, tho' its ſubſtance in moſt places was but very thin and looſe about the *Corpora ſtriata, thalami nervorum opticorum*, it was tolerably thick and firm enough, tho' nothing to what it is in a natural ſtate; the *Cerebrum* and *Cerebellum*, when laid out in their proper poſition, were eleven inches long; the *Cerebrum* croſs the lateral ventricles was nine inches broad; after all the water was taken out, both of them weighed one pound and a half.

The *Corpora ſtriata*, and *thalami nervorum opticorum*, were very ſmall in all their dimenſions, on the inſide towards the ventricles they were wrinkled, and lay in folds like thoſe in the inner coat of the ſtomach; in the *Corpora ſtriata*, there were no *Striæ* diſcernible, the *Plexus Choroides* was very ſmall, the *Glandula Pinealis* was ſomewhat larger, but leſs compact than ordinary; the *Nates* were very red and large two inches long, one broad, and one thick, the *Teſtes* were not diſtinguiſhed from them by any protuberance, they ſeemed rather to be a production, into which the *Nates* leſſened by degrees like a ſugar loaf. The *Cerebellum* was very firm every where, and did not much exceed its natural bulk, the medullary trunk, which ſends out thoſe little branches like trees, was thicker and harder than uſual, the branches were not ſo much diſpoſed like thoſe of a tree, but went rather in ſingle oblique lines, like ſo many rays from a point; the nerves were all regular and plain, only the olfactory were very ſmall, the optic nerves did not join before they entred the orbits; the *Rete mirabile* was very large, and ſo was Dr *Ridley*'s circular ſinus, on the right ſide were two carotidateries, the intercoſtal nerve lying between them, and they entered the ſcull at the ſame hole; the trunk of the vertebral where thoſe arteries unite was extremely large and full of blood, the veins were neither larger nor more in number than uſual; Mr Freind could eaſily diſcern three or four lymphatics upon the brain over the lateral ventricles, but they were too ſmall to be traced: whether this great effuſion of water was cauſed by an obſtruction in the capillary arteries, which might make the finer part of the ſerum ouze thro' their coats, or by a rupture in the lymphatics Mr Freind could not determine. The mother of the child brought it to *Oxford* for a ſhew, the account ſhe gave of it was, that ſhe had been three weeks in travail, and that at laſt ſhe was obliged to have the vagina ript for its paſſage, the child was two years and ſix weeks old, it could ſpeak a little, it could neither walk nor hold up its head, it was always merry, never ſubject to drowſineſs, pain in the head, want of appetite or indigeſtion; its ſight was ſomewhat dim, and its ſmelling but indifferent; it never had any illneſs only two or three days before it died, it was very much troubled with the gripes, and upon opening the Abdomen, the guts were found extremely ſwelled with wind, every thing elſe in both the lower cavities was in its natural ſtate. By comparing thoſe two *Hydrocephali* which *Tulpius* gives an account of, with this, we may ſee how different each of them is from it; his firſt was a boy five years old, the ſcull no larger than a man's, and contained only five pints of water, the brain had loſt all its ſhape and moſt of its ſubſtance, the relicks of which ſtuck to the ſcull; and all he ſays of the ſecond is, that it had a quart of water in one of the lateral ventricles.

[C] *To ſet them in a true light.*] We ſhall give the reader the ſubſtance of this (5), as of the former paper, the rather, becauſe we do not meet with either of them in the collection of our author's phyſical works. At *Blackthorn* in *Oxfordſhire*, five little girls were ſeized with frequent fits of *barking* like dogs, together with violent motions of the head, no convulſions were obſerved in their faces, only frequent diſtortions and oſcillations of the mouth, their pulſe was like that of perſons in health, but that towards the end of the fit it was ſomewhat weaker, the noiſe as it ſeemed to the Doctor did not reſemble the barking of dogs ſo much as their *howling*, only that the returns were more frequent with alternate ſobbings. The youngeſt of the girls was but ſix, and the eldeſt fifteen years of age. At intervals they had their reaſon and ſenſes entire, but it was not long ere one of them renewing her yelling would affect the reſt. At length their ſpirits being exhauſted, they would fall down like epileptics upon a couch, laid in the middle of the room to receive them, for ſome time they would lie quietly and decently, but upon a new irritation, or orgaſm of the ſpirits, they would beat their breaſts and other parts and diſcommode each other. July the twelfth 1700, Dr Friend viſited another family at *Blackthorn*, where a boy and three girls had been ſeized with convulſions ten weeks before without any apparent preceding cauſe, at firſt one of the girls was affected, and the firſt fit laſted for two hours, and the reſt, as the mother informed him, were ſo ſtruck with their ſiſter's diſorder, that in a few days they were alſo ſeized therewith. At his arrival they were all before the doors upwards of half an hour at play very briſk and unconcerned, and their complexion laudable from this diſorder, was produced no other bad effect than a little weakneſs and languor, their pulſe was in every reſpect regular. At length the eldeſt girl about fourteen years of age was ſeized as uſual, the only ſymptoms of its approach was a ſwelling of the ſtomach, which riſing gradually like a ball up the throat, ſet the muſcles of the larynx and head upon their wonted convulſions, this riſing was a certain and conſtant forerunner of the paroxyſm, and if they endeavoured to ſtop it, it broke out with the greater violence and continued the longer: the noiſe they made, which was inceſſant and diſagreeable, did not ſo much reſemble the *barking* or *howling* of dogs as had been given out as an uncouth kind of ſinging, conſiſting of *three* notes or tones repeated *twice* over, and ſucceeded by deep ſighs, which ended in a plain note that was much ſtronger and ſharper than any of the reſt. No words can deſcribe this ſong. At intervals ſhe varied her note, but when her ſpirits began to fail her motions and bawling increaſed, till being at length almoſt choaked, ſhe would expreſs a note or two and repreſs a little the ſhaking of her head, by this means recovering ſtrength ſhe would renew the ſame ditty, which was always accompanied with an alternate nodding of the head backwards and forwards, the muſcles of the neck were very tenſe and inflated, all the other parts of the body were free of convulſions. All the time of the paroxyſm ſhe had her ſenſes entire, and would ſit or walk as ſhe pleaſed, but could not utter one word, her complexion did not change, her eyes were immoveable as if dead, ſhe had no diſtortion but

(5) No. 270, March and April 1701.

in

tate a work truly worthy of his own genius and learning; and of thoſe free, rational, and inconteſtible principles on which it was founded. He obſerved, that Sanctorius, Borelli, and Baglivi in Italy; and Pitcairne and Keil, here at home, had introduced a new and more certain method of enquiring after phyſical truths, than had been known to moſt of the writers in the preceding age (*g*). He therefore reſolved to apply this way of reaſoning, in order to ſet a certain ſubject of great importance, of daily uſe, and general concern about which the learned had been always divided, in ſuch a light as might put an end to diſputes, and open the eyes of mankind to a natural unperplexed theory, from whence, of conſequence, an effectual and ſatisfactory practice might be deduced. This he accompliſhed in his EMMENOLOGIA (*h*), which he gave to the publick when he was about twenty-eight years old; and tho' at firſt it met with ſome very conſiderable oppoſition, through the reverence that many entertained for old tho' unintelligible ſyſtems, and the prejudices with which others beheld the diſcoveries made by their contemporaries, as if their ſagacity and induſtry rather outraged than obliged ſuch as were of the ſame profeſſion; yet all candid and competent judges acknowledged it to be an excellent performance; in reſpect to which, it was hard to affirm whether the beauty of the ſtile, the elegant diſpoſition of the parts, or that wonderful ſuccinctneſs which detracted nothing from it's perſpicuity, ought to be more admired than the happy concurrence of learning and penetration, which enabled him ſo effectually to reconcile the judicious obſervations of the Antients, with thoſe diſcoveries in Anatomy which are indiſputably due to the Moderns. In ſhort, his plainneſs in ſtating the principal points in queſtion, his eaſy and ſatisfactory ſolutions, his wonderful application of all previous, concomitant, and ſucceeding circumſtances, to that ſimple principle, which, he ſuggeſts, quickly gained that acquieſcence in his doctrine (*i*) which it deſerved. Some years after a ſecond edition of this treatiſe appeared, which is likewiſe to be found in the general collection of his medical works [*D*]. In the ſucceeding year 1704, he was appointed

(*g*) See his own Prefaces to the Treatiſes hereafter mentioned.

(*h*) Lond. 1703, 8vo.

(*i*) Boerhaave Inſtitut. §. 659, 667.

in her mouth, which by reaſon of the contraction of the muſcles, was quite a *Spaſmus cynicus*; during the paroxyſm you could ſcarce feel a pulſe, and thus ſhe continued upwards of half an hour, tho' the brother and ſiſters ſtood by, yet they were not ſeized with the *Spaſmus* as uſual: they ſlept pretty well in the night, provided they were inclined to it when they lay down, but if not, they were ſeized with the paroxyſm till morning, at the ſame intervals, as in the day time; the girls of the other family were troubled with this diſorder about the beginning of the year, at which time their mouth was diſtorted and ſwelled, and a little after that theſe juſt mentioned had convulſions, the others were ſeized with epileptic fits, and a total deprivation of ſenſe; they would ſometimes, as if they were poſſeſſed beat upon their breaſts, and at other times run about, &c. but there was nothing of this the firſt three months, only the ſymptoms the Doctor has already deſcribed. The uncommon appearance, or long continuance of theſe ſymptoms, does not hinder concluding that this is a natural diſorder, for this *Spaſmus* agrees with all other convulſions, as ariſing from the irregular motions of the animal ſpirits within the nerves, variouſly contracting the muſcles according to the diſpoſition of the orgaſm; ſo that in this caſe nature does nothing but what is uſual in other kinds of convulſions, uſing the ſame organical motions here, as in the Chorea S. Viti, or in hyſteric diſorders, where the patient is at one time ſeized with laughing, at another with howling, and at another time beats upon the breaſt, all which is occaſioned by the various and involuntary motions of the muſcles; ſeeing therefore the muſcles of the larynx, head, hands, and feet, are equally diſpoſed to convulſion, whatever ſeems to be ſtrange and uncommon in theſe girls, is owing not ſo much to the nature of the ſymptoms as to the part affected.

[*D*] *Of his medical works*] We will firſt give the title of this valuable performance at large, then a ſhort view of its contents; and laſtly ſome hiſtorical remarks of the fate with which it has been attended. The title in the original runs thus.

EMMENOLOGIA, *in quâ Fluxus muliebris menſtrui Phænomena, periodi, vitia, cum medendi methodo, ad rationes mechanicas exiguntur. Authore* Johanne Friend, M. B. *Æd. Chriſti Alumno.* Lond. 1703. 8vo.

This treatiſe was tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr *Thomas Dale*, who dedicated it to the late Dr *James Douglas*.

Our author takes notice in his preface, that there are very few ſubjects on which Phyſicians had written more, or with leſs ſatisfaction to their readers than this, which he had undertaken to explain; the cauſe which he aſſigns for this, is their having recourſe to dark, abſtruſe, and unintelligible principles, neglecting thoſe that were plain and eaſy, as if their being more obvious made them leſs valuable. He acknowledges, that in his performance he has followed the principles and the example of the learned Bellini; and that one of the principal points he had in view, in compoſing this work, was the opening a clear road to the relief of one half of the human ſpecies, ſince almoſt all the diſeaſes incident to the ſex, either ariſe from, or are connected with, the ſubject of his book. As to the final cauſe of the *catamenia*, he agrees with *Galen*, and that it is to provide for the health of the mother and to provide nutriment for the embryo; with the ſame learned perſon he agrees with reſpect to the efficient cauſe and rejecting the influence of the moon, the operation of the Archeus, and the doctrine of ferments, as equally repugnant to truth and reaſon, he adheres to that of a Plethora. He proceeds next to explain this, to ſhew how and whence it ariſes, and why it is peculiar to the ſex. He demonſtrates the truth of this opinion from the ſtructure of the parts, and then goes on to ſhew, from mechanical principles, how this is effected; he then anſwers the objections that have been made to this doctrine; after this he proceeds to the periods, and gives a plain ſolution of thoſe difficulties that from other methods are inexplicable. The way being thus cleared, he enters on an explanation of the phænomena, then conſiders whatever is known to promote or to retard the menſes. He next points out the ſymptoms which ariſe from a ſuppreſſion, and eſtabliſhes the proper method of cure. In like manner he deſcribes the ſymptoms attending an immoderate flux, and the moſt effectual means of removing them, illuſtrating all that he delivers with the moſt exact and inſtructive hiſtories or caſes. He concludes with a diſcourſe on the virtue and operation of the uſual remedies, and from a retroſpective view of the whole makes it evident, that his theory is founded in truth and the operations of nature, and is not the fruit of a happy invention, and the power of explaining in a plauſible manner principles that have no foundation but in the mind of the contriver. Such is the deſign and diſtribution of this excellent work.

Soon after the publication of this treatiſe, our author's opinion that the Menſes are occaſioned by a Plethora, was attacked by Dr Thomas Snellen, or Snellenus a Dutch Chymiſt (6), who aſcribes that purgation to a ferment. He wrote with much warmth, or rather rudeneſs, and, as the ingenious author of the hiſtorical preface to Dr Freind's Medical Works, obſerves, uſed rather the language of Billinſgate, than the Schools, in his performance. In 1712, Peter Freſart

(6) Theoriæ Mechanicæ Phyſico-Medicæ delineatio, in qua damnoſa ejus præcepta ad rationis et experientiæ lancem revocantur ac practice emendatur. Lugd Batav. 1705. in 8vo.

pointed to read chymical lectures in the Univerſity, which he performed with great applauſe, the novelty and perſpicuity of his lectures, attracting and giving the higheſt ſatisfaction to a numerous audience (*k*). In 1705, he attended the famous Earl of Peterborough in his Spaniſh expedition, and was the companion of his fatigues, in which, as Phyſician to the army, he had no ſmall ſhare for very near two years together; and, in his return home through Italy, he made a tour to Rome, as well for the ſake of ſeeing the celebrated antiquities of that famous city, as for the pleaſure of viſiting and converſing with Baglivi and Lanciſi, men whom their ſkill in phyſick, and their excellent writings, had juſtly merited reſpect and renown (*l*). On his coming back to England, he found the character of his illuſtrious patron very rudely treated; and, out of a ſpirit of juſtice and gratitude,

(*k*) Vid. Præfat. ad opera medica, J. Freind.

(*l*) Niceron, Memoires des hommes illuſtres, Tom. XII. p. 351.

ſart, a Phyſician of Liege, publiſhed an Emmenologia, in which he rejects our author's notion, as well as that of a ferment, and aſſerts the cauſe of the Menſes to be *Sal evectum purgaminis uterini in vaſis collecti*, which, as the author before mentioned rightly remarks, is in reality ſaying nothing, and therefore it is impoſſible that there ſhould be any thing ſaid in anſwer to it. Since Dr Friend's death, Dr Thomas Simſon, Chandos Profeſſor of Phyſick and Anatomy in the Univerſity of St Andrew's, in his *Syſtem of the* womb: *with a particular account of the* Menſes *independent of a* Plethora; *to which are ſubjoined a few obſervations relating to* cold *and its effects upon the body*, printed at London 1730. in 8vo. has declared againſt the doctrine of a Plethora, and aſſigns another cauſe of it. Monſieur Tellier the younger, Phyſician at Peronne, in his *Reflections Critiques ſur l'Emmenologia de Mr* Freind, printed at Paris 1730, recommends our author's treatiſe on account of its perſpicuity, ſtrength of argument, and the uſeful obſervations contained in it, and owns that the Plethora contributes not a little to this purgation; but differs with Dr Friend among other points, in this, that the latter ſuppoſes the flux to be occaſioned by the rupture of the capillary veſſels, whereas Monſieur Tellier affirms it to be performed by the influx of the blood into the lymphatic veſſels, or as Helvetius calls them the lymphatic arteries. But Dr Wigan obſerves, that tho' Dr Friend often ſpeaks of the rupture of the veſſels, yet we are not to imagine that he meant a preternatural or violent breaking of them, ſince he expreſsly ſays, 'that 'the orifices of the veſſels open upon the impulſe of 'the blood.' *Per impulſum ſanguinis, eorum orificia diſſilere*; conſidered in this light, Dr Wigan does not perceive any great difference between the theories of our author and Monſieur Tellier. He acknowledges that Freſart, Simſon, and Tellier, have raiſed ſome difficulties againſt Dr Freind's doctrine, which deſerve to be ſolved, and that the Doctor might be miſtaken in ſome points of leſs importance, and advanced ſome things in this treatiſe not altogether conſiſtent with what he wrote afterwards in his riper years; and he aſſures us, that the Doctor deſigned in the ſecond edition publiſhed at London, to have corrected ſome things, added others, and anſwered ſome objections, but was prevented by buſineſs from executing that deſign. But Dr Wigan thinks that none of the objections are of ſuch weight, but that the ſubſtance of his doctrine of a Plethora ſtill ſtands firm.

In 1735, there was publiſhed an academical exercitation upon Dr Friend's Emmenologia, under the following title, *Exercitatio Academica ad* Emmenologiam Freindianam: *quâ fundamenti loco ſuppoſitæ quædam Doctrinæ modeſte examinantur. Præſide* Jo. Friderico Herelio, *Medicinæ Doctore & Phyſico* Reipublicæ Norinbergenſis, *deſignato placidæ Eruditorum diſcuſſioni A. D. Martii* CIↃ. IↃCC XXXV. *ſubjicienda, reſpondente* Jo. Philippo Zellmano Hertzbergæ Hannoverano: Halæ Magdeburgicæ in 4to. p. 26. Dr Herelius in his preface obſerves, that tho' a great many foreigners as well as Engliſh extol Dr Freind's book, as a compleat work, and adhere to his doctrine, yet that when he ſtudied phyſic under Dr John Henry Schulze, he perceived many reaſons which weakened the authority of that book, and ſhewed its inſufficiency both in theory and practice. Theſe reflections were confirmed by Monſieur Tellier's treatiſe abovementioned, upon which Dr Herelius tranſlated it into Latin, and wrote notes upon it, and deſigned to publiſh his tranſlation with an appendix, containing further animadverſions upon Dr Freind's Emmenologia, but was prevented for the preſent from executing this deſign by his travels. However he committed the Exercitation abovementioned to Dr Schulze in order to be publiſhed, which was accordingly done.

It contains five *Theſes* which the author amply explains and illuſtrates, and which are as follow. I. Freindi *Syſtema non ſuppeditat ullam rationem, cur fluxus menſtruus ſit periodicus, & non perpetuus.* II. Freindius *nihil agit, quando ſolis humanis fœminis purgationes uterinas vindicatum it, ideoque uteri ſitum perpendicularem in mulieribus, in quadrupedibus horizontalem urget.* III. Freindius *Plethorâ ſuâ quam a* Galeno *adoptat, rem minimè expedit, nec alii expedient, quam diu nihil aliud niſi Plethoræ imminuendæ viam interpretantur menſtruæ evacuationis negotium.* IV. Freindius *nullam rationem indicavit, cur ſuppoſitâ Plethora vim potius in vaſa capillaria, uſque ad diſruptionem eorum, edat, quam majores truncos, quos tamen prius debet ingredi, antequam ad capillares perveniat.* V. Freindius *contendit, quod in gravidis menſtruæ ceſſent, quia ſanguis alendo fœtui inſumitur. Id ſi verum eſt, concipi non poteſt, cur fœmina paupercula, laborioſa, & non plethorica, non diutius uterum gerat, aut minores fœtus excludat, quam fœmina ſanguine ad modulum* Freindianæ *Hypotheſeos abundans, tantamque abundantiam ſuo fœtui impendens.*

It is viſible enough from the heads of theſe diſcourſes, that Dr Herelius had either read our author's diſcourſe with little attention, or had the misfortune not to comprehend his meaning. For with reſpect to the firſt, the account which Dr Freind has given of a Plethora, the conſequences of it in a human body, and the different ſtructure of the parts in women, very clearly explains, not only why they are ſubject to this flux, but alſo why they are not always ſubject to it. The ſecond aſſertion is a bare begging of the queſtion, and if he had been well acquainted with Natural Hiſtory, he would have known that there are ſome exceptions to that general rule, which very plainly prove the reaſon aſſigned by Dr Freind to have very great weight. What he affirms in the third place, will not affect the candid reader's judgment in any degree, when he is informed that the beſt Phyſicians and Anatomiſts are now of a contrary opinion. His fourth objection proceeds from a miſtake of Dr Freind's meaning, who plainly enough declares that he did not intend a preternatural breaking or ſeparation of the veſſels, but their yielding to an impinging force, in conſequence of their natural ſtructure, which is the plain ſolution of his doubt. The laſt is the leaſt founded objection of them all, ſince there is nothing more commonly known, than that the nutriment depends as much on the quality as the quantity of the aliment; and therefore there is no reaſon in the world, why ſtrong women ſhould go longer with their children, much leſs that their offſpring ſhould be weaker than the children of thoſe who have a more delicate conſtitution. But after all theſe objections, all this oppoſition, and not a little ill uſage, if the reader will conſult the learned Boerhaave (7), he will find the truth of Cicero's maxim, that the credit of opinion laſts but for a day, whereas truth rightly ſtated makes its paſſage in time, and remains eſtabliſhed for ever. This has been the caſe of our author's doctrine which is now generally received, and received upon the arguments which he advanced, tho' we often find them mentioned without the leaſt notice taken of him; ſo certain it is, that both envy and gratitude are ſhort lived, in compariſon of truth and experience.

(7) Inſtitut. §. 569 — 667.

gratitude, he drew his pen in the defence of that brave man, whose actions he is truly said to have vindicated, with the same spirit and fire with which they were performed (*m*). It is no wonder therefore, that the Doctor's book met with the same fate that the Earl's conduct had done; and, that as the surprizing successes of the latter were attributed to a happy temerity, so the detail given by the former, was, in spite of all the evidence he produced, considered as absolutely incredible, even by those who confessed that nothing could be written with more sprightly eloquence, or a more plausible appearance of truth (*n*). As time has now worn out all prejudices and prepossessions, so we may have leave to say, without giving much offence to any party, that the Doctor's history, however short, may be esteemed as correct and as perfect a piece, as any thing that ever appeared of the kind; and no doubt, had it been written in favour of any of their Generals, and published in a neighbouring country, it would have been extolled to the skies, compared to the most finished writings of the Antients, and treated as a work that deserved to be universally read, and as universally admired (*o*). But with us, things of this kind are run down by a party-spirit when they are new, and buried in oblivion when they are old; while, at the same time, we do all the justice imaginable to the writings of foreigners, whether new or old; which is indeed as reasonable as the other practice is absurd. What truth there is in these reflections, and what merit in that work of our author which occasioned them, we shall take occasion to explain in the notes [*E*]. It is now time to return to the historical thread of our article. He

(*m*) See an Instance in note [*E*].

(*n*) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 370.

(*o*) See the numerous Catalogues of French Memoirs, in *le Long*, *Bibliotheque historique de la France*; and in *Abbé Fresnoy's Method pour etudier l'Histoire*.

[*E*] *To explain in the notes.*] The title of our author's work at large, runs in the following words.

An Account of the Earl of PETERBOROW*'s Conduct in* SPAIN, *chiefly since the raising the Siege of* Barcelona, 1706; *to which is added, The Campaign of* Valencia. *With original Papers.* Lond. 1707, 8vo.

He dedicated this book to his patron *Charles Mordaunt*, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth; and it is generally reported, that he gave the strongest testimony a man could do, of his being fully informed, and thoroughly perswaded, of the facts that are contained in the whole series of his relation (8). The character we have given it in the text, requires that something farther should be said of it here. There are some places that seem fated to be always famous, and one would think that Saguntum was of the number; the siege of that place, in early times, has been described by masterly pens; we will leave to the reader's own judgment this account of the surprizal of it by the Earl of Peterborough, which fell from the pen of Dr Freind (9).

(8) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 370.

(9) An account of the Earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, chiefly since the raising the siege of Barcelona, 1706; to which is added, the campaign of Valencia. Lond. 1707, 8vo. p. 254.

'The Duke of Arcos, who commanded for the 'Duke of Anjou (as *Philip the Fifth* was then stiled 'by the Allies), kept the main of his army to the right 'of Valencia, towards a place called Torrente; but 'sent Brigadier Mahoni, with a detachment of horse, 'to secure the strongest pass in the country, over a 'river which was just under the walls of Molviedro, 'the antient Saguntum so famous in the Roman History. This place, which is about four leagues distant from Valencia, my Lord must pass, for no other 'way was practicable. All the officers were of opinion, 'that his Lordship must come to a full stop here, having no artillery, no miners, no preparations to take a 'walled town; where, besides numerous inhabitants, 'all armed and zealous for the Duke of Anjou, there 'was a very good General officer, and near eight hundred men, near half of them being Mahoni's regiment of Irish dragoons. What made our circumstances the more desperate in appearance, this place 'was for us most unfortunately situated, because, after 'passing the river, there was a plain of two leagues to 'a Carthusian convent, where the enemy, to all advantage, might make use of their horse, which were 'excellent, and double in number to ours. The Earl 'of Peterborough gave the officers hopes, that what he 'could not do by force, he did not fear but to compass by art; and told them, that if he could but prevail to get Mahoni to come out to speak with him, 'he was almost confident of getting immediate possession of the town, and the opportunity of passing the 'plains without opposition.

'Molviedro lies about a league from the sea, the 'greatest part of the town upon a flat, except the side 'rising towards the castle, which stands on a high hill. 'On the right runs a long ridge of mountains; but, a 'little above cannon-shot from the place, there is, towards the country, a little round hill distinct by itself: 'our troops came towards the town by a great descent, 'and the way towards the pass was behind the round 'rising ground, turning short on the left to the river. 'The place of the interview intended by his Lordship, 'was on the side of this little rising ground next Molviedro, behind which my Lord had stolen some of 'his troops towards the pass, and brought them within 'view of the town; the rest were at the same time 'marching on purpose to make a shew, and, coming 'down the hills, the soldiers edging, as it were, the 'country people on that side where they could be seen. 'The few field-pieces we had were disposed to the like 'advantage, and every thing was set in a sort of perspective to the place of the interview.

'The scene being thus prepared, the Earl of Peterborough sent an officer and trumpet into the town to 'Mahoni, to let him know that it should not be his 'fault if the country was exposed to unnecessary hardships and ruin, it being the interest of both sides to 'prevent it, since each had a chance to be master of it: 'that besides, he should be glad to have an interview 'with a countryman of so good a reputation; that such 'a conference could have no ill consequence, and 'might perhaps have some good effects; and that he 'was ready to meet him, with ten or twelve horse, in 'any convenient place betwixt his troops and the town. 'My Lord had the more hopes of succeeding in this 'project, since, that besides in these conferences, 'every body presumes to make his own advantage; he 'thought it might be reasonable enough, that Mahoni 'should be glad of a capitulation, and an opportunity 'to join his horse with those of the Duke of Arcos, in 'order to prevent our passing the plains towards the 'Carthusian convent.

'The Condé de las Torres, the best officer in Spain, 'but by many thought no enemy to the House of Austria, was luckily recalled, upon pretended faults 'found in his conduct, in relation to the siege of 'St Mattheo; so that the Earl of Peterborough met an 'advantage he well improved, a General just come to 'an army, a man of great quality, but no soldier of 'service. Mahoni returned an officer with this compliment, that he would immediately wait upon the 'Earl of Peterborough, upon his Lordship's parole for 'his security, being desirous to shew him any proper 'respect, and to concert measures with him, that 'might prevent any disorders but those which were inevitable in war. This gentleman being related to 'the late Countess of Peterborough, of the Thomond 'family, was the more inclined to pay any civility to 'his Lordship. He came, with some of the principal 'officers of the Spanish forces, to the place where his 'Lordship received him, as the most proper to make 'an advantageous shew of his strength; and, after he 'was entertained upon a subject which had no effect, 'my Lord's second design was more successful.

'It was not improper for my Lord to offer the most 'pressing motives, to incline him to take part with 'King Charles the Third, and to support them with 'the greatest offers; which were refused upon the 'principles of honour, and the impossibility of leaving 'a service to which he was engaged, for any advantages. But, as all past with great compliments, the

(p) Taken from the College Regiſter.

He was created Doctor of Phyſick by diploma, July the twelfth 1707 (p); his reputation every day increaſing, in proportion as the true ſenſe and real merit of his writings became better known. In 1709, he publiſhed his Chemical Lectures, read at Oxford five years before; in which he rendered the ſame ſervice to that ſcience, that he had before done to Phyſick,

'Earl of Peterborough, to ſhew how ſenſible he was 'of his confidence in coming to him, told him, that 'he was willing to return his marks of eſteem, with 'what he conceived he would be well pleaſed with, 'and which might prevent likewiſe ſome unavoidable 'cruelties very much againſt his inclination. The 'Spaniards, ſaid he, have uſed ſuch ſeverities and 'cruelties at Villa Real, as will oblige me to retaliate. 'I am willing to ſpare a town that is under your pro'tection: I know you cannot pretend to defend it 'with the horſe you have, which will be ſo much more 'uſeful in another place, if joined with the Duke of 'Arcos, to obſtruct my paſſing the plains of Valencia. 'I am confident you will ſoon quit Molviedro, which 'I can as little prevent as you can hinder me from tak'ing the town. The inhabitants then muſt be expoſed 'to the utmoſt miſeries; and I can no otherwiſe pre'vent it, but by being tied by a capitulation, which 'I am willing to give you, if I had the pretence of the 'immediate ſurrender of the place this very night. 'Some caſes are ſo apparent, that I need not diſſemble: 'I know you will immediately ſend to the Duke of 'Arcos, to march to the Carthuſian convent, and meet 'him there with the body of horſe under your com'mand. My Lord, with a pretended frankneſs, of'fered him, if he pleaſed, to let him ſee his troops, 'and the artillery which he had; and, beſides, told 'him, what he could bring from the ſea.

'Mahoni ſeemed almoſt to confeſs, that his part 'was to ſtrengthen the Duke of Arcos with his horſe; 'and laughing, ſaid to my Lord, I may ſay ſo to your 'Lordſhip, who is ſenſible of it, but cannot prevent it. 'The Brigadier, however, ſeemed to be very well 'pleaſed with my Lord's openneſs, and told his Lord'ſhip, that he would go back into the town, and ſend 'an anſwer in half an hour. The capitulation was a'greed upon, and the anſwer came by the chief of the 'Spaniſh officers, with whom my Lord had occaſion 'to talk, and to feel his pulſe; but finding no proba'bility of prevailing on him to change ſides, he con'trived all he could, and not without ſucceſs, to give 'him jealouſies of Mahoni.

'Mahoni, who of his ſide managed this matter with 'a great deal of dexterity, and very much like an of'ficer (had his advices been followed) in his capitula'tion, had agreed not to quit the place till about one 'at night; neither was the Earl of Peterborough to 'paſs the river till that hour. This was to get time 'for the Duke of Arcos, to have made the march to 'the plains; and the Brigadier allowed himſelf the 'time before day-break, to have gained the ſame poſt. 'But the Earl of Peterborough ſo increaſed the jealouſy 'betwixt the Spaniſh officers and Mahoni, that the 'latter was forced to ſend to my Lord, to let him 'know that his Lordſhip was obliged, in honour to 'the moſt ſincere and punctual compliance with his 'capitulation; and confeſſed to him, that he was in 'danger from the Spaniſh troops, even for his perſon, 'if there were not the greateſt aſſurances and evidences 'given of the performance of his word.

'I am ſatisfied nothing would have engaged the 'Earl of Peterborough to the leaſt breach of faith, nor 'could any conſideration have juſtified his Lordſhip in 'going over the paſs of the river till the appointed 'time, the enemy upon agreement having withdrawn 'their dragoons which defended the intrenchments on 'the other ſide. But my Lord having over-heard the 'neighing of horſes in the night, took it for granted 'that ſome part of the troops had evacuated the town; 'and that if the noiſe of firing was heard, it might 'cauſe a jealouſy that they were attacked, and ſo pro'duce the deſired effects of his plot upon the Duke of 'Arcos, if any of the Spaniſh officers ſhould arrive in 'the enemy's camp perſuaded of an ill deſign in Ma'honi.

'Upon this, my Lord ordered a party of men a 'little up the river, with directions to make diſcharges 'that might reſemble an engagement of ſmall parties. 'Mahoni ſent immediately to my Lord, to let him 'know that whatever umbrage was given, he depended 'upon his word, and would never believe there could 'be of his ſide any foul play. Mahoni was ſo preſſed, 'that many of his officers ſollicited his immediate 'march; but his aim was not to move till one o'clock, 'to give time to the Duke of Arcos; and the point 'my Lord was labouring, was to improve the ſuſpi'cions and jealouſies of the Spaniards. He thought 'the meſſage from Mahoni gave him a good occaſion, 'and therefore ſent back an officer with this ſeeming 'compliment, which ſucceeded to his wiſh, and entire'ly accompliſhed what he aimed at. My Lord begged 'of Mahoni to conſent, that, for his ſecurity from any 'accident, he might order a regiment of dragoons to 'paſs the river, and wait the hour appointed under the 'walls of the town; that his own officers might ac'company them, and ſend them to the proper place, 'his Lordſhip having ordered two thirds of the officers 'to come into the town, and put themſelves into his 'hands as hoſtages, for the exact and honourable per'formance of all articles.

'Upon the march of theſe troops towards the town, 'moſt of the Spaniſh officers, with the detachments 'they commanded, marched ſeparately towards the 'Duke of Arcos; and ſome left their men, to give 'their General an account of what had paſt. My Lord, 'as his officers conceived, had two inſuperable difficul'ties; the one, to get poſſeſſion of Molviedro, and ſe'cure the paſs on the river; the other, to paſs the two 'leagues of the plains, which were betwixt Molviedro 'and Valencia, before ſo good and ſo ſtrong a body of 'horſe. My Lord was in hopes, if he ſucceeded in 'one, to compaſs the other; and to that end, as ſoon 'as he found the treaty in a fair way, he choſe two 'Iriſh dragoons out of Zinzendorf's regiment, which 'he well inſtructed, and well paid, and ſent imme'diately as deſerters to the Duke of Arcos. He pro'miſed to make them officers if they ſucceeded, which 'was punctually made good to one, who had well de'ſerved it, the other dying ſoon after his return. They 'were to diſcover to the Duke of Arcos, that, being 'hid under the rocks of the hill where they were drink'ing a glaſs of wine, they had heard all the diſcourſe 'betwixt the Earl and Mahoni; that they ſaw five thou'ſand piſtoles delivered; and that Mahoni was to be a 'Major-General upon the Engliſh and Spaniſh eſtabliſh'ment, and to command a body of ten thouſand Iriſh 'Catholicks, which were raiſing for the ſervice of King 'Charles. They agreed with the Duke of Arcos, to 'have no reward, if he were not ſoon made ſenſible of 'the truth of what they ſaid by Mahoni himſelf, ſince 'they were perſwaded that he would quickly ſend, to 'engage the Duke of Arcos to march immediately, with 'the whole army, towards the Carthuſian convent, 'under pretence of joining with his horſe, in order to 'prevent the Earl of Peterborough from paſſing the 'plains of Molviedro; but that whereas this march 'muſt be made in the night, all matters were ſo agreed 'and contrived betwixt the Earl and Mahoni, and the 'troops ſo placed, that he muſt fall into the ambuſhes 'deſigned, and run great hazards of an entire de'feat.

'It fell out, that ſoon after theſe ſpies had given 'this account to the Duke of Arcos, Mahoni's Aid de 'Camp arrived, with propoſals exactly to the ſame 'purpoſe; the Spaniſh General, whoſe ſuſpicions were 'confirmed, by the jealouſies the Earl of Peterborough 'had raiſed in ſeveral of the Spaniſh officers that were 'come from Molviedro to him, inſtead of complying 'with the immediate march propoſed by Mahoni, re'moved his camp quite the contrary way. Mahoni, 'with his horſe, expected the whole army at the Car'thuſian convent, till the approach of the Earl of Pe'terborough made him retire to the Duke of Arcos's 'camp; as ſoon as he arrived, he was ſecured by that 'General, and ſent to Madrid. I muſt add here, that 'when Mahoni came to tell his ſtory at Court, he was 'made a Major-General, and the Duke of Arcos was 'recalled."

Phyſick, by reducing it from fictitious and fabulous, to rational and real principles (*q*). This ſmall work of his, for ſmall it is in bulk, however weighty in it's contents, gave as much ſatisfaction to all judicious readers, as the ſame lectures, when read, did to the learned audience which attended them. They were ſo much the more agreeable, to the lovers of undiſguiſed truth, and of knowledge capable of being reduced to practice, as hardly any thing of the ſame nature had appeared; ſo that this ſcience was left in the worſt hands, and, from their ill management, had contracted ſtains that could be no other way wiped out, but by ſhewing that they were not in the art, but in the abuſe of it (*r*). In fine, his lectures were clear, and yet very conciſe, plain, and perſpicuous, tho' deduced from mathematical principles, and in which many curious and inſtructive diſquiſitions were made, of a philoſophical nature, without the leaſt perplexity or confuſion. It was no wonder, therefore, that a performance ſo much wanted, and of ſuch general uſe, ſhould meet with general eſteem [*F*]. But as theſe chymical lectures were written, read, and publiſhed in Latin; ſo when they came to the view of the learned Philoſophers in Germany, the novelty of the doctrine they contained alarmed ſuch as were zealous for the old principles, and of that learning which was built upon them, and of which they looked upon themſelves as in full poſſeſſion. The authors therefore of a celebrated Literary Journal, prefixed, to their account of this treatiſe, a cenſure of it (*s*), in which they were pleaſed to treat the principles of the Newtonian Philoſophy as figments, and the method of arguing made uſe of in the lectures as abſurd; becauſe, in their opinion, it had a tendency to introduce again occult qualities in Philoſophy. To this unfair and unfounded charge, an anſwer was given by Dr Freind, which was publiſhed in Latin in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*t*), and afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh [*G*]. In 1712, he attended his Grace the Duke of Ormond into

(*q*) See this explained in note [*F*].

(*r*) Vid. Præfat. ad Prælect. chemic.

(*s*) Opera med. J. Freind, p. 411.

(*t*) No. 331. for the Months of July, Aug. Sept. 1711.

[*F*] *Should meet with general eſteem.*] We will firſt give the title of this book at large.

Prælectiones Chymicæ; in quibus omnes fere operationes chymicæ ad vera principia & ipſius naturæ leges rediguntur; Anno 1704, *Oxonii in* Muſæo Aſhmoleano *habitæ. A* Johanne Freind, M. D. *Æd. Chriſt. Alumn.* Lond. 1709. 8vo. That is, *Chymical Lectures, in which almoſt all the operations of Chymiſtry are reduced to their true principles, and the laws of nature. Read in the* Muſeum *at* Oxford, 1704.

Theſe lectures are dedicated to Sir Iſaac Newton, and are nine in number, beſides three tables. In the firſt lecture, after having obſerved the great defect of all chymical writers, in the theory of Chymiſtry, he proceeds to take notice, that no perſon had contributed more to the improvement of this art, than Mr Boyle, who did not ſo much lay new foundations of it, as deſtroy the old ones; and tho' he left ſufficient materials from whence to deduce a true explication of things, yet his explications themſelves are very defective. As to the way of deducing the operations in Chymiſtry, from the true mechanical principles, this he aſcribes to Dr John Keil, as its firſt diſcoverer. Our author's deſign is, from theſe principles, to diſcourſe ſomewhat largely upon ſuch things, as tend moſt to the illuſtration of the nature of Chymiſtry, and to explain, as clearly as he can, its principal operations. This method he thought by far the moſt proper to be uſed, becauſe it is the moſt natural and ſimple; and alſo, becauſe he found by experience, that the common confuſed courſes were of ſuch little advantage, as not to leave the leaſt tolerable idea of Chymiſtry, upon the minds of thoſe who hear them. Upon this account, he proceeds in the following method. Firſt, to explain all the operations in their natural order; and to ſhew by what law of mechaniſm they are produced, and to what uſes and purpoſes they are principally ſubſervient. Secondly, to ſhew all the ways in which they either are, or may be performed. Thirdly, to record all the experiments relating to this ſubject, under their proper heads, and to reduce them to the general theory. It is impoſſible to enter into a cloſer analyſis of this work, our author having written ſo conciſely, that it is ſimply impoſſible to give his meaning, or any thing like it, in fewer words. We may be well aſſured, that to write perſpicuouſly, and to bring all he was to deliver on ſuch a variety of ſubjects, in which almoſt every thing he had to ſay was entirely new, muſt have coſt him a great deal of pains, which, however, he willingly underwent for the information of mankind, by the ſubverſion of the antient errors, and opening a new road to truth.

[*G*] *Tranſlated into Engliſh.*] We find it added by way of appendix, to the ſecond edition of our author's book, in Latin, and to the Engliſh tranſlation of it. A ſhort extract will be acceptable to the reader, as it will be ſufficient to give him a juſt notion, both of the cenſure and the reply.

The publiſhers of the *Leipſick* Tranſactions, ſays the Doctor, without making any objection to the experiments themſelves, or ſhewing any falſe reaſonings in the manner of explaining them, attack ſome of the principles, upon which the explication is founded, and this they do before they give any account of the treatiſe itſelf, with a deſign to raiſe a prejudice againſt it: a method ſurely very new, and very unfair, in theſe retailers of learning, who pretend only to give a naked and impartial relation of what is contained in books, and to leave the readers at liberty to judge for themſelves. The grounds upon which I proceeded, in my Theory of Chymiſtry, were the principles and method of reaſoning introduced by the incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*, whoſe concluſions in Philoſophy are as demonſtrative, as his diſcoveries are ſurpriſing. And ſince the editors ſeem to have no true notion of his method, which is the only one by which natural knowledge can be advanced, I will here endeavour to explain it to them; I ſhall ſhew that it is to this we owe the late great improvements in Philoſophy; that the objections they produce againſt it, ariſe from their wrong apprehenſions of it, that the ſame objections are of much more force, againſt their own principles, than thoſe of Sir *Iſaac Newton*; and if, from what I have to offer upon theſe points, the reader be convinced, that the principles upon which my lectures are founded, are ſufficiently juſtified and confirmed, I hope he will the eaſier be inclined to believe that they are rightly applied, which the editors, by their ſilence in this point, ſeem to confeſs.

It has been the conſtant method of the *Carteſians*, and of thoſe too, for the moſt part, who call themſelves mechanical Philoſophers, to aſſume an hypotheſis, or figment, which has no foundation any where, but in the imagination only; and then, in general terms, to tell us how every thing in nature may be produced, according to that hypotheſis, without being able to give a clear and ſatisfactory account of one ſingle appearance. Nothing of this kind can be charged upon Sir *Iſaac Newton*, he aſſumes nothing but obſervations and experiments, which are evident to the ſenſe of all mankind; and from thence he deduces demonſtrative concluſions, and then again, by the aſſiſtance of theſe concluſions, he explains the cauſes of many phænomena in nature. Thus it is evident, by undoubted obſervations, that the planets move in ellipſes round the ſun, and deſcribe areas always proportional to the times; and that the ſatellites do the ſame, in reſpect of their primary planets: from this he clearly demonſtrates, that all the planets

have

into Flanders as his Phyſician (*u*), and remained abroad the beſt part of a year. He had been a little before his departure admitted a Member of the Royal Society (*w*), which afforded him the honour and the happineſs of converſing with Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr Halley, Dr Keil, and ſeveral other eminent perſons, whoſe great knowledge, and wonderful diſcoveries, reflected glory on their country. To them alſo Dr Freind was ſo much the more agreeable, as the learning he drew from books, had been cultivated and improved, after the

(*u*) Account of the Campaign in Flanders. 1712.

(*w*) Præfat. ad opera medica, J. Freind.

have a tendency towards the ſun, and the ſatellites towards the planets, which they attend, that this tendency decreaſes in a duplicate proportion of their diſtance; that moreover, there is an univerſal tendency of matter to matter, and that the tendency of the moon towards the earth, is the very ſame with the force of gravity, and is the cauſe of the flux and reflux of the ſea. This tendency, or attraction, ſome indeed may, if they pleaſe, term an *occult quality*, and I believe it will always remain ſo, for I cannot find that the greateſt Philoſopher among the editors will undertake to ſhew how it may be produced mechanically.

But then, however occult it be, as to its cauſe, it cannot be called what their principles are own'd to be, an hypotheſis or figment; ſince the exiſtence of it is as undeniably proved, as that of the ſun, or the planets. If then there be ſuch a principle, which demonſtrably belongs to matter, what reaſon can there be why we may not make uſe of it in Philoſophy? and ſhew how it is the real and adequate cauſe of a great many effects which we daily obſerve. So likewiſe, by the moſt evident experiments and obſervations, Sir *Iſaac Newton* has found the different refrangibility of the rays of light, and by that means has diſcovered ſuch wonderful properties of light and colours, that all the attempts which have been made, in this part of Optics before, are trifling, in compariſon of his performance.

The true way certainly of proceeding in theſe philoſophical enquiries, is, firſt to find out, by many and undoubted experiments, the properties of bodies, and then, without any farther ſearch into the cauſe of ſuch properties, which perhaps are inſearchable, to explain the particular phenomena which depend upon them. By this method Archimedes diſcovered the principles of Mechanics, and the laws of Hydroſtatics, without determining the cauſe of gravity and fluidity. He aſſumes ſuch facts as are evident to obſervation and ſenſe, and from thence he demonſtrates the principles of thoſe ſciences. So likewiſe, *Galilæo*, tho' he knew no hypotheſis which explained the cauſe of gravity, did, notwithſtanding, find out the laws of acceleration in heavy bodies, the motion of projectils, and the doctrine of pendulums: and, in a word, laid a foundation for all the diſcoveries which have been made in natural knowledge ſince his time. Have not the Mathematicians made great advancements in the ſcience of Optics, by aſſuming two principles of reflection and refraction, which are evident to experience, tho' the real cauſe of theſe two principles, is ſtill unknown to moſt of them? According to the principles of our philoſophical editors, all theſe great and noble diſcoveries muſt be rejected, becauſe they are founded upon ſuch properties of bodies as have unknown cauſes, and cannot be explained without admitting occult qualities, which confound the principles of true Philoſophy, and reduce it to its antient chaos.

Wolfius, in his *Aerometria*, has aſſumed for a principle, the gravity of the air; and from thence has deduced the reaſon of many phænomena in nature, but he has no where given us a mechanical account of the cauſe of this gravity; and, I believe, never any hypotheſis has been yet produced to explain it, but what *Wolfius* himſelf could eaſily demonſtrate to be falſe. Will the editors object to him, that he has introduced an occult quality into Natural Philoſophy. Indeed, Sir *Iſaac Newton* has gone farther towards explaining the cauſe of gravity, which we feel and obſerve, than any one beſides, for he has ſhewn that it ariſes from the principle of attraction, which all matter has to matter. Such a principle of attraction they are pleaſed to call a figment, but how any thing ſhould be a figment which really exiſts, is paſt comprehenſion. Sir *Iſaac Newton* has undeniably proved one ſpecies of attraction to be diffuſed through the whole planetary ſyſtems, and I have not heard that any objections of the leaſt weight have been raiſed againſt his demonſtrations.

I have more experiments to prove the exiſtence of this other kind of attraction, which decreaſes in a greater proportion than the ſquares of the diſtance, and that it exerts itſelf vigorouſly in the minute particles of matter, than *Wolfius* has to prove the gravity of the air. Why then muſt we reckon the principles upon which the reaſoning is founded, more a figment in one caſe than in the other? We find by obſervation that the particles of light which flow from the ſun, the fixed ſtars, or even our terreſtrial fires, are *all equally* attracted towards the edges of ſolid bodies, *and wherever* there is action, there muſt be re-action, *and therefore* it may be concluded that this *principle is really* exiſtent, and equally diffuſed *through all the* matter of the univerſe. And tho' it may be inherent equally in all matter, yet Mr Keil *has demonſtrated*, that it muſt of neceſſity produce *the moſt ſenſible* effects in the ſmalleſt bodies.

But they ſay, if we *once allow* ſuch a liberty of feigning, others will *invent other* occult qualities, and ſo, by degrees, we *ſhall return* to the old refuge for ignorance: as if *there be* an attractive force or ſympathy, why not *likewiſe* an antipathy, or an antiperiſtaſis, and *qualities emitted* by way of ſpecies: we may *likewiſe allow of the* attractive funicles of Linus, and *the variation of* extenſion in the ſame manner. If there be an attractive force? 'Tis clear and demonſtrable that there is ſuch a force. This is not an hypotheſis invented to ſolve other phænomena, but is itſelf a phænomenon in nature, and therefore tho' theſe editors may think they have urged the defenders of it to an abſurdity, yet the foregoing argument, in which they ſeem to place ſo much confidence, has really no *more in it than this*: If we allow of one principle, *which by* undoubted experience we are ſure exiſts in nature, therefore we ought upon the ſame account, to admit of others which do not exiſt: for inſtance, if we allow of gravity, which by experience we find to be *in all* bodies, tho' we know not the reaſon of it, therefore we muſt acquieſce in all the fictions and fancies of Philoſophers, of which we have no experience, and for which no reaſon can be aſſigned. If this be a mathematical way of reaſoning, I muſt confeſs we had better return to any old refuge of ignorance, than allow of ſuch a liberty of arguing.

But the great objection againſt the principle of attraction is, that there can be no mechanical reaſon given for it. Muſt we then allow of nothing, but what we can give a reaſon for? have ever any of them yet given a true and mechanical account of the elaſticity of the air? which however, is acknowledged by all Philoſophers, and ſeveral phænomena are owned to be rationally ſolved by it. We don't deny but a clock maker may underſtand the mechaniſm of a clock or watch, tho' he knows nothing of the nature of gravity, or elaſticity, which are the principles that ſet all the wheels in motion: and for the ſame reaſon, why may not he be allowed to know the mechanical operations of nature, who has diſcovered the ſpring which actuates all the bodies in the univerſe, and preſerves them in their orders and motions, and can give an account how it mechanically produces each particular phænomena, tho' at the ſame time he is intirely ignorant as to the cauſe of that firſt ſpring, upon which they all depend? however, if the editors have a mind to attempt explaining this principle of attraction mechanically, they have their full liberty: Sir *Iſaac Newton*, I dare ſay, will willingly reſign to them the glory of the diſcovery, and be ſatisfied if he eſcapes their cenſure for not undertaking the ſolution of ſuch an intricate problem.

the manner of the Antients, by travelling through various countries, and converſing with the learned of different nations. He had now viſited Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Flanders, and heightened the lights which his great genius and extenſive learning enabled him to receive from experience, by a ſtrict attention to the havock made by wounds and diſeaſes in fleets and camps (*x*). He reſided moſtly after his return at London, and gave himſelf up wholly to the cares of his profeſſion. In this if he ſucceeded, it was wholly owing to his merit, for he was incapable of uſing any of the little arts that paſſed for wiſdom with men of meaner minds; he had neither an obſequious complaiſance for patients of high quality, nor could he readily diſpenſe with all the received opinions amongſt thoſe of the ſame Faculty (*y*). But theſe, and ſome other wants, were ſupplied by true knowledge, great integrity, and happy ſucceſs, which triumphed over all obſtacles, and carried him to the very ſummit of medical practice. He paſſed through his firſt examination July the third 1713, was admitted a candidate on the thirtieth of September following, and April the ninth 1716, was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians (*z*). He publiſhed the ſame year the firſt and third books of HIPPOCRATES *de morbis popularibus*, to which he added a commentary upon fevers, divided into nine ſhort diſſertations (*a*), which he dedicated to Dr Richard Frewen, of Oxford, a perſon of excellent character, with whom he had lived long in the moſt entire friendſhip. This was ſtill a more important work than any which had fallen from his pen, and as he was deſirous of eſtabliſhing, for the true principles of Phyſick, thoſe that having been diſcovered by the ſagacity of the Antients, were confirmed by the experiments of the Moderns, he thought a more proper method could not be taken than this, of prefixing the moſt valuable parts of the Epidemics of Hippocrates before his own diſcourſes, that it might inconteſtibly appear that he had not only ſound ſenſe and right reaſon, but alſo the higheſt authority on his ſide (*b*). Few books have met with better reception than this did, from all who were competent judges of the ſubject; and indeed it had all the merit of his former pieces, with this additional advantage, that it contained a greater variety of matter [*H*]. It is no improbable conjecture, that the loud and general applauſe

(*x*) This is Dr Wigan's remark.

(*y*) Vid. Epiſt. ad D. R. Mead. de purgantibus in ſecunda Variolarum confluentium Febre, adhibendis.

(*z*) From the College Regiſter.

(*a*) Lond. 1716. 4to.

(*b*) Vid. Commentar. 1. *de ratione ſcribendi, quam in* Epidemiorum *libris tenuit* Hippocrates.

[*H*] *A greater variety of matter.*] The title of this learned and curious book, in which our author ſhewed an equal reverence for the Antients, and juſt reſpect for the diſcoveries of the Moderns, runs thus.

HIPPOCRATIS *de morbis popularibus liber primus & tertius* Græco Latinus. *His accommodavit novem de Febribus Commentarios*, Johannes Freind, *M. Doctor, Coll. Med. Londinenſis. Londini* 1717. 4to. That is, *The firſt and third books of* Hippocrates *of* Epidemick Diſeaſes *in* Greek *and* Latin. *To which are added nine Commentaries upon* Fevers *accommodated to* his Doctrine, *by Dr* John Freind. Theſe Commentaries were tranſlated by Dr *Thomas Dale* into Engliſh, after the death of their author.

We find a copious and curious dedication prefixed to this work, as has been obſerved in the text, addreſſed to the author's old and intimate friend, Dr Frewen, dated December the firſt, 1716. In this our author obſerves, that the antient Phyſicians were not only ſkilled in their profeſſion, but likewiſe in all other parts of learning, and diſtinguiſhed for the elegance of their ſtile. They applied themſelves to give an exact account of diſeaſes, and their different ſymptoms, and explained them with the utmoſt perſpicuity and accuracy. Among the Latin Phyſicians, he particularly extols Celſus as an admirable writer, as well as an excellent Phyſician, and obſerves that Cœlius Aurelianus would deſerve a place amongſt the principal phyſical writers, if his ſtyle had been leſs barbarous. Amongſt the Greek writers he commends Alexander Trallianus, who expreſſes himſelf politely enough, except with regard to ſome few words. We find ſome things in him which ſavour of the empiric, and of one full of ſuperſtition, he is alſo too diffuſe upon the remedies, but he gives a very clear and exact account of diſeaſes. Dr Freind ſeems to doubt, whether Galen is to be ranked among the Phyſicians, who have explained the nature of diſeaſes, ſince this does not appear to be his deſign in any one of his books, tho' he was himſelf an excellent Phyſician, and delivers the notions of his predeceſſors, and eſpecially of Hippocrates, with great ſubtilty and elegance. Our author recommends Aretæus, and then proceeds to the character of Hippocrates, whom he ſtiles the moſt compleat Phyſician of all Antiquity, and is ſurprized that ſeveral Moderns neglect the ſtudy of him, as if he was of little conſequence, and prefer ſeveral writers to him. He remarks, that thoſe who abandon the Antients, do not underſtand the ſubjects of which they treat, or expreſs themſelves in a very bad manner, and that the reaſon why we have ſo few good writers among the vaſt number who have written of diſeaſes in the two laſt centuries, is, that they never read the Antients, but formed their ſtyle merely upon the Moderns; and not content with writing ill, have added to the explication of diſtempers, ſo many vain chimeras of Philoſophy, that they ſeem rather to have compoſed fables than hiſtories of diſeaſes; for being infatuated with their own hypotheſes, they lay down not only uſeleſs, but even falſe and pernicious rules for the cure of them. Dr Freind does not pretend to deprive the Moderns of the honour due to them, he owns that they have cultivated anatomy, and inriched it with a great many new diſcoveries, and explained the virtues of medicines with great diligence and accuracy. But perhaps, ſays he, the uſe which anatomy may be of in phyſic, has not yet been ſufficiently ſhewn. And with regard to medicines it may be affirmed, that they frequently perplex the Phyſician, and that the needleſs multitude of them is a great obſtacle to the cure of diſeaſes.

In the preface our author informs us, that all the editions of Hippocrates's works are full of errors. That of Aldus Manucius is very defective, but Frobenius's is more correct. Jerom Mercurialis has followed the latter ſo implicitly, that he has ſometimes copied even the faults. Though Foeſius's edition is not exempt from miſtakes, it is more correct. Charterius's is the moſt erroneous. There is but one manuſcript in England of Hippocrates *de morbis popularibus*, which was of great advantage to Dr Freind, who, in order to publiſh the text as correct as poſſible, conſulted all the editions, without adhering to any one in particular. After the preface, follows Hippocrates's treatiſe in Greek, with Foeſius's Latin verſion at the bottom of the page.

In the *firſt* of his commentaries, our author diſcourſes of the manner of writing which Hippocrates purſued in his books of epidemick diſeaſes. He gives us two reaſons for the pains he took in publiſhing theſe pieces; the firſt is, that only theſe two books are held to be genuine, and that in them we find all that this great man delivered concerning fevers. For the better underſtanding of which, our author enters very learnedly and cloſely into his method of writing and recording, that the reader may the more eaſily apprehend the meaning of his obſervations, and have the clearer idea of the matters of fact which he ſets down. In his *ſecond* diſcourſe, he conſiders the uſe of bleeding, and more eſpecially the ſafety, expedience, and even neceſſity, of opening the jugulars, where the brain is affected; at the cloſe, he mentions the opening the temporal artery, which

applauſe with which this learned treatiſe was received, had an unhappy effect; either on the head or heart of another Phyſician, who ſet himſelf immediately an unpleaſing, or at leaſt an unſucceſsful taſk (*c*), that of deſtroying with the publick the credit which ſome new points in practice, recommended by our ingenious author, had gained, purely from that force of reaſoning with which they were ſupported. To this extraordinary piece, in which great bitterneſs of heart appeared; with no ſmall acrimony of ſtile, it is ſaid our author oppoſed a very ludicrous anſwer (*d*), in which the vivacity of his wit, was ſhewn to be not at all inferior to the extent of his learning, and the ſolidity of his underſtanding. His rival ſhewed ſome inclination to fight him with the ſame weapons, but his vinegar was not near ſo ſtrong as his gall; ſo that it was quickly diſcerned that all the lovers of raillery were on the ſide of Dr Freind, and were extremely diverted with the controverſy, of which, had it been managed in a ſerious light, they would not have ventured to aſſume the character of judges [*I*]. Upon this the ſcene changed, the Doctor's adverſaries cried out, that they had been laughed at, but not refuted; that the ſubject was very ſerious and important, and therefore called for a ſober and judicious, not a humourous or whimſical reply. Upon this Dr Quincy took them at their words (*e*), and very learnedly and modeſtly, as well as plainly and judiciouſly, anſwered all the little cavils that had been raiſed againſt Dr Freind's Commentaries. Yet even this did not do; thoſe who called ſo loudly for argument, found it not at all grateful to their palates, and therefore choſe to put an end to the controverſy, by a flat piece of irony, which could be only ſcorned and deſpiſed [*K*]. Our author ſupported that ſentiment of his, which had occaſioned ſo warm an altercation, in

(*c*) See this explained in note [*I*].

(*d*) Letter from Dr Byfielde mentioned at the bottom of the page.

(*e*) In his *Examination of* Dr Woodward's *State of Phyſick*, &c. 1719. 8vo.

which he commends; but at the ſame time adds, that he is unwilling to dwell upon it, ſince it is very unlikely that our countrymen will ever be reconciled to this kind of practice. The utility of ſweating is the ſubject of the *third* commentary, which is very ſhort. In the *fourth*, he treats of vomiting, which he adviſes at the beginning, and the uſe of which he diſſuades at the approach of the criſis in fevers, and more eſpecially in the ſmall-pox when at the height, unleſs where there is evident danger of ſuffocation. In the *fifth*, he treats of a purulent ſpitting, of a pleuriſy likewiſe and peripneumony. What he ſays concerning an abceſs, an ulcer of the colon, and the bladder, compoſes the *ſixth* commentary, in which there is a very ſingular and accurate hiſtory, of a curious caſe that fell under our author's inſpection. The *ſeventh* commentary, which is larger than all the other ſix taken together, relates to purging, what effect it may have in the putrid fever which attends upon the confluent ſmall pox, and in an eriſypelas of the head; in this there are inſerted, with the conſent of the perſons who wrote them, a letter from Dr *Richard Frewen*, dated Chriſt-Church Oxon, July the twentieth 1710; another from Dr *H. Levett*, dated June the tenth 1710; another from Dr *Salubury Cade*, dated September the eighth 1716; another curious, critical, and circumſtantial letter from Dr *Richard Mead*, dated September the firſt 1716; as alſo a letter from Dr *Freind*, to the ſame gentleman, dated November the twenty-ſixth 1716, and in this there is a very exact hiſtory of a caſe in which they were conſulted together. At the cloſe of this commentary, there is added a very clear and learned account of the inteſtinal diſcharge. What he ſays concerning a profluvium of urine takes up the *eighth* diſcourſe; and the *ninth* relates to thoſe veſicatories into which cantharides enter, and concludes with the author's aſſuring the candid reader, he will find by experience, that tho' many kinds of fevers generally yield to evacuations, without making uſe of any other remedy; yet there are ſcarce any, which, if they are become any thing vehement, can be extinguiſhed by any medicine whatever, if this method of evacuating be ſet aſide.

[*I*] *The character of judges*] The hiſtory of this diſpute, which was carried very high, would take up much more room, than, in a work of this nature, can be allowed; we muſt therefore be content to report the titles of the principal pieces publiſhed during this controverſy, with a few remarks. It was begun by a book written by Dr John Woodward, Profeſſor of Phyſick in Greſham College, and eminent in his profeſſion. The title of which ran thus:

The State of Phyſick and of Diſeaſes: With an Enquiry into the Cauſes of the late Increaſe of them, but more particularly of the Small-Pox: With ſome Conſiderations upon the new Practice of purging in that Diſeaſe: To the whole is premiſed, *An Idea of the Nature and Mechaniſm of Man, of the Diſorders to which it is obnoxious, and of the method of rectifying them.* Lond. 1718, 8*vo*.

Dr Woodward tells us in his preface, that this book, together with remarks upon ſome of the other heads treated of by Dr Freind in his Commentaries, were drawn up in the winter of the year 1716, ſoon after theſe Commentaries came out; and in the ſecond ſection he writes thus (10). 'In every thing that Dr Freind hath hitherto publiſhed, and particularly the preſent Commentaries, he hath advanced ſeveral hypotheſes, ſome of which are rightly ſupported, and and the reſt all ſo ingenious, that I cannot but be pleaſed with them. But then I can ſee no reaſon to debar myſelf of the ſame pleaſure, from thoſe of Dr Willis, Dr Sydenham, Dr Morton, and other Phyſicians, to whoſe hypotheſes Dr Freind is ſo very averſe, he having not, excluſive of others, the ſole privilege of entertaining the world in this way.'

(10) Woodward's State of Phyſick, P. 54.

To this, Dr Freind oppoſed a ludicrous anſwer, under the title of *A Letter to the learned Dr Woodward, by Dr Byfield.* Lond. 1719, 8*vo*. It was purely calculated to expoſe Dr Woodward, and his manner of writing. About the ſame time, there was likewiſe publiſhed another pamphlet againſt Dr Woodward, intituled, *A Letter from the facetious Dr* ANDREW TRIPE, *at Bath, to his loving Brother the profound* GRESHAMITE, *ſhewing that the* SCRIBENDI CACOETHES *is a Diſtemper ariſing from the redundancy of* BILIOSE SALTS, *and not to be eradicated but by a diurnal Courſe of Oils and Vomits. With an Appendix concerning the Application of* SOCRATES *his Clyſter, and the uſe of clean Linnen, in Controverſy.* Lond. 1719, in 8*vo*. pages 48. In anſwer to this, and the Letter by Dr Byfielde, there was publiſhed, *The two Sofia's: Or, the true Dr* BYFIELDE *at the Rainbow Coffee-Houſe, to the Pretender in* JERMYN STREET; *in anſwer to a* LETTER *wrote by him, aſſiſted by his two Aſſociates. With a Preface relating to the late famous exploits of the facetious Dr* ANDREW TRIPE, *as alſo an Account of the new Creed of theſe Phyſicians, deſigned as an Appendix to the* RELIGIO MEDICI. Lond. 1719, in 8*vo*. pages 58. In this Pamphlet, Dr Freind is every where repreſented as the author of the *Letter from Dr* BYFIELDE, and ſeverely reflected upon; and his *Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain*, is particularly cenſured. Another bitter invective, which appeared on the ſame ſide, bore the following title:

A Letter to the fatal Triumvirate, in Anſwer to that pretended to be written by Dr BYFIELDE; *in which, ſufficient Reaſons are aſſigned, why Dr* WOODWARD *ſhould take no Notice of it.* Lond. 1719, 8*vo*. There were alſo ſeveral ſmaller pieces inſerted in the publick papers, and periodical productions of thoſe times, of which it is not requiſite that we ſhould take any further notice.

[*K*] *Only ſcorned and deſpiſed.*] At length, after much time and paper ſpent, in the management of this

in a letter addreſſed to the learned Dr Richard Mead, and dated September the twentieth 1719 (*f*); in the beginning and at the cloſe of which, if we diſcover ſomething of heat, or cannot avoid perceiving an unuſual quickneſs and acidity in the ſtile, we ought, not only to excuſe it, on the ſcore of the many admirable things which that moſt learned epiſtle contains; but we muſt likewiſe acknowledge, that ſome amends is made us by that honeſt zeal which our author expreſſes for the dignity of his profeſſion, the ſincerity and tenderneſs of his friendſhip for that worthy perſon to whom his letter is addreſſed, and, if one may be allowed to avow it, that elegant ſpirit of invective by which his reſentment is conveyed in all the energy and force of the Roman language. This letter had it's effect, and every body that took any ſhare in matters of this kind, could not avoid being pleaſed to find the hiſtory of ſo capital a diſeaſe as the ſmall-pox, deduced, with ſo much accuracy and ſuccinctneſs, from the very earlieſt accounts that authors give of it; ſo many ſlips of the learned, as well as vulgar miſtakes, convincingly rectified; and the ſubject, with all it's circumſtances,

(*f*) Lond. 1719. 4to. p. 147.

this debate in ſo fantaſtick a way, there came out a ſhort treatiſe which had a graver aſpect; it was intituled,

An Appeal to common Senſe, or a ſober Vindication of Dr WOODWARD*'s State of Phyſick, by a Divine of the Church of England.* Lond. 1719, 8*vo*.

The apparent deſign of this ſhort diſcourſe, was to ſhew how very inconſiſtent the language hitherto uſed in this diſpute was, not only with regard to the perſons concerned therein, but alſo to the importance of the ſubject, as a thing in which mankind was deeply intereſted, and had a juſt right to expect it ſhould be no longer conſidered as a jeſt. Upon this, the very learned and ingenious Dr Quincy immediately took up the challenge, and very ſoon after publiſhed

An Examination of Dr WOODWARD*'s State of Phyſick.* Lond. 1720.

In that treatiſe, Dr Woodward had advanced the following hypotheſis. 'That the beginnings of all 'things, good or bad to the body (bating exterior acci'dents) are in the ſtomach, in which more or leſs of 'a bilious juice is ordinarily reſident, containing ſalts 'of a very different nature. Theſe ſalts are the inſtru'ments of digeſtion, and, while they retain their na'tural ſtate, are in a proper quantity, and regular mo'tion, the body is in health; but when they become 'too redundant or vitiated, they are the cauſes of all 'diſtempers. Therefore the ſpeedieſt, as well as the 'moſt effectual, method of removing all bodily diſor'ders, is to cleanſe the ſtomach by emetic medicines. 'And as this generally holds good in other caſes, ſo 'particularly in the ſecond fever of the confluent ſmall'pox, in which purging is very dangerous.' In anſwer to this, Dr Quincy aſſerts, 'That ſeveral diſeaſes 'have not their origin in the ſtomach; that the natural 'reſidence of the bile is not there, but, being ſeparated 'by the liver, is emptied out into the bowels, a conſiderable diſtance below the further orifice of the 'ſtomach, and never aſcends thither but by convulſive 'and preternatural means; that conſequently the diſorders attributed to the bilious matter in the ſtomach, 'and the method of removing them by vomits, muſt 'be groundleſs (*).' And then he proceeds to vindicate the practice of purging in the ſecond fever of the confluent ſmall-pox, in the following manner; he inſinuates, that Dr Woodward diſguiſes, under the name of *purging in the ſmall-pox*, the practice recommended, and adds, 'Thoſe Phyſicians have adviſed that e'vacuation only in ſome particular circumſtances of 'this diſtemper; that is, chiefly in ſuch caſes of the 'confluent kind, where the whole load of humours 'cannot be thrown off by the ſurface and glands about 'the mouth, but ſtopping, when the puſtules grow 'hard, returns back into the blood, and raiſes a ſecon'dary fever, which proves often fatal; and their rea'ſons for thus doing, they have communicated to one 'another in the Latin language, as a point in practice 'of great importance. But Dr Woodward, in Engliſh, 'has harangued the populace, and endeavoured to 'frighten people with a belief that their general prac'tiſe, in this diſtemper, is by purging; and, from in'ſtances of it's impropriety in ſome caſes, takes occaſion 'to be very compaſſionate for his country, to weep 'over the Weekly Bills, and inveigh as bitterly againſt 'purges, as a crafty Enthuſiaſt would againſt the Scarlet 'Whore, by this means proſtituting the honour of the 'profeſſion, and marking out thoſe of greateſt emi'nence therein to publick reſentment. He traduces 'theſe gentlemen alſo by a deluſory name, for purging, 'in the common acceptation in Engliſh, has a very dif'ferent idea from thoſe terms of the learned, whence 'it is tranſlated. Solliciting the diſcharge of an over'load of bad humours by ſtool, which the conſtitution 'is not of itſelf able to ſtruggle with, is amongſt them 'expreſſed in terms which may bear the Engliſh word 'purging in a reſtrained ſenſe, but in the moſt inlarged 'acceptation of it, and as Dr Woodward uſes it, it is 'not true of their writing or practice. After all, ſo far 'as theſe Phyſicians adviſe purging in the ſmall-pox, it 'is alſo practiſed, by common conſent, in many other 'caſes of fevers; that is, wherever nature makes an 'imperfect criſis, and the efforts of the conſtitution are 'not able to bring the peccant matter to a head, or 'throw it off the principal parts, and wherever ſuch 'matter threatens miſchief to ſome noble part. Theſe 'happen frequently in inflammatory fevers; and eva'cuation often by ſtool is promoted both to eaſe the 'conſtitution of the over-load, and draw off the hu'mours that would be otherwiſe troubleſome; and this 'aſſiſtance, in ſome particular caſes of the ſmall-pox, 'ſeems ſo conſonant to nature and reaſon, that an omiſ'ſion of it can ariſe only from an unacquaintance with 'the true procedure of the diſtemper.' Dr Quincy alſo gives the following anſwer, to the paſſage cited from Dr Woodward in the foregoing note (11). 'Every one 'who has read Dr Freind, will find it very difficult to 'underſtand what is meant by hypotheſes. That gen'tleman has advanced many propoſitions, which he 'has fully proved; but for hypotheſes, in the common 'acceptation, he diſclaims them, and is an utter ene'my to them. But yet, in this ſenſe, Dr Woodward 'muſt uſe the word; becauſe he ſays, juſt after, But 'then I can ſee no reaſon to debar myſelf of the ſame 'pleaſure from thoſe of Dr Willis, &c. Yet, here a'gain, we are in a contradiction, for Willis's works 'are profeſſedly an hypotheſis, being founded upon 'ſuppoſitious principles, ſuch as ſulphur, ſalt, &c. 'And Dr Morton accounted for diſeaſes, and their 'cures, from a ſuppoſition of their ſeat being in the 'animal ſpirits. But then Dr Sydenham went upon no 'hypotheſis, but utterly declaimed all ſuch deluſory 'conceits, and drew no concluſions except from facts 'and experience.' The whole of this work was conducted in ſuch a manner as to convince by reaſoning, and to give no other offence than what muſt neceſſarily attend every endeavour to refute opinions, warmly, and even angrily, eſpouſed. At the ſame time, it gave a fair occaſion to wipe out the remembrance of thoſe miſtakes, by a conduct of another nature, and by a defence worthy the importance of the ſubject, and of the characters of thoſe who were embarked in this affair. But inſtead of a ſerious anſwer to this book, there was publiſhed ſoon after, *An Account of Dr Quincy's Examination of Dr Woodward's State of Phyſick and Diſeaſes, in a Letter to the Free-thinker*; which conſiſted, in a great meaſure, of invectives againſt the author and his performance, without entering into the ſubject. This occaſioned Dr Quincy to print a ſecond edition of his examination; to which was ſubjoined, *A Letter to Dr Woodward*, wherein he complains of the ill treatment he received in that pamphlet, for having complied with the invitation of bringing the matters in diſpute to the teſt of truth and argument. And thus at length ended this controverſy.

(11) Ibid. p. 2.

(*) Quincy's Examination of Woodward's State of Phyſick, p. 73—75.

[L] In

ſtances, ſet in ſo very clear a light [*L*]. The connecting ſeveral points relating to the ſame ſubject, has carried us a little out of the direct path of Chronology, into which it is but reaſonable we ſhould return. March the ſeventh 1717, he read the Gulſtonian lecture in the

[*L*] *In ſo very clear a light.*] This was written in the heat of that diſpute, and before ſeveral treatiſes mentioned in the former note, but it ſeemed to be the cleareſt, as well as the moſt natural, method to carry on the hiſtory of the paper war in that quarter without interruption, and this finiſhed, to give an account of his epiſtle, the title of which runs thus.

Johannis Freind, M. D. De Purgantibus, in ſecunda Variolarum confluentium febre, adhibendis Epiſtola. Lond. 1719. 4to. That is, *Concerning purging in the ſecond fever of the confluent ſmall pox, in an Epiſtle to Dr* Richard Mead.

This letter is dated, London, September the twentieth 1719, our author begins with lamenting the hard ſtate of thoſe Phyſicians, who have no other way of enlarging their practice, or raiſing their reputation, but by a diligent application to the ſtudy of the profeſſion. He ſpeaks of the little arts, the low complacencies, the mean cunning of ſome men, who by conſtantly purſuing the beaten road, falling in with popular prejudices, and vainly pretending to follow nature, tho' they are not able to penetrate much leſs to explain her operations, endeavour to ſupport themſelves, and to decry others who labour with unwearied pains to tread in the footſteps of their judicious predeceſſors, and, if poſſible, add a farther degree of perfection to the healing art themſelves. He then enters into the reaſon of that practice, in which he had concurred with the worthy and learned perſon to whom he wrote, which from his experience he had recommended, and which he was deſirous of ſeeing farther explained, and ſupported by a work which this gentleman had then in hand, and which having lately appeared fully juſtifies the character given it ſo long ago, by ſo good a judge. He afterwards delivers ten caſes, which, in point of accuracy, perſpicuity, and coming clearly up to the point they were brought to prove, are in every reſpect ſatisfactory. He enters afterwards into a very curious, but conciſe hiſtory of the diſeaſe, and of the method in which it had been treated in all its ſtages, by the ableſt of the Faculty in different countries and ages, to ſhew how little foundation there was for ſtiling this a new practice, he comes then to the apprehenſions which ſome had endeavoured to raiſe upon this manner of treating the diſeaſe, as if a temporary relief ought not to be ſought by running the hazard of future evils, which he fully ſhews to be without either meaning or foundation. His words are very worthy the reader's obſervation (12). 'For to ſay 'ſomething, continues he, of that danger which ſome 'dread, as being the certain conſequence of this me'thod of cure, they ſeem to me not to underſtand, 'either what that diſtemper can bear, or in what 'manner this medicine ought to be applied.' But do 'they know any one to have been killed or carried 'off by purging? Perhaps they may: for my part I 'do not: nay, not one whom it did not recover, un'leſs in a caſe which in the judgment of every one 'was plainly deſperate. Farther I can affirm, which 'may perhaps ſeem ſtrange, that not one of thoſe 'who could not be ſaved by this kind of remedy, 'ever died of a looſeneſs, and that no one ever ſunk 'under the operation of the purge: but that thoſe 'very perſons, who tho' catharticks were given 'them, however died, almoſt always found ſome re'lief from them for a time. And this, indeed, is 'agreeable to reaſon; for nature at this time labours 'under the too great weight of the diſtemper, and 'has no occaſion for an additional load from the in'teſtines: by what medicine then can ſhe be more 'expeditiouſly relieved, than that whereby this load 'of fæces is diſcharged? But neither yet, becauſe a 'ſpontaneous flux of the belly has proved deſtructive, 'which does not however very often happen, is the 'opening of the body to be ſcrupled at this time of 'the diſtemper, for whatever agreement there may 'ſeem to be betwixt them they differ very widely, 'for one of theſe caſes ſhews plainly, that the ſtrength 'is diſſolved; in the other caſe, what hinders, if the 'other inclinations agree, our trying thoſe purges 'which are ſuited to the ſtrength, upon this account 'likewiſe, is there the leſs danger from this evacua'tion, in that we can moderate it at our pleaſure, 'either by giving the moſt gentle remedies, or in a 'moderate quantity, or at the longer intervals. Be'ſides, at this time of the ſmall pox the belly having 'been ſo long ſhut up, and immoderately charged with 'fæces, is not ſo readily looſened, as to occaſion any 'fear of too great a flux. Therefore it is in our own 'power, either to hold in or let go the reins, we may 'try this experiment of purging without any danger 'in the moſt gentle manner, we may, if it avails any 'thing, repeat it at times, ſo that we may proceed 'gradually as far as we deſire. Wherefore, ſince this 'kind of remedy is not only free from hurt, but 'greatly advantageous to the patient, I admire at the 'dulneſs of ſome men who, being prejudiced, are en'tirely averſe to it, or at leaſt they adminiſter it ſo 'timorouſly and cooly, that they are not willing to 'try it till the health is even irrecoverable. As if it 'were better to wait for the danger than prevent it: 'as if he would not more eaſily ſurmount the danger 'of this diſtemper, who is thus relieved on the ninth 'or tenth day, than by deferring this medicine till the 'thirteenth or fifteenth, when the diſtemper is become 'already inveterate.' He goes on to enquire to what cauſes theſe people themſelves attribute theſe jealouſies and terrors, and demonſtrates them to be vain from thoſe cauſes, having no foundation, but in their imagination. They dread that nature ſhould be diſturbed in her courſe, or defeated in her endeavour, to throw out the morbific matter; he ſhews that in this caſe nature makes ineffectual efforts, and *without the aſſiſtance of art can only ſtruggle againſt death, till the* ſtrength of the patient is exhauſted. They are afraid of ſinking the ſpirits by purging; he affirms, that this does not happen, but that the body being relieved by the removing an oppreſſive load, is quickly freed from many alarming ſymptoms. They take it for granted, that the tumification in the hands muſt be abated by the purging, he gives many inſtances of the direct contrary. In reference to the abuſe of a true principle, that Phyſicians ought to ſtudy nature, and the occaſion taken from them, to reflect upon learning, as if a Phyſician deſerted nature by applying himſelf to books, he ſays with much warmth, but at the ſame time with much good ſenſe (13). 'I muſt confeſs the 'conſtant cant of thoſe triſling, and as they imagine 'themſelves philoſophiſing, fellows, has often times 'raiſed my indignation, and often times alſo my 'laughter, when they tell us we muſt always attend 'nature, and proceed in that path which nature's ſelf 'points out to us: as if no body knew this, but per'ſons entirely unſkilled in all the arts and ſciences: 'as if they were leſs capable of this, who are aſſiſted 'by the writings of the Antients, and have made ſome 'progreſs in learning. What elſe have thoſe inge'nious and learned men done, thoſe great reſtorers of 'phyſick among the Greeks and Arabians, what end 'did they propoſe to themſelves in their ſtudies, than 'to underſtand only how to follow nature; to follow 'her however in ſuch a manner as that they might 'guide and direct her by art, whenever there was oc'caſion? Can we receive therefore no advantage from 'their lucubrations? Can we find no aſſiſtance in our 'endeavours towards relieving the afflicted from their 'experience, hiſtories, and inſtitutions? Becauſe, for'ſooth, it is the part of an honeſt Phyſician to obſerve 'only what is indicated by nature. In truth, thoſe 'very perſons who entertain theſe ſentiments, truſting 'too much to their own natural ſagacity, will not 'eaſily underſtand what is meant by the word Nature, 'neither will they underſtand what ſhe indicates, nor 'what of help ſhe ſtands in need, or laſtly by what 'means ſhe may be aſſiſted.' To this epiſtle are added two letters, the firſt from Dr Sedgewick Harriſon, dated All Soul's College Oxon, September the tenth, 1719, containing five caſes: the other from Dr Bate, dated Aſhford, September the nineteenth, 1719, containing ſix caſes.

(12) Oper. med. Johan. Freind, p. 303.

(13) Ibid. p. 346.

Immediately

the College of Physicians; he was chosen one of the Censors September the thirtieth 1718, in which honourable post he continued two years. On the twenty-fifth of March following, he gave the sum of fifty pounds towards repairing the College. October the eighteenth 1720, he pronounced the anniversary oration before that learned body, which was published, and, as might be well expected, highly applauded (*g*). He takes occasion therein, to bestow just praises on the great men who had adorned the Faculty, by their learning and labours, in this kingdom; and as there was no subject more agreeable to his temper and inclination, as he had a great facility of composing, and withal a very strong judgment, so we need not wonder that this oration is a peculiar proof of the felicity of his genius, and of his excelling in those qualities for which he has so justly, and so highly, commended the famous Linacre (*b*). In 1722, he was elected a Burgess to Parliament for Launceston, in the county of Cornwall; and acting in his station as a Senator, with that warmth and freedom which was natural to him, he distinguished himself by some quick speeches against such measures as he disapproved (*i*). As those were very critical times, and a matter of great importance was upon the carpet, in which Dr Freind thought himself obliged to take some share; it drew upon him so much suspicion, or so much resentment, that, the Habeas Corpus Act being at that time suspended, a warrant was issued against him for high-treason, and, after the House of Commons had been made acquainted therewith, he was on the fifteenth of March 1722-3 committed to the Tower (*k*), where he continued prisoner till the twenty-first of June following, when he was first admitted to bail, and afterwards discharged from his recognizance (*l*). This affair made a great deal of noise at the time it happened, and was then very little understood; which is the reason that what some publick writers have delivered concerning it, is at once obscure, and not much to the purpose [*M*]. The leisure afforded him by this confinement, being not at all disturbed

(*g*) These dated from the Register.

(*b*) Opera med. Johan. Freind, p. 366.

(*i*) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 737.

(*k*) Historical Register, Vol. VIII. p. 259.

(*l*) See the note [*M*].

Immediately after the publication of this Latin epistle, came abroad a burlesque piece under the following title.

Dr Freind's Epistle to Dr Mead, rendered faithfully into English, divided into proper chapters, with notes learned and unlearned. Lond. 1719. 8vo.

The design of this ingenious piece was by a ridiculous translation of a few of the first paragraphs in Dr Freind's letter, and the heightening this coarse humour with some notes of the same kind, to raise a laugh amongst those who were incompetent judges of the point in dispute, of which it is requisite to give the reader an instance, that it may appear we have no intention to deceive him. At the beginning of his epistle, Dr Freind writes thus, as we have literally translated his expressions (14).

(14) Ibid. p. 303.

'In this therefore, as well as in the business of 'Painting or Sculpture, if any has a desire to excel, 'it is necessary that he should have an understanding 'framed as it were and accommodated to the art he 'would pursue, for no man by mere dint of study can 'ever become a Physician, unless he is in some sort 'born thereto. For in this art there are many things 'obscure and hidden, many complicated and subtile, 'which cannot by any precepts be taught or fully 'delivered by any explanation; so that, tho' much 'may be learned from the writings of Physicians, 'from whence that he may the better draw them, it 'is requisite that they should be thoroughly known to 'a Physician, yet much more must after all be left to 'his judgment and penetration. Neither is this in 'any thing more evident, than in the being able to 'distinguish amidst the variety of pulses, for those 'who are well acquainted with this happy effect of 'the touch, are very sensible that it is not to be ac'quired by the lessons of masters, but from daily 'practice and their own proper sagacity; insomuch, 'that in the affair of physic, more especially, the be'nefit is found of a natural quickness of apprehension, 'and the felicity of forming readily a true and sound 'judgment of things.' The remarks upon these observations of Dr Freind, in the piece before mentioned, are in the following words (15).

(15) Dr F's Epistle to Dr M. rendered into English.

'This is the most extraordinary discovery the Doc'tor ever made, that *no man can be a Physician, un'less he be born one*, or as he more elegantly phrases 'it, *as it were, and in some manner, born one*. This 'softening *quodammodo* instead of mitigating the non'sense inflames it, and turns his poor attempt at a 'meaning into ridicule. Pray, after *what manner*, '*which way*, or *how*, must *he be born a Physician*, or '*as it were one?* Must he come into the world with '*receipts* in his hand, or must the *name* like the *Beasts* 'in the *Revelations* be written on his forehead? But 'I know what deceived the Doctor, having heard of '*Poeta nascitur non fit*, and knowing himself to have 'as indisputable a right as *Sancha Panca* to the mis'application of all *Proverbs* and quaint *Sayings*, he 'he changes the word *Poeta* for *Medicus*, and makes 'the proverb his own. There may be something in 'the assertion, when it refers to *works of fancy and* 'imagination, as *Poetry and Painting*, but I hope '*Physic* is not in that number, nor any *Physician* proud 'of the title, but as it stands in opposition to the *un*'born Doctor, unless the great F——— who is the 'most *fanciful* of his brethren, writes treatises of *Poe*'try instead of *Physic*, and *paints* when he should *pre*'scribe. The secret is now out, a *Physician* must be 'born a *Pulse-feeler*, having a nicer sensibility in *ex*'tremis partibus, than a *Tanner* or a *Tinker*. After 'the same reason, long and small *fingers* denote a man 'born a *Musician*, or a *Man Midwife*, an erect coun'tenance makes an *Astronomer*, and a down-cast look 'a *Botanist*. Te, vir clarissime, hisce oculis sæpius 'vidi, & dum lineamenta tua, cum figuris *Baptistæ Por*'tæ contuli, nunquam Te alium, quam *Saltatorem na*'tum judicavi, adeoque Te *tuis* verbis, *proprio Magi*'sterio relicto, in *Medicæ Artis Munera* insiluisse *cre*'do.' Such were the arguments made use of to refute the learning, reasoning, and facts, advanced by Dr Freind!

[*M*] *And not much to the purpose.*] In the close of the year 1722, a discovery was made of that design, which has been since stiled the Bishop of Rochester's plot, upon this there was a bill brought into the House of Lords, 'to impower his Majesty to secure 'and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect, 'are conspiring against his person and government;' by which the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act was taken away for a whole year, which before had never been suspended, for above six months; after it had passed the Lords, it was brought down to the Commons, on the fifteenth of October read the first time, the same day a second, a third time the next, and soon after received the Royal Assent. In regard to what happened to Dr Freind, we find the following account given which we transcribe without altering a letter (16).

(16) History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, Vol. VI. p. 301, 302, 303.

'March the eleventh, 1722-3. Mr Yonge stood 'up and took notice how deeply Dr Francis Atter'bury Bishop of Rochester had been concerned in this 'detestable conspiracy, aggravating his crime from 'his holy function and high station in the Church of 'England, a Church ever conspicuous for its loyalty, 'from the solemn oaths he had on so many occasions 'taken to the government, and by which he had ab'jured the Pretender, when at the same time he was 'traiterously conspiring to bring him in, upon the ruin

disturbed by any uneasy thoughts or apprehensions, was, in some measure, employed in writing a second epistle to Dr Mead, on the subject of the small-pox, in which the strength of thought, the freedom of stile, and the accuracy of the several cases set down, most evidently demonstrates, that he never had a greater command of his parts, or exercised his judgment in his profession more happily, than at this time (*m*); so that however his health and his affairs might suffer by his confinement, his reputation increased, and the Republick of Letters was the better for it [*N*]. Here also he laid the plan of his last and most elaborate

(*m*) J. Wigan. Præfat. ad Oper. med. Johan. Freind.

'of his country, and of all that was dear and valuable 'to us as free men and christians: concluding, that as 'he was a disgrace to his order, and dishonour to the 'Church, so he might apply to him on this occasion 'these words, of the first of Acts verse the twentieth, '*Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell 'therein: and his Bishoprick let another take.*' And therefore he moved 'that it appears to this house, that 'Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester was principally 'concerned, in forming, directing, and carrying on 'the said wicked and detestable conspiracy for invading these kingdoms with a superior foreign force, 'and for raising insurrections, and a rebellion at home, 'in order to subvert our present happy establishment 'in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender 'upon the throne.' Mr Yonge was seconded by Sir John Cope, but they were answered by Sir William Wyndham, who said, 'He saw no cause to proceed 'against the Bishop in so severe a manner, there being 'little, or indeed no evidence, besides conjectures and 'hearsays.' He was back'd by Mr Bromley, Mr Shippen, Mr Hutcheson, Mr Hungerford, Colonel Strangeways, Mr Lutwyche, and Dr Freind. They were replied to by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr R. Walpole, Mr Pelham, Mr Talbot, Mr John Smith, and Mr William Pulteney; and a motion being made, and the question being put, that the House do now adjourn, it passed in the negative by two hundred eighty five voices, against one hundred and fifty two; after which the question being put upon Mr Yonge's motion, the same was carried without dividing. Then a motion was made, and the question put, that a bill be brought in *To inflict certain pains and penalties on Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester*, which after some debate was also carried without any division. March thirteenth, Mr Robert Walpole acquainted the House, 'that he had received his Majesty's commands to acquaint the House, that his Majesty having had just 'reason to apprehend Dr John Freind, a Member of 'this House, for High-Treason, had caused him to be 'apprehended, and desired the consent of the House 'to his being committed and detained for High-Treason, according to an Act of this present Session, intituled An Act for impowering his Majesty to secure 'and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect 'are conspiring against his person and government. 'Upon which he moved, that an humble address be 'presented to his Majesty, that he would be pleased 'to give order for committing and detaining Dr John 'Freind, pursuant to the Act of this Session of Parliament for that purpose.' This motion was seconded and backed by several members: but Mr Shippen, and Mr Bromley opposed it, saying, 'they could not see 'any reason for that House giving leave for detaining 'any Member, unless the species of Treason was declared, and that the information was upon oath.' Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Mr Robert Walpole replied, 'that by the late Act for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, the King was impowered to take up any 'person he had reason to suspect, that therefore the 'Government was not obliged to say, whether the 'information was upon oath or not.' But Mr Walpole added, 'He did not doubt, but Dr Freind was 'charged upon oath, and privately declared to several Members, that they had positive proof of his 'being guilty of the blackest and basest Treason.' Mr Shippen then suggesting, 'That Dr Freind's having spoke so warmly two days before in Mr Kelly's, 'and the Bishop of Rochester's behalf was, in his opinion, the reason of his being taken up the next day 'himself, and that at that rate there was an end of 'the liberty of speech, which every Member of that 'House had a right to.' Mr R. Walpole with a great deal of warmth replied, 'He wondered any 'gentleman could think any Ministry capable of so 'base a thing, as to take up any gentleman for what 'he said in that House without any other cause, when 'they knew themselves to be accountable as well as 'others for their actions,' adding, 'That they who 'made such insinuations, might more easily be proved 'to be Jacobites, than they could make out such an 'allegation against the Ministry;' Mr Pulteney spoke on the same side, and in relation to Dr Freind's speaking in Kelly's behalf, 'observed, that it was usual in 'all conspiracies, for one traitor to endeavour to excuse another.' Mr Shippen animadverted *severely* upon this reflection, saying, 'It was not to be endured to have a Member of that House called a 'traitor, before he was convicted as such.' But Mr Pulteney having explained himself, that matter ended, and then the motion for an address was carried without dividing.

We have observed in the text, that on the twenty-first of June following he was admitted to bail, his sureties being Dr Mead, Dr Hulse, Dr Levett, and Dr Hale. On the first day of Michaelmas term following he appeared at the King's-Bench Bar, and November 28, 1723, being the last day of Michaelmas term, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery; William North, Lord North and Grey; Dennis Kelly, Esq; John Freind, Esq; M.D. and Thomas Cockran, Esq; who had been prisoners in the Tower, and were admitted to bail, appeared on their recognizances, and were discharged (17).

(17) Histor. Register in the Diary.

[*N*] *Was the better for it.*] The title of this short work at large, runs thus.

Joannis Freind ad Ricardum Mead, M. D. de quibusdam Variolarum generibus Epistola. That is, *An Epistle to Dr* Richard Mead, *concerning some particular kind of the* small pox. This letter is dated March the thirtieth, 1723, and begins thus (18). 'Enjoying, Sir, unexpectedly, abundance of leisure, and my 'mind being even in this confinement not over solli-'citous, I thought I could not better employ my 'vacant hours, than in cultivating my former studies, 'and adding a few observations to what I have already 'writ, concerning acute diseases. And indeed, I the 'more willingly undertake it, since I learn from that 'elegant book concerning the small pox, which Helvetius has lately presented us with, that that learned 'author has either trod in our steps in his method of 'cure, or at least set out in the same road with us. 'I read that work over, I cannot say whether with 'greater eagerness or pleasure. So diligently has this 'learned and experienced practitioner traced out the 'various and greatly dissimilar kinds of the small pox, 'so wisely delivered the whole method of cure, that 'he alone has happily supplied many things, which 'have hitherto been wanting in the generality of authors. But neither has this gentleman explained 'every thing so fully, but that this Province seems by 'a certain fatality to be reserved for you, Sir, namely 'that you should one day give us a full and compleat 'account of the nature and difference of the several 'kinds of the small pox, a work which I know you 'have long since undertaken.' There are two things remarkable in this paragraph, the first is, that in so short a time, so judicious, and so eminent a Physician as Helvetius, should embrace the practice recommended by Dr Freind, or should think proper to declare publickly on its behalf, if he had embraced it before, for in either case his book is decisive against the calumnies of those who had attacked our author and his friends. If concurrence in opinion amongst the most distinguished in any profession of different nations, is not sufficient to establish the reasonableness of any point in which they concur, there is no such thing as authority, neither can there be any criterion whatever of notions agreeing with, or being contrary to, good sense. It is true, indeed, that a wise man may

(18) Freind. Oper. med. p. 357.

be

elaborate work, his celebrated HISTORY of PHYSICK, from the time of Galen to the close of the XVIth century; the first part of which was published in 1725, and the second in the year following (*n*). In respect both to use and elegance, it may be justly stiled a great and masterly performance, worthy of the reputation of it's author, and capable of rendering singular service to young Physicians, nothing comparable to it, either in point of judgment or accuracy, having been before published in any language. These were the sentiments of some of the ablest men in the Faculty, at the time it came abroad; and the work having always kept up it's credit, and being still in as much esteem as ever, shews that their opinion was not ill founded [*O*]. There were, however, certain circumstances that

(*n*) In two Volumes in 8vo. in English.

be in the wrong; but that a false or absurd position should, by a dint of argument, be imposed upon men of the greatest credit for wisdom, capacity, and learning, where there is no connection of interest, and not the least visible motive to warp them from the love of fame and truth, is not to be comprehended. The second remarkable particular, is the zeal with which he recommends that learned person's treatise to whom he writes, which has since appeared, tho' at a great distance of time, and does the same credit to our author's judgment, as his language here and elsewhere, to the sincerity of his friendship. He hated flattery as much as he despised calumny, but he had a peculiar pleasure in praising merit, and never missed any occasion of paying a just tribute of applause where it was due. The last paragraph of his epistle is as remarkable as the first, the whole of it demonstrates the soundness of his head, and these passages are peculiar proofs of the uprightness of his heart (19). 'Dear Sir, says 'he in the conclusion, farewel, and of this be assured 'that where ever I am, fortune will never have it in 'her power to efface that remembrance of your friend-'ship which gratitude will ever oblige me to pre-'serve.'

(19) Ibid. p.362.

[*O*] *Was not ill founded.*] The title of this very learned and useful treatise at large, runs thus.

The History *of* Physic *from the time of* Galen *to the beginning of the* sixteenth Century, *chiefly with regard to* Practice: *in a discourse written to Dr* Mead *by* J. Freind, M. D. *London* 1725. 8vo. *The second vol.* 1726. 8vo.

Our author divides his History of Physic into three parts, of which the *first* contains the *Greek* Physicians after Galen, the *second* relates to the *Arabian* Physicians, and the *third* takes in the *Moderns*. To give a long account of a book at once remarkable and valuable for its brevity would be absurd, and yet it is absolutely necessary that we should give the reader some notion of the contents of its three parts, and of the advantage arising to the study of medicine, from the indefatigable pains he has taken in this respect. In the *first* part then, he settles very exactly the time in which Oribasius, Aëtius, Alexander, and Paulus, flourished, which was a point so much the more necessary, as great mistakes have been made about them, so that in reality nothing had been written, even with respect to their history, that could be depended upon, 'till it became the subject of our author's pen. It is acknowledged, that the chief merit of these authors lay in their compiling, what had been written before their time by others, and more especially by Galen; yet there are some things in them new as well as some antient fragments preserved in their collections, which are not to be met with any where else. He insists particularly upon what they have preserved relating to Surgery. He shews that some things which are commonly regarded as modern discoveries or inventions, were actually known to them; as for instance, the salival glands, the use of issues, setons, cauteries, and of acupuncture in case of dropsies. He then proceeds, to such of the *Greek* Physicians as lived after these. He insists upon the description of the plague, by Procopius and Evagrius; and concludes from the accuracy of the former, that he must have been a Physician. He maintains, that the art of distilling liquors was actually known to the Greeks. He describes from these writers two very strange distempers that were not very rare in those days, and which in ours however are never mentioned; the first a kind of worms, and the other a sort of melancholy madness, when men wandered in desolate places, and howled like wolves. He commends some remedies that were then in use, and which are since in a great measure fallen into oblivion, such as scarification, and on some occasions opening an artery, with a multitude of other useful observations and remarks, so much the more valuable as they are delivered with great simplicity and succinctness; so that at the very same time they do justice to the learning and abilities of the Antients, they are the most pregnant proofs of his own industry in collecting, and that happy facility with which he has disposed them in proper order.

In the *second* part he renders the same justice to the *Arabians*, he mentions such diseases as are no where to be found but in their writings, and likewise such as were by them first described. He enters largely into the history of chirurgical operations. He shews that some useful instruments were invented, described, and even depicted by Albucasis, concerning whose writings he had made very particular enquiries. As the small pox first appeared amongst the Arabians, so the very best description of the different sorts of that distemper, and of the methods of cure before the time of our Sydenham was written by Rhases. Of the truth of this, even the English reader may now be a judge, since a translation of that curious piece has been published in our own language (*). By these writers there are not only many things preserved, that were contained in the books of the Greek Physicians now lost, but they have added also of their own invention, many gentle and moderate purges, taught the advantages of moderate Phlebotomy, made us acquainted with Chymistry, and with several useful compositions that have long had a place, and are not like to be very soon discarded from our best Dispensatories.

(*) By way of Appendix to Dr Mead's book upon that subject.

In the *third* part we have the History of Physic, as practised and improved by the Moderns; he not only mentions, but describes the schools of Salernum, Naples, Montpellier, and Bononia. The History of Chymistry more especially in this kingdom, from the time of the celebrated Roger Bacon, who was perfectly skilled in this, and all other parts of useful learning, is clearly and concisely laid down. He gives us a view of that dreadful plague, which raged about the middle of the fourteenth Century, which is succeeded by the description of the sweating sickness, which was peculiar to the English nation, and of which there were five returns. He enters into a short, but satisfactory, history of the venereal disease, which is thought to have taken its rise from our first correspondence with the West Indies, about the end of the fifteenth Century, as the scurvy is believed to be produced about the same time, or a little earlier, from the inconveniences attending the long voyages by the Cape of Good Hope to the East. Neither is our author at all forgetful of his own country, but furnishes us with excellent memoirs of such physical writers as flourished here, more especially of the famous Linacre who lived under Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth, who founded two Lectures of Physic at Oxford, and one at Cambridge, and who procured the original charter for incorporating the Royal College of Physicians, with the history of which foundation, and a very just encomium thereon he finishes his work. We may even from this short and imperfect sketch of the out lines of his performance, discern the great utility and real value of such a history, which, tho' very succinct, must have cost him incredible labour, and could never have been drawn up in so easy, so elegant, and so natural a manner, but by a person of his great sagacity and extensive learning. We need not wonder therefore, that it was quickly translated into French, and received in that language with as great, if not greater, applause than it met with here at home. The Latin translation published with the rest of his medical

works

that attended the publication of this judicious and learned treatiſe, which raiſed the prejudices of ſome againſt it, more eſpecially in a neighbouring country, where it was thought that our author had dealt a little too ſeverely with Mr Daniel le Clerc (*o*), and that this uſage might juſtify repriſals, in which there was a pretty ſtrong mixture of invective, as the reader will be informed, more at large, at the bottom of the page [*P*]. This attack from abroad,

(*o*) See this point explained in the note [*P*].

works, has contributed to make it ſtill more generally known, and is ſo much the more valuable as it contains ſome additional corrections and explanations taken from his own notes upon the Engliſh original. We may the more boldly advance this, ſince within two years after the publication of our author's medical works at London, there came out a new edition at Paris (20), that in the title page was affirmed to be more accurate than correct; which could not have happened, if the demand for his writings had not been very great in conſequence of his credit as a Phyſician, being thoroughly eſtabliſhed in all parts of Europe, and of this ſome farther inſtances will neceſſarily occur in the ſucceeding note.

(20) Johannis Freind. Opera omnia medica, editio altera. Londinenſi multo correctior & accuratior. 1735. 4to.

[*P*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We have obſerved in the foregoing note, that our author's Hiſtory of Phyſic had not been long publiſhed in Engliſh, before it was tranſlated into French, and this tranſlation had no ſooner ſeen the light, than the book was attacked in Holland by a famous journaliſt, who gave his cenſure the following title (21).

(21) Biblioth. ancienne & moderne, Tom. XXVII. p. 388.

Réponſe à ce qu' a écrit Mr Freind *concernant diverſes fautes, qu'il prétend avoir trouvées dans un petit ouvrage de Mr* le Clerc, *intitulé* Eſſai d'un Plan, &c. *That is,* 'An anſwer to what Mr Freind has written 'concerning ſeveral faults that he pretends to have 'found in a little work of Mr *le Clerc*'s, &c.'

Theſe animadverſions were written in defence of Dr Daniel le Clerc, the three former parts of whoſe Hiſtory of Phyſic Dr Freind had highly extolled, but had ſpoken ſomewhat ſlightly of the ſupplement to that work publiſhed in the new edition of 1723, and repreſented it as not only a very imperfect and ſuperficial performance, but in many particulars inaccurate and erroneous. The author of the Memoir in the Bibliotheque obſerves, that it will be no difficult matter to ſhew that Dr Freind had not a juſt idea of the piece which he ſo raſhly condemns, but that he is miſtaken in ſeveral points. For firſt he did not underſtand what Dr le Clerc's meaning was by theſe words, *Eſſay d'un Plan pour ſervir à la Continuation de l'Hiſtoire de la Medicine*, which Dr Freind thought to be the ſame, as if Dr le Clerc had ſaid, that that Plan was a Continuation or a Sequel of the Hiſtory of Phyſic, whereas the author only meant it as a plan or rough draught, which might be of uſe to ſuch as would undertake to bring that hiſtory down to the time which he has mentioned. The author of the Memoir proceeds then to vindicate Dr le Clerc from the particular exceptions of Dr Freind, and concludes with obſerving, that as the plan of the former contains but ſix or ſeven ſheets, if it were true, that there are as many errors in it as the latter pretends, one might juſtly conclude, as Dr Freind has done, that it is a very imperfect, ſuperficial, inaccurate, and erroneous performance. 'But I think, *ſays the writer*, that I have 'ſufficiently demonſtrated that nothing could be charged 'on Dr le Clerc with leſs reaſon, not to ſay more 'lightly, ſince, if there are faults they are few and inconſiderable. However, ſuch as they are, if Dr 'Freind had contented himſelf with ſetting him right, 'he was at liberty to do it, but to endeavour, as he 'has done, to find errors where there are none, it is 'what one ſhould not have expected, and what has 'occaſioned this anſwer.'

It is a point of juſtice certainly due to the memory of Dr Freind, to examine what is here charged impartially, as in juſtice to the publick we could not omit the charge. Dr Daniel le Clerc, brother to the celebrated Mr John le Clerc, wrote, as has been ſaid, a Hiſtory of Phyſic, which was juſtly admired and applauded. This Hiſtory reached no lower than the time of Galen, but upon publiſhing a new edition in 1723, there was a little piece added to it, which in the title page of that new edition is ſtiled, *un Plan pour ſervir à la Continuation de cette Hiſtoire depuis la fin du Siecle* II. *juſques au milieu du* XVII. That is, *a* Plan *which may ſerve as a* Continuation *of that Hiſtory, from the end of the* ſecond *age to the middle of the* ſeventeenth. It was after the peruſal of this, that Dr Freind finding himſelf much diſappointed, and having a ſtrong idea in his mind of the uſefulneſs of a proper continuation of ſo good a book, determined to employ the leiſure he had in the Tower, for there it appears that he conceived the whole, and executed a part of his deſign in writing ſuch a hiſtory in compoſing ſuch a work. When he had taken this reſolution, it was neceſſary for him to expreſs it, more eſpecially as he wrote to a particular friend, the preſent Dr Mead (22), and this he does in the following manner.

(22) Hiſt. of Phyſick, Part I. p. 1.

'Sir, you will forgive me, that I was a little impatient to ſee a new edition of Mr le Clerc's Hiſtory 'of Phyſic, for you know very well what a great opinion I have always had of the learning and judgment 'which he has ſhewn in the three parts already publiſhed. In them he brought down the Hiſtory to 'the end of Galen's time, and having ſearched into 'his works, and into thoſe of all the writers, who 'preceded him for above ſix hundred years, he put 'together his memoirs, not only with indefatigable 'induſtry, but with exquiſite ſkill. We find there 'very amply and clearly repreſented all the philoſophy, the theory, and practice of the antient Phyſicians; ſo that there is ſcarce a notion, a diſtemper, 'a medicine, or even the name of an author to be 'met with among them, of which he has not given 'a full and exact account.

'In this edition we have a *plan containing fifty* 'ſix pages, which he deſigns ſhould ſerve for a con'tinuation of the Hiſtory down to the middle of the 'ſixteenth, the title by miſtake ſays the ſeventeenth 'Century, a ſpace of twelve hundred years, and too 'large to be well explained, in ſo ſhort a ſketch, tho' 'he had not filled half of it, with relating all the ob'ſcure jargon and nonſenſe of that illiterate Enthuſiaſt 'Paracelſus.

'You deſire that I would ſend you my thoughts of 'this piece, I muſt own I wiſh I could give it the 'ſame character which the former very juſtly de'ſerved. But it ſeems to me not only a very imper'fect and ſuperficial performance, but in many parti'culars inaccurate and erroneous. I ſhall, in compli'ance with your commands, make a few curſory re'marks touching the Hiſtory of Phyſic within this 'period, but as I have not the opportunity of having 'much recourſe to books, tho' indeed at preſent I 'have leiſure enough, you muſt not expect any thing 'which is either correct or perfect, and muſt be ſa'tisfied only with ſome looſe obſervations, ſuch as my 'memory chiefly can at preſent furniſh me with, and 'which a ſhort review of ſome of theſe authors can 'ſuggeſt.'

The reader ſees clearly that our author could not write without mentioning Dr le Clerc, and he ſees alſo how he has treated him. What is ſaid in the French Memoir of not underſtanding the title of Le Clerc's ſupplemental piece is weak enough; for if our author did not underſtand it, it muſt have been becauſe it is not to be underſtood, for, *an* Eſſay, *of a* Plan, *of a* Supplement; cannot be made ſenſe in any language. That Dr Freind did not conſider it as a *Supplement* is plain, for if he had he would not have wrote another, neither did he conceive it a *Plan*, for then he would have followed it, but he tells us plainly what he took it for, and which is not a little ſtrange, Mr John le Clerc confeſſes in his Memoir, that it was preciſely what he calls it, *an imperfect and ſuperficial performance*. Imperfect, as it does not come up to what it promiſes; and ſuperficial, as it is not collected from original authors. We ſhall in the next note mention Dr Baillie's defence of our author, and therefore here we will confine ourſelves to matters which he has not mentioned; in the firſt place it is obſervable, that the Memoir writer confeſſes that he never ſaw

our

abroad, on the character of Dr Freind, met with ſome countenance here from thoſe who were piqued againſt him before, and who were in hopes, that, with the aſſiſtance of theſe auxiliaries from the Continent, they might be able to run him down; but, as in former combats, ſo in this, they were ſoon made ſenſible of their want of ſtrength (p). It was defended in a pamphlet by Dr John Baillie (q), againſt the united forces both of the Engliſh and French criticks; and the publick ſeemed to be perfectly ſatisfied with what was therein advanced, and with the contents of the author's book, which, with it's title, very plainly proved that ſome who cenſured it miſapprehended his deſign, or at leaſt wrote in ſuch a manner as that he might be ſenſible they had other cauſes of reſentment, than thoſe that were avowed in the preſent quarrel [Q]. That ſeverity which Dr Freind had met with, from thoſe who differed,

(p) The pamphlet war did not riſe near ſo high as before.

(q) A Defence of Dr Freind his Hiſt. of Phyſick. 1733, 8vo. ſecond edition.

our author's *original work*, but took the matter of his charge from the *Tranſlation*, which is the leſs excuſable, ſince he well underſtood Engliſh, and it might be ſhewn that our author made uſe of *milder* terms than his tranſlator. In the next place he ſtates the matter a little unfairly, in not taking notice that Dr Freind juſtifies and commends le Clerc's obſervations in many places, tho' he differs from him in others, which plainly ſhews he had an eſteem for that gentlemen, tho' in reſpect to the ſtudy of Phyſic, he could not commend an imperfect and ſuperficial work. Beſides, there are various objections made by our author to Dr le Clerc's Hiſtory, which are paſſed by in the *Memoir* without any notice at all; we may add to this, that ſometimes diſingenuity, and even falſehood, are called in to ſupport one Doctor and to refute the other. This fact requires an inſtance; that inſtance ſhall be given; Dr Freind ſays, that *the celebrated* Fallopius *lived later than* le Clerc *has placed him, becauſe he publiſhed his Lectures in* 1555 (23). The *Memoir* writer complains he does not underſtand this, for that Gabriel Fallopius died in 1562 (24). It is very true he did ſo, but the point is where Dr le Clerc placed him? He ſays poſitively that he was born in 1490, and the common complaint of all writers that mention him is, that he was cut off in the flower of his age, that is, when he wanted a year of forty. How then does his reading Lectures in 1555 agree with this date, or how was it poſſible that he ſhould read thoſe Lectures, if he died ſo young? The truth is, he was born in 1523 (25), that is, thirty three years after the time aſſigned by Dr le Clerc. What pretence therefore for calling either the meaning or the truth of Dr Freind's aſſertion in queſtion? The proper buſineſs of a Journaliſt, is to acquaint the world with the contents and characters of new works, but the author of this Journal, inſtead of inſerting an extract of a new and valuable book, inſerts a *Memoir* againſt it, which was treating his readers very indifferently, as well as the Engliſh Phyſician very unfairly (26). Father Niceron (27) who was a very impartial judge, decides this matter very clearly. 'John *le Clerc*, ſays he, complained of the diſobliging manner in which he has ſpoken of the *Plan*, which his brother *Daniel le Clerc* had given for the *Continuation* of his *Hiſtory of Phyſic*. *Freind* propoſed himſelf to give ſuch a *Continuation* which he has very learnedly executed.' No exceptions can be taken to this judgment, Father Niceron had ſeen the books, and heard the parties, with neither of whom he had any connection.

(23) Hiſt. of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 376.

(24) Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne, Tom. XXVII. p. 447.

(25) P. Niceron Memoires des hommes illuſtres, Tom. IV. p. 396.

(26) Other Journaliſts ſhewed a like prejudice againſt the Doctor's book, but their criticiſms did not affect it.

(27) Memoires des hommes illuſtres, Tom. XXXV. p. 263.

[Q] *In the preſent quarrel.*] The title of the piece which we have mentioned in the text, and which is indeed a full anſwer to all that is ſaid in the French Memoir, in the firſt edition runs at full length thus.

A Letter to Dr ——— *in anſwer to a tract in the* Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne, *relating to ſome paſſages in* Dr Freind's *Hiſtory of Phyſic*. Lond. 1728. 8vo.

Mr Baillie obſerves, that one would imagine upon viewing the number of pages in the piece abovementioned, Dr Freind had certainly been guilty of a great many miſtakes, and that Mr le Clerc had been very groſsly miſrepreſented. Yet upon looking into this critic, ſays he, we find nothing like this, and that, however vigorous in general he appears in Mr le Clerc's defence, he nevertheleſs acknowledges moſt of the errors alledged againſt him, and this not faintly, but in full as ſtrong expreſſions as the Doctor himſelf uſes. To give one inſtance of his manner of treating his antagoniſt, 'The Memoir writer, ſays he, goes on with 'his uſual evaſions in the diſpute concerning the perſon who firſt introduced Chymiſtry into Phyſic. Mr 'le Clerc had affirmed in his Plan, that Avicenna was 'the perſon. The Doctor is of opinion if this practice be, as perhaps it may be derived, from the Arabians, the honour of the invention ought rather to 'be reſtored to Rhaſes, becauſe he wrote firſt, and firſt 'mentioned medicines made by a chymical proceſs. 'This the anſwerer cannot avoid owning, and acknowledges that the oil of Bricks in Rhaſes is a chymical medicine, and propoſed by him as a cure in 'many diſtempers. This he confeſſes Mr le Clerc 'overlooked, when he ſaid there was no mention of 'any chymical remedy in the writers of Phyſic, who 'lived before Avicenna. One would think that after 'ſaying ſo much, there was no way left of evading 'the force of Dr Freind's arguments. For the Doctor 'ſays nothing more upon this head againſt the plan, 'than this defender of it: but obſerve his uſual way 'of chicane; he goes on and ſays, that altho' Mr le 'Clerc be miſtaken in this article, it does not from 'thence follow that the honour of the invention of 'chymical medicines belongs to Rhaſes. I fancy you 'could not have gueſſed at his reaſon, had you not 'ſeen the piece itſelf, what tho' this Arabian writer 'does not pretend he invented or firſt diſcovered the 'manner of preparing the medicines he treats of? 'Is that any thing to the purpoſe? The diſpute was 'not, who invented or who did not. The ſingle 'queſtion is, who is the firſt Arabick author who 'mentions a chymical medicine? Is there any one before Rhaſes? If not, who knows but he did introduce it firſt, and perhaps invent it, at leaſt it is a 'ſufficient proof that Avicenna did neither. This inſtance amongſt others may give you the reaſon, why 'I called this critic's piece the *pretended defence* of 'Mr le Clerc's Plan. For almoſt in every place he 'gives up Mr le Clerc, and ſeems fully ſatisfied if he 'can only cavil at the Doctor.' At the cloſe of his pamphlet he tells us, that 'the defender of Dr le 'Clerc ſet out with the mighty appearance of running 'down every thing which was objected againſt the 'Plan, and yet in the iſſue yields up every thing. 'This certainly muſt appear a very burleſque defence 'to the greateſt favourers of the Supplement. For 'what can be more ridiculous than to pretend he 'would defend an author, and yet in almoſt every 'inſtance to own he is in the wrong? To be convinced 'that he does this, you need do no more than caſt 'your eye back on the three principal points in diſpute. Does he not acknowledge Mr le Clerc's error 'in the ages of Oribaſius, Aetius, Alexander, and 'Paulus? And notwithſtanding his ſophiſtical ſubterfuges, doth he deny that ſome of the Greeks mention Rhubarb contrary to Mr le Clerc's aſſertion? 'Nay, doth he not in expreſs terms own it? After 'the ſame manner, doth he not confeſs that Rhaſes 'firſt introduced Chymiſtry into Phyſic? And as to 'the age of Fallopius, he ſays Mr le Clerc is deceived 'in it.' This gentleman however, acknowledges a miſtake in Dr Freind in the ſpelling of Aetius with *Æ* inſtead of an *a* and an *e* ſeparate, every one knows it is Ἀέτιος in the Greek, and yet very commonly it is writ with an Æ in Latin, as you may ſee in ſeveral books. So the iſland Aeria is very often writ Æria, though no doubt it is the Ἀερία of Stephanus. He believes the Doctor likewiſe to be miſtaken, when he ſays that Dr le Clerc ſuppoſes the *Vena Medinenſis*, the ſame as another diſtemper deſcribed by the Arabians, and called the *Affectio Bovina*; and I dare ſay, continues he, 'the Doctor, upon conſidering the paſſage in the 'Supplement again, will own that theſe two diſeaſes are

differed, or ſuppoſed they differed, with him in political principles, was amply recompenced, ſoon after he obtained his liberty, by the favour he met with at the Court of the King now on the throne, then Prince of Wales, who entruſted him with the care of ſome of his Royal Family when indiſpoſed, and who under it happily recovered (*r*). Upon his Majeſty's acceſſion, he became Phyſician to the late Queen, who honoured him with her confidence and eſteem (*s*), which naturally increaſed the circle of his practice, that was of large extent before. How equal ſoever his talents might be to that prodigious weight of buſineſs which was thrown upon his ſhoulders, it quickly appeared that his conſtitution could by no means bear ſo great a fatigue; he ſtruggled againſt it as much as he was able, he concealed his weakneſs, he was ſilent as to the decay of his ſtrength; in ſhort, he preferred his duty to his ſafety, and to the preſervation of the health of others ſacrificed his own

(*r*) John. Wigan. Præfat. ad oper. med. J. F.

(*s*) See the Monumental Inſcription.

' are there plainly diſtinguiſhed. So far is true, and ' the Doctor's expreſſions are no doubt too general in ' this caſe, and, what I believe he is not very often ' guilty of, a little unguarded. But what he intended, ' I ſuppoſe, was chiefly this, to ſhew that even the ' *Affectio Bovina*, deſcribed at large by the Arabians, ' and in a ſeparate article, was not a diſtemper unknown, as Mr le Clerc aſſerts, to the Greeks. For ' Aetius, as the Doctor remarks, mentions the little ' *Dracunculi* as well as the great, which latter the Arabians call the *Vena Medinenſis*. And what Aven ' Zoar, Alſaharavius, and Albucaſis, ſay of the former, amounts to nothing more than what Aetius had ' in general and in ſhort ſaid before, that the worms in ' this caſe were little.' Theſe conceſſions ſhew the candour and ingenuity of Dr Baillie, and they ſhew at the ſame time how little foundation there was for the clamour raiſed againſt our author, as if he had endeavoured to raiſe his own reputation by depreſſing that of Dr Daniel le Clerc; whereas he commends him highly and frequently, and corrects him only where it was requiſite, and that too in a manner which ought not to have given any offence, more eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the far greater part of his corrections are in the juſtification of writers long ſince deceaſed, and for whoſe memories Dr Freind thought himſelf obliged to ſhew a due concern.

We have now done with this litttle treatiſe, conſidered in the light of a defence, at leaſt in regard to the French memoir; but there is a paſſage at the beginning of this performance, which, for the reader's ſatisfaction, it is neceſſary ſhould be explained. That paſſage runs thus.

' Tho' the juſtneſs and truth of all Dr Freind's writ' tings are ſufficient to bear them out, yet there are ' many who have an appetite for nothing but anſwers ' and replys, and who entirely form their judgment of ' the author from his antagoniſt. Theſe men very often read the anſwer, without ever having looked into ' the original, and as confidently determine, as if they ' had, with the utmoſt care and exactneſs, read it over ' and over. Were it not for this unaccountable and ' diſingenuous turn in ſome readers, and a ſtrange negligence and inadvertency in others, who, out of indolence or incapacity, ſeldom uſe their own judgment, but muſt have every thing minutely pointed ' out to them. I ſay, were it not for theſe two things, ' I muſt confeſs the following remarks would be entirely uſeleſs. For a careful reader, with but an ordinary ' underſtanding, by peruſing the hiſtory, and annotator's criticiſms, would quickly ſee the juſtneſs of the ' former's obſervations, and the fallacy of thoſe in the ' latter. Yet I make no doubt, as inconſiderable a ' writer as this annotator is, his having attacked an author of reputation, will be reaſon ſufficient to *tranſlate* him into *Engliſh*, with a *prolix preface*, containing probably a *tedious repetition* of the critic's errors; for none but an author of a very low ſize would ' undertake ſuch a work. And if ſuch a notable performance ſhould come out, we ſhall find it, I dare ' ſay, writ with ſo much wit, learning, and in ſo good ' language; with ſo much perſpicuity, modeſty, and ' manners, that it will not be at all difficult to gueſs ' at it's author, however *his name* ſhould happen to be ' *inverted*.'

The firſt part of this paragraph explains very properly the cauſes which render theſe literary eclairciſſments ſo neceſſary, or at leaſt ſo acceptable. Let us proceed then to ſhew what is the true ſenſe, and genuine meaning, of theſe obſcure inſinuations. Immediately after our author's book appeared, it was attacked with the utmoſt indignation, unallay'd with the ſmalleſt regard to temper or decency, in a piece which bore the following title.

Obſervations on Dr Freind's *Hiſtory of Phyſick, ſhewing ſome falſe Repreſentations of antient and modern Phyſicians; by* C. W. M. D. *Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians in* Edinburgh. London 1726, 8*vo*.

The very firſt paragraph will ſufficiently ſupport what has been before hinted, as to the heat of this author's reſentment, abundantly diſcovered in the acrimony of his ſtile. ' Dr Freind's principal ſcheme in ' writing his Hiſtory of Phyſick, ſays he, was to repreſent himſelf firſt, and after him Dr Mead, as the only ' Phyſicians at this time, in London eſpecially. As for ' Hiſtory, that is made ſubſervient to the mentioned ' deſign; and indeed that part of the performance is ' very imperfect and ſuperficial, he ſeeming now to ' corrupt the hiſtory of phyſick, and to abuſe men ' by a corrupted hiſtory. Did I propoſe to examine ' the book, it might be made very manifeſt, that ' he was little acquainted with his authors, and leſs in ' what they excelled. His great unhappineſs is moſt ' commonly to propoſe their errors, or their weakeſt performances, to our imitation; ſo that the ' miſtake ſhould not be great, if I affirmed that his end ' ſeems to be a banter on the antient as well as our ' own Phyſicians. All theſe his talents, will ſufficiently appear in the following examination of that part of ' the book which at preſent falls under our conſideration.' He proceeds afterwards to refute what Dr Freind had advanced, that the antient Phyſicians never had a *noſtrum*, or a ſecret medicine, and that a *noſtrum* is the peculiar and diſtinguiſhed mark of a *Quack*; and affirms, that Phyſicians of every ſect, both rational and empirics, had their *noſtrums*, and that from antient times down to this day; and, among the moderns, he particularly inſtances in Dr *Cockburn*, a moſt rational Phyſician, ſays he, who has always vindicated this antient practice, and has an *Arcanum*. The author defends likewiſe, Dr *Cockburn*'s book concerning the *gonorrhœa*, and his tables of doſes, in oppoſition to what Dr Freind had urged from *Avenzoar*, that it is vain and uſeleſs (28), ' to pretend to find out the proportionable ' quantity and quality of any purge, ſo as to ſquare it ' exactly to the conſtitution of the patient, and the ' nature of the humours to be diſcharged; and calculate it ſo as not to be even a hair under or over, ſince ' ſuch ſpeculations contribute very little to form a judgment about any right method of cure.' Within a very ſhort time after the publication of Dr Baillie's pamphlet, there came abroad another ſhrewd piece, under the following title.

An Anſwer to what Dr Freind *has written in his* Hiſtory *of* Phyſick, *concerning ſeveral miſtakes which he pretends to have found in a ſhort work of Dr* le Clerc, *intituled, An* Eſſay of a Plan, &c. *tranſlated from the* Eighth *Article of the* Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne. Vol. XXVII. Part ii. *By Mr* le Clerc. *To which is added, a* Preface *by* W. Cockburn, M. D.

Upon the whole it is manifeſt, that what Dr Baillie had in view, was to intimate to the publick, that the ſending this tranſlation into the world, was the mere effects of perſonal reſentment; and that W. C. M. D. was the ſame perſon with C. W. *Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians at* Edinburgh; which is likewiſe agreeable to what we have hinted in the text of this article.

own (*t*). His health having been for ſome time on the decline, a fever at length enſued, which preſently affected his head; and tho' in this, as well as in former illneſſes, he had all the aſſiſtance that the Faculty could give, yet even that aſſiſtance proved vain; and the power of medicine being far inferior to the violence of the diſeaſe, he expired July the ſixth 1728, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age (*u*). Their Majeſties expreſſed the greateſt concern on the news of his illneſs, and appeared very much affected with that of his death. The penſion ſettled upon his widow, ſufficiently declared how large a ſhare this worthy perſon had in the Royal eſteem (*w*). He was buried in the church of Hitcham in Buckinghamſhire, near which he had a ſeat; but there is a cenotaph erected, with a ſuitable inſcription to his memory, in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*x*) [*R*], a mark of filial piety in his only ſon, but of little conſequence to his fame, which his writings have rendered extenſive and immortal. Dr Wigan publiſhed his Latin works, and added to them his Hiſtory of Phyſick, tranſlated into the ſame language, with an excellent hiſtorical preface, and a grateful commemoration of his obligations to the deceaſed (*y*). To theſe, his medical works, a moſt elegant dedication is prefixed, to his Royal Patroneſs the late Queen, by his brother Dr Robert Freind (*z*); and if, after all theſe glorious monuments, this article ſhould be eſteemed

(*t*) Johan. Wigan. Præfat. ad oper. med. J. F.

(*u*) See the Inſcription.

(*w*) Johan. Wigan. Præfat. ad oper. med. J. F.

(*x*) See the note.

(*y*) Johan. Wigan. in Præfat. prope finem.

(*z*) Niceron ſuggeſts the Dedication was written by Dr Wigan.

[*R*] *To his memory in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] How little neceſſary ſoever a cenotaph, with an inſcription, might be for preſerving the memory of an author whoſe reputation extended ſo far, and was eſtabliſhed ſo well; yet it muſt be allowed, that this was no improper, or unſeaſonable, teſtimony of reſpect to this excellent perſon. He had himſelf rendered the like kind office to more than one of his freinds. The inſcription on the monument erected to the memory of the famous Mr *John Phillips*, by the Lord Chancellor *Harcourt*, was penned by our author. That copious and elegant character of the Right Reverend Dr *Thomas Sprat*, Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and his ſon the *Archdeacon*, appear, from what is ſaid at the foot of the tomb-ſtone, to have fallen from the pen of Dr Freind, who was peculiarly happy in this kind of compoſitions. It may however be with truth affirmed, that the following lines are not at all inferior to his own, and conſequently deſerve to be remembered. They are conceived in the following terms,

Johannes Freind, M. D.
Archiater
Sereniſſimæ Reginæ Carolinæ.
Cujus perſpicaci judicio cum ſe approbâſſet,
Quantâ prius apud omnes Medicinæ famâ,
Tantâ apud Regiam Familiam gratiâ floruit.
Ingenio erat benevolo & admodum liberali,
Societatis & convictuum amans,
Amicitiarum
(Etiam cum ſuo alicubi periculo)
Tenaciſſimus.
Nemo beneficia
Aut in alios alacrius contulit,
Aut in ſe collata libentius meminit.
Juvenis adhuc ſcriptis cœpit inclareſcere,
Et aſſiduo tum Latini tum Patrii ſermonis uſu,
Orationem perpolivit.
Quam vero in umbraculo coluerat facundiam,
Eam in ſolem atq; aciem Senator protulit.
Humaniores literis domi peregreq; operam dedit;
Omnes autem ut decuit nervos intendit,
Sua in arte ut eſſet verſatiſſimus.
Quo ſucceſſu orbis Britannici
Cives & Proceres,
Quam multiplici ſcientiâ viri omnium gentium eruditi,
Quam indefeſſo ſtudio atq; induſtriâ
Id quidem non ſine lacrymis amici loquentur.
Miri quiddam fuit,
Continua occupatione,
Inter tot circuitiones
Scribendo etiam vacare poſſet:
Quod tanto oneri diutius ſuſtinendo impar eſſet,
Nihil miri.
Obiit ſiquidem, vigente adhuc ætate,
Annum agens quinquageſimum ſecundum,
Anno Æræ Chriſti 1728. 26 Julii.

Into ENGLISH it has been thus tranſlated.

John Freind, Doctor of Phyſic.
Firſt Phyſician
To the moſt ſerene Queen Caroline.
Whom when once her penetrating judgment had approved,
His univerſal reputation in Phyſic,
Was but equal to the favour expreſſed to him by the Royal Family.
His diſpoſition was benevolent and highly liberal,
Towards his acquaintance affectionate,
Of his Friendſhips
(Even when attended with danger to himſelf)
Moſt tenacious.
None in reſpect to obligations
Was on others more ready to confer,
Or if received with a willing gratitude to remember.
While a very youth diſtinguiſhed by his writings.
And from his aſſiduous diligence as well in Latin as in his mother tongue,
His ſtile was perfectly polite.
That eloquence which he cultivated in retirement,
He had the courage as a Senator to diſplay.
The Belles Lettres at home and abroad claimed his attention,
But, as was fit, his whole abilities were bent,
To render him moſt expert in his profeſſion.
With how great ſucceſs the whole Engliſh world
Of every rank,
With what various knowledge the learned in every nation,
With what indefatigable ſtudy and induſtry
His friends not without tears ſhall declare.
Some wonder it may create,
That continually occupied,
And having ſo many avocations
He ſhould yet find time to write;
That to ſuſtain ſuch burthen he ſhould at length be unequal
Is not to be wondered at all.
He died therefore, in the flower of his age,
When only in his fifty ſecond year,
July 26. A. D. 1728.

But we muſt not imagine, that the praiſes of this great Phyſician were barely confined to his tombſtone; on the contrary, the celebrated Dr Keil acknowledging, that, at his perſwaſion, the piece he publiſhed was ſent to the preſs, makes him a compliment that can ſcarce be exceeded, and might poſſibly be regarded as a mere compliment, if the character of that worthy man did not ſet his ſincerity above ſuſpicion; his words are theſe, 'Eo editionem ſuadente, quem omnes & ſcribendi '& docendi, Magiſtrum noſtræ Gentis ſi non aliarum 'omnium, maximum libenter agnoſcunt (29).' Theſe high

(29) Medicina Statica Britannica.

eſteemed no diſgrace to the memory of ſo great a man, it will add very highly to the pleaſure received in peruſing his incomparable writings, in order to compoſe it.

high praiſes were beſtowed upon him in his life-time, from whence perhaps ſome objection might be made; but the force of that will be wholly taken away, when it is conſidered that the very ingenious and learned Dr Edward Wilmot, ſome years after his deceaſe, ſpoke of him in the higheſt terms of commendation and reſpect, repreſenting him as a deep Philoſopher, a learned Phyſician, an elegant Writer, and an ornament to Society; as being very honeſt and very humane, ever deſirous of doing good, and communicating knowledge to the utmoſt extent of his power; and a zealous defender of the rights of that learned Body before whom he ſpoke. The reader ſhall have his own words, as well as the ſenſe of them, becauſe a tranſlation could not be made, without manifeſt injury to the beauty of the expreſſion (30). 'Tanta de uno aliquo viro prædicari, magnum quidem eſt; majus autem, quod de tali viro prædicantur, qui nihil ſuum eſſe duxit, quod aliis beneficio eſſe poſſit. Si quid eximii, ſi quid reconditi habuit, (quid autem utriuſq; non habuit?) non ſolitariâ famâ contentus, in apertum liberè protulit. Scivit egregiè? ut alii itidem ſcirent, operam ſedulo dabat. Medicinæ peritus fuit? ut alii etiam eſſent, ſtudio flagrabat. Gloriam attigit? ſi aliorum accenderet, lucro apponebat, alienæ inſerviens, ſuæ profuſus. Secundum divini Senis effatum, ideo artem ſuam quamplurimum amans, quia hominum amantiſſimus. In malam rem abire jubebat, qui neſcio quod Arcanum ſuperbè venditabant; ſi non haberent falſos; ſi celarent invidos; utroque nomine aut neglectui aut odio habendos. Id nimirum patriæ, id ſuo & artis commodo inſerviturum eſſe putabat, ſi alios ſui ſimiles inveniret, vel, quoad poſſet, faceret; & ut eſſent, omnia ſua cum illis communicabat, præceptis inſtituebat, exemplo præibat. Imperitiam Medico non opprobrio ſolum, ſed crimini vertere ſolabat; & mortuo nihil intereſſe, ſeu ignorantiâ ſeu fraude periret, benevole dictitabat. —— Cum legendis, condendis libris incumberet, & quotidianis muneris ſui officiis occuparetur, nec ſuæ, nec alienæ mille curæ circa caput ſalientes, impedimento erant, quo minus Rempublicam capeſſeret: auſpicato die Regni ſenatum intravit Vir ad omnia natus, & ſedem ſuam dignitate implevit, eloquentiâ ornavit. Medicinam proſperè fecerat, ſcriptis illuſtraverat, famâ auxerat; deerat in laudis cumulum, ut periclitanti opem ferret, in diſcrimen adductam eriperet. Nec in morâ res fuit; hanc etiam merenti partem oblatam avide arripuit, fortiter explevit: Collegii hujus jura, avita, ſanctiſſima, Regum dona, erant qui in jus vocabant, imminutum ibant. Accurrit, dixit, propugnavit; literarum fautor, artium patronus. Argumentis, auctoritate, gratiâ, ſuâ & artis felicitate, omnes in unam ſententiam diſcedentes habuit, & privilegia noſtra, non tantum ſarta tecta ſervavit, ſed confirmata, ampliata reddidit. Stetit reipublicæ noſtræ fortuna, illabata, integra, ſplendida, præſtigiatorum opprobrium; quod oppugnata fuerat, illuſtrior; quod inſidiis petita, munitior; quod à malevolis odia habita, bonis omnibus charior.' We have already, moved by his merit, and conducted by his reputation, carried this article to an extraordinary length, which is ſufficient to excuſe our not adding the teſtimonies of foreign writers; but, that we may not be entirely defective in this point, let us obſerve, that his writings were admired, and the notions he advanced applauded, by the greateſt men in the Profeſſion throughout Europe; ſuch as Hoffman, in Germany; Helvetius, and Hecquet, in France; and Boerhaave, in Holland (31); which abundantly demonſtrates his abilities in his profeſſion, and frees us from any apprehenſion that the praiſes given him by his countrymen and contemporaries, were tinctured with the zeal of their perſonal friendſhips. This indeed, might be in them excuſable, but not in us; for we do not cite authors as elegant panegyriſts, but for their exquiſite judgments, which, in this caſe, being corroborated by ſuch diſintereſted, as well as ſuch capable witneſſes, we may be ſatisfied, that, in theſe endeavours to do juſtice to his memory, whoſe writings have been ſo uſeful to his profeſſion, ſo honourable to his country, and ſo beneficial to mankind, we have done our duty as well as gratified our inclinations.

(30) *Oratio Anniverſaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinenſium, ex Harvæi inſtituto habita* 18 *Octobris* 1735. p. 19, &c.

(31) J. Wigan. Præfat. ad opera medica Johannis Freind.

E

FROBISER, FROBISHER, FROBUSHER, or FORBISHER (Sir MARTIN) [*A*], a moſt excellent navigator, and ſea-officer in the XVIth century, was born near Doncaſter in Yorkſhire (*a*). Who were his parents, or in what year he was born, is not mentioned any where. But being brought up in his youth to Navigation, either through his own or his friends choice, he became one of the moſt eminent Sailors in his time: and was the firſt Engliſhman that attempted to find out a *North-Weſt paſſage to China*. For, having a thorough knowledge of the ſphere, and being extremely well ſkilled in his profeſſion, he judged, from his own experience, and many years obſervations both by ſea and land, that a Voyage that way was not only poſſible, but alſo moſt eaſily practicable. Having therefore well laid his deſign, he reſolved to go and put it himſelf in execution; But wanting ſhips and other neceſſaries for that purpoſe, which he could not procure at his ſole charge, he conſulted a long time with his private friends how to have his wants ſupplied. He made alſo many offers to ſeveral Engliſh merchants, even for a courſe of *Fifteen* years; but meeting at laſt with no ſufficient encouragement from them [*B*], he applied to Queen Elizabeth's Court, which, under her royal influence, promoted to the utmoſt the Trade and Navigation of England. And ſo, through the favour and countenance of her wiſe Miniſters, particularly of Ambroſe Dudley Earl of Warwick, he engaged a ſufficient number of Adventurers in the affair; and, by degrees, with no ſmall expence and pains, collected ſuch ſums of money as enabled him to fit himſelf out for his voyage. The ſhips he provided, were only three; namely, two ſmall Barks of about twenty-five tuns a-piece; named the Gabriel, and the Michael: the one commanded by himſelf, the other by Capt. Matthew Kinerſley; and a pinnace of ten tuns burthen (*b*). June 8, 1576, they ſailed from Deptford [*C*], and, bending their courſe Northward, came,

(*a*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631. p. 809.

(*b*) Hakluyt's Collect. of Voyages, &c. Vol. III. p. 29, 57, 58. Purchas Pilgrim. Vol. V. p. 811.

[*A*] *FROBISHER, &c.*] Thus variouſly is his name written, by ſuch of our own, or other authors, as mention him. But we are aſſured, that he uſed to ſubſcribe his letters, (of which ſeveral are extant in the Harleian Library of MSS.) by the name of *Frobiſer*.

[*B*] *But meeting at laſt with no ſufficient encouragement from them.*] The words of our author, George Beſt, as in Hakluyt (1), are, 'that hardly he was hearkened unto of the merchants, which never regard virtue, without ſure, certain, and preſent gains.' Too ſevere a reflexion!

(1) Ubi ſupra, p. 58.

[*C*] *June* 8. 1576, *they ſailed from Deptford.*] How much they were countenanced and encouraged by

came, the 24th of the ſame month, within ſight of Fara, or Faire-iſle, one of the iſlands of Shetland. Thence they caſt about to the Weſtward, in 59 degrees of latitude; and the 11th of July, being in 61 degrees, diſcovered Freeſeland bearing Weſt-North-Weſt, which ſtood high, and was all covered with ſnow [*D*]. Making towards it, they could not land, by reaſon of the ice, and depth of water, which, near the ſhore, was above 150 fathoms: The eaſt point of this iſland the Captain named *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland.* On the 28th of the ſaid month, in 62 degrees of latitude, they had ſight of *Meta Incognita* (*c*), being part of New Groenland; towards which advancing, they endeavoured to find out a harbour, and to land, but could not for the reaſons juſt now mentioned (*d*). Auguſt the 10th he went on a deſart iſland, three miles from the continent; but ſtay'd there only a few hours. The next day, in latitude 63 degrees 8 minutes, he entered into a Streight, which he called, and that hath ever ſince borne the name of, *Forbiſher's Streight*; and went as far as 60 leagues in it. On the 12th, ſailing to Gabriel's-iſland, they came to a Sound, which they named *Prior's-Sound*, and anchored in a ſandy bay there. The 15th they ſailed to *Prior's-bay*: the 17th to *Thomas Williams*'s iſland: and the 18th came to an anchor under *Burcher*'s iſland; where they went on ſhore, and had ſome communication with the natives [*E*]: but he was ſo unfortunate as to have five of his men, and a boat, taken by thoſe barbarians. Having endeavoured in vain to recover them, he ſet again ſail for England on the 26th of Auguſt; came within ſight of Freeſeland the 1ſt of September; and, notwithſtanding a terrible ſtorm on the 7th of the ſame month, he arrived ſafe at Harwich October the 2d (*e*). He took poſſeſſion of the country in the Queen of England's name; and, in token of ſuch poſſeſſion, ordered his men to bring him whatever they could firſt find. One, among the reſt, brought a piece of black ſtone, much like a ſea-coal, but very weighty. Having, at his return, diſtributed fragments of it among his friends, one of the adventurer's wives threw a fragment into the fire; which being taken out again, and quenched in vinegar, gliſtered like gold; and being tried by ſome refiners in London, was found to contain a rich quantity of that metal (*f*). From this Eſſay, the Nation dreaming of nothing but mountains of gold, great numbers earneſtly preſſed, and ſoon fitted out, Capt. Frobiſher to undertake a *Second* Voyage the very next Spring. The Queen lent him a ſhip of the royal navy, named the Aid, of 200 tun; and he had beſides two ſmall barks, of about 30 tuns a-piece: one named The Gabriel, and the other The Michael. His whole complement, of gentlemen, ſoldiers, and ſailors, was about 140 [*F*], furniſhed with victuals, and all other neceſſaries for half a year (*g*). May 26, 1577, they fell down to Graveſend [*G*], and two days after came to Harwich, where Capt. Forbiſher went on board; having been to take his leave of the Queen, who was then at the Earl of Warwick's ſeat in Eſſex. The Privy-Council having ſent him orders, not to take in more men than the number appointed him, he diſcharged ſeveral to their great grief: And ſetting ſail May 31, arrived in St Magnus Sound at the Orkney-iſlands June 7. After having taken there a few neceſſaries, they proceeded, June 8, on their voyage; and kept their courſe

(*c*) Which they wrongly ſuppoſed to be Labrador. Hakluyt, ibid. p. 30.

(*d*) Ibid. and p. 58.

(*e*) Hakluyt, ibid. p. 31, 51.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 60.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 32, 60.

by their good miſtreſs Queen Elizabeth, appears by this paſſage, out of the account of their voyage. '*We* 'bare down by the Court [then at Greenwich] where 'we ſhotte off our ordinance, and made the beſt ſhew 'we coulde. Her Majeſtie beholding the ſame, com-'mended it, and bade us farewell, with ſhaking her 'hand at us out of the window. Afterward ſhee ſent 'a gentleman aboord of us, who declared that her 'Majeſtie had good liking of our doings, and thanked 'us for it, and alſo willed our Captaine to come the 'next day to the Court to take his leave of her. The 'ſame day towards night, Mr Secretarie Woolly came 'aboorde of us, and declared to the company, that 'her Majeſtie had appointed him to give them charge 'to be obe[illegible] and diligent to their Captaine, and 'governours in all things, and wiſhed us happie ſuc-'ceſſe (2).'

(2) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 29.

[*D*] *And was all covered with ſnow.*] George Beſt, who writ an account of this voyage, affirms, that Captain Frobiſher, 'not far from hence, loſt 'company of his ſmall pinnace; which he ſuppoſed, 'in a great ſtorm, to be ſwallowed up by the ſea, 'but loſt in it only four men. Alſo that the other 'bark, named the Michael, conveyed themſelves 'away privately from him, and returned home, with 'a ſtrong report that he was caſt away.' Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, and tho' his maſt was ſprung, and his top-maſt blown over-board with extream foul weather, he continued his courſe (3).—— But the other relation of the ſame voyage, written by Chriſtopher Hall, Maſter of the Gabriel, mentions no ſuch thing (4).

(3) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 58. See alſo Holinſhed'sChron. edit. 1587. p. 1262.

(4) Hakluyt, as above, p. 30.

[*E*] *And had ſome communication with the natives.*] They were like the Tartars, or Samoeids, with long black hair, broad faces, flat noſes, and tawny: the garments both of men and women were made of ſeal-ſkins, and did not differ in faſhion. But the women were marked in the face with blue ſtreaks, down the cheeks, and round the eyes. Their boats were made of ſeals-ſkins, with a keel of wood within the ſkins; flat at bottom, and ſharp at both ends (5). They appeared, by ſeveral circumſtances, to be a diſperſed and wandring nation, living in hords and troops, without any certain place of abode (6).

(5) Hakluyt, ibid. p. 31, 59, 93.

(6) Ibid. p. 67.

[*F*] *His whole complement of gentlemen, ſoldiers, and ſailors was about* 140.] Thoſe on board the Aid, officers and gentlemen were, Martin Frobiſher, General of the whole company for her Majeſty; George Beſt, Lieutenant; Richard Philpot, Enſign; Francis Forder, Corporal of the Shot; Chriſtopher Hall, Maſter; Charles Jackman, Mate; Andrew Dier, Pilot; Richard Cox, Maſter-gunner. Together with theſe gentlemen, Henry Carew, Edmund Staffford, John Lee, M. Harvie, Matthew and Robert Kinerſley, Abraham Lins, Francis Brakenbury, William Armſhow.——The chief on board the Gabriel; Captain Edward Fenton, a gentleman of the Earl of Warwick's; William Tanfield, Gent; William Smyth, Maſter.——On board the Michael; Captain Gilbert Yorke, a gentleman of the Lord Admiral's; Thomas Chamberlaine, Gent; James Beare, Maſter (7).

(7) Hakluyt, p. 32, 60, 61.

[*G*] *May* 26. 1577, *they fell down to Graveſend.*] And there performed an act of religion, not ſo frequent as it ought to be among men of their profeſſion, expoſed to ſo many perils; of which be pleaſed to take an account in the words of their journal. 'On Mun-'day morning the 27th of May, aboord the Ayde 'we received all the Communion by the Miniſter of 'Graveſend, and prepared us as good Chriſtians to-'wards God, and reſolute men for all fortunes (8).'

(8) Hakluyt, p. 61.

[*H*] *With-*

courſe Weſt-North-Weſt, for the ſpace of 26 days, without ſight of any land [*H*]. At length, on the 4th of July being in the latitude of 60 degrees and a half, they diſcovered Freeſeland; along the coaſt of which they found iſlands of ice of incredible bigneſs [*I*]. Not having been able ſafely to land in this place, they proceeded for *Forbiſher*'s Streights, and, on the 17th of the ſaid month, made the North-Foreland in them, otherwiſe named Hall's iſland (*b*); as alſo a ſmaller iſle of the ſame name, where they had, in their laſt voyage, found the ore, but could not get now a piece ſo big as a wallnut. However, they met with good quantity of it in other adjacent iſlands. On the 19th they went upon Hall's greater iſland, to diſcover the country, and the nature of the inhabitants; with ſome of whom they traffick'd [*K*], and took one of them, neither in a very juſt nor handſome manner: And upon a Hill here, they erected a Column of Stones, which they called Mount Warwick. The 21ſt they diſcovered a Bay into which they anchored, and named it *Jackman's Sound*, from the Maſter's mate, who firſt lik'd the place. Upon a ſmall iſland within it, called *Smith's iſland* (from one of that name who firſt ſet up his forge there), they found mines, both of ſilver and gold; but not ſufficient, it ſeems, to merit their attention [*L*]. As they went along theſe ſtreights, they landed on both ſides, namely July 23d on the South ſide [*M*], and the 26th on the North ſide, without meeting any thing very remarkable. One of the Bays they anchored in, was named by them *Beare's Sound*, from James Beare Maſter of the Michael; and an iſland in it, *Leiceſter's iſle*, in honour of Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter. Another bay received the appellation of *Yorke's Sound*, from Gilbert Yorke Captain of the Michael; under whoſe conduct, a party landing in an iſland there, had a bloody conflict with ſome of the natives, five or ſix of which they killed, and brought away a woman with her child [*N*]. Further up, they named

(*b*) He was maſter of the Gabriel, in the former voyage. Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 63.

[*H*] *Without ſight of any land.*] But they met great drifts of wood, and whole bodies of trees: which were either blown off the cliffs of the neareſt lands, by violent ſtorms; or rooted up, and carried by floods into the ſea. They imagined, that they were brought from ſome part of the Newfound-land, with the current that ſetteth from the Weſt to the Eaſt (9).

(9) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 33, 61.

[*I*] *Along the coaſt of which they found iſlands of ice of incredible bigneſs.*] Some were ſeventy or eighty fathoms under water, beſides the part that ſtood above water; and more than half a mile in circuit. Upon taſting the ice of which they conſiſted, it was found quite freſh without brackiſhneſs. From whence they concluded, that thoſe iſlands were bred, in the founds or bays adjoining, either from melted ſnow, or freſh rivers, and driven with the wind and tide along the coaſts. For, as to their proceeding from the ſuppoſed *Mare Glaciale*, or frozen ſea; that they looked upon as abſurd (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 62.

[*K*] *With ſome of whom they trafficked.*] Their manner of trafficking was thus: two on each ſide met, without weapons, at a good diſtance from the reſt of their company. And then laying down upon the ground what they could or choſe to part withal, they retired a little. If the ſavages liked what the others had ſet down, they took it, leaving their own goods in exchange: but if they did not like what was put down, they took up again their own wares, and marched away (11).

(11) Ibid. p. 63.

[*L*] *But not ſufficient, it ſeems, to merit their attention.*] Upon another iſland near, they found a Sea-Unicorn dead, about twelve foot long, and of a proportionable bigneſs; having a horn two yards long growing out of its ſnout, which they brought home, and is ſtill kept at Windſor (12).

(12) Ibid. p. 65. And Supplement at the end of Sir John Narborough's, &c. Voyages, p. 190.

[*M*] *Namely, July 23, on the South ſide.*] What they did there, I ſhall relate in their own words. 'Our General commanding a trumpet to ſound a call 'for every man to repair to the enſign, he declared 'to the whole company [being about ſeventy in num-'ber] how much the cauſe imported for the ſervice 'of her Majeſtie, our countrey, our credits, and the 'ſafetie of our own lives; and therefore required 'every man to be conformable to order, and to be 'directed by thoſe he ſhould aſſigne. And he ap-'pointed for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine 'Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beſte: which 'done, we caſt ourſelves into a ring, and all togither 'upon our knees, gave God humble thanks for that 'it had pleaſed him of his great goodneſs to preſerve 'us from ſuch imminent dangers, beſeeching likewiſe 'the aſſiſtance of his holy ſpirite, ſo to deliver us in 'ſafetie into our countrey, whereby the light and 'truth of theſe ſecrets being knowen, it might re-'dound to the more honour of his holy name, and 'conſequently to the advancement of our Common-'wealth. And ſo, in as good ſort as the place ſuf-'fered, we marched towards the tops of the moun-'taines, which were no leſſe painfull in climbing then 'dangerous in deſcending, by reaſon of their ſteep-'neſſe and yce. And having paſſed about five miles, 'by ſuch unwieldy wayes, we returned unto our ſhips 'without ſight of any people, or likelihood of habi-'tation (13).'

(13) Hakluyt, p. 65.

[*N*] *Five of which they killed, and brought away a woman with her child.*] It is manifeſt from our people's own account, that they were the aggreſſors, and attacked the poor ſavages in their boats: a ſtrange way of endeavouring to civilize thoſe people! It might be ſaid, by way of excuſe, that it was done as a kind of retaliation for their taking the five Engliſh, the year before: but this excuſe cannot hold good, unleſs it had been quite certain, that the perſons thus attacked were the very ſame that had taken thoſe five priſoners.——The woman they took, was encumbred with a child, which prevented her eſcape. And, in ſhooting at her, they wounded the child in one arm; to cure which the Engliſh chirurgeon applied ſalves. But the mother, not acquainted with ſuch kind of ſurgery, plucked off the plaiſter; and by continual licking of the wound with her tongue, healed the child's arm (14).——Having now a woman for the man they had taken before, they brought them together; and extreme was their ſurpriſe, and ſtrange their geſtures and behaviour, at their firſt meeting. They ſtared a while at each other, without ſpeaking a word; tho' great and viſible was the change in their colour and countenance all the while. At laſt, the woman ſuddenly turned away, and fell a ſinging as if ſhe had minded ſomething elſe, ſeeming to diſdain or not regard the man. But being brought together again, the man broke ſilence firſt, and with a ſtern and ſtayed countenanced began a long ſtory, which the woman attentively liſtened to, without interrupting him. Afterwards being grown better acquainted by converſing together, they ſeemed not to be eaſy without each other's company. But tho' ſhe would do all kind and friendly offices for him, as a good houſewife yet they never knew one another as man and wife; [having undoubtedly left ſome behind, in that relation to each other, when they were taken.] And ſo extremely ſtrict and remarkable was their baſhfulneſs and modeſty, that they could not bear to appear naked in each other's preſence, or any one's elſe: and their continence very much ſurpaſſed that of multitudes of Chriſtians, and others ſo in name, who pretend to more politeneſs and knowledge, but really have much leſs virtue and morality, than thoſe honeſt heathens (15).

(14) Ibid. p. 68.

(15) Ibid. p. 69.

[O] *And*

named another bay, with an iſland, *Anne Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, and Iſland.* And this was the furtheſt place they went, this year, within thoſe Streights [O]; being only about 30 leagues (*i*). For, the Captain's commiſſion directed him, in this voyage, only to ſearch for ore, and to leave the further diſcovery of the North-Weſt paſſage till another time (*k*). Having therefore, in the iſland laſt mentioned, found a good quantity of ore, he took a lading of it; intending, the firſt opportunity, to return home. But, before that, he would fain have recovered the five men he loſt the foregoing year; for which purpoſe he landed in ſeveral adjacent places [P], and uſed all poſſible and imaginable means, tho' ſtill in vain (*l*). So, deſpairing of ever ſeeing them again, they ſet ſail on the 23d of Auguſt; and, tho' very much toſſed and ſeparated by ſtorms, all ſafely arrived in England, about the end of September, the Aid at Milford-haven, the Gabriel at Briſtol, and the Michael at Yarmouth. In this voyage they loſt only two men; the Maſter of the Gabriel, who was waſhed over-board; and one who died at ſea, being ill when he went out (*m*). Capt. Frobiſher was moſt graciouſly received by the Queen, whoſe ſingular pleaſure and glory it was, to extend the Engliſh name and trade to the furtheſt parts of the habitable world. And, as the gold ore he brought had an appearance and ſhew of great riches and profit; and the hopes of a North-Weſt paſſage to China were greatly increaſed by this ſecond voyage, the Queen appointed Commiſſioners to make trial of the ore, and examine thoroughly into the whole affair. Alſo the new-diſcovered country not being known by any particular name, her Majeſty named it *Meta Incognita* (*n*). The Commiſſioners, after ſufficient proof of the ore, and examination of every circumſtance, reported, How great was the value of the undertaking; and the expediency of further carrying on the diſcovery of the North-Weſt paſſage. Whereupon ſuitable preparations were made, with all poſſible diſpatch. And, becauſe the mines newly found out were ſufficient to anſwer all Adventurers charges, it was thought neceſſary to ſend a ſelect number of ſoldiers, and other proper perſons, to ſecure the places already diſcovered, to make further diſcoveries in the inland parts, and to ſearch again for the paſſage to Cathay. As they were to be left behind, a ſtrong Fort of timber was framed to be ſet up at their landing, in order to protect them from the injuries of the weather, and defend them againſt all attacks of the natives. The adventurers which willingly offered, and were appointed, to ſtay in that cold and deſart country all the year round, were 100 in number; whereof 40 were mariners for the uſe of the ſhips, 30 miners to dig the ore, and 30 ſoldiers to guard the whole company, in which laſt number were included the gentlemen, refiners, bakers, carpenters, and other uſeful perſons. Their leaders were Capt. Edward Fenton, Lieutenant-general to Admiral Frobiſher, Capt Beſt, and Capt. Philpot. To each of theſe Captains was aſſigned one ſhip; as well for the better ſearching of the coaſt and country; as to bring them back again to England, if they ſhould be driven by neceſſity, or diſappointed of a fleet's coming the next year. Beſides theſe three ſhips, twelve others were fitted out for this voyage [Q], which were to return in the end of the Summer, with a lading of gold ore (*o*). They aſſembled at Harwich the 27th of May, from whence they departed the 31ſt of the ſame month, and ſailing Weſtward through the Engliſh channel, arrived, June 6, at Cape Clear in Ireland. Then they bent their courſe Northward [R], and in fourteen days came within ſight of Weſt Freeſeland, where the General went on ſhore, and taking poſſeſſion of the country in the Queen of England's name, named it *Weſt England*; and one high cliff therein, *Charing-Croſs.* June the 23d they made for Forbiſher's-ſtreights, and on the

(*i*) Hakluyt, p. 66.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 70.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 69, 70, 71.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 39, 73.

(*n*) i.e. An unknown mark, or boundary.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 74.

[O] *And this was the furtheſt place they went this year, within thoſe ſtreights.*] They obſerved, among other things, that in the narroweſt parts, they were nine leagues broad at the leaſt (16).

(16) Ibid. p. 69.

[P] *For which purpoſe he landed in ſeveral adjacent places.*] Upon the main land over againſt the Counteſs's iſland, they obſerved with aſtoniſhment the caves or winter-habitations of the natives. They were two fathoms under ground, round like an oven, and had a communication with each other. That the water falling from the hills above might not annoy them, there were proper trenches made deep under them, to carry off the water. And generally they were ſeated at the foot of a hill, in order to be ſecured from the piercing cold winds; for which reaſon alſo, the door or entrance into them was always towards the South. From the ground upward they were built with whales bones, for want of timber, which bending one over another, were handſomly compacted together at the top; and covered with ſeals ſkins, inſtead of tiles that are unknown in that country. Each of theſe houſes conſiſted only of one room, and half of the floor was raiſed with broad ſtones a foot higher than the reſt; upon which ſtrewing moſs, the poor inhabitants laid themſelves down to reſt (17).

(17) Ibid. p. 66.

[Q] *Beſides theſe three ſhips, twelve others were fitted out for this voyage.*] The names of all the ſhips, and of their Captains, were, the Aid, being the Admiral-ſhip, in which was the General Capt. Frobiſher; the Thomas Allen, Vice-Admiral, Capt. Yorke; the Judith, Lieutenant-general, Capt. Fenton; the Anne Francis, Capt. Beſt; the Hopewell, Capt. Carew; the Beare, Capt. Philpot; the Thomas of Ipſwich, Capt. Tanfield; the Emmanuel of Exeter, Capt. Courtney; the Francis of Fowey, Capt. Moyles; the Moone, Capt. Upcot; the Emmanuel of Bridgwater, Capt. Newton; the Solomon [or Salamander] of Weymouth, Capt. Randal; the Bark Dennis, Capt. Kendal; the Gabriel, Capt. Harvey; the Michael, Capt. Kinerſley (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 75.

[R] *Then they bent their courſe northward.*] As they were ſailing towards the Northweſt parts from Ireland, they met with a great current from the Southweſt, which carried them one point to the Northeaſtward of their courſe. And it ſeemed to continue towards Norway, and other North-eaſt parts of the world; which made them believe it to be the ſame, the Portugueſe had obſerved at the Cape of Good Hope. That, in their opinion, being obſtructed in its weſtern courſe by the narrowneſs of the ſtreights of Magellan, ran along into the Bay of Mexico, where alſo meeting another obſtruction from the land, it was forced to ſtrike back towards the North-eaſt (19).

(19) Ibid. p. 76.

[S] *Which*

the 2d of July came within the mouth of them; but being obſtructed by the ice (which ſunk the Bark Dennis) [S], and driven out to ſea by a violent ſtorm, they were ſo unfortunate as not to hit the entrance into them again. For, inſtead thereof, being deceived by a ſwift current from the North-Eaſt, which had dragged them many miles more South-Weſtward than was thought poſſible, and remaining twenty days in a continual fog, they ran above ſixty leagues into Streights hitherto unknown [T], before they were ſenſible of their miſtake. However, coming back again, the Admiral made for the real Streights that bore his name; and, on the 23d of July, at a place within them called *Hatton's head-land*, found ſeven ſhips of his fleet, by which he was heartily welcomed. At length, on the 31ſt of the ſame month, after many difficulties, he recovered his long deſired port, and came to anchor in the Counteſs of Warwick's ſound (p). But the ſeaſon of the year was ſo far advanced, that he could not pretend to undertake any new diſcoveries during this voyage; and part of the wooden Fort being loſt, a Council which was called, did not think it adviſeable to leave thoſe perſons behind, that were carried on purpoſe to winter in that deſolate country [U]. So all that remained to do, was to get as much ore as they poſſibly could; which they did in great quantities, particularly out of a new place, named by them the Counteſs of Suſſex's mine (q). Whilſt the ſhips were loading, General Forbiſher having an extreme deſire of making ſome further Diſcovery, went higher up the Streights in a pinnace; and found, that by Beare's ſound and Hall's iſland the land was not firm, as he imagined, but all broken iſlands, in form of an Archipelago. At the ſame time, the maſons were employed in building a houſe of lime and ſtone upon the Counteſs of Warwick's iſland; by way of trial, to ſee what effect the froſt and ſnow would have upon it againſt the next Seaſon, or whether the natives would take it to pieces. And to allure them to civility againſt other times of their coming, they left in the houſe, bells, knives, looking-glaſſes, pictures of men and women in lead, whiſtles, and ſuch other toys as they knew them to be delighted with. They made alſo an oven in the houſe, and left bread baked, for them to ſee and taſte. The timber of their intended fort, they buried; and ſowed peaſe, corn, and other grain, to try what the ſoil would produce againſt their coming again. On the laſt day of Auguſt, and the day following, the whole fleet ſet ſail from the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound; and, after a ſtormy and very dangerous paſſage, arrived ſafely in England, about the beginning of October. The Emmanuel of Bridgewater being left behind the reſt, in great danger of never getting out of the ice, was forced to ſeek a way Northward, beyond Beare's ſound, through an unknown channel full of rocks, into the North-Sea, upon the back of Frobiſher's Streights [W]. And, in her paſſage home, to the South-Eaſt of Freeſeland, diſcovered a great Iſland in the latitude of 57 degrees and a half, which was never found before; along the coaſt of which they ſailed for three days, the land ſeeming to be fruitful, full of woods, and a champain country. In all this voyage, there died not above forty perſons in the whole fleet: a ſmall number, conſidering the extreme hardſhips and the variety of fortunes they underwent (r)! We can find no account, how Capt. Forbiſher employed himſelf from this time till the year 1585, when he commanded the Aid, in Sir Francis Drake's Expedition to the Weſt-Indies; which was attended with the glorious ſucceſs of taking and ſacking St Domingo in Hiſpaniola, Carthagena on the continent, and Santa Juſtina in Florida, three towns of great importance (s) [X]. In 1588, he bravely exerted himſelf in the defence

(p) Ibid. p. 84.

(q) Ibid. p. 90.

(r) Ibid. p. 91, 92, 93.

(s) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, in Collection of Voyages, printed for Churchill. edit. 1745. Vol. III. p. 155.

[S] *Which ſunk the Bark Dennis.*] All the men were ſaved; but part of the timber-frame of the Fort, which was in this ſhip, ſunk with it, and was irrecoverably loſt (20).

(20) Hakluyt, p. 78.

[T] *They ran above ſixty leagues into Streights hitherto unknown.*] Theſe were the Streights between the Iſle Deſolation, and another Iſle ſouth of the ſame. Such as ſailed furtheſt into them, met with the outlet or paſſage leading into Forbiſher's Streights. And ſome had ſight of a ſuppoſed continent on their left hand, but could make no part of it exactly; except certain iſlands in the entrance thereof. That whole track of land ſeemed to be more fruitful, and better ſtored with deer, foxes, hares, and all kind of fowl, than any part they had yet diſcovered, and more populous (21).

(21) Ibid. p. 81.

[U] *That were carried on purpoſe to winter in that deſolate country.*] The chief reaſons againſt their ſtaying, were theſe. Upon peruſing the bills of lading, it was found, that only the Eaſt and South ſides of the Fort were arrived, and thoſe not entire; for many pieces had been uſed by ſome of the ſhips when they were diſtreſſed by the ice, and broken or loſt. Then, there was not a ſufficient quantity of drink and fuel for the number of perſons that were to be left. And upon enquiring of the Carpenters and Maſons, what time it would take up to erect a houſe only for ſixty men; they replied, eight or nine weeks, if there were timber ſufficient. Whereas now there were but ſix and twenty days in all, they could ſtay in that miſerable cold country. For theſe reaſons, the deſign was abſolutely laid aſide, at leaſt for this year (22).

(22) Ibid. p. 86.

[W] *Upon the back of Forbiſher's Streights.*] The General himſelf had gone into this paſſage with his pinnace; and ſome of his company diſcovered therein (as they affirmed) a large foreland; from whence they imagined here was a great probability of the wideſt paſſage towards the South-Sea (23). Time has ſhewn that they were miſtaken.——For a further account of the attempts made ſince to diſcover the North-weſt paſſage, ſee what was publiſhed upon that ſubject by Arthur Dobbs, Eſq; Capt. C. Middleton, in 1743. and 1744. and Capt. Ellis, in 1746, and 1747.

(23) Ibid. p. 93.

[X] *Three towns of great importance.*] This fleet, (as Sir William Monſon obſerves,) was the greateſt of any nation but the Spaniards, that had been ever ſeen in thoſe ſeas from the firſt diſcovery of them (24); and if it had been as well conſidered of before their going from home, as it was happily performed by the valour of the undertakers, it had more annoyed the King of Spain than all other actions that enſued during the time of the war.—For had we kept and defended thoſe places, when in our poſſeſſion, and provided to have been relieved and ſuccoured out of England, we had diverted the war from this part of Europe;——and with more eaſe incroached upon the reſt of the Indies, than the King of Spain could have aided or ſuccoured them (25).

(24) It conſiſted of twenty-five ſail.

(25) Monſon's Tracts, p. 155.

[Y] Of

fence of his country againſt the Spaniſh Armada; commanding then the Triumph, one of the three largeſt ſhips in that ſervice, and which had on board the greateſt number of men of any in the whole Engliſh fleet (*t*). On the 26th of July, he received the honour of Knighthood, from the hand of the Lord High-Admiral, at ſea, on board his own ſhip the Ark, amongſt four others of the gallanteſt officers (*u*); for a reward, and encouragement, of their moſt diſtinguiſhed and unparallel'd valour (*w*). And when, after this ſignal victory, Queen Elizabeth thought it neceſſary to keep a fleet on the Spaniſh coaſt, as well to hinder the freſh preparations King Philip might make againſt her, as to intercept his flota's from America, Sir Martin was employed in that ſervice; particularly in 1590, when he commanded a ſquadron, as Sir John Hawkins did another: But tho' they alarmed the coaſts of Spain, and ranged as far as Tercera (*x*), they had not ſo good ſucceſs in making of prizes; as in 1592, when two ſhips of good value were taken by Sir Martin, and a rich carack by another part of his ſquadron (*y*). In 1594, he was ſent with four men of war (*z*) to the aſſiſtance of Henry IV, King of France, againſt a body of the Leaguers and Spaniards then in poſſeſſion of part of Bretagne, which had fortified themſelves very ſtrongly at Croyzon near Breſt. But in an aſſault upon that fort, on the 7th of November, Sir Martin unfortunately was wounded with a ball in the hip, or ſide, of which he died [*Y*] ſoon after he had ſafely brought back the fleet to Plymouth (*a*); and was buried in that town (*b*). Some accuſe him, of having been harſh and violent (*c*); but he is univerſally allowed, to have been a man of great and undaunted courage, and inferior to none of his age in Experience and Conduct, or the reputation of a brave Commander (*d*).

(*t*) It was a ſhip of 500 tuns, and had on board 1100 men. Liſt of the Engliſh fleet, in the Deſcription of the Tapeſtry, as below.

(*u*) The Lord Thomas Howard, Edmund Lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, and John Hawkins.

(*w*) Deſcription by P. M. of the Tapeſtry Hangings in the Houſe of Lords, engraved by J. Pine. 1738. fol. p. 9, 13, 16.

(*x*) Linſchoten's Voyages, ch. 99.

(*y*) Monſon's Tracts, p. 162, 164.

(*z*) Stow ſays ten, which is more probable. Ubi ſupra.

(*a*) The memorable ſervice of Sir John Norice, at Breſt, in Britaine, by Tho. Churchyard. Lond. 1602, 4to. p. 135—141. And Monſon's Tracts, p. 166.

(*b*) Stow's Annales, p. 809.

(*c*) Stow, ibid.

(*d*) Churchyard, ubi ſupra, p. 141. And Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1594.

[*Y*] *Of which he died.*] The wound was not in itſelf mortal, but became ſo through the negligence of his chirurgeon; who only extracted the bullet, without duly ſearching the wound, and taking out the wadding that was driven in, which cauſed the wound to feſter (26). There is a good painting of him in the Picture-gallery at Oxford. C

(26) Stow, ubi ſupra.

FULLER (THOMAS), an eminent Divine and Hiſtorian in the reigns of King Charles the Firſt and Second; was the ſon of the Rev. Mr *Thomas Fuller*, Miniſter of St Peter's, in the town of Alwincle, or Oldwincle (*a*), near Oundel in Northamptonſhire; who being preſented to that benefice by William Cecil, Earl of Exeter, as may be gathered from our author's account in the ſame place, did, by the painful diſcharge of his paſtoral office, and peaceful evaſion of thoſe diſputes and controverſies, ſo frequent in his time between the Puritans and Papiſts, acquit himſelf there with general ſatisfaction; and was in good eſteem among the moſt eminent *Literati* in thoſe parts, particularly Sir Robert Cotton; who once told him, he had met with a true *Plantagenet* at plough (*). In that town (which is ſome five miles diſtant from) and not in Oundel, as David Lloyd miſtakes (*b*), his ſaid ſon, Thomas, was born in the year 1608 (*c*). His mother was ſiſter to Dr John Davenant, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury; as from his own, and other writings, may be gathered [*A*]: and that town was many years reckoned moſt notable for being the birthplace of this *Hiſtorian*; as it was afterwards, for giving his firſt breath alſo to Mr Dryden, the famous Poet. His pregnant parts were ſo ripened, under his father's tuition, for the Univerſity, when he was not above twelve years of age, that he was then ſent, in 1620, to Queen's College in Cambridge (*d*), where his father had been, it ſeems, himſelf educated; and here, under the care and government of his uncle Dr Davenant, then Maſter of that College, and ſoon after Biſhop, as aforeſaid, he made ſuch extraordinary progreſs in his learning, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1624, and that of Maſter in 1628 (*e*), with general approbation, and at ſuch an unuſual age, that it is obſerved the like early commencement had not been within memory. About the end of thoſe *firſt eight years* education, which he received in this Univerſity, at that College (*f*) there became a Fellowſhip vacant, for which he ſtood candidate; and he had a double proſpect of ſucceeding, by merit as well as intereſt, beſides the inclinations of the whole Houſe; but all

(*a*) See Dr Fuller's Piſgah-Sight of Paleſtine, fol. in the Epiſt. Dedic. of lib. 5, to John Lord Burghley, p. 140. Alſo, his mixt Contemplations in better times, 8vo. 1660. Part ii. p. 64.

(*) Fuller's Church Hiſt. fol. 170.

(*b*) In his Memoirs of the Lives, &c. of the Nobles & others, who ſuffered for their Allegiance, from 1637 to 1660, &c. fol. 1668. p. 523.

(*c*) Computed from the Inſcription engraven by D. Loggan, round his Effigies, before his Worthies; and other Evidences hereafter occurring.

(*d*) The Life of that Rev. Divine, and learned Hiſtorian, Dr Thomas Fuller, edit. Lond. Printed for J. W. &c. 8vo. 1661. P. 3.

(*e*) The Univerſity Regiſter.

(*f*) See Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 82.

[*A*] *As from his own writings and others may be gathered.*] Sir Anthony Welden informs us, that, among the Eccleſiaſtics in King James his reign, 'ſome 'worthy men were preferred *gratis*, to blow up the 'fame of Buckingham, and his party; as Dr Townſon, who paid nothing in fine or penſion; and after 'him, Davenant in the ſame Biſhoprick; yet, that, 'theſe were but as muſic before every hound (1).' Whereupon our author Dr Fuller makes this reflexion: 'Tho' both theſe perſons here praiſed, were my god-'fathers, and uncles; the one marrying the *ſiſter* of, 'the other being *brother* to, my *mother*: yet it does 'not tempt me to accept his praiſes, upon ſuch in-'vidious terms; knowing, thoſe Biſhops, if alive, 'would condemn ſuch uncharitable commendations, 'which are, if not founded on, accompanied with, 'the diſgrace of others of their order:' and tho' he grants that, 'corruption was too common in this kind; 'yet were there, beſides them, many worthy Biſhops 'raiſed by their deſerts, without any ſimoniacal com-'pliances (2).' Now, to that notice which our author here takes of his ſaid uncles, if we join what Anthony Wood ſays of them, 'that the former, Dr Ro-'bert Townſon, dying 15 May 1621, left fifteen 'children by his wife Margaret; and that the latter, 'Dr John Davenant, who died 20 of April 1641, 'was enjoined by King James not to take a wife (3),' we may conclude that, the ſaid Margaret, whom the former married, was ſiſter to Mrs Fuller our author's mother; and that the latter, who probably never was married, was Mrs Fuller's own brother, and conſequently that the maiden name of both the ſiſters was Davenant. Of his ſaid uncle Davenant, he has more than once ſpoken elſewhere (4).

(1) Sir A. Welden's Court and Character of K. James, p. 129, 130.

(2) Worthies of England, in Cambridgſhire p. 154.

(3) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 157.

(4) Church Hiſt. Book xi. fol. 176. And his Worthies of England, in London, fol. 207, &c.

all their hopes were fruſtrated by the College ſtatutes, which, prohibiting the admittance of two Fellows from the ſaid county of Northampton, he relinquiſhed his pretenſions thereto, tho' he knew that a diſpenſation could have been procured for him; ſo unwilling to obtain that preferment was he, by ſetting others ſuch a precedent of irregularity (*g*). Thereupon, thro' the invitation of ſome learned friends, he tranſplanted himſelf in, or a little later than, the year laſt mentioned, to *Sidney College* in the ſame Univerſity (*). Here he was pupil under Dr Samuel Ward, Maſter thereof, and Margaret Profeſſor for above twenty-years (*h*). His private ſtudies, at this time, were chiefly *Divine Poetry*; and the firſt ſpecimen of it, that we find in print, was about three years after publiſhed [*B*]. In that College he had not been long ſettled, before he was choſen Miniſter of St *Bennet's* pariſh, in the town of Cambridge; in which church he offered the firſt fruits of his paſtoral office; and here, by the moſt ſublime Divinity, in the moſt raviſhing elegancies, ſays my author, he attracted the audience of the Univerſity (*i*), and became a very popular preacher, at thoſe years when others are ſcarce publickly known. Being now arrived to the age of twenty-three (*k*), his extraordinary qualifications tendered him the Prebendſhip, in Saliſbury Cathedral, of *Netherbury in Eccleſia*, to which he was collated upon the deceaſe of Dr John Rawlinſon, on the 18th of June 1631 (*l*), and at the ſame time a Fellowſhip in *Sidney* College; whereupon he retired from the Univerſity, and betook himſelf to his prieſtly function, being thereunto ordained by Biſhop Davenant. And that Prebend was a commodious ſtep to another preferment more profitable, in the ſame dioceſe; being ſoon after inducted to the Rectory of *Broad-Winſor*, in Dorſetſhire; of which he mentions himſelf to have been once Miniſter (*m*), and, upon his advancement to this Benefice, he ſeems to date, in one place, the diſcontinuance of his living at Cambridge, about 1634 (*n*). After he had here exerciſed for ſome time his miniſterial charge, he was perſuaded by ſome friends to dignify his deſert, with the degrees which his time and ſtanding in the Univerſity allowed him. Accordingly, he returned to Cambridge, was gladly received, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1635 (*o*); and this commencement, thro' the extenſion of

(*g*) The Life of Dr Fuller, as before, p. 4.

(*) Idem, p. 5.

(*h*) His Worthies of Eng. in Durham, fol. 292. And Hiſt. of Cambridge, fol. 168.

(*i*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 5.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 556. Alſo the Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Cathed. Church of Saliſbury, &c. edit. 8vo. 1719. p. 332.

(*m*) Worthies of Eng. in Dorſetſhire, fol. 278.

(*n*) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 167.

(*o*) Univerſity Regiſter.

[*B*] *The firſt ſpecimen of his* DIVINE POETRY *in print, was about three years after publiſhed.*] The firſt performance of our author that has appeared to us in print, being a *Divine Poem*, very rare to be met with, and having had no deſcription given of it, the following account may not be unacceptable to the curious. It is entituled, DAVID's *Hainous Sin, Heartie Repentance, and Heavie Puniſhment.* By THOMAS FULLER, Maſter of Arts, of *Sidney* College in *Cambridge*. London, printed by T. Coates, &c. in a thin 8vo. 1631. 'Tis dedicated in verſe, To the Honourable Mr *William* and Mr *Chriſtopher Montagu*, ſons of the Right Honourable *Edward* Lord *Montagu* of *Boughton*. The whole three parts, conſiſt of 144 ſtanzas, of ſeven lines each; four *alternate*, and a *triplet* in baſe. A critical reader of poetry might find matters of remark in it; either to commend in ſome agreeable deſcriptions, natural ſimilies, and inſtructive reflections; or to cenſure in ſome few parts of the ſtyle, which were faſhionable elegancies in thoſe times: but in the whole, promiſing that, had he perſevered in the ſtudy and culture of poetry, his genius might have advanced him to ſome conſiderable rank among thoſe contemporaries, who were then favourites of the Muſes. His good ſenſe and ingenuity at that age, is diſtinguiſhable enough; his verſification is more compact or limited, and uſually flows with ſmoother cadence, than that of ſome riper wits of great name in thoſe days. Among other obſervable parts, the very propoſition and invocation are very comprehenſive, ſolemn, and regular: the perſuaſions of *David* by the *Spirit*, and the *Fleſh*; with the deſcription of *Uriah*'s drunkenneſs are very natural: the obſequious offer of the Elements to deſtroy *David* upon his tranſgreſſion, and after his reſtitution, to relieve and cheriſh him, are ſomewhat *Pictureſque*, and touching upon *Spenſer*'s imagry in miniature: his compariſon of thoſe variable *Elements* upon this occaſion, to temporiſing *Courtiers*, who will fawn upon a Miniſter, when he is reſtored to favour, as faſt as they flouted him in diſgrace, looks to have ſomething in it perfectly alive; and ſo does that figure, wherein we may imagine that we ſee *Abſolom* cringing, with ſupple neck and knees about the Court, to gather up what alms and fragments he could of popular favour and intereſt, by ſeizing upon one man's *hand*, to ſteal away his *heart*; and ſucking out the *ſoul* of another with deceitful *kiſſes*; enquiring the *name* of this, the *buſineſs* of that, and the *country* of t'other, to ſerve them all! proſtituting his promiſes, and enſlaving himſelf, to errant ſlaves: in whom alſo we have a further glimpſe of pride itſelf, groveling to be exalted to grandure, and exerciſing all the abject ſpirit of the moſt beggarly *poor*, to *worm* itſelf into *riches*: Or as our author words it,

> Proud men are baſe, to compaſs their deſire;
> They loweſt crouch, that higheſt do aſpire.

But this is a picture not near ſo agreeable as that of plain-dealing *Nathan*, in his ſtate of moderation; the knowing and communicative, the kind and compaſſionate *Nathan*; who being ſkilled in lancing a feſter'd-ſoul, in ſearching and tenting the ſore, and ſtanching a bleeding-hearted ſinner; would heal his wounds with the ſovereign balſam of counſel, or bind up the disjointed members of his troubled mind. He was neither oppreſſed with that plenty which made him envied; nor diſtreſſed with that penury which made him deſpiſed: his purſuits were circumſcribed to his poſſeſſions; and as he was in no needful want, he thought wanton need moſt deſpicable; or that want in ſufficiency was the true mother of contempt: ſo, as his deſires were planted within the moſt temperate ſituation of command, they produced the ſweeteſt fruits of content: for, as our Poet ſays,

> High hills are parch'd with heat, or hid with ſnow,
> And humble dales, ſoon drown'd, that lie too low;
> Whilſt happy grain, on hanging hills doth grow.

Deſcriptions more flowery might be hither tranſplanted; ſuch as are ſo gently ſtrewed over *David*'s child in death, and others; but as his gravity in this poem prevails above the natural gaiety of his genius, we have choſen in this *hiſtorical* work, to inſtance thoſe few particulars, which are rather in the edifying and *profitable*, than to hunt after ſuch as may run into a more pleaſing and *poetical* vein. At the cloſe of this performance, our author having ſubſided into the characters of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* I. and lamented the loſs of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, with the diſcords then in *Europe*, thro' the wars in the *Netherlands*, *Denmark*, &c. he very properly and piouſly concludes, that thoſe grievances may be bewailed by mankind, but till they are redreſſed by Providence, they are more befitting his *prayers* than his *pen*.

of a liberal diſpoſition, agreeable to that of his literary affluence, coſt him ſevenſcore pounds (*p*). It ſeems, according to his own reckoning, that he did not account himſelf totally removed, or departed from *Sidney* College, before 1636; becauſe he alſo gratefully acknowledges this to have been his mother, for his *eight laſt years* in this univerſity (*q*). After his return into Dorſetſhire, and during his receſs in that Rectory, he applied himſelf to compleat ſome other of the books he had begun at Cambridge: And there, about the year 1638, or not long before, he was married to a virtuous young gentlewoman; it being when the nation was alarmed with the news of the tumults then begun in Scotland (*r*). By her he had one ſon, named *John*, who was brought up a Student at the ſame Univerſity and College in which his father had been: And ſhe was delivered of him, much about the time that her huſband brought forth his Hiſtory of *the Holy War*, which is dated in the latter end of 1639, tho' not publiſhed, it ſeems, till the next year [C]; ſoon after which, and but a ſhort time before the eruption of the civil wars, ſhe died (*s*). Then, for the greater convenience of enjoying more readily, and in larger choice or variety, the works and converſation of the learned, he removed to London, where his conſpicuous talents in the pulpit were ſoon admired by the diſtinguiſhing part of his auditory; being cry'd up for one of the moſt excellent preachers of his age (*t*), but more eſpecially in the Inns of Court. However, he was ſoon after drawn to ſettle a little nearer the Royal Court, and choſen Lecturer of the *Savoy* in the Strand, by the Maſter and Brotherhood thereof, at the intreaty of ſome principal pariſhioners. Here he gave ſuch general ſatisfaction, became ſo famous, and was thronged with ſuch diſtant congregations, that thoſe of his own cure were in a manner excommunicated from their own church, if they came not early enough to fill it, which, without conforming to his own habitual temperance, they could ſeldom do: tho' he had an audience without, and another within the pale, the windows and ſextonry were ſo crowded, as if bees had ſwarmed to his mellifluous diſcourſe (*u*). On the thirteenth of April 1640, a Parliament was called, and then alſo a Convocation began at Weſtminſter, in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, having licence granted to make new *Canons* for the better government of the Church. Of this Convocation our author was a Member;

(*p*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 11.

(*q*) In his Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 155.

(*r*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 13.

(*s*) Idem, p. 42.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 14.

(*u*) Idem, p. 15.

[C] *His Hiſtory of the* HOLY WAR, *dated in* 1639, *&c.*] It is dated at the end of his epiſtle dedicatory, from his Rectory at Broad Winſor on the ſixth of March that year: and as no other date appears in the graved frontiſpiece, it is mentioned as printed that year in ſome catalogues; but was not, it ſeems, before the next. It was well received by the publick, and has paſſed at leaſt three editions; the laſt is entituled as the former likely are—*The Hiſtory of the Holy War:* by *Thomas Fuller*, B. D. Prebendary of *Sarum* late of *Sidney* College, *Cambridge*, printed there by Roger Daniel, &c. the third edition, fol. 1647: to which is alſo prefixed the ſaid graved frontiſpiece, containing the portraits of Godfrey of Bulloign, and of Saladin, in ſmall ovals at top; and underneath a view of all ages, ſexes, and degrees of people, flocking to the ſaid wars, &c. with an explanation in the page before the ſame, in verſe by J. C. The Hiſtory is divided into five books, has a map before it of Paleſtine, and three tables at the end; the one chronological, another of authors cited, and the third of contents. The beginning of this war is reckoned to have been about the year 1096, and the end about 1291 (5). The author's ingenious dedication of this hiſtory is, To Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton, and John Lord Powlet of Hinton St George: to whom he recommends, 'If they fear to hurt their hands 'with thorny ſchool-queſtions, the turning over of '*Hiſtory*, as a velvet ſtudy and recreation-work. 'What a pity is it, ſays he, to ſee a proper gentle-'man have ſuch a crick in his neck, that he cannot 'look backward! yet no better is he, who cannot ſee 'behind him, the actions which long ſince were per-'formed. Hiſtory maketh the young man old, with-'out either wrinkles or gray hairs; privileging him 'with the experience of age, without either the in-'firmities or inconveniences thereof: yea, it not only 'makes things paſt, preſent; but enables one to make 'a rational conjecture of things to come. For the 'world affordeth no *new accidents*, but in the ſame 'ſenſe, wherein we call it a *new moon*; which is the 'old one in another ſhape; and yet no other than 'what hath been formerly, &c.' Then, leaſt ſome critick ſhould condemn him for an ill huſband, in laviſhing two noble patrons upon one book; whereas one of them might have ſerved to patronize many volumes, he ſays, 'He did it in the weak expreſſion 'of his thankfulneſs to them; being deeply endebted 'to them both; and thought it diſhoneſty to pay all 'to one creditor, and none to another; therefore 'conceived it better to ſhare his eſtate jointly between 'them, as far as it would extend: and ſecondly, con-'ſidering the weakneſs of his work, now being to 'walk abroad in the world, *I thought it muſt be led 'by both arms, and needed a double ſupporter, &c.*' In his ſhort preface to the reader, he challenges nothing to himſelf but the compoſition; and as for his vouchers, 'If every where, ſays he, I have not charged 'the margin with the authors names, it is either be-'cauſe the ſtory is author for itſelf, I mean gene-'rally received; or to avoid the often citing of the 'ſame place. Where I could not go abroad myſelf, 'there I have taken air at the window, and have 'cited authors on others citations; yet ſo, that the 'ſtream may direct to the fountain.' There are many encomiums beſtowed upon our Hiſtorian, his wit, and his ſtyle, in the ten poems prefixed to this work; written by Robert Gomerſall, Vicar of Thorncombe, in Devon. Robert Tyrling, James Duport, B. D. of Trinity College; J. Booth, B. D. of Chriſt-College, Cambridge; H. Atkins, H. Hutton, M. A. of Jeſus College; H. Vintener, Thomas Jackſon, William Johnſon, of Queen's College; and Clement Bretton, of Sidney College. Out of theſe, a ſhort ſketch of ſome ſentiments may ſhew the character for which he was chiefly diſtinguiſhable to them. One ſays his vein is ſo rich, that Taſſo could not invent ſo well as Fuller could relate (6). A ſecond, that barbariſm is more vanquiſhed by his wit, than ever it was by Godfrey's ſword (7). A third, that Jeruſalem need not envy Troy, ſince ſhe has found one to write her battles in proſe, as elegantly as Homer did thoſe of the other in verſe (8). A fourth, that as a viper was once enſhrined in the amber tears of Phaeton; ſo here, Mahomet ſhall find a tomb in his language, ſo rare and tranſparent, as will endure, when the faint loadſtone lets his own of iron fall (9). And a fifth compares the weaving of his ſtories to figures wrought in tapeſtry, and ſo enriched with embroidery, that flames, wounds, and bloodſhed, objects in their nature moſt irkſom and dreadful, are rendered agreeable by his art: the moſt horrid ſlaughters wrapped in his arras language, give more delight than diſtaſte, and that which was moſt painful in the rencounter, is quite qualified by what we meet with ſo pleaſing in the relation (10): beſides many other high commendations, which to be more particular in, by citing the verſes themſelves, might here take up too much room.

(5) Hiſt. of the Holy War, edit. 1647. p. 21. and 228.

(6) Robert Gomerſal.

(7) J. Booth.

(8) H. Hutton.

(9) H. Vintener.

(10) W. Johnſon.

[D] *Or*

Member; and, when the Parliament was diſſolved, on the fifth of May following, the Convocation was commiſſioned to continue ſtill, by the title of a Synod, to complete the ſaid new Canons, which, on the laſt of June following, were printed, with the royal aſſent; tho' our author ſays, he was one, who, in the ſelect committee, privately diſſented in paſſing many particulars therein; and has publickly preſerved the ſeveral exceptions which were, and probably ſome of them by himſelf, then made to them. But thoſe Canons being inſufficiently confirmed, only by royal authority, enough notice was taken thereof in the *Long Parliament*, which in November following enſued; all which he has himſelf amply recorded (*w*). But now the diviſions between the King and Parliament being grown ſo great, that he had left his Court at London, on the tenth of January 1641 (*x*); to gather ſuch ſtrength in the countries as might oblige their Repreſentatives to obedience, rather than comply with what he and his adviſers thought unprincely conceſſions, our author, in other pulpits as well as his own, very loyally enforced the doctrine of allegiance; and ſo particularly in the *Inauguration Sermon*, he preached at Weſtminſter-Abbey, on the twenty-ſeventh of March 1642, upon that text, ſo directly perſuading the duties of ſubmiſſion, *Yea, let him take all, ſo my Lord the King return in peace*, his Majeſty then being at York, that it gave great diſguſt to thoſe who were in the oppoſition againſt him, and brought the preacher himſelf into great danger. He ſoon found that he was to expect nothing leſs than to be ſilenced and ejected, as others had been; yet deſiſted not from proceeding in the ſame courſe, till he either was, or thought himſelf unſettled, by what he ſays in the preface to his *Holy State*, which was that year printed [*D*]. And it appears more plainly the next year; when an oath, but not the *Covenant*, as ſome authors have miſtaken (*y*), was obtruded upon him; which he took not without ſuch exceptions in regard to himſelf, that the Parliament, unſatisfied therewith, and requiring him to take it in a more abſolute manner, he retired to the Court at Oxford ſome months before the Covenant was urged. Yet were there various reports relating to his ſteadineſs in refuſing even this oath. The writer of his life ſays he conveyed himſelf to the King at Oxford in April 1643, to avoid the impoſition, and preſerve his conſcience clear of it (*z*); and another, with the confidence that is uſually hardened by malice or error, ſays that he ſaw him take the Covenant before he went thither, more than once; but as our author has both cleared himſelf, and rectified our underſtanding in this matter, it is but juſtice on all ſides to give each of them a hearing [*E*]. When he arrived at Oxford, he was both joyfully received and honourably

(*w*) See Fuller's Church Hiſtory, cent. 17. Book II. p. 167 to 171, and p. 180.

(*x*) Iter Carolinum, &c. 4to. 1660. p. 1. And Sir George Wharton's Geſta Britannorum, 8vo. 1662. p. 16.

(*y*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 18.

(*z*) Idem, p. 22, 23.

[*D*] *Or thought himſelf unſettled, by what he ſays in the preface to his Holy State, &c.*] That is pretty viſible, from more than one part of this preface; wherein it appears, that this book was compoſed before he left Broad Winſor in Dorſetſhire, or at leaſt before the eruption of the wars; it having been committed a twelve month before to the preſs: and his characters therein are, as he ſays, conformed to the then ſtanding laws of the realm; which, as the King and State had now thought fit to alter, he expects his reader would make his alterations accordingly. And after having prayed that God would diſcloud theſe gloomy days, he ſays, 'Which if I may be ſo happy 'as to ſee, it will encourage me to count it a free-'dom to ſerve two apprenticeſhips, God ſpinning out 'the thick thread of my life ſo long, in writing the '*Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* from Chriſt's time to our days; '*if I ſhall, from remoter parts be ſo planted*, as to en-'joy the benefit of walking and ſtanding libraries; 'without which advantages, the beſt vigilancy doth 'but vainly dream to undertake ſuch a taſk. Mean 'time, I will ſtop the leekage of my ſoul; and what 'heretofore hath run out in writing, ſhall hereafter, 'God willing, be employed in conſtant preaching; '*in what place ſoever God's providence and friends* '*good will ſhall fix me* (11).' And it elſewhere appears, that he was now or very ſoon after debarred of the profits of his Prebendſhip of Saliſbury, by the time he is mentioned to have continued ſo at the Reſtoration (12). However in the title page of this *Holy State*, it is ſaid to be written by Thomas Fuller, B. D. and Prebendary of Saliſbury. It was printed at Cambridge, fol. 1642. and the ſecond edition, by R. D. for J. Williams, &c. fol. 1648. The whole contained in five books; whereof *the Profane State*, printed alſo by Roger Daniel, is the laſt. This work is a collection of *Characters*, moral *Eſſays*, and *Lives*; antient, foreign and domeſtic; ſo interſperſed, as often to hold ſome analogy with the characters or eſſays which precede them. They are much enamelled with the figures or flowers of wit, and have much engaged the regard of rhetorical readers (13). But the lives are not in number equal to the eſſays; there being between ſeventy and eighty of the characters and eſſays, and not above thirty lives; among which thoſe of our own country, are, *Edward* the *Black Prince*, Sir *John Markham*, Lord Chief Juſtice; Cardinal *Wolſey*; Biſhop *Ridley*, *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*; Lady *Jane Gray*; Dr *Nicholas Metcalf*; Sir *Francis Drake*; Lord *Burghley*; Mr *William Perkins*, and Dr *William Whitaker*; Queen *Elizabeth*, and Mr *William Camden*. The antients and foreigners are, *Abraham*, *Eleazar*, *Haman*, St *Auguſtine*, *Monica*, Lady *Paula*, *Hildigardis*, *Paracelſus*, *Scaliger*, and *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*; and in *the profane ſtate* there are, *Jehu*, the Witch of *Endor*, *Andronicus*, *Joan* Queen of *Naples*, *Joan* of *Arc*, *Cæſar Borgia*, and the Duke of *Alva*: with copper prints, engraved by W. Marſhal, &c. before moſt of them. Between the publication of theſe two editions of the Holy and Profane State, came out our author's *Andronicus*: or *the Unfortunate Politician* by itſelf, in 12mo. 1646. reprinted 1649, &c. And 'tis the ſame we preſume above mentioned, which appears in the laſt edition of the *Profane State*, cap. 18, from fol. 448, to 502.

(*w*) The Holy State, in Pref.

(12) Life of Dr T. Fuller, p. 50.

(13) Beſides other Extracts from this Book which we have ſeen, there is a MS. Collection of choice Sentences in Dr Fuller's Holy War, &c. preſerved in the Aſhmolean Library at Oxford; Vol. 783.

[*E*] *But juſtice on all ſides, to give them each a hearing.*] We do not find that our author ever looked with a malignant aſpect on any of the planetary ſchemes of Will. Lilly the famous Aſtrologer, Almanac maker, Prophet, Fortune-teller, and Conjurer; or that ever he charged any of his unaccompliſhed predictions with being retrograde, or in oppoſition to truth: we hear not that he any ways concerned himſelf with ſetting *Aries* and *Taurus* together by the ears (14); that he ever denied him to be even Lord of the Aſcendant in his own Horroſcopes, or any how promoted the leaſt ejectment of him from the twelve houſes (15): Yet has this Mr Lilly, in a certain libel, endeavoured to ſtigmatiſe him, in theſe words— 'I would be very 'ſorry to belie the dead, as Mr Fuller hath Paracelſus; 'who delivers him unto poſterity for a drunkard (16), 'though thoſe who lived with him, the Biſhop of Saltz-'burg, knew no ſuch thing of him, but report him 'virtuous. But that Mr Fuller may know, he hath 'wantonly abuſed his oratory, I let the ages to come 'know thus much of himſelf, *viz.* That he took 'the Covenant twice for the Parliament, before my 'face in the Savoy Church; invited others to it; 'yet,

(14) Vide, ΨΕΥΔΟ-ΑΣΤΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ: The Spurious Prognoſticator unmaſk'd: Being an Examen of the Errors, Fallacies, Falſhoods, and Flatteries, in Mr W. Lilly's Merlin, 1659. By G. J. (i. e. John Gadbury,) 4to. 1660.

(15) M. Stevenſon's Norfolk Drollery, 8vo. 1673. in his poetical Obſervations on Lilly's Almanack, p. 30.

(16) Fuller's Holy State, in the Life of Paracelſus, edit. 1648. p. 52.

honourably distinguished there. The King having heard of his extraordinary abilities in the pulpit, was desirous of hearing them from it. But, as the original cause of his leaving London,

' yet, apostate-like, ran within few days to Oxford; ' and there whined to his companions, and protested ' the Countess of R——— made him take it'——. Here he turns one of our author's cudgels against himself; in behalf of Paracelsus; and quotes this precept of Fuller's, as if it were against his own practice; *Let not thy jests, like mummy, be made of dead men's flesh; abuse not any that are departed; for to wrong their memories, is to rob their ghosts of their winding sheets* (17): ' And yet, says he, this man must call Paracelsus a Quacksalver, and gave him, besides, other Billingsgate language (18).' As for Paracelsus, since our author has said nothing of him, for which he does not fairly produce his vouchers and compurgators, such as Thomas Erastus, Beroaldus, and those who had the best opportunities of knowing his character; Paracelsus seems not so much defamed or belied, if we may retort such an expression above, by Fuller, as Fuller is by Lilly; and that he made no mummy of Paracelsus when he was dead, whatever the wits of those times might make of Lilly while alive: but if, on the credit of others, he had, it little became such a scribbler to charge him with having belied one man, who, thro' the impostures of his pretended arts, made it his constant practice to belie and deceive the whole nation. Then as for Fuller's taking the *Covenant*, the author who best knew his story, and seems less biassed by his affection, than Lilly by his acrimony, therefore most worthy of credit, has represented his conduct with relation thereto as follows. ' Several false rumours and ' cavils there are about his carriage and opinion touch- ' ing that sacrilegious thing, by persons who were ' distanced as far from the knowledge of those pas- ' sages, as fortunately from being concerned and en- ' gaged within the reach of that snare. 'Twas not ' only easy, but prudential, for other ecclesiastical ' persons to quit their livings, who were out of the ' gripe and clutches of those ravenous reformists, in ' order to keep their consciences inviolable; but it ' was difficulty enough of itself for the Doctor to ' escape, and get out of that place, where the next ' preferment would have been a dungeon. Some ve- ' litations, and transient discourses, he made about that ' frequent and thumb'd subject of the reformation; ' the rather to suspend the busy censures of the Par- ' liament and their party; wherein, though he *seemed* ' *to comply, but as far* as the rule and example would ' allow, and indulge the misapprehension of those ' men; yet these his *charitable disguises* could not ' obscure him from the severe animadversions of se- ' veral ministers eminent in those *reforming times*; ' particularly Mr *Saltmarsh*. The contest between ' them is so known in print, that it will be needless ' to trouble the reader with it here: only thus much ' by digression, in honour of this venerable Doctor; ' Mr *Saltmarsh* being long since dead; he hath, in ' his book of the *Worthies of England*, given him a ' most honourable mention, and assigned him the ' place of his birth, education, and burial; registring ' him for an ornament of them all; so resplendent ' and durable was the Doctor's charity, &c. But to ' return to our subject; in the beginning of the year ' 1643, the said covenant was generally pressed; and ' a very great persecution soon after followed it. ' The Doctor was settled in the love and affection of ' his own parish, besides other obligations to his nu- ' merous followers; so that the covenant then ten- ' dered, might seem like the bright side of that cloud, ' promising serenity and prosperity to him, as was ' insinuated to the Doctor by many great Parliamen- ' tarians, which showred down, after a little remoteness ' such a black horrible tempest upon the Clergy; nay, ' the Church, and three kingdoms. But the good ' Doctor, *could not bow down his knee* to that *Baal* ' *Berith*; *nor*, for any *worldly considerations* (enough ' whereof invited him to fall down and worship; men ' of his great parts being infinitely acceptable to them) ' *lend* so much as *an ear* to their serpentine charms ' of religion and reformation. Since therefore, he ' could not continue with his *Cure* without his *Con-* ' *science*, and every day threatned the imposition of ' that *illegal oath*, he resolved to betake himself to ' God's providence, and to put himself directly un- ' der it; waving all indirect means and advantages ' whatsoever towards his security. In order there- ' unto, in April 1643, he deserted the city of *Lon-* ' *don*, and privately conveyed himself to *Oxford*, to ' the no less sudden amazement of the faction here, ' who yet upon recollection quickly found their mis- ' take, than to the unexpected content and joy of the ' loyal party there; who had every day, Job's mes- ' sengers of the plundering, ruin, and imprisonments ' of orthodox Divines (19).' Thus distinctly is his evasion of, or escape from, this oath asserted by that author. But Fuller himself has best discovered the ground of Lilly's misreport, and even more clearly than his Biographer, distinguished how the said covenant could not be taken by him, as well as what other oath he did take, and in what manner. For having mentioned that Scottish Covenant, as he calls it, being born beyond the Tweed, and projected, as a band for the streighter union of the English and Scotch among themselves, and of both, to the Parliament (20); having there also shewn very expressly, that it was first taken by the House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines, on Sept. 25, 1643; and first ordered to be printed two days after: that divers Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, &c. met also at St Margaret's Westminster, and took it; and that it was commanded to be taken the Sunday following, October the first, in all Churches and Chapels of London; within the *lines of communication*, and throughout the kingdom, in a convenient time appointed; according to the tenor thereof; he then recites at large the said covenant (21); not heeding whether there be exactly 666 words in the body of it (22): so proceeds to deliver many solid exceptions to the *preface*; the *six articles*; whereof it is constituted, and the *conclusion*. Then he goes on thus— ' So much concerning the Cove- ' nant; which some three months after began to be ' rigorously and generally urged. Nor have I ought ' else to observe thereof, save to add in my own de- ' fence, that *I never saw* the same, except at dis- ' tance; as hung up in Churches; nor ever had any ' occasion to *read*, or *hear* it read, till *this day* (23), ' in writing my history; whatever hath been *reported*, ' and *printed* to the contrary, of my *taking* thereof ' in *London*; who went away from the *Savoy* to the ' King's quarters, *long before* any mention thereof in ' England. True it is, there was an oath, which ne- ' ver exceeded the *line of communication*; meeting ' with so much opposition, that it expired in the in- ' fancy thereof, about the time when the plot was ' discovered; for which Mr Tomkins and Mr Cha- ' loner suffered (24). This was *tendered* to me and ' *taken* by me, in the vestry of the *Savoy* Church; ' but first protesting some limitations thereof, as to ' myself. This *not satisfying*, was complained of by ' some persons present, to the Parliament; where it ' was ordained, that the next Lord's Day I should ' take the same oath in *terminis terminantibus*, in the ' face of the Church; which not agreeing with my ' conscience, I withdrew myself into the King's parts, ' which I hope, I may no less safely, than I do freely ' confess; because punished for the same with the ' loss of my livelihood, and since, I suppose, par- ' doned in the *Act* of *Oblivion* (25).'

As for the controversy between our author and Mr John Saltmarsh, it was occasioned by the Sermon of *Reformation*, which Fuller had preached at the Savoy (26); against which, Mr Saltmarsh published some animadversions, wherein he charged him with several points of Popery (27); and Fuller defended the arguments he had delivered upon that occasion, in the tract he thereupon set forth, under the title of *truth maintained*, wherein he challenged Saltmarsh to a reply, but he appeared in the lists no more; giving his reason afterwards for it, that he would not *shoot* his *arrows* against a *dead* mark; being informed that Fuller was dead at Exeter (28). Upon which our author observes, that he himself has no cause to be angry with fame, for such a favourable falshood;

(17) Holy State; in the Chapter of Jesting, p. 146.

(18) See W. Lilly's Hist. of K. James and K. Charles I. 8vo. 1651, and 1725, in the Preface.

(19) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 18—22.

(20) Fuller's Church Hist. lib. xi. cent. 17. fol. 200.

(21) Idem, p. 201.

(22) Revelat. xiii. 19.

(23) July 1, 1654.

(24) They were executed on July 5, 1643.

(25) Church Hist. as above, p. 206, 207.

(26) His Sermon at the Savoy, on Hebr. 9. and 10. With a Defence of some Positions in the same, 4to. 1643.

(27) Saltmarshe's Piece against Fuller, is dedicated to the Most Sacred Assembly of Divines.

(28) J. Saltmarsh, in the beginning of his book against Tho. Gataker.

London, after the ſermon he preached upon the new-moulding Church-Reformation, appears to have been, for the cenſure it gained him of being too *hot a Royaliſt*; it is now no leſs apparent, that, for preaching before the King and Court, at St *Mary*'s in *Oxford*, he was cenſured for being one *too lukewarm* (*a*); which being the reverſe of flattery on both ſides, can only be accounted for, from that inflexible principle of moderation in himſelf, which he would have ſincerely inculcated in either party, as the only means of reconciling both; that each, abating their high expectations of condeſcenſion in the other, both might be brought to a happy accommodation; in which, if he could have prevailed, the beneficial effects muſt have exceeded all eſtimate; and it had been difficult to determine, what reward could have been made him equivalent to ſuch a national remedy, in that violent calenture under which the nation now laboured. But his reflection on his own narrative of the Convocation aforeſaid, may be applicable here; that, *He is generally accounted an impartial arbitrator, who diſpleaſes both ſides* (*b*). It ſeems to have been at this time that he was, as he mentions himſelf, tho' no member yet an inhabitant of Lincoln college in this Univerſity; that he was alſo then deprived of all his ſubſiſtence, or means of livelihood, and now, or not long after, rifled and plundered of his books, manuſcripts, &c. But, tho' he expreſsly denies that his loſſes were owing to his expences, or the dearneſs of the place or proviſions; yet there is a noted oppoſer of him, as of many others, who has, by the groſſeſt diſtortion of his ſenſe, and moſt uncharitable inſult under his ſufferings, endeavoured to make an affirmation of his denial [*F*]; and tho' he could plainly underſtand,

(*a*) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 23.

(*b*) His Church Hiſt. p. 167. as before.

'May I make this true uſe, ſays he, of that falſe re-
'port, to *die daily*: ſee how Providence has croſſed
'it; the dead reported man is ſtill living; the then
'living man, dead; and ſeeing I ſurvive to go over
'his grave, I will tread the more gently on the mold
'thereof; uſing that civility on him, which I re-
'ceived from him.' Indeed he has further ſpoken, with that ſuperior candor and generoſity of him, which he was wont to do of the few antagoniſts he had, in the ſame place, where he has preſerved him among his learned and eminent men; and where, after informing us, that he was born in Yorkſhire, bred at Magdalen College in Cambridge, and much befriended by Sir John Hotham the elder, he gives him the character of having had a fine and active fancy, of being no contemptible Poet, and a good Preacher; but that of a zealous obſerver, he became a violent oppoſer of Biſhops and ceremonies; which our author very charitably wiſhes, imputed to the information of his judgment and conſcience (29). It may be taken alſo as a beauty in his own character, that he was not too ſtrict or over curious in remembring the place and time of this adverſary's death, tho' the cauſe and manner of it were too publickly known to be omitted; for Mr Saltmarſh being at times intellectually diſordered (30), it took him in the head latterly, after a fever, that he had commiſſions from the Lord, to deliver to the Parliament Army then at Windſor, whereof he was one of the Chaplains; and after that fit of ſickneſs, telling his wife he had been in a trance, ſeen a viſion, and received meſſages to the ſaid army, he ſtroled thither in a very erratic, if not diſtracted, manner; and did ſo much further inflame his brains, by riding to and fro among them in his ſhirt, pronouncing the menaces of the Lord, with his revelations, counſels, and rebukes, to the General Sir Thomas Fairfax, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and other officers, in many extatic ſpeeches, and prophetic raptures, that, when he returned home, five days afterwards, to his houſe near Ilford in Eſſex, his ſpirits ſeem to have been quite exhauſted. He told his wife, that he had then done his work, finiſhed his errand, and muſt go to his father; ſo, in two days more, being taken ſpeechleſs, he quietly breathed his laſt, on the eleventh of December 1647, and not three years after, as our author has miſconjectured (31). The ſhort abſtract we have here given of his latter end, is from the account which the officers of the army aforeſaid ſuffered to be publiſhed of it (32); but thoſe who will not think it an infirmity bordering too near upon his own, either in others to be more particular, or in themſelves to be further acquainted with his inſignificant and brain-ſick extravagancies, or crazy conduct in this melancholy condition, may repair to that account itſelf, or a more copious extract of it, than we have here from that pamphlet given, leſs difficult to be conſulted (33). Among the books and tracts he had publiſhed, tho' they are now little read or known, the titles of about twenty are remembered in the author laſt quoted, and ſome of them elſewhere (34): in ſeveral parts whereof, he appears to have been of the *Antinomian* perſuaſion; alſo that, beſides Dr Fuller and Mr Gataker, he had made himſelf an adverſary to Dr John Baſtwick, Thomas Edwards, the author of *Gangræna*; and John Ley, one of the Aſſembly of Divines, &c. The very titles of ſome of thoſe pieces ſeem to have ſome tincture, or glimpſes of enthuſiaſm, if not frenzy in them.

(29) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, fol. 212.

(30) Mr Saltmarſh his Free Grace, &c. being an Experiment of Jeſus Chriſt upon one who hath been in the Bondage of a troubled Spirit at times, for twelve Years, till now, &c. 12mo. 1645.

(31) Worthies of Eng. in Yorkſhire as before.

(32) See Wonderful Predictions declared in a Meſſage, as from the Lord, to his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Council of his Army; by John Saltmarſh, Preacher of the Goſpel; with his Speeches, and Manner of his Death, 4to. 1648. one Sheet.

(33) Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. col. 288.

(34) In Will. London's Catalogue of the moſt vendible books, 4to. 1658. And the laſt Oxford Catalogue, fol. 1738.

[*F*] *A noted oppoſer, &c. who has endeavoured to make an affirmation of his denial.*] This noted oppoſer was Dr Heylin, in his Animadverſions upon our author's *Church Hiſtory*; both which books we ſhall hereafter more particularly ſpeak of. Our author being willing to intimate how he was totally ruined in the beginning of the civil wars, while he fled for protection to the royal party at Oxford, has gently dropt a reflection upon that melancholy event, where ſpeaking of the foundation of *Lincoln College* in Oxford, he informs us, he was in thoſe troubleſome times, tho' no member of, a dweller in it; and adds, 'I will not complain of the dearneſs of this *Univerſity*, where ſeventeen weeks coſt me more than ſeventeen years in *Cambridge*, even all that I had; but I ſhall pray that the Students therein, be never after diſturbed upon the like occaſion (35).' Now tho' Heylin ſuffered then himſelf, and there, attending alſo the royal party in the like manner, we ſhall ſee how he could magnify that expreſſion, without the uſe of glaſſes, which then indeed could do his eyes no ſervice; or if they could, none are ſo blind, as thoſe who will not ſee: for tho' Fuller has expreſsly diſtinguiſhed that he had no objection to make againſt any extravagant exactions for his diet, or other accommodations, therefore would not complain of any dearneſs there, yet, ſays Heylin, 'The ordinary and unwary reader might collect from 'hence, that Oxford was a chargeable place, and that 'all commodities there are exceeding dear, but that 'our author lets him know, it was upon ſome occa-'ſion of diſturbance: by which it ſeems, our author 'doth relate to the time of the war, when men from 'all parts did repair to Oxford, not as a Univerſity, 'but a place of ſafety, and the ſeat Royal of the 'King; at which time notwithſtanding, all proviſions were ſo plentiful, and at ſuch cheap rates, as 'no man had reaſon to complain of the dearneſs of 'them. No better argument of the fertility of the 'ſoil, and the richneſs of the country in which Oxford ſtandeth, than that the markets were not raiſed 'on the acceſſion of ſuch infinite multitudes as reſorted to it at that time, and on that occaſion.' Here conſcious that he had wilfully perverted our author's ſenſe long enough into a *wrong meaning*, and conſidering that Fuller would be thought ſenſible of the cheapneſs of the place then, as well as himſelf, he goes on to let us underſtand, how unneceſſary his own miſconſtruction was, by ſhewing again how rea-

(35) His Church Hiſt. cent. xv. lib. 4. p. 168.

'dily

ſtand, from our author's expreſſion, that he was ſequeſterd by the parliamentary power; yet, as we ſee he has moſt prepoſterouſly upbraided him with being a Royaliſt, tho' he was an exceeding one himſelf, and moſt ambitious, in his writings, of being ſo accounted. Thus, deprived of all, and having no church to preach in, our author turned his thoughts towards the camp; for, at this tumultous juncture, having no conveniency to explain, or vindicate, thoſe tenets or ſchemes of compoſure and reconciliation, by the *preſs* or *pulpit* (*c*), againſt which ſome eccleſiaſtical and invidious competitors for court-favour had diligently inſinuated their miſconſtructions; he reſolved to recover the opinion of his ſtedfaſt adherance to the Royal cauſe, by openly trying his fortune, more diſtantly, under the Royal army. Therefore, being well recommended to Sir Ralph Hopton, now, after his *late victory* obtained at Stratton in Cornwall, May the ſixteenth 1643 (*d*), created Lord Hopton of Stratton, at Oxford, he was admitted by him, in the quality of his Chaplain; and he has gratefully exemplified the patent of his patron's creation, which is dated the fourth of September following (*e*). This attendance muſt have been moſt agreeable, being moſt fortunate to him; as that Lord's ſteady attachment to the King's intereſt was ſo well known, that it reinſtated the credit of Fuller's *loyalty*; and yet his Lordſhip's inclinations to an amicable and honourable cloſure of the war, were ſo correſpondent with thoſe of his Chaplain, that they no leſs confirmed *his judgment*; which juſtly reflecting a double honour upon both, gained *him alſo a victory* (*f*) over that attempt aforeſaid, by his circumventing enemies. And now attending his Lord, wherever the ſoldiers under him lay in camp, his Chaplain conſtantly exerciſed his duty, in exhorting them to theirs; and where, in their progreſs, they lay quartered in towns and cities, he always found ſome intervals for his beloved ſtudies, in gathering materials, eſpecially for his WORTHIES *of* ENGLAND.

(*c*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 24.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies in Cornwall, p. 212.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(*f*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 25.

How dily he could take his *right meaning*. 'Our author 'therefore, ſays he, muſt be thought to relate to 'ſomewhat elſe than is here expreſſed; and poſſibly 'may be, that his being at *Oxford* at that time, 'brought him within the compaſs of *delinquency*, and 'conſequently of *ſequeſtration*.' But mind with what politeneſs and humanity he concludes upon this misfortune of a fellow-ſufferer in thoſe calamitous times. 'And were it ſo, ſays he, (that he was ſequeſtred) 'he hath no reaſon to complain of the *Univerſity*, or 'the *dearneſs* of it; but rather of himſelf, for coming 'to a place ſo *chargeable*, and *deſtructive* to him. 'He might have *tarried* where he *was*, for I never 'heard that he was *ſent for*, and then this great com'plaint againſt the dearneſs of that Univerſity would 'have found no place (36).' Many ſuch bitter draughts of his gall ſhould we ſwallow, if we were to run thro' this, and many others of his controverſial writings; in which, he ſurely did not always ſufficiently reflect, that if the Clergy were to make a practice of thus treating their own cloth, it would ſoon be no wonder that the laity, of whom they are the inſtructors, ſhould, in their treatment of them, follow their own example. That our author was of a contrary ſpirit, might appear in many inſtances of his anſwer to the Doctor; but in this place, let us rather obſerve, with what temper he could expreſs that moſt ſevere loſs, and more valuable to him than all his other poſſeſſions, in theſe unhappy times of anarchy and lawleſs ſpoil, his *library* of books and manuſcripts. In one place, for that loſs invaded his memory more than once, having ingeniouſly introduced it with a ſtory out of *Plutarch*'s morals, of one *Nicias* an antient Philoſopher, who being robbed of his ſhoes, wiſhed, *they might fit his feet who took them away*: which may ſeem a charitable wiſh, but was a revengeful one; for being himſelf club-footed, he thereby wiſhed the thief a cripple, rather than that they might prevent his being made one, by going barefoot. This ſtory he no leſs ingeniouſly applies thus, 'Whoſoever hath plundered me of my '*books* and *papers*, I freely forgive him, and deſire 'that he *may fully underſtand, and make good uſe there*'*of*; wiſhing him more *joy* of them, than he hath '*right* to them. Nor is there any *ſnake* under my '*herbs*; nor have I, as *Nicias*, any reſervation, or 'latent *ſenſe* to myſelf; but from my heart do deſire, 'that to all purpoſes and intents, my books may be 'beneficial unto him. Only requeſting him, that one 'paſſage in his, lately my, bible, namely *Eph.* iv. 28. 'may be taken into his ſerious conſideration (37).' But it ſeems he did not loſe all his books, as he alſo elſewhere informs us in theſe words, to one of his patrons: 'Beſides deſire, to ſhelter myſelf under your 'patronage, gratitude obligeth me to tender my ſer'vice to your Honour. For all my books, being my '*nether* and *upper milſtone*, and ſuch by the *Levitical* 'Law, might not be taken to pledge, becauſe a man's 'life (38), without which, I had been rendered un'able to *grind* any *griſt*, for the good of myſelf or 'others, had been taken from me in theſe civil wars, 'had not a letter from your Lady mother preſerved 'the greateſt part thereof. Good reaſon therefore, 'that the firſt handful of my *fineſt meal* ſhould be pre'ſented in thankfulneſs to your family (39).' And elſewhere we learn, that he had afterwards a conſiderable reparation made of this loſs; for which, to another of his patrons, he makes this grateful acknowledgment: 'I am ſadly ſenſible, what the loſs of a 'library, eſpecially of manuſcripts, is to a miniſter, 'whoſe books have paſſed ſuch hands, which made 'riddance of many, but havock of more. Was it not 'cruelty to torture a library, by maiming and mang'ling the authors therein, neither *leaving* nor *taking* 'them intire? Would they had *took leſs*, that ſo what 'they *left*, might have been uſeful to me; or *left leſs*, that 'ſo what they *took*, might have been uſeful to others. 'Whereas now, miſchievous *ignorance* did a *prejudice* 'to me, without a *profit* to itſelf, or any body elſe. 'But would to God all my fellow brethren, who, with 'me, *bemoan* the loſs of their books, with me, might 'alſo *rejoice* for the recovery thereof, though not the 'ſame numerical volumes. Thanks be to your Ho'nour, who have beſtowed upon me, the *Treaſure* of 'a *Lord Treaſurer*; what remained of your father's 'library. Your father, who was the greateſt ho'nourer and diſgracer of ſtudents bred in learning: 'honourer, giving due reſpect to all men of merit; 'diſgracer, who by his meer natural parts and ex'perience, acquired that perfection of invention, ex'preſſion, and judgment, to which, thoſe who make 'learning their ſole ſtudy do never arrive. It was a 'gift I confeſs, better proportioned to your dignity 'than my deſerts; too great, not for your Honour to 'beſtow, but for me to receive. And thus hath God 'by your bounty equivalently reſtored unto me, what 'the *locuſts* and the *palmer worm*, &c. have devoured; 'ſo that now, I envy not the Pope's *Vatican*, for the 'numerouſneſs of books, and variety of editions there'in; enough for *uſe*, being as good, as ſtore for *ſtate*, 'or ſuperfluity for *magnificence*. However, hereaf'ter, I ſhall behold myſelf under no other notion, 'than as your Lordſhip's *Library-keeper*; and con'ceive it my duty, not only to ſee your books dry'd 'and rubbed, to rout thoſe moths which would quar'ter therein, but alſo to peruſe, ſtudy, and digeſt 'them; ſo that I may preſent your Honour with ſome 'choice collections out of the ſame, as this enſuing 'hiſtory is for the main extracted thence; on which 'account, I humbly crave your acceptance thereof; 'whereby, you ſhall engage my daily prayers for 'your happineſs, and the happineſs of your moſt no'ble conſort, &c. (40).'

(36) Dr Heylin's Examen Hiſtoricum, &c. in his Animadverſions on the Church Hiſt. of Britain, p. 72.

(37) Fuller's good Thoughts in worſe times. edit. 12mo. 1652. p. 60. See alſo his good Thoughts in bad Times, printed the ſame Year, p. 78. of his comfort in ſharing the Calamities of his Country.

(38) Deut. xxiv. 5.

(39) Fuller's Piſgah-Sight of Paleſtine, in his Dedication to Henry Lord Beauchamp, Son of William Marquis of Hertford, before lib. 2. fol. 50.

(40) Fuller's Church Hiſt. in the Dedication to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middleſex, before lib. 5. containing the Reign of K. Hen. VIII.

How aſſiduous he was in his reſearches, and how extenſive in his correſpondence for that purpoſe, may appear in his Memorialiſt [G]. After the battle of *Cheriton Down*, on March the twenty-ninth 1644, the Lord Hopton drew on his army to *Baſing-Houſe*, the Marquis of Worceſter's in Hampſhire, and left his Chaplain in that ſtrong garriſon, intending to conſult the King, at Oxford, before he took up his quarters; when Sir William Waller, having taken in Wincheſter, beſieged the Doctor's ſanctuary; but ſo little terrified was he with the cannon from the aſſailants leaguer, that it made him ſo vigilantly animate the defendants to ſuch continual and effectual ſallies, as conſtrained Sir William to raiſe the ſiege on the (g) ſeventeenth of November following, with the loſs of more than a thouſand men (b): However, this moſt noble ſeat in that county, ſome months after Fuller had left it, was taken by ſtorm, with the Marquis in it, and razed to the ground. After the war, which had made a lamentable ravage through the three kingdoms, was drawing to a concluſion, and part of the loyal army driven into Cornwall, under the Lord Hopton; his Chaplain, having received a diſmiſſion of his beloved patron, took timely refuge at Exeter, where he reſumed his ſtudies, and conſtantly preached with great ſatisfaction to thoſe loyal citizens. Here, the Queen having been delivered at Bedford Houſe, of her laſt iſſue the Princeſs, called after her own name Henrietta Maria, in June the year laſt mentioned, who was ſoon after her brother's reſtoration married to Philip of France Duke of Orleans, our author was made Chaplain to the Infant Lady (i), and, as the writer of his life alſo obſerves, the King ſoon after gave him a patent for his preſentation to the living of Dorcheſter in Dorſetſhire, valued at four hundred pounds *per annum*. But, as this would obſtruct his deſign of ſettling in London, for the more convenient attainment of hiſtorical intelligence, he modeſtly declined that gracious offer, and continued waiting on the young Princeſs during the ſiege of that city, in the latter end of 1645; when, as he tells us, it was for a while ſo wonderfully relieved with ſuch prodigious flocks of larks [H]. His converſation was here, no leſs than wherever elſe he was, much ſought and admired by the moſt noble and ingenious perſons of all ranks [I], ſeveral of whom made him advantageous

(g) Sir George Wharton's Geſta Britannorum, p. 18.

(b) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 29, 30.

(i) Idem, p. 33. And Fuller's Worthies, in Exeter; fol. 271. Further of this Dutcheſs of Orleans, ſee the Counteſs de la Fayette's Fatal Gallantry; or the Secret Hiſt. of Henrietta, Princeſs of England: Tranſlated by Mrs Anne Floyd, and dedicated to John Laws, Eſq; 8vo. 1722. Wherein it is ſuggeſted, that ſhe was poiſoned at St Cloud, on the 30th of June 1670, in a Glaſs of Succory Water, p. 127, 141.

[G] *How aſſiduous he was in his reſearches, and extenſive in his correſpondence for that purpoſe, may appear in his Memorialiſt.*] This author informs us, that, 'While he was in progreſs with the King's army, his buſineſs and ſtudy then was a kind of errantry; having propoſed to himſelf a more exact collection of the *Worthies* General of *England*; in which others had waded before, but he reſolved to go through. In what place ſoever therefore he came, of remark eſpecially, he ſpent moſt of his time in views and reſearches of their antiquities, and Church Monuments; inſinuating himſelf into the acquaintance, which frequently ended in a laſting friendſhip, of the learned'ſt and graveſt perſons reſiding within the place, thereby to inform himſelf fully of thoſe things he thought worthy the commendation of his labours. It is an incredible thing to think what a numerous correſpondence the Doctor maintained, and enjoyed by this means. Nor did the good Doctor ever refuſe to light his candle, in inveſtigating truth, from the meaneſt perſons diſcovery. He would endure contentedly, an hour, or more impertinence, from any aged Church-officer, or other ſuperannuated people, for the gleaning of two lines to his purpoſe. And tho' his ſpirit was quick and nimble, and all the faculties of his mind, ready and anſwerable to that activity of diſpatch, yet in theſe inqueſts, he would ſtay and attend thoſe circular rambles, till they came to a point; ſo reſolute was he bent to the ſifting out of abſtruſe antiquity. Nor did he ever diſmiſs ſuch adjutators or helpers, as he pleaſed to ſtile them, without giving them money and chearful thanks beſides (41).'

(41) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 27.

[H] *Wonderfully relieved with ſuch prodigious flocks of larks.*] This memorable relief by the vaſt numbers of thoſe birds, being himſelf a witneſs of, he has recorded in theſe words.— 'When the city of Exeter was beſieged by the Parliament forces, ſo that only the ſouth ſide thereof towards the ſea was open to it, incredible numbers of larks were found in that open quarter, for multitude, like quails in the wilderneſs; tho', bleſſed be God, unlike them, in the cauſe and effect; as not deſired with man's deſtruction, nor ſent with God's anger; as appeared by their ſafe digeſtion into wholeſome nouriſhment. Hereof, I was an eye, and mouth-witneſs. I will ſave my credit in not conjecturing any number; knowing that herein, though I ſhould ſtoop beneath the truth, I ſhould mount above belief. They were as fat as plentiful; ſo that being ſold for two pence a dozen, and under, the poor, who could have no cheaper, and the rich, no better meat, uſed to make pottage of them, boyling them down therein. Several natural cauſes were aſſigned hereof: 1. That theſe fowl frighted with much ſhooting on the land, retreated to the ſea ſide for their refuge. 2. That it is familiar with them in cold winters as that was, to ſhelter themſelves in the moſt ſouthern parts. 3. That ſome ſorts of ſeed were ſown in thoſe parts, which invited them thither for their own repaſt: however, the cauſe of cauſes was the Divine Providence; thereby providing a feaſt for many poor people, who otherwiſe had been pinched for proviſion (42).'

(42) Worthies of England, in Exeter, p. 273.

[I] *His converſation was much ſought and admired by the moſt noble perſons, and ingenious of all ranks.*] While he reſided here, as well as in other places, his temper and humour, his learning and wit, were ſo conſpicuous and captivating to the wiſe and grave, the learned and judicious, as well as thoſe who were more jocoſe and mercurial themſelves, that old Doctor Vilvain of that city, was pleaſantly rallied by the Governor of Exeter, for inviting him ſo often, or detaining him ſo long, from the ſociety of others; as a cornholder that hoardeth up the grain to enhance the market, and make a dearth in the neighbourhood (43). But it ſeems, that Doctor had ſome uncommon manuſcripts in his library, with a *Muſæum* of natural curioſities beſides; and being of a generous diſpoſition, as his benefactions in that town may teſtify, notwithſtanding his ſufferings in thoſe deſtructive times; as alſo of courteous comportment and communicative converſation, they were mutually agreeable to each other. It was in that *Muſæum* belike, that our author ſaw ſuch a rarity, as ſerved him to illuſtrate a reflection, he afterwards made, upon the aſſertion in one of the Oxford Antiquaries (44), that there were, or had been above two hundred halls in that Univerſity: for thereupon he obſerves, that, 'ſuch halls, like flowers, which grow double, muſt either one croud into another, or elſe be inconſiderably ſmall; like thoſe three hundred ſixty five children which Margaret Counteſs of Henneberg brought forth at a birth in Holland; one ſkull whereof, ſays he, I have ſeen, no bigger than a bead, or a bean;' ſo, in the margin adds, 'It was derived for ſome hundred of years by ſucceſſion, through authentic Phyſicians, to Dr *Vilvain* of Exeter, the preſent owner thereof; and avouched, by the ſkilful in anatomy, the true head of an infant once born into the world (45):' As it might

(43) Extract of Sir John Berkeley's Letter to the Doctor, among the Remains of Henry Earl of Clarendon's MS. Collections, ſome time after the Death of the late Earl, at Somerſet-Houſe.

(44) Brian Twyne, Apolog. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.

(45) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, fol. 28.

geous overtures to engroſs him to themſelves, which he refuſed. Here he compoſed a little book, of pious applications and reflections upon familiar objects, examples, and events; ſo ingeniouſly, as made devotion delightful to the Princeſs, when ſhe was old enough to read and underſtand it. He dedicated it to the Lady who preferred him into the ſervice of her Highneſs, and calls it the firſt fruits of Exeter preſs, preſented to her [*K*]. At laſt the garriſon

might more probably be, than together with ſo many brothers and ſiſters. *However the Doctor himſelf has in his book of Epigrams, one upon this incredible ſwarm of children, which that Belgic Counteſs is ſaid to have brought forth at one birth, upon the imprecation of a beggar woman (46) who was reviled by her, as a common proſtitute for having many herſelf. But our author was tempted with greater proſpects of advantage by perſons of higher rank, to engage him more conſtantly to themſelves. For while he lay here, the Biſhop of Briſtol, Dr Thomas Weſtfield, it ſeems, made him fair invitations to live with him; but he declined them, being cautious of ſuch a family favour: and John Digby, Earl of Briſtol, was ſo charmed with his company, while he was here Chaplain to the Princeſs, that he alſo tendered him a noble competency, both now, and after the ſiege of Exeter, if he would go over and reſide with him in France; proteſting that, while he was maſter of a *loaf*, our author ſhould have *half* of it (47): but he valued his liberty above the whole loaf. He ſeems to have conſidered the cloſe attachment to dignity in a domeſtic Retainer, but as a crippling kindneſs; and however it might for a while promiſe an air of equality, or permit the appearance of a companion, that it was a ſituation which would prove improſperous by its contiguity, and inſenſibly breed a ſubordination, that would grow contemptible by its conſtancy; more eſpecially, as the greateſt ſervices therein, ſooneſt beget the moſt envious circumventions; or ſo dwindle and degenerate into unthankful *duty*, that the Dependent will find it thought a reward too great, to have been the witneſs only of little foibles; that he muſt live by no direction of his own, and have no diſpoſitions that are unguided by his principal; till he who at firſt was a freeman himſelf, gradually becomes a ſlave, to the paſſions or humours, the vices or vanities, the profits or pleaſures, the avarice or ambition, of another; and often in the end, a victim to the treachery of undermining competitors. But tho' he accepted not ſuch courteſy, he has ſpoken much to the honour of thoſe who offered it (48). In ſhort, he was ſo engaging, and had ſuch a fruitful faculty of begetting wit in others, when he exerted it himſelf, that he made his aſſociates pleaſed with their own converſation as well as his: his blaze kindled ſparks in them, till they admired at their own brightneſs; and when any melancholy hours were to be *filled* up with *merriment*, it was ſaid, in the vein he could ſometimes deſcend to, that the *Doctor* made every one *Fuller*. An author before quoted informs us, 'He was ſo good company, 'that happy the perſon who could enjoy him, either 'Citizen, Gentleman, or Nobleman; the Earl of 'Carliſle, and George Lord Berkeley eſpecially; he 'removing up and down, out of an equanimous civi-'lity to his many worthy friends; ſo to diſpenſe his 'much deſired company among them, that no one 'might monopolize him to the envy of others (49).' For that Lord Berkeley's noble friendſhip to him, he has ſundry times repeated his gratitude with great zeal and affection; where he calls him, the Paramount *Mæcenas* of his ſtudies (*): and in another place, 'one, 'who hath been ſo ſignally bountiful in promoting 'theſe, and all other my weak endeavours, that I 'deſerve to be dumb, if ever I forget to return him 'publick thanks for them (50).' But to enumerate all the patrons or promoters of his works, and recite his ſhining characters of, and liberal acknowledgments to them, might make an article longer than this of his life.

[*K*] *The firſt fruits of Exeter preſs preſented to her.*] Several little books of this kind were publiſhed by our author; ſome whereof have paſt divers editions. They are partly compoſed upon the plan of a learned and ingenious prelate's moſt celebrated writings (51); but ſeveral others have been ſince written, more directly upon our author's plan. As that, by Theophilus Wodenote, a ſequeſter'd divine, ſometime of King's-College in Cambridge (52). Another was publiſhed by Dr William Spurſtow Miniſter of Hackney (53), and afterwards there was another volume ſet forth, by an author more famous for his many publications in natural and experimental Philoſophy (54). Whatever there might be in this laſt author's performance, that could tempt a late ludicrous wit to give his ſerious manner of writing another air (55), we forbear now to enquire; but have been ſo far from meeting with any reflection upon our author, for the pieces in this kind which he ſet forth, that we find they rather gained him the character of a moſt penetrating and flexanimous genius; which teſtified a comprehenſive memory to recollect, and judgment to prefer, the moſt proper and agreeable incidents in poetry, hiſtory, or any other ſcience, as well as divinity; and then a moſt ſurpriſing faculty of alluſion, to apply them ſo pertinently and ſo eloquently, by inference or deduction to any preſent purpoſe or occaſion: whereby he has drawn the moſt delightful and ſalutary precepts out of the moſt ordinary and diſregarded, as well as the moſt extraordinary and obſervable examples; inſomuch that no books of thoſe times, in this manner of writing were more read than his, or more often reprinted. The firſt tract which he brought to light of this nature, if we are not miſled by ſome catalogues in its title and date, was called, *Good Thoughts*, 12mo. 1637. The next he publiſhed was this above referred to, while at Exeter, as is there ſaid, and entituled, *Good Thoughts in bad times, &c.* printed there, it ſeems in 12mo 1645, for we have not ſeen that edition; but the next we have, which was the fruit of a London preſs, printed for Andrew Crook, &c. in 12mo. 1646. And he publiſhed *Good Thoughts in worſe times*, that year or the next in 12mo. 1647 (†). They were reprinted in 1649, and 1650. At leaſt theſe two parts were again printed together, under the title of, *Good Thoughts in bad times:* together with, *Good Thoughts in worſe times*; conſiſting of *Perſonal Meditations, Scripture Obſervations, Hiſtorical Applications, Mixt Contemplations: Meditations on the Times, Meditations on all kind of Prayers*, and *Occaſional Meditations*. By *Thomas Fuller*, B. D. both parts printed for J. Williams, &c 12mo. 1652. He afterwards publiſhed a different work entituled, *Mixt Contemplations in theſe times*, as one author ſays in folio (56); who mentions no date to this, or any other of his works; and this if not printed in octavo, we never ſaw; but his *Mixt Contemplations in better times*, printed in 8vo. 1660. and dedicated from Syon College, to the Lady Monck we have ſeen. As for his *Good Thoughts in bad times*; which contain the firſt four heads of thoſe ſpecified in the two parts before mentioned to have been printed together; this firſt part containing an hundred meditations, is addreſſed by him in a polite dedication, to his patroneſs, the Lady Dalkieth, Governeſs to the Princeſs, as alſo her godmother, who was the planter of him in her ſervice. We have ſeen an account or deſcription of a collection of moral and divine contemplations, written ſeemingly in a woman's hand, by either the ſaid Princeſs Henrietta Maria, as it was ſaid, or for her uſe (57), having on its blue Turkey leather cover, the two firſt letters of her name in a cypher, ſurrounded with palm branches, and crowned with a coronet, in which there are ſeveral of the curious thoughts in this book, among others tranſcribed. As that pleaſant ſtory of the ſimple American, who hid or buried under a ſtone the letter his Spaniſh maſter had ſent by him, to a friend with a baſket of figs, while he eat ſome of them, becauſe a former letter had revealed his former thievery; thinking, while he was out of its ſight, he ſhould now be free from its detection; which is ingeniouſly applied by our author, to the conſcience in man, which however ſtifled and ſuppreſſed, while we are committing tranſgreſſions, will at laſt both upbraid us with, and puniſh us for them (58). Another is, that application he makes of the Shepherds on thoſe Welſh moun-

(46) See Dr Robt. Vilvain's Enchiridium Epigrammatum, Latino-Anglicum, &c. 8vo. 1654, in the additional Eſſays. p. 166.

(47) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 524, 579, &c.

(48) Fuller's Worthies in Cambr. fol. 154. Alſo in Warwickſhire, fol. 124, &c.

(49) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 524.

(*) Church Hiſt. fol. 142. See alſo his Dedicat. of lib. IX. to the Hon. George Berkeley.

(50) Worthies in Glouceſterſhire, fol. 366.

(51) See Biſhop Hall's Contemplations, in two or three Volumes 8vo. 1612, 1613, &c.

(52) His Hermes Theologus: Or, New Diſcants upon Old Records, 12mo. 1649.

(53) Dr Spurſtow's Spiritual Chymiſt: Or, Six Decades of Divine Meditations, 8vo. 1666, 1668.

(54) Mr Boyle's Occaſional Reflexions on ſeveral Subjects, 8vo. 1665.

(55) See Dr Swift's Meditations on a Broomſtick: According to the ſtile and manner of the Hon. Robert Boyle's *Meditations*.

(†) We may alſo read of Fuller's Better Thoughts in worſe times, in W. London's Catalogue of Books, &c. 4to. 1658.

(56) The Life of Dr Fuller, in the Catalogue of his Works at the End.

(57) Among the MS. Collections of the late Mr T. Coxeter.

(58) Fuller's good Thoughts in bad times, among the Hiſtorical Applications, No. 13.

garriſon there, for want of ſuccours, was forced to ſurrender, but upon ſuch favourable conditions, to the Parliament army, under Sir Thomas Fairfax, on the thirteenth of April 1646 (*k*), that Fuller was permitted by him to depart without any loſs or interruption to London. Here he met but cold reception among his former pariſhioners; Mr Bond, heretofore a preacher at Exeter, was Maſter of the Savoy; and ſo many other changes he ſaw, that the pariſh was ſcarcely to be found in itſelf. However, it was not long before he was choſen Lecturer at St Clements Lane, near Lombard-ſtreet; and ſhortly after removed to St Bride's church in Fleet-ſtreet. In the title-page of a ſermon which he publiſhed in 1647, he ſtiles himſelf late Lecturer in Lombard-ſtreet; and in his dedication thereof to Sir *John Danvers*, it appears he was now ſilenced [*L*]. He publiſhed ſeveral other pieces in theſe two laſt years, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. But it ſeems to have been before the latter end of the next year, when King Charles was put to death, that he was received as Chaplain to James Hay Earl of Carliſle (*), and preſented by his Lordſhip, ſoon after, to the Rectory of Waltham-Abbey in Eſſex; becauſe in that year 1648, and in 1649, he was, not only at London, but at Waltham, employing ſome engravers, to adorn, with ſculptures, his copious Proſpect or View of the Holy Land, as from Mount *Piſgah*, therefore called and known by the name of his PISGAH-SIGHT of *Paleſtine* (*l*), which he publiſhed in 1650 [*M*]. But as for his WORTHIES OF ENGLAND, the death of the King,

(*k*) Sir George Wharton, as before, p. 23. And Memorials of Engliſh Affairs; by Bulſtr. Whitlock, Eſq; edit. fol. 1732. p. 200.

(*) See in Fuller's Dedication of the fourth Book, in his Church Hiſtory, to this Earl of Carliſle, ſome remarkable particulars of his Lordſhip's anceſtors.

(*l*) See the Map therein of the Tribe of Gad, by W. Marſhall, 1648. fol. 72. And the Map of the Tribe of Benjamin, by Robt. Vaughan, apud Waltham, 1649. fol. 238.

tains, ſo high and ſuch little ways aſunder, that the men can talk together, but muſt walk ſome miles before they can meet together, to the diviſions between the King and Parliament (59). Another is, his meditations on the riſings and fallings in Saliſbury plain (60); and beſides two or three more, there is one we ſhall here recite, as a ſpecimen of our author's talent in this kind of writing, as follows: 'I have ſome-'times conſidered, in what a troubleſome caſe is that 'Chamberlaine in an Inn, who being but one, is to 'give attendance to many gueſts. For, ſuppoſe them 'all in one chamber; yet, if one ſhall command him 'to come to the window, and the other to the table, 'another to the bed, another to the chimney, ano-'ther to go up ſtairs, and another to go down; and 'all in the ſame inſtant; how would he be diſtracted 'to pleaſe them all? And yet, ſuch is the ſad con-'dition of my ſoul by nature, not only a ſervant but 'a ſlave to ſin! Pride calls me to the window; glut-'tony to the table; wantonneſs to the bed; lazineſs 'to the chimney; ambition commands me to go up 'ſtairs, and covetouſneſs to come down. Vices I ſee 'are as well contrary to themſelves as to virtue. Free 'me, Lord, from this diſtracted caſe; fetch me from 'being ſin's ſervant to be thine, whoſe ſervice is per-'fect freedom; for thou art one and ever the ſame, 'and always enjoins commands agreeable to them-'ſelves, thy glory, and my good (61).'

(59) Idem, No. 3.

(60) Ibid. among the mixt Contemplations, No. 22.

(61) Fuller's good Thoughts in bad times, among the mixt Contemplations, No. 8.

[*L*] *In his dedication to Sir John Danvers, it appears that he was now ſilenced*] This is entituled, *A Sermon of aſſurance, fourteen years ago preached in Cambridge, ſince in other places: now, by the importunity of his friends, expoſed to publick view.* 4to. 1647. In his *dedication* to Sir John Danvers, he ſays that, 'It had been the pleaſure of the preſent authority to 'make me mute; forbidding me till further order, 'the exerciſe of my publick preaching.' And in the *Preface* he tells his readers that, 'if he was finally in-'terdicted his calling, he might beſpeak their pity to 'bemoan his ſtate; but lying as yet, in the marſhes 'between hope and fear, I am, ſays he, no fit ſub-'ject to be condoled for, or congratulated with: yet 'it is, I truſt, no piece of Popery to maintain, that 'the prayers of others may be beneficial and avail-'able for a perſon in my purgatory condition.' And a little further, 'However matters ſhall ſucceed, it is 'no ſmall comfort to my conſcience, that in reſpect 'to my miniſterial function, I do not die, *felo de ſe*; 'not ſtabbing my profeſſion by mine own lazineſs, 'who hitherto have, and hereafter ſhall improve my 'utmoſt endeavours, by any lawful means to procure 'my reſtitution.' And tho' ſome might perſuade him to hold a private congregation, and carry the pulpit to his lodgings; yet he refrains from giving any offence, in hopes of being brought back to his pulpit. Of that Sir John Danvers, to whom he dedicates this ſermon, who was of a noble family, and had been a Royaliſt, tho' now an Oliverian, and next year one of the King's Judges, but died before the Reſtoration, we have met with the following paſſage, relating both to him and our author, in a little book that gives us ſome account of Sir John's life; the writer whereof, ſays that, tho' he lived ſome years in his diſloyalty without repentance, 'Yet drawing near the time of 'his death, I have, ſays the ſaid writer, cauſe to be-'lieve that he repented of the wickedneſs of his life; 'for that, then, Mr Thomas, now Dr Fuller, was 'converſant in his family, and preached ſeveral times 'at Sir John Danvers his deſire, in Chelſea Church; 'where, I am ſure, all that frequented that congre-'gation, will ſay, he was inſtructed to repent of his 'miſguided and wicked conſultations, in having to do 'with the murder of that juſt man, the King (62).'

(62) See J. Bates his Lives of the Regicides, 12mo. 1661. p. 134.

[*M*] *His Piſgah Sight of Paleſtine, he publiſhed in 1650.*] The title is, *A Piſgah Sight of Paleſtine, and the confines thereof; with the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament acted thereon. By T. Fuller*, B. D. 'Tis an handſome folio, embelliſhed with a frontiſpiece deſigned by Francis Cleyn, with many other copper plates, and divided into five books. The dedication, to Eſme Stuart Earl of March and Darneley, &c. is dated from Waltham-Abbey, 7th July 1650, and after the preface, in which he excuſes his delay of the *Church Hiſtory*, and renews our hopes of receiving it, follow ſome verſes in Greek, by John Ridley. Then we have a table of the arms in ſculpture of ſeveral encouragers of this work, graved by J. Goddard; and after that, a map of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, dedicated to John Lord Cranfield, Sir William Paſton, and Robert Condel, Eſq; The *firſt* book contains the general deſcription of Judea in fifteen chapters; with a map of old Canaan, inſcribed to Edward Bendloes, Eſq; The *ſecond* book, is dedicated to Henry Lord Beauchamp, as we before mentioned. Then follow the hiſtories of the Twelve Tribes, &c. in as many chapters, with a map before each, containing alſo, in a little compartment, a ſhort Latin inſcription, in proſe or verſe, to ſome patron, with his arms over it: the firſt, which is the map of Reuben, is inſcribed to Sir Paul Pindar; the next of Gad, to Sir Hugh Windham, Bart. and ſo on: that of Benjamin to James Earl of Carliſle; and that of Judah, to another ſpecial patron, William Lord Maynard, &c. of whom, he elſewhere gratefully ſpeaks (63). The *third* book, dedicated to John Lord Roſs, Son of John Earl of Rutland, gives us a deſcription of the city of Jeruſalem in thirteen chapters, with a plan of it in ſculpture, inſcribed to the Honourable Edward Montagu, Eſq; alſo an account of Solomon's Temple in ſeven chapters, and his Courts, with the utenſils of the Temple in twelve chapters; and prints of them inſcribed to other promoters of the work. We have next a deſcription and hiſtory of Zerobabel's Temple in twelve chapters, and a plate inſcribed alſo of that, like the reſt. The *fourth* book is dedicated to Francis Lord Ruſſel, ſon of William Earl of Bedford, and dated from Waltham-Abbey, July 16, 1650. Here we have a map and deſcription of Mount Libanus, with the adjacent country, inſcribed to Simeon Bonnel, Merchant of London, a great encourager of his works. Alſo of Median, and other eaſtern confines of Paleſtine, with the like proſpect and account of the wilderneſs of

(63) Where he ſays, 'William 'Lord Maynard 'hath been ſo 'noble an En-'courager of my 'Studies, that 'my hand de-'ſerves to wi-'ther, when my 'heart paſſeth 'him by with-'out a Prayer 'for his good 'ſucceſs.' Worthies, in Eſſex, fol. 347.

King, did now, for a while, quite ſtagnate and diſhearten his continuance of that Work, as if the proceedings of the Parliament had proved a contradiction to the title of it: *For what ſhall I write*, ſaid he, *of the* Worthies of England, *when this horrid act will bring ſuch an infamy upon the whole nation, as will ever cloud and darken all its* former, *and ſuppreſs its* future, *riſing glories* (*m*). Therefore he was buſy till the year laſt mentioned, in getting out that book and others; and the next year, he rather employed himſelf in publiſhing ſome particular lives, in a volume, of religious Reformers, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Biſhops, Doctors, and other learned Divines, foreign and domeſtick, than in augmenting his ſaid book of Engliſh Worthies in general; and to this collection he gave the title of ABEL REDEVIVUS, which he publiſhed at London, in quarto, 1651 [*N*]. In the two or three following years, he printed alſo ſeveral ſermons and tracts upon eccleſiaſtical ſubjects. And now having lived above twelve years a widower, and being recommended to an advantageous match by his noble friends, he married one of the ſiſters of the Lord Viſcount *Baltinglaſs* (*n*), in or not long before the year 1654. The next year ſhe brought him forth a ſon, who, with the other before mentioned, ſurvived their father. In 1655, notwithſtanding Cromwell's prohibition of all perſons from performing any miniſterial ſervice, or teaching any ſchool, who had been adherents to the late King, he continued preaching, and exerting his charitable diſpoſition towards thoſe Miniſters who were ejected; whom he not only relieved with what he could ſpare out of his own ſlender eſtate, but procured many contributions for them of his auditories. Nor was his charity confined to the Clergy, but, among the Laity whom he likewiſe befriended, one Captain of the royal army, who was

(*m*) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 39.

(*n*) Idem, p. 42.

of Paran, through which the children of Iſrael travelled forty years: likewiſe a draught of the tabernacle, inſcribed to James Bovey, Merchant of London, and a map of Egypt, with hiſtorical obſervations, founded upon the authorities of the holy writings, and thoſe of travellers, topographers, &c. as the other parts are. We have next a deſcription of the Jewiſh habits in eight chapters, with a table of them engraved (*), and inſcribed to his friend Mat. Gilly, Eſq; alſo a print of the Jewiſh Pantheon, or Idols, with an inſcription to Dr Hamey as we mentioned before, and philological obſervations upon them, partly, as he acknowledges, from the labours of Mr Selden (64). The *fifth* book is dedicated to John Lord Burghley, ſon of John Earl of Exeter; and contains his anſwers to objections, concerning this treatiſe, and the repreſentation of the Tribes, &c. in the maps aforeſaid, in twenty two chapters. In one of them, to an objection, that the faces of the men who bear the great bunch of grapes (65), are ſet the wrong way: for being to go ſouth-eaſt, to *Kadeſh-barnea*, they look full weſt, to the *Mediterranean* ſea, he anſwers: 'You put me in mind of a 'man, who being ſent for, to paſs his verdict on a 'picture, how like it was, to the perſon whom it was 'to reſemble, fell a finding fault with the frame there-'of, not the Limner's, but the Joyner's work; that 'the ſame was not handſomely faſhioned. Inſtead of 'giving your judgment on the map, how truly it is 'drawn to repreſent the Tribe, you cavil at the hi-'ſtory-properties therein; the art of the Graver, not 'the Geographer. Yet know, Sir, when I checkt 'the Graver, *Robert Vaughan*, for the ſame, he an-'ſwered me, that it was proper for the *Spies*, like '*Watermen*, and *Rope-makers*, to *look one way, and* 'row another (66).' After theſe anſwers, there are ſix chapters more. 1. Of Ezekiel's viſionary land of Canaan. 2. An account of the Ten Tribes ſince their Captivity, &c. 3. Of the Jews repoſſeſſing their native country. 4. Of the general calling of the Jews. 5. The preſent obſtructions of their calling. 6. How Chriſtians ſhould behave in order to the Jews converſion.—Then follows a ſculpture of ſacred fragments, dedicated to John and Edward Ruſſel, youngeſt ſons of Francis late Earl of Bedford: and the whole cloſes with an elaborate table or index, of all the places; as cities, towns, mountains, vallies, rivers, &c. mentioned in this hiſtory of Paleſtine out of the Scriptures, in their proper Hebrew names, alſo their ſignifications in Engliſh, parallel'd with many Engliſh towns, &c. as ſynonymas, and the texts referred to, in which thoſe places are mentioned; as alſo their longitudes and latitudes: laſtly, the book, page, and paragraph, in this hiſtory, where ſuch places are treated of, or mentioned; and all in diſtinct columns. If we may depend upon the judgment of ſome writers who have given our author's character, this *Piſgah Sight* is the moſt exact of all his writings (67).

(*) By J. Fuller; no relation of our author's, we preſume; but might be a ſon, or other kinſman, of Iſaac Fuller, the Hiſtory-Painter, if not himſelf.

(64) De Diis Syris.

(65) In the Map of Dan, book the 2d, before cap. 10. p. 202.

(66) Lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 163.

(67) D. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 523. Alſo an Hiſtorical Dictionary of England and Wales, 8vo. 1692.

[*N*] *His Abel Redevivus he publiſhed at London in Quarto* 1651.] The title of it is, *Abel Redevivus: Or the Dead yet ſpeaking. The lives and deaths of the modern Divines; written by ſeveral able and learned men, whoſe names ye ſhall find in the epiſtle to the reader; and now digeſted into one volume, for the benefit and ſatisfaction of all thoſe that deſire to be acquainted with the paths of piety and virtue.* Printed by Thomas Brudnell, &c. Lond. *Quarto* 1651. The epiſtle written by our author, is ſubſcribed from Waltham-Abbey. There are about one hundred and twelve lives, foreign and domeſtic in this volume, whereof thirty eight are Engliſh, except two or three Scots; beginning with Berengarius and Wicliffe, and ending with Robert Bolton and W Wheatley. About forty three of the lives are embelliſhed with little copper prints of their heads before them, and in the prefatory epiſtle, our author, after having briefly touched upon the honours, uſes, and benefits of BIOGRAPHY, proceeds to diſtinguiſh the compilers of this collection, in theſe words— 'As for the makers thereof, they 'are many. Some done by Doctor Featly, now at 'reſt with God: viz. the lives of Jewel, Reynolds, 'Abbot, and divers others: ſome by that reverend 'and learned Divine, Mr Gataker: viz. the lives of 'Peter Martyr, Bale, Whitgift, Ridley, Whitaker, 'Parker, and others: Doctor Willet's life, by Doctor 'Smith, his ſon in law. Eraſmus his life, by the 'Reverend Biſhop of Kilmore (68): the life of Biſhop 'Andrews, by the judicious and induſtrious, my wor-'thy friend, Maſter Iſaackſon: and my meanneſs wrote 'all the lives of Beringarius, Hus, Hierom of Prague, 'Archbiſhop Cranmer, Maſter Fox, Perkins, Junius, '&c. ſave, the moſt part of the poetry at the end of 'every life was done by Maſter Quarles, father and 'ſon, ſufficiently known for their abilities therein. 'The reſt, the Stationer got tranſcribed out of Mr 'Holland, and other authors (69).' Before a little book of the *Daily Devotions* of Dr John Colet, Dean of St Paul's, and Founder of the Grammar School there, we ſee, a ſhort account of that Dean's life written by our author, T. Fuller; but it is a different work from that in this collection, and not near ſo long (70). It may be obſerved in this collection of lives, that the plan our author followed in compoſing his ſhare of it, is that which was then, among the moſt judicious writers in uſe; too modeſt to be juſtly charged with oſtentation: for the other compilers, who were alſo learned and ingenious men, have as little diſplayed the directions they had in chronology, or thoſe their readers might covet to their authorities, as himſelf; except one of them, who has bravely embroidered his margins, with above fourſcore references to the old Philoſophers, Fathers, Poets, &c. in the life of a *modern Divine*, within the compaſs of ſix leaves, and not five quotations in the whole that are directly perſonal, or do hiſtorically concern his ſubject (71).

(68) Dr William Bedell, as we ſuppoſe.

(69) Fuller's Epiſtle to Abel Redevivus, p. 7.

(70) Page 97.

(71) See Dr Smith's Life of Dr Andrew Willet, in Abel Redevivus, p. 565.

[*O*] *It*

was quite deſtitute, he wholly maintained, with lodging, diet, and ten pounds a year for other neceſſaries, till he died (o). In that year, his Hiſtory of the UNIVERSITY *of* CAMBRIDGE, and his Hiſtory of WALTHAM-ABBEY, were printed; and they are uſually annexed, as an appendix, to his volume intituled, *The Church-Hiſtory of* GREAT BRITAIN, which, after many interruptions, he brought out in a large folio, printed the ſame year, and then publiſhed, ſome few copies, it ſeems, with the date thereof in the title page; and the reſt with another title, dated the next year 1656, &c. and having then chambers in Sion College, London, for the benefit of the library there, he from thence publiſhed the ſaid volume (p). The reader will think it no news to hear that it did not pleaſe every body. It was commended by ſeveral, and cenſured by ſome [O]. About this time he was

(o) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 44, 45.

(p) His Church Hiſt. in the Preface.

[O] *It was commended by ſeveral, and cenſured by ſome.*] This book, for which our author has been ſo variouſly characterized, bears the title of, *The Church-Hiſtory of Great-Britain, from the Birth of Chriſt, until the year* 1648. *endeavoured by Thomas Fuller. London,* printed for *John Williams, &c.* fol 1656. It is divided into eleven books, whereof the ſixth is the hiſtory of Abbies; alſo into ſeventeen centuries, and moſt of them after the earlier times into ſeveral ſections; with a dedication before each, to ſome noble or eminent friend who was an encourager of his works, with their arms often printed from wooden cuts, in the initial letters; which particular publications of, and acknowledgments to his patrons, ſubſcribers, &c. begot him ſome particular envy, as the hiſtory itſelf did, ſome cenſure, for his moderation to all parties therein; without a great regard to which, by the moſt diſcreet conduct, he muſt in the latter part of this hiſtory, have brought himſelf when it was publiſhed into inextricable danger. Indeed he brought this hiſtory down too far within his own time, contrary to a good rule of his own (*): but he could no longer reſiſt the importunity of his friends, who had ſo long expected it, at this time, when truth could not be done right with ſafety, nor wrong with honour, to bring it out, as appears by the firſt words of his preface; which inform us, that an ingenious gentleman ſome months before it appeared, in jeſt-earneſt, adviſed him to make haſte with his *Hiſtory* of the *Church* of *England*, for fear, ſaid he, leaſt the *Church* of *England* be *ended* before the *Hiſtory* of it. It muſt be provoking enough in envious minds, to ſee the noble Duke of Richmond in the very firſt dedication of this book (72), had ſuch a ſingular regard to our author's judgment in the expoſition of the Scriptures, that his Grace would give him ſome favourite text to compoſe a ſermon upon; and the zealots of a party could deduce enough matter of reproach from his ſaying that, 'The three firſt books were chiefly 'written in the reign of the late King, as appears by 'the paſſages then proper for the government; and 'the other nine, ſince Monarchy was turned into a 'State (73).' As for the gentleman aforeſaid, who haſtened the publication, we have learnt it was Edward Waterhouſe, Eſq; the author of ſome learned books, which were well received; in one whereof, ſpeaking of our Church-Hiſtorian he calls him, 'Ingenious Dr. Fuller; who will be more valued in 'after ages as moſt are, than in their own (74).' Another contemporary writer, in a tract publiſhed before the laſt quoted, having occaſion to conſult that part of this Church-Hiſtory, treating of the foundation which was firſt begun at Chelſea, for a College of Controverſial Divinity againſt the Papiſts, but is now an Hoſpital for diſabled and ſuperannuated ſoldiers, has theſe words—'But yet further, for the 'eſtabliſhing your judgments, and the attracting of 'your affections, let us produce the venerable relation and judgment of one, who may be well called 'a Chryſoſtom; that is, Doctor Fuller, &c (75):' and further again, in another part of the ſame treatiſe; 'Let us hereupon ſtill hear, and heed what 'Doctor Fuller ſays; and he is ever moſt worthy to 'be heard, &c (76).' But ſomewhat earlier ſtill, there was another author of thoſe times, Mr Thomas Forde; a man of good genius, who was eſteemed no inconſiderable Poet and Orator; a volume of whoſe writings in proſe and verſe, has been elſewhere ſpoken of among our dramatic writers (77); in one part of which book, there is a very reſpectful letter, in commendation of this hiſtory, addreſſed, tho' by the initial letters of his name only, yet evidently, as may appear by the ſubſtance thereof, as follows,

(*) But ſee alſo his arguments for writing the Hiſt. of our own times, in his Dedicat. to Robt. Lord Bruce, before the tenth book of his Church Hiſt.

(72) To his ſon Eſme Stuart, Duke of Richmond.

(73) In the Pref. to his Church Hiſt.

(74) A ſhort Narrative of the late dreadful, fire in London, by Edward Waterhouſe, Eſq; 8vo. 1667. p. 89.

(75) John Darley's Glory of Chelſea College revived: 4to. 1662. p. 17.

(76) Idem, p. 27.

(77) Langbain's Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 222.

'To *Mr* THOMAS FULLER.

'SIR,

'HAVING lately, not without pleaſure and 'profit read your *Church-Hiſtory*; by which 'you have not only indebted our Church in *particular*, 'but the whole commonwealth of learning in *general*; 'my memory continually upbraided me with ingratitude, till I found out this way to convey my reſentments. For though our *returns* of thanks ought to 'be large and univerſal as your merit, yet your goodneſs, I hope, will not refuſe the ſingle gratitude of 'private perſons. In that number, though the laſt, 'and the leaſt, I am bold to tender my mite. A taſk 'indeed better befitting a more equal pen, ſince none 'is able to do it but your own. But I know your '*modeſty* is as great as your *merit*, the higheſt worths 'being always accompanied with the loweſt humility. 'May your name ever *live*, who have *raiſed* ſo many 'to *life*, and *reſcued* their *memories* from the tyranny 'of *oblivion*. Among many others, I am particularly obliged to your courteſy, in the remembrance 'of that good man Mr *Udal*, to whom, by kindred, 'I am ſomething related. One, of whom we have 'this tradition, that he was the firſt man King *James* 'aſked for when he came into *England*, and being 'anſwered, that he was dead, the King, whoſe judgment was an exact ſtandard of learning and learned 'men, replied, *By my ſal, then the greateſt ſcholar 'in Europe's dead.* And certainly, by his own party, 'if they may be admitted for competent judges, it is 'not yet reſolved, whether his learning or his zeal 'were greateſt; and they think, they juſtly boaſt him 'a *Confeſſor*, if not a *Martyr*, for that cauſe which 'ſince hath paid thoſe ſcores with intereſt Now, 'though I am not *heir* to his *opinions*, yet a ſmall '*affinity* to his *perſon*, makes me embrace the opportunity of proffering you that intelligence you complain to want, the rather, becauſe perhaps, no man 'can now do it but myſelf; and I have *a relation of 'all his trials, cenſures, and ſentence*, written by '*himſelf*, which I doubt not may give you a ſatisfactory account in what you deſire. If you pleaſe to 'command it, I ſhall be ambitious to ſerve *you* and 'the *truth* therewith. But I could wiſh you would 'review that paſſage in the 31 *Sect. after the execution of* Udal, &c (78), for he died at the *White 'Lyon*, juſt as his pardon was procured, and was buried at St *George's Southwark*. And ſo I leave him 'to his reſt, wiſhing his good *name* and *doctrines* may 'ſurvive his *diſcipline*. Sir, you have not only engaged *learning*, but *religion*, to perpetuate your *labours*. *Fame* is much in arrears to your *deſert*, and therefore cannot in juſtice, but continue that veneration in *length* to your memory, which it yet wants 'in *breadth*. Thoſe *religious houſes*, erected by a 'better devotion than that which deſtroyed them, are 'more beholding to *your pen*, than to their *founders*, 'or *materials*; you having made them a taſk for the 'remembrance and admiration of future ages, ſo long 'as *time* ſhall hold a ſcythe, or *fame* a trumpet. I 'would ſay more, if the univerſal applauſe of all 'knowing men had not ſaved me a labour; and to 'pay you in ſome of your own coin, it is no *flattery* 'to *affirm*, what *envy* cannot *deny*. Did I not foreſee that the relation would ſwell my diſcourſe beyond the limits of a letter, or the length of your 'patience,

(78) Church Hiſt. lib. IX. ſect. viii. but that this was only a little ſlip, or inadvertency, may be ſeen in ſect. or paragr. 4. where he ſays that Udal died peaceably in his bed.

was invited to another living in Eſſex, which, for ſome reſpects to the patron, he undertook, and piouſly continued his labours there till his ſettlement at London (*q*). He ſeems to have had two great deliverances from death while he was in this county; for where he is ſpeaking of the ſaffron in it, which grows ſo plentifully about the town of Walden, he calls it an admirable cordial; adding, that, 'under God, I owe my life, when ſick of 'the ſmall-pox, to the efficacy thereof;' and Dr Baldwin Hamey, afterwards knighted, ſeems to have been his Phyſician in this illneſs (*r*). The other deliverance we have alſo in his own words, where he ſays, 'It is queſtionable, whether the making of *gunpowder* be 'more profitable or more dangerous, the *mills* in my pariſh having been *five* times blown up 'within *ſeven* years; but bleſſed be God without the loſs of any one man's life (*s*).' Before he left Eſſex he made, as we are told, his laſt Will; which, after his death, was repoſited in the Prerogative-office of Canterbury, at Doctor's-Commons in London; where, with others made by ſome of the ſame name, it is to be ſeen (*t*). But now another noble patron, George Lord Berkeley, having made him his Chaplain, he took his leave of that county, to the great reluctance of his pariſhioners, and was preſented by his Lordſhip to the living of Cranford in Middleſex, where he was no leſs generally beloved and reſpected, than at his other livings he had been (*u*). Ever ſince the *Church Hiſtory* aforeſaid was publiſhed, Dr Heylin had been hatching his *Animadverſions* upon it and ſome others, which he printed in 1659. This invidious taſk, as he owns it himſelf to have been (*w*), diverted our author from his other ſtudies to return an *anſwer* to it, which he publiſhed with no leſs ſpeed than ſucceſs within the ſame year; of both which we ſhall ſay ſomething more in a note apart [*P*]: And when Dr Heylin's own Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, only of the Reformation,

(*q*) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 46.

(*r*) Fuller's Worthies, in Eſſex, p. 317. See alſo his Latin Inſcription on the Copper-Plate of Jewiſh Idols, to Dr Hamey, in his Piſgah-Sight, &c. lib. 4. p. 120. Alſo his Latin Dedicat. to him in his Church Hiſt. fol. 138.

(*s*) His Worthies in Eſſex, p. 319.

(*t*) Dr Tho. Fuller's Will is in the Regiſt. entit. Laud, Qur. 48. Geo. Fuller's, 1651. in Regiſt. Gray, Qr. 4. And Robert Fuller's 1661, in Reg. Lady Judith May, Qr. 134.

(*u*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 45, &c.

(*w*) Dr Heylin's general Pref. to his Examen Hiſtoricum.

'patience, I ſhould aſſume the liberty to inform you, 'that my neighbourhood to the place, acquaints me 'with ſome *reliques* of *religious houſes*, at and near '*Malden*, bearing ſtill the name of an *Abbey*, a *Friery*, 'and a *Nunnery*. And if we may judge of *Hercules* 'by his foot, of the whole piece by the remnant, and 'of *them* by their *remains*, I ſhould ſuppoſe them not 'behind many in *England*. As yet, I know little of 'them, but their *ruins*; but if you vote it convenient, 'I ſhall endeavour to improve my preſent ignorance 'into a diſcovery of them. I ſuppoſe it will be no 'hard taſk; I am ſure it ſhall not, when in relation 'to your command I muſt now take pity of your 'patience, which had not run this hazard of abuſe, 'did I not know I have to do with ſo great a can-'dour, from which I can expect no leſs than *pardon*. 'And in that preſumption, I crave your leave to be, 'as I ſubſcribe myſelf,

'SIR,

'Your moſt aſſured Servant,

'THOMAS FORDE (79).'

(79) See Fœneſtra in Pectore: Or, a Century of familiar Letters. By Tho. Forde, 8vo. 1660. p. 135. Joined to his Virtus Redeviva: Or, Panegyric on K. Charles I, &c. 8vo. 1661.

Theſe, and other commendations of our author, that might be aſſembled, were paid him for this elaborate and ingenious performance, ſome after, as well as others before, the more ſevere examinations and cenſures of it were made, which will appear in the next note Annexed to this Church Hiſtory, is his *Hiſtory of Cambridge*, from the Conqueſt to 1643, in 172 pages, with a dedication to Baniſter, ſon of William Lord Maynard, and a map inſcribed to Baptiſt Camden, Lord Noel: alſo the *Hiſtory of Waltham-Abbey* in Eſſex, founded by King Harold, in 22 pages, dedicated to his patron James Earl of Carliſle; with a plate at the end, before the index, of the *Seals* of *Arms*, of all the *Mitred Abbeys* in England. Both which hiſtories were printed, as we above obſerved in 1655, and the latter of them has lately been recompiled by another pen (80).

(80) J. Farmer's Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, 8vo. 1735.

[*P*] *Of both which we ſhall ſay ſomething more in a note apart.*] We have ſeen in the letter, recited in the laſt note, a little miſtake of our author's, in a generous and genteel manner rectified by Mr *Forde*. We have alſo met with ſome agreeable converſation, which is ſaid to have paſſed between our author and his ever-chearful and friendly acquaintance, Mr *Iſaac Walton*, upon the general character of this *Church-Hiſtory*, when it firſt came abroad. For *Walton*, taking occaſion, upon reading ſomething in it, relating to one of the lives, he was collecting materials for writing, I think, that of Mr Richard Hooker, to viſit him with other company; and our author knowing how intimate he was with ſeveral of the Biſhops and antient Clergy, firſt aſked him what he thought of the Hiſtory himſelf, and was then curious to know, what reception it had met with among them: *Walton* anſwered, that he thought it ſhould be acceptable to all tempers, becauſe there were *ſhades* in it for the warm, and *ſunſhine* for thoſe of a cold conſtitution; that with *youthful readers*, the facetious parts would be profitable, to make the ſerious more palatable; while ſome reverend *old readers* might fancy themſelves, in his Hiſtory of the Church, as in a flower-garden, or one full of ever-greens: and why not, ſaid Fuller, the *Church Hiſtory* ſo decked, as well as the *Church* itſelf, at a moſt *Holy Seaſon*; or the *Tabernacle* of old, at the *Feaſt of Boughs*? That was, but *for a ſeaſon*, ſaid *Walton*; in your *Feaſt of Boughs*, they may conceive, we are ſo overſhadowed throughout, that the parſon is more ſeen than his congregation, and this, ſometimes inviſible to its own acquaintance; who may wander in the ſearch, till they are loſt in the labyrinth: oh, ſaid Fuller, the very *Children* of our *Iſrael* may find their way out of this *wilderneſs*: true, returned *Walton*; as indeed they have here ſuch a *Moſes* to conduct them (81). Theſe were Laymen; how ſome of the Clergy have treated this hiſtory, we are now to relate; and particularly the author of animadverſions on it This was Dr Peter Heylin, a man whoſe learning had been well *employed*, if it could have reduced his unhappy temper; which obſtructing his own preferment, moved his diſcontented ſpirit to oppoſe that of others; and lifting his hand againſt every body, raiſed theirs againſt him. This Doctor having written the Hiſtory of our *Champion of England* (82), took a pique, it ſeems, partly from the ſlight grounds of our author's making a little parallel of Perſeus and Andromeda, with St George and the King of Lybia's daughter (83); and taking ſome further diſtaſte, that himſelf was leſs mentioned, or with leſs homage than he expected, in ſome other parts of his writings, eſpecially for his reflection on the Doctor's reflecting ſtory on the antiquity of the Univerſity of Cambridge (84), kept feeding his rancour upon this Church Hiſtory till it broke out, however he would have us believe it a taſk impoſed upon him, in theſe *Animadverſions* (85), before which he has written an *Introduction*, and given therein, the anatomy of the ſaid Hiſtory; diſſecting it into many parts, and then reading lectures upon the unſoundneſs of all: beginning, I. At the title; of the *Church Hiſtory* from *Chriſt*; by which, expecting an allowance of a Chriſtian Church in *Britain*, in the time of Chriſt; he betrays his diſappointment, in our author's refuting the popiſh pretenſions of St Peter's planting the goſpel here, or any other of the Apoſtles, &c. ſo early from Rome; and ſo, *Mother-Church* in that age, is defeated, of the duty of a *daughter!* II. *Church-Hiſtory* of *Britain*, is mighty exceptionable with him; becauſe there is little ſaid of the Churches of

(81) In a Medley of diverting Sayings, Stories, Characters, &c. in Verſe and Proſe, written in Quarto, about the Year 1686, (as it is atteſted in another hand) by Charles Cotton, Eſq; ſome time in the Library of the Earl of Halliſax.

(82) Heylin's Hiſtory of St George, 4to. 1631, &c.

(83) In the Piſgah-Sight, fol. 210.

(84) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, fol. 77, 78.

(85) Printed in his Examen Hiſtoricum: Or, a Diſcovery and Examination of the Miſtakes, Falſities, and Defects, in ſome Modern Hiſtories: Occaſioned by the Partiality and Inadvertencies of their ſeveral Authors. In two Parts. Lond. 8vo. 1659.

mation, appeared, it gave leſs ſatisfaction, and was by others no leſs *animadverted* on. They had no further controverſy after the ſaid anſwer, but were both thereupon, as we have

of Scotland and Ireland. III. 'Tis not properly called a *Church-Hiſtory*, becauſe 'tis an aggregation of *heterogeneous* bodies. There is too much variety; and, a *Church Rhapſody*, or *Fuller's Miſcellanies*, had been a fitter title: ſo picks us out theſe impertinent parts; IV. Such as, *Title pages* a dozen; *Dedications* as many; and about threeſcore more, to other patrons, before the ſubdivided ſections. This number of *Patrons* was an intolerable felicity, eſpecially as our author has, more than once, let us into his good huſbandry, of raiſing a *Nurſery* of them (*). V. His *Heraldry*, *Blazon* of *Arms*, *Deſcents* of *Noble Families*, *Rolls* of *Battle-Abbey*, *Arms* and *Names* of the Conqueror's *Knights* billeted with the Monks of *Ely:* catalogue of *Adventurers* with *Richard* I. to *Paleſtine*; which he thinks might have better ſerved his Hiſtory of the *Holy Wars*; but being alſo what would engage the young Nobility and Gentry, for whom he ſo much deſigned this book, is very diſpleaſing. VI. Then alſo, his *Epitaphs*, and *Tranſlations* of other pieces of *Poetry*, ſprinkled up and down, as another attraction of his younger readers to the graver parts, and for the enlivening or illuſtration of his characters, are wholly diſallowed; becauſe, among the other antient Hiſtorians, he ſays, Plutarch and Suetonius yield him no example; and therefore it looks rather like a *Church Romance*. VII. His raking into *Popiſh Legends* was unneceſſary; that is, he ſhould not have expoſed ſo much, and armed his readers ſo well againſt the eccleſiaſtical impoſtures and miracles therein, deviſed to promote the admiration and bigotry of the people, and augment the profits of the Monks and Prieſts. VIII. Above all, ſays the Doctor, recommend me to his *merry tales*, and ſcraps of *trencher jeſts*, frequently interlaced in all parts of the Hiſtory; which, extracted into a book by themſelves (*), might be ſerved up, he thinks, for a ſecond courſe to the *banquet of jeſts*; or *wits*, *fits*, *and fancies*; or the old *hundred merry tales*. But would one think his own ſeverity could fall into the ſame levities he cenſures, in theſe *animadverſions?* Yes, when they will gratify his ſpleen; tho' it be with a *trencher-jeſt*, out of any common jeſt-book in Grub-Street; as where, being inflamed at a ſtory our author recites of a Lady, who told Archbiſhop Laud of her going over betimes to *Rome*, becauſe, *ſhe perceived his Lordſhip and many others haſtning thither, and ſhe did not love to go in a crowd* (†); he thereupon returns a ſtory of another Lady; at whoſe table *one Mr Fuller* was a welcome, tho' frequent gueſt; and being offered by her the wing of a *Woodcock*, he was ſo very importunate to know, how ſhe could tell a woodcock from a woodhen, that the Lady at laſt anſwered, *a Woodcock was* fuller *headed*, fuller *breaſted*, fuller *thigh'd*; and, in a word, every way, *Fuller* (86); ſo hard it is to *halt* before a *cripple!* But this is not the only time the Doctor went aſtray, in the path he had given ſuch expectations he could direct others. For our author might have retorted this jeſt, in a ſtory *of one Dr Heylin*, who travelling not far from home to Oxford, was earneſtly intreated by the man who was with him, to lead the way thro' the foreſt of Whichwood; but the Doctor loſt his way, and wanted a leader himſelf. *Strange!* ſaid the fellow, *that you, who made a book of the whole world* (†), *can't find your way out of this wood* (87). But he has not done with our author yet; for the next objection is, IX. His manifold excurſions about the *Antiquity of Cambridge*; in which tho' this *animadverter* pretends to forbare awakening a uſeleſs controverſy, that had ſo long lain aſleep, yet he refers his reader to his *animadverſions*, for what he could oppoſe our author therein; but might poſſibly have teſtified more diſcretion, in recommending to both Univerſities, ſuch a friendly and laudable emulation in their ſtudies, as ſhould make it more difficult to determine, which of them were of greater ſervice and honour to their country, by their inſtructions of mankind, than which of them is of greater antiquity. X. That there is too little of the *Church* and too much of the *State Hiſtory* in his book; which, tho' ſufficiently implied in other articles before, yet muſt more diſtinctly appear, to increaſe the reckoning. For our author has not, it ſeems, frequently enough to pleaſe this candid and humane critic, diſplayed the calling of national and provincial *Synods*, and made their influence, or authority, ſufficiently glaring and aſcendant over the *civil power*; he wanted more ſuch notable *Convocations*, as threw about their firebrands of *Sequeſtration*, *Deprivation*, *Suſpenſion*, *Excommunication*, and other *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*, without any confirmation of *Acts* of *Parliament*. More of the Heterodoxies and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*; and the whole *Reformation* ſettled upon the Doctrine of the Apoſtles: More of the *Aſſaults* and *Batteries* of the *Puritan* faction; and juſtification of *Rites* and *Ceremonies*. X. He diſcerns a continual vein of *Puritaniſm* running thro' the book; which thro' the facetiouſneſs of his ſtile, may work upon unwary readers. As if he allowed the ſword to be put into the common peoples hands, when the *reforming* humour ſhall grow ſtrong enough: that the opinions of Wicliffe and Calvin are too much favoured; the Hierarchy of Biſhops too coldly pleaded for; Nonconformiſts followed with *Plaudites*; Fathers of the Church often ſent off in ſilence. But makes a heavy clutter about the Ceremonies, and that diſpute of the Communion-Table ſtanding Altar-wiſe; alſo of a chapel built north and ſouth; tho' King James could ſay, *it was no matter how the chapel ſtood, ſo the heart was right*; and another unconſecrated; with more, about hoods, gowns, caſſocks, ſurplices, and ſuch like. And laſt of all, our critic chews over what we mentioned before, from the preface of this Church Hiſtory; in which our author diſtinguiſhes what part was written in the reign of the King, and what ſince Monarchy was turned to a State; by which, as 'tis conſtrued, he only meant to temper it to the palate of the preſent Government, whatever it was, &c. Theſe are the general heads of objection in the Doctor's *Introduction*. Then he attempts to make them good by above three hundred particulars, in the *Animadverſions* themſelves. To theſe is annexed *An Appendix, containing the Apology of* Dr John Coſin's, *Dean of* Peterborough: *in anſwer to ſome paſſages in the* Church Hiſtory *of* Britain, *in which he finds himſelf concerned*. This letter, in anſwer to our author's charge (88), in relation to Dr Coſin's impriſonment of Mr Smart a Prebendary of Durham, for his ſermon againſt certain ſuperſtitious innovations, imputed to the Doctor; for which ſuffering the Parliament had voted Mr Smart damages, is dated from Paris, April 6th 1658; and therein, the Doctor thinks, that he inſerted that paſſage upon the falſe reports and informations of others, who were loth to let an old malicious accuſation die, as it might have done, if he had not kept it ſtill alive, and recorded it to poſterity. But it appears alſo therein, that our author wrote him a letter of apology for publiſhing the ſaid miſinformation, which the Dean ſhould have had printed here with his own letter; eſpecially ſince our author therein offered to make him amends, in the next book he publiſhed; which he has very ingenuouſly done (89). As for Heylin's *Animadverſions*, tho' 'tis allowed they contain many uſeful remarks, and corrections of ſeveral involuntary miſtakes in this Church Hiſtory, as to ſome circumſtances of time, diſtinction of families, forms and ceremonies, &c. and might have been proper, in ſome reaſonable degree, to amend the errors therein; yet they appear nothing ſo enormous as in his repreſentations; being thereby ſo much aggravated and magnified. For if the Doctor does not frequently explain a truth into what is erroneous, he often will, an inſignificant error into one that is material, where an unprejudiced reader would conceive none at all; or diſcern no fault in the hiſtory, till it is made one in the animadverſion. Even the reflexions of others upon the Hierarchy, he turns upon the Hiſtorian, tho' he mentions, but to refute them, only that this eternal caveller may add ſome further ſuperfluous refutation of his own; and many times wilfully miſconſtrues his apparent meaning. But the great burden of his cavils, is the allowance of any miſmanagements in the Monarchical Goverment, and ſpeaking with any candour or lenity of ſome who were afterwards favoured

(*) See in his Church Hiſtory, lib. 4. ſect. 2. his Dedication to Sir Gerard Napier, Bart. in Agol. for many Patrons: And in ſeveral Dedications, in his Piſgah-Sight, how expedient it was for him, to have Infant Patrons.

(*) And ſo many of them have been, to the ſale of ſeveral books, particularly one, intituled Fragmenta Aulica, or Court and State Jeſts, &c. By T. S. The ſecond edit. 12mo. 1663, &c.

(†) See his Church Hiſt. Book XI. fol. 217.

(86) Animadverſions on the Church Hiſt. &c. p. 260.

(†) Heylin's Coſmography.

(87) Miſcellanea: Or, a choice Collection of wiſe and ingenious Sayings, &c. By G. M. 8vo, 1694. p. 70.

(88) Church Hiſt. book XI. fol. 173.

(89) Worthies of Eng. in Durham, p. 295. And yet it ſeems Dr Coſin was then ſpirited up, to ſome more ſevere oppoſition of our author; by thoſe words in Chancellor Hyde's Letter to Dr Barwick, from Bruſſels, June 27, 1659. 'Pray tell 'me, whither my 'Lord of Ely 'doth not think 'that my very 'good friend Dr 'Coſin, hath 'proceeded fur-'ther than he 'needed to have 'done, upon any 'Provocation Mr 'Fuller could 'have given 'him.' Vide Parentalia: Or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens: By Chriſtopher Wren, jun. Eſq; fol. 1750. p. 54.

have observed, well reconciled, especially when the Doctor's turbulent and acrimonious spirit was calmed and moderated by some of the many antagonists he had raised against himself;

voured under the administration of the commonwealth; which could not be avoided at the unlucky juncture when his history was published, without his inevitable ruin, as was before observed. If that incessant wrangler may not be flatly accused with Popish tenets, in the discipline he bestows on this history; yet what our author has related on another occasion, may be here applied; that, as that Driver at the Olympic games of old was held the conqueror, who could run his chariot-wheels most near the mark, and yet not touch the mark, to hamper himself or impede his carreer: So that Divine was reckoned the hero of Laud's party, who could border, or drive up neareſt the Papists, and not intangle himself in the charge of Popery; which yet Dr Heylin had not the dexterity to keep himself clear of, as may be read, when his own *History of the Reformation* appeared (90), in the *Animadversions* that were made upon that; the author, or authors whereof, having informed him therein, from many instances, that, 'we 'should rather judge you to be the pupil of Dr Harding, whom you would be thought to oppose; than of 'Bishop Jewel, whom you seem to reverence, &c. (91).' But others since, have treated it no better than as a libel upon the Princes, Prelates, and all, who, so much at their own peril, purged our Church of its corruptions, and established the said Reformation. It may be seen in Bishop Burnet, how he seems to have been set on by the Church of Rome, in those violent prejudices he has exerted against this of England, without the support of any authorities for the same (92). And also in Bishop Barlow, besides others of great knowledge and credit, who might be named, how justly, for representing our said Reformers as a pack of Fanatics, he is reproached with being guilty of scandalous injuries, both to Truth and the Church (93). The same year that Heylin published those *animadversions* upon our author's history, Fuller set forth his reply to them, intituled, *The Appeal of injured Innocence to the learned and impartial Reader, in answer to some Animadversions of Dr Heylin's on his Church History*. Printed in a thin folio 1659, being, as one author terms it, 'a very modest, but 'most rational and polite defence, to the aforesaid 'exceptions against that elaborate piece (94).' Some have spoken of it, as if, he was not only to be pardoned but praised, for tripping in his steps, who could make such graceful recovery of them. And others have observed, that the errrors in his *history* are so ingeniously excused or confessed in his *appeal*, that he is even pleasing to his readers in those faults for which he has so wittily apologized (95). But his unquiet antagonist, to a book of his disputations with several other persons, published the same year (96), has added in the *Appendix, An Exchange of Letters between Mr Thomas Fuller of Waltham, and Dr Peter Heylin of Abington*, with an *examination* also of some passages in the said *appeal*. In this *appendix*, Dr Heylin allows that Mr Fuller's *appeal* is a well-studied *answer*, composed with ingenuity and judgment (97). And that he does not stand wilfully in any error whereof he finds conviction, however traversing some points; which the Doctor thinks might have been with more honour to truth, declined. It appears here also, that our author, when his *appeal* was published, sent it to the Doctor; likewise such a letter with it, as very much mollified his censor's harsh opinions, and promoted their succeeding reconciliation. It also probably conduced to the abridgement of his *reply* to so long an *answer*; tho' the motives which the Doctor here publishes thereto, are, that three parts in five of the *appeal* are the words of the *animadversions*; that, in the two other parts, our author confesses mistakes, and promises corrections in the next edition of his history; and that other traverses or evasions in the *appellant*, are tantamount to acknowledgments, not to be qualified with the name of satisfactory *answers*; and therefore, he thinks no special *replication* necessary to them (98). But it is manifest, that letter before mentioned, and perhaps others which our author sent him, did allay his indignation; wherein he assures the Doctor, that, 'he was cordial to the 'cause of the English Church, and that his hoary hairs 'would go down with sorrow for her sufferings;' because the Doctor says thereof, that, 'It tended espe- 'cially to the begetting such a friendly correspondence 'betwixt us, as might conduce to the establishment of 'a future peace:' And so it did, after our author had been more explicit in some serious conferences with him at Abington. For the writer, who well knew the conclusion of these altercations between them, asserts that the dispute in relation to this Church History was soon ended; 'for the oil our author had bestowed upon 'that labour, being poured into the fresh wound of 'this quarrel, did so assuage the heat of their contest, 'that it was soon healed into a perfect amicable clo- 'sure, and mutual endearment (99).' And what expectations the Papists had from this controversy, if they had no hand in it, for that more hands than Dr Heylin's contributed to those *animadversions* is evident enough (100), may also appear in another part of his Biographer aforesaid, where he informs us, that, 'It 'much rejoiced the Roman party, when this misunder- 'standing happened between Dr Heylin and himself, 'about his Ecclesiastical History, tho' they caught no 'fish in those troubled waters; while they tossed their '*proud billows forward and backward*, the Protes- 'tant cause was safely anchored and moored between 'them (101).' And thus his orthodox principles, as a true son of the Church of England, were no more called in question.

As to those more obvious qualities in our author, which inclined him so much to illuminate the obscure, and enliven the languid parts of this History, as might render them more engaging to the generality of his readers; it has been objected, that he was too witty, too lepid, and indulgent therein of his own fancy and conceits; which, tho' often very ingeniously applied, it is thought he would have much restrained, if he had submitted to the advice of his good and worthy friend, as he stiles him (102), Mr William Somner, the Antiquary of Canterbury (103), and not lightned some weighty matters so frequently with jests and tales; however, he might design only to enlighten them, or think them dispersed in his materials, like some allay in metals, which may temper and dispose even gold itself, to be more binding and work the better. But that objection also, it seems, has since been accumulated upon him, with too much violence and excess. For some late Examiners of his works, in a few remarks left upon them, as well as other writers on serious subjects, would be for reducing this censure to its just bounds or degrees; and therefore observe, that much of his manner was the mode of the reign wherein he laid the foundation of his studies, and not to be particularly charged upon any new obtrusion of his; further observing, that much of what has been disparaged with the slighting title of jests and tales, are indeed apophthegms, and parallel events; so intended by the author, and so received and revived by unprejudiced readers, as instructive and corroborating ornaments; like what may be seen in many solemn discourses of great antiquity, being an imitation of the Philology therein. They have thought also, that an author may make even Church history in some parts diverting, without making a diversion of the Church; and therefore, that he may redicule some monstrous and mischievous impositions on it, without making it ridiculous; as we daily behold in Civil, and even Ecclesiastical life, the most serious and sober negociations carried on by men of volatile and humorous dispositions, who may surely sometimes smile, or even laugh over their business, and not laugh at it; there being great difference between a man's shewing a little jocularity now and then, in the faithful discharge of a trust he has taken upon him, and betraying it into contempt, by making jokes of the trust itself. Therefore it has been questioned, when an author, who has the uncommon talents to render himself most pleasing and agreeable, shall, by an uncommon industry to exert them, render himself least so, whether there is not a sinister and ungrateful reception made of his labours? And whether any faults or failings, in the government either of Church or State, may not be sometimes corrected, with as much success, and more humanity, in a good humour, than a sour and morose one?

(90) With the Title of, Ecclesia Restaurata: Or, the Hist. of the Reformat. of the Church of Eng. &c. fol. 1661, &c.

(91) Plus Ultra: Or, England's Reformat. needed to be reformed: Being an Examinat. of Dr Heylin's Hist. of the Reformat. of the Church of Eng. &c. By H. N. O. J. &c. Lond. 4to. 1661. p. 48.

(92) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. fol. Vol I. 1679, 1681. in the Preface.

(93) Bishop Barlow's Remains, 8vo. 1693. p. 185.

(94) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 47.

(95) Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. p. 524.

(96) Heylin's Cerberus Epistolare: Or, the Letter Combat, managed between Dr P. Heylin, and Mr R. Baxter, Dr N. Bernard of Grays-Inn, Mr J. Harrington, &c. 8vo. 1659.

(97) Idem. p. 312.

(98) Ibid. p. 388, 389.

(99) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 47.

(100) In Dr John Cosins his Letter to Dr Heylin, from Paris, at the end of his Animadversions, &c. p. 285.

(101) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 85.

(102) In his Hist. of Abbeys, &c.

(103) See the Life of Mr Somner, by Mr White Kennet (after Bishop of Peterborough), printed with Mr Somner's Treatise of Roman Ports and Forts in Kent. edit. 8vo. 1693. p. 114.

himſelf; when he found his own Hiſtory more cenſurable for giving countenance to the Popiſh cauſe, than he could cenſure Fuller's for it's candour to the Preſbyterians, and he ſaw

one? But if, in a copious work, wherein there muſt be a great diverſity or diſparity of actors, their actions and arguments, which muſt ſometimes appear ridiculous even to one another, all confirmation of the good, or chaſtiſement of the bad, by the illuſtration of any ſimilar ſtory, or witty ſaying, muſt be rejected, as altogether unſeaſonable, in reſpect to the grave title of it, what will become of the graveſt Hiſtorians, Philoſophers, and Fathers of old; who in the ſame manner derided the impoſtures in the Pagan, as our modern Divines have done in the Popiſh, and other Chriſtian ſyſtems of worſhip; or the Prophets and Apoſtles themſelves, who have ſo agreeably embelliſhed and enforced their doctrines, with fables and parables? And if theſe illuſtrations are eſtabliſhed by ſuch unerring authorities, in the moſt inſpired and divine, the moſt ſublime and *ſpiritual* writings, ſure they may be ſafely practiſed in thoſe that are of *temporal*, or human concern and inſtitution. If then, ſay they, notwithſtanding ſuch great examples, ſome men can ſtill be ſo *ſaturnine*, as to reliſh nothing *mercurial*; no facetious or other delectable repreſentation, naturally ariſing, in the miſcellaneous occurrence of hiſtorical matter; if *wit* and *humour* are ſuch diſaſters, bleſſed are the dolts and dizzards! Or, as Falſtaff phraſes it; If *ſack* and *ſugar* be a *ſin, the Lord help the wicked!* But if our Hiſtorian has treated us too plentifully therewith, and, like a prodigal ſon, been ſo laviſh of his treaſure, as to be ungenerouſly reduced to huſks, with thoſe who prefer them to pearls, his motives for ſuch liberty are yet thought to be miſinterpreted; and this argument is not relinquiſhed without ſome indications, as we ſhall ſee, at the grounds and ſources of thoſe rigorous and aggravated conſtructions, which have been made of the uſe of wit and humour, in ſuch parts of a grave and ſerious work, which give birth to them; or any ſuch hiſtory, as contains matters no leſs prophane than ſacred in it; eſpecially in reſpect to our author, and what has been written on him, by a late *hiſtorical critic*; who may yet have wronged more characters without wit, than Fuller did with it; or traduced them undeſervedly in earneſt, more than ever he did by a deſerved jeſt; and with that *gravity* he required in our Hiſtorian, may have done him, and many others, more injuſtice than if he had reprehended them with *levity*; as where he charges him with not having taken care enough of his *ſtile*; when, as it is obſerved, there is no writing in his ſtile, without being more careful and delicate than we generally think it needful now to be: He adds, that if a pretty *ſtory* comes in our author's way, affording *ſcope of clinch and droll*, off it goes, with all the *gaity of the ſtage*; and that the moſt ſerious parts of his hiſtory, are ſo interlaced with *pun* and *quibble*, as if he deſigned to *ridicule the annals of our Church* into a *fable* or *romance*; of which, if proper diſtinction has not been made above, it may, by reading the hiſtory itſelf. As for puns, quibbles, and clinches, which are but the *ſhadows* of *Wit*, 'tis no wonder they are at preſent ſo much out of requeſt, as to be almoſt out of ſight, ſince the *ſubſtance* itſelf is ſo little ſeen, in the many volumes that are daily publiſhed; but they were not always in ſuch low ebb of eſteem as they are now; for ſome of the graveſt Antients ſo loved the goddeſs, that they would embrace the very clouds which appeared in her ſhape; and they were favourably enough thought of even in Fuller's time, or elſe ſuch as may occur in him, would not have eſcaped the cenſure, much leſs engaged the imitation, even of his captious opponents. Indeed that critick alſo adds, that if this Church Hiſtory could be refined, it would be of good uſe; *ſince there are in it ſome things of moment, hardly to be had elſewhere, which may often illuſtrate dark paſſages in more ſerious writers*, &c. (104). Theſe things of moment, are ſeveral letters, records, inſtruments of Church and State, and other authentic evidences unprinted in other hiſtories, thro' the friendly communications of Sir Thomas Cotton, Sir Simonds d'Ewes, Sir Simon Archer, and other treaſurers of antiquities. He has alſo erected, as ſo many beautiful ſtatues, abundance of *characters* of eminent men throughout this hiſtory; many of them latterly, drawn from the life, and alſo ſcarcely elſewhere to be ſeen; out of ſuch circumſtances therein, which occurred from his own obſervations, or the intelligence of friends, as would yield the moſt remarkable connections or contraſts, &c. and he could beſt animate or adorn, with alluſions or reflections, political, moral, and divine. Which embelliſhment is always deſirable, unleſs where the chippings are more valuable than the little jewels that are reduced and ſhaped out of them, or many ſubſtantial matters of fact have been dropt, or excluded, for ſome more capable of ſuch decorations; which indeed, in ſome hiſtories, may be a little like filling of houſes with ſo much carving and painting, as to leave them unfurniſhed with neceſſary utenſils for every ordinary occaſion. If his gay ſparkling tales are ſuch eye-ſores, they may be overlooked by his gloomy or tender-ſighted readers; and as for the arrows of his jeſts, they are uſually ſo fledged with the feathers of his ingenuity, that, by a well-tempered and countervailing moderation, they break the force of their own flight, and defeat the danger of the points they are tipp'd with: ſo that we may ſmile more at the innocent effects of his wit, than frown at any rankling wounds that are made by it. But ſuch is the hard fate of an author, eſpecially if he happen to be a man of uncommon abilities, and ſo prone are his readers to calumny, thro' the conceit, or pretence of a ſuperior taſte or diſtinction, that if there be but one exceptionable quality in him, it ſhall be ever uppermoſt, and fix ſuch a diſreliſh as many excellencies cannot qualify. Had he violated the decorum required by good manners and morals; had he profaned, or defiled his pen, with the impiety, or ribaldry of low, licentious, and abandoned writers, he might not have been treated with greater ſeverity, tho' he had then deſerved it. However, ſince ſome varieties he deſigned in the entertainment of his readers, agreed not with the weak or dainty appetites of all, ſome reaſons for it have been aſſigned, as the grounds and ſources of that diſtaſte, in the remarks here extracted; from whence we further collect, that this mixture of wit in hiſtory, was thought to treat irreverently that of the Church, however decently, conciſely, and pertinently, interwoven or adapted; becauſe it might be apt to make it too familiarly read, ſo be hurtful to that awe and veneration which muſt be kept up therein; as nothing but ſincerity and ſanctity ſhould be thought to have any footing there: But his frequent application of the divine texts of ſcripture, ſo wittily, how adaptly or reſpectfully ſoever alſo, in it, to human or ſecular affairs, might be as reproveable, for the ſame reaſon as his pleaſant ſtories or ſayings; ſince the very tranſlation of thoſe ſcriptures into our own tongue, was once even ſentenced to the flames, as what might alſo bring the religion itſelf they contain, into a familiarity too great with the vulgar. Then his rhetorical ſtile, his quaint conformities, contradiſtinctions, and other elaborate niceties of an elegant and ſententious diction; thoſe who have the capacity, either want the forms and rules, or will not ſpare the time and pains to imitate; therefore ſuch precedents muſt be rejected, as may tend to exact or revive an obſolete and troubleſome compliance. Beſides, bright and witty authors on any ſubject, muſt be diſcountenanced by dull and heavy ones, as riches and honours are by thoſe in a poor and abject condition; who, to ſuggeſt in themſelves more excellent properties, will rail at what they cannot reach: For if ſuch inconvenient examples were to predominate; if florid and pithy writings were to prevail, or wit and eloquence become in vogue, it would make a dearth at the preſs; the majority of voices would be ſilenced by a few, and the generality of authors, being out of the faſhion, might as well be out of the world. But, after all, it is not expected to eſtabliſh a common practice of writing books, by any recommendation of ſuch patterns, in theſe apologetical remarks, as our Hiſtorian has left us. For the author of them pronounces him more liable to robbery than rivalry; and, which is worſe, many who have made him firſt ſtand and deliver, have afterwards abuſed him and defaced his credit, to prevent their own detection: ſo that there is no great danger of his corrupting thoſe readily to an ill taſte of imitation, who are humbly reſtrained from aſcending higher than repetition,

(104) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library. 8vo. 1697. Part II. p. 92, &c.

saw his efforts so ineffectual to weaken our author's interest after the Restoration, that Fuller then grew in greater favour at Court, than ever he had been before. It was his noble patron aforesaid it seems (*x*), the Lord Berkeley, who, at that grand revolution, took Fuller over with him to the Hague (*y*), that King Charles the Second might also hear his singular excellencies in the pulpit, and his grateful salutations, upon the prevailing resolution of his subjects to receive and obey him in his own kingdoms; but the croud and hurry being too great there, he had soon after better opportunities of expressing his cordial and dutiful satisfaction upon that topic at Whitehall (*z*); and, among the many loyal congratulations which were made to his Majesty upon his joyful and magnificent entry, our author revived his acquaintance with the Muses, to address him poetically also upon that occasion (*a*). He was, a short while before, re-admitted to his Lecture in the Savoy, and now restored to his Prebend of Salisbury, after being twenty-years, as the writer of his life says, deprived of it's profits. He was chosen Chaplain in Extraordinary to his Majesty, created Doctor of Divinity by the King's letters of recommendation to the University of Cambridge, dated August the Second 1660 (*b*); and so well grounded was his expectation of higher advancement, that, had he lived about a twelvemonth longer, 'twas thought he would have been made, upon the translation of Dr Gauden from Exeter to Worcester, or his death soon after, Bishop of one of those Sees (*c*), thro' the Berkeleys interest with the Queen-Mother, and Princess Henrietta, soon after Duchess of Orleans, at their late being in England. Now being commodiously enabled to prosecute his studies, he closely applied himself to set a finishing hand to his WORTHIES of ENGLAND [*Q*]. This work was the

(*x*) David Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. fol. 524.

(*y*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 104.

(*z*) Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. as before.

(*a*) See Fuller's Panegyric upon the Restoration of King Charles, in his Worthies of England, in Worcestershire, p. 182.

(*b*) Bishop Kennet's Regist. and Chron. Eccles. and Civil, &c. edit. fol. 1728; p. 220.

(*c*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 53. And J. F's Church revived, &c. 12mo, 1663. p. 9.

petition, unless the art was as perfectly attained of making, by bidding writers *go and be witty*, as the *Alchemist* implied his was, who bid his believer *go forth and be rich*.

Thus we have given the sense and substance of some Reasons which were drawn up for the toleration of wit in due proportion, and in the proper parts of serious subjects, with respect to our author; and found, among some critical papers, of a late gentleman who had a hand in the original *Spectator* (105), with others he also wrote of a political nature, in opposition to the late Earl of Orford. And tho' we have likewise seen some notes which a late Prelate (106) left, in the margins of Bishop Nicholson's *Historical Library*, correcting some errors therein; yet they distinguish his to be a different hand from that which wrote these *Remarks* on our Historian; and we have been informed (107), they were most probably written by the author of a treatise published entirely in favour of this subject (108), as an addition he might design to incorporate in the next impression of it; in which treatise, the said author has quoted a Divine, named Mr Gilbert Rule, who says, he knows of *none that blame the excellent writings of Mr Fuller, for the pleasantry in them*; and has given us, throughout the said tract, abundance of authorities and examples, of writing in the same manner; especially out of Ecclesiastical authors, in all ages, and of all ranks and persuasions.

(105) Eustace Budgell, Esq;

(106) Dr Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.

(107) By the late Mr Peter Des Maizeaux.

(108) A Discourse concerning Ridicule and Irony in writing, &c. 8vo. 1729.

[*Q*] *To set a finishing hand to his Worthies of England.*] This work, which was part of it printed before the author died, seems not, in the lives or characters in some of the counties, especially of Wales, so finished as it would probably have been, if he had lived to see it compleatly published. It is intituled, *The* HISTORY *of the* WORTHIES *of* ENGLAND: *Endeavoured by* THOMAS FULLER, D. D. folio. 1662. With a sculpture of his effigies prefixed, engraved by David Loggan, having this inscription round it, *Thomas Fuller*, S. T. D. *Ætat.* 53. 1661; this motto at top, *Methodus Mater Memoriæ*; and these verses at bottom,

The Graver here, hath well thy *face* design'd,
But no hand, FULLER, can express thy *mind*;
For that, a *resurrection* gives to those,
Whom silent *monuments* did long enclose.

Being a posthumous publication, it is dedicated to King Charles the Second, by the author's son, Mr John Fuller, a young Divine of Cambridge. In the said editor's preface, we are assured that the unprinted counties were faithfully set forth from the author's copy, without any additions; and that the volume was printed for expedition at several presses, which may account for the several errors in the numbers of the pages, and thereby, the want of an index or two to the whole, which might have directed to the *local commodities* and *personal characters* therein: However, there has lately been published an index of the personal part, sometimes to be met with at the end of such copies as have been new bound to receive it. This book, tho' never wholly reprinted, has been partly revived in epitomies of the whole (109), or dividedly, in a work, geographical, historical, and political, whereof the second part is abstracted from these lives (110). The subject matter of the book, is distributed under the several counties of England and Wales; each division beginning first, with the commodities, products, and other particulars most eminent and remarkable in each county; whether waters, minerals, plants, animals, manufactures, buildings, battles, proverbs, &c. then the worthies born or residing therein, marshalled under their respective ranks or professions; the whole contents of each county, ending with tables of the gentry that were therein in the reign of King Henry the Sixth; and a list of the Sheriffs, for several Kings reigns, down to King James or King Charles the First, with their arms described, and places of abode. Prefixed to the whole, is a copious introduction, in near twenty sheets, divided into many chapters; distinctly treating of this grand and comprehensive plan, the matter, order, and stile, &c. shewing how methodical and uniform he has been throughout; also apologizing for any defects that may have escaped his pen, and answering many objections which might be made to any part thereof: But as the heads of those preliminary discourses will best explain the contents of the book, and display as well the variety, as the grandeur of the undertaking; and as a recital of them will give the most ready command of the whole scheme, to those who would only be informed, or reminded thereof; or such as may be inclined to revive the author in a more correct edition; give us a continuation, or any other improvement of his model; the said heads are therefore here offered to their consideration, as follow.

(109) England's Worthies, in Church and State, &c. 8vo. 1684.

(110) An Histor. Dictionary of Engl. and Wales, &c. 8vo. 1692.

Chapter the Ist, contains the general *design*; wherein, as learned *Camden*, and painful *Speed*, with others, have described the *rooms* in that convenient *structure*, to which he compares this nation: So he intends to describe the *furniture* of them, in the most signal *products* and *persons* of distinction, adorning the same; to these five ends, 1. *To gain some glory to God.* 2. *To preserve the memory of the dead.* 3. *To present examples to the living.* 4. *To entertain the reader with delight.* And lastly, *To procure some honest profit to himself.* II. Of the national commodities; as the manufactures, wonders, buildings, local proverbs, medicinal herbs, waters, &c. III. The first quaternion of persons; Princes, Saints, Martyrs, and Confessors. IV. Of Popes, Cardinals, and Prelates, before the Reformation. V. Since the Reformation. VI. Of our statesmen; as Chancellors, Treasurers, Secretaries of State, Admirals, and Deputies of Ireland. VII. Capital Judges,

the main channel of his thoughts, but, through the whole courſe of their current, they branched out into little ſtreams or rivulets. The ſaid intermediate publications were moſtly

and Writers of the Common Law. VIII. Soldiers and Seamen, with the neceſſity of encouraging our Fiſhery. IX. Of Writers on the Canon and Civil Law; Phyſick, Chemiſtry, and Surgery, &c. X. Other Writers; in Divinity, Philology, and Philoſophy; Hiſtory, Muſic, and Poetry; alſo on Popery, &c. with a complaint of the number of needleſs books. XI. Of benefactors to the publick, with a recommendation of choice charities; under the heads of churches, free-ſchools, colleges, and almſhouſes; with a diſtinction of benefactors ſince, from thoſe before the Reformation. XII. Of memorable perſons, or ſuch as were extraordinary for ſtature, ſtrength, age, fertility, &c. XIII. Lord-Mayors of London. XIV. Catalogues of the gentry under Henry the Sixth; why inſerted. XV. Of the Sheriffs. XVI. Of the Sheriffs arms. XVII. Obſervations on ſurnames, being often altered, and variouſly written. XVIII. Of modern battles. XIX. Of the ſhires, and why the worthies are digeſted under them. XX. Of the ſurnames of Clergymen, and that their ſons have been as ſucceſsful as others; with his expedient, where ſeveral places claim the birth of one perſon. XXI. Other general rules and diſtinctions, for the author and reader's eaſe: As, his uſe of the word *ampliendum*, expreſſing a want of fuller intelligence: And his uſe of S. N. ſignifying *ſecond nativity*; that is, when a Worthy whoſe native country is not known, he is hiſtorized under that which was his place of reſidence: And by the abbreviation R E M. which implies *removeable*, upon better information: Alſo his rule for ranking under ſome one head, perſons who have a claim to ſeveral. XXII. The precedency of ſeveral profeſſions adjuſted. XXIII. Of the authorities from whence the work is derived. XXIV. Concerning his double diviſion of the Engliſh, according to their nation and profeſſion. XXV. General exceptions againſt the ſtile and matter of the author prevented; by his propoſitions of, and anſwers to them, being twenty-four in number. XXVI. An apology for the involuntary omiſſions in this book.——The whole volume wants but few of a thouſand pages, and ſeems to have been not quite finiſhed at the end.

Tho' our author was very diligent, as hath been atteſted in a note before (111), in collecting his materials for this work; yet when ſeveral parts of it were written, he had the diſadvantage of being unſettled, remote from proper libraries, and intelligent converſation, being as it were a travelling writer, and forced to leave blank ſpaces, eſpecially for *Dates*; wherein he has ſometimes modeſtly left his reader rather uninformed than miſinformed; and ſometimes again filled them up conjecturally, and without any ſuppoſed need of nice recollection, as he deſigned to be more exact upon better opportunities of examination; in ſeveral whereof he was prevented by death. But tho' he looked upon dates as ſo many little ſparkling gems in hiſtory, that would reflect the cleareſt and moſt ſudden light, a great way's off, he ſtill found or thought them very ſlippery ware, liable, by the ſmalleſt and moſt imperceptible variations, to lead us greatly aſtray from truth; and ſpeaks of *Chronology* in one of his books, as of a little ſurly animal, that was apt to bite the fingers of thoſe who handled it with greater familiarity than was abſolutely neceſſary; yet he knew, there was no giving any ſatisfactory intelligence without it, eſpecially in the writing of lives. But indeed, an accurate regard to the directions thereof, was little in uſe with any writers in this particular branch of hiſtory at thoſe times; as, among many others, may be obſerved, to go no further, in the author of his own life, whoſe deficiencies we have here been at much trouble to ſupply; one inſtance only whereof we ſhall now repeat, having touched upon it before, in that author, which is, that tho' he gives us the titles of almoſt all Fuller's books, and their ſizes, he has not given us the date of one. But it was a general or faſhionable neglect, eſpecially in the more polite and ornate writers, as if they thought that arithmetical figures would look like ſo many ſcars in the ſleek face of their rhetorical phraſe. But what our author, in apology for himſelf, has ingeniouſly obſerved further on this topic, we refer to his own words, in one or two of the chapters, whereof we have before given the heads (112). As to the hiſtorical particulars of theſe lives, no man could pretend to be very circumſtantial, in a work that propoſed to revive the famous men in a whole nation; ſuch an undertaking can, or ſhould give but a general and compendious view of them. Suppoſe here are eighteen or twenty hundred eminent perſons characteriſed, much after the manner of thoſe in his Church Hiſtory; to have given a general ſatisfaction in all parts of the lives, actions, and works, of one or two only in every hundred, might have required more eyes, hands, and years, than nature allowed this author, and perhaps more abilities, knowledge, or information, than could be juſtly pretended to, by any of his ungrateful cavellers. Then for the errors that muſt unavoidably occur, in the revival of ſuch multitudes in all ages, our author's own apology, as it will be equally needful to any other compiler of a numerous collection of lives, is here produced from his own words, upon ſome objections made to Mr Fox the Martyrologiſt, as follow. 'It is impoſſible for an author of a *voluminous* book, 'conſiſting of ſeveral *perſons* and *circumſtances*, reader, in pleading for Maſter *Fox*, I plead for myſelf, 'to have ſuch *ubiquitary intelligence*, as to apply the 'ſame infallibly to every particular (113).' But there is no winning the favour of thoſe who think they have a licence for detraction, and may ſpoil an author with impunity, when he is incapable of ſelf-defence, both of his reputation and his labours. Thus we may ſee ſome very raſh cenſurers, ſuperficially read, who have often pronounced their *anathemas* upon many other Hiſtorians, from the titles only of their writings, and ſometimes without having ever ſeen ſo much as them, treating him alſo, like thoſe who cannot be content with ſheering the inoffenſive prey that is free-yielding of his wool, but they muſt butcher him too: for ſurely, few have been ſo much pillaged, who have been ſo much diſparag'd; he has been reproached for his ingenuity, by thoſe who have no wit; and robb'd of his knowledge, by thoſe who have no gratitude. Biſhop Nicholſon, who was too cenſorious, as we have ſeen, upon his laſt hiſtory, will alſo run the hazard of recrimination upon this. Our author begun his Worthies of England when he was Chaplain to the Lord Hopton, and it was his chief ſtudy, or moſtly under his conſideration by intervals, for near ſeventeen years, as it may be from this account computed; but the Biſhop ſays it was *huddled up in haſte*. Our author mentions, as we have quoted in this note, five reaſons for publiſhing this book; but as if he had nothing more than a mercenary motive therein, the Biſhop has ſunk four of them, and quoting but the laſt induced you to believe, it was only for the *procurement of ſome moderate profit to the author*: and yet not quoted this honeſtly. The Biſhop ſays, it *corrects many miſtakes* in his *Church Hiſtory*; but our author was acquainted with few miſtakes, till a little time before he died, and then had little leiſure or room to correct many, when the greateſt part of his Worthies was printed off. The Biſhop ſays, that *Fuller's chief author is Bale*, for the lives of his eminent writers; and he muſt have been his alſo, if he had wrote in Fuller's time, of the writers Bale has given account of, when Leland was not publiſhed; unleſs he would rather have followed Bale's Popiſh Plagiary; but a great part of the writers in Fuller, lived and wrote ſince Bale, therefore he had many other authorities for his writers, as may be ſufficiently ſeen in his work. And whether our author has given more *miſhapen ſcraps, or lies*, as they are called (114), of his *Heroes*, than the Biſhop of his *Hiſtorians*, thoſe may beſt judge who have read the one and the other; but if the Biſhop would have undertaken to reform or rectify both, it might have been more acceptable, as well as more diſcreet, than to revile an author ſo extravagantly, as to vilify himſelf. In ſhort, notwithſtanding theſe haſty and immoderate aſperſions, the characters or memorials here aſſembled, of ſo many great men, will always make the book neceſſary to be conſulted; eſpecially, as there are preſerved therein, abundance of lives,

(111) Vide note [G].

(112) In Fuller's Worthies, cap. 21. p. 58. and cap. 24. p. 77.

(113) Idem, in Berkſhire, fol. 92.

(114) Nicholſon's Hiſtor. Library, edit. fol. 1736. p. 6.

ly occaſional, or offered from time to time, as ſo many little whets, or ſtays, to the keen appetites of his curious readers; while his larger, and more ſplendid entertainments for them, were getting ready. And thoſe ſhorter refreſhments were ſo numerous, that, collected together, they only, without his more plentiful proviſions, would appear a conſiderable

lives, then firſt or newly written, and no where elſe to be had; which have been of good ſervice to many grave writers of ſubſtantial credit, even in Hiſtory, Antiquities, and Heraldry; who, wanting neither the judgment nor juſtice in themſelves, which they might covet in their own readers, knew how to make proper uſes of his work, and acknowledgments for what they drew from it, without turning executioners upon every trivial overſight, or expreſſing any grievance at his humour, or his wit. But ſince his character has been ſo much degraded by ſome, it will be but equitable, to ſhew that it has been no leſs exalted by others; and as he has beſtowed a grateful remembrance upon many Poets, we have met with a retribution that has been attempted by one; in a *Panegyric* upon *Biography* in general, and this *Biographer* in particular. It was freely communicated from the author's original, in the poſſeſſion of a late Nobleman, who was a ſignal Patron to ſome of the greateſt Poets, and other ingenious men in his time: and ſince it has never been publiſhed; ſince it is entirely ſuitable in *this*, as it may be partly ſerviceable in any other *Collection of illuſtrious men*; or may in ſome part be no leſs applicable to any other *Compiler*, than to every *Peruſer* of ſuch collections, we ſhall here preſent it as follows, faithfully in its own language, without any apology for its length.

To
The READER
and WRITER
of
LIVES:
Written in FULLER's WORTHIES.

HERE, from FAME's *Wardrobe*, you may dreſs to pleaſe,
In *Suits* adorn'd, and ſhap'd to all degrees:
Each genius hence, may graceful *Habits* take;
No mind ſo warp'd, ſome mould won't ſtraighter make.
Patterns that beſt become you, ſtill prefer,
Without ſome wearing, they to ruin wear;
Some patterns yet, like tarniſh'd lace, are worn,
And now diſguiſe, what once they did adorn:
Then be not, ſervilely a ſlave to thoſe;
Reform their *Faſhions*, but refrain their *Cloaths*.
BY the beſt chemic ſkill, their gifts combin'd,
May ſo concocted be, and ſo refin'd;
May, through your works, ſo undiſtinguiſh'd wreathe,
As *Incenſe* rich, from Holy *Altars* breathe;
Till, ſo the blended Aromatics riſe,
In grateful gales, to greet the deities,
That we perceive no *Franckincenſe* exhale,
No *Caſſia* here, or *Storax* there prevail;
Nor this, can *Myrrh*, that, *Ambergriſe* can call;
But one ſtrong, curling odour, ſpires from all:
So when, ſuch *Sweets*, you from theſe *Flow'rs* have hiv'd,
From each they differ, as from all deriv'd.
CHUSE then with prudence, in your choice proceed,
Till thoſe you follow, you're improv'd to lead.
The object equal to the human mind,
And moſt inſtructive, muſt be human-kind.
Read manly books then, books of men, and ſo,
That you proceed to *do* the beſt you *know*.
Peruſe ſuch lives, or parts, as you can live;
It is the practice muſt perfection give.
Souls, in which ſamples great, no ſemblance breed,
Like cold and hungry *Soils*, but rot the ſeed:
Or like weak ſtomachs, with ſtrong food oppreſs'd,
By that ne'er nouriſh'd, which they ne'er digeſt.
For, as your meals ſhould ſuit, to thrive aright,
Your conſtitution, and your appetite;
So your examples ſhou'd proportion'd be,
Both to your power, and your capacity.
SOME ſeek their minds with marvels to repleat,
And taſte no objects they ſhou'd emulate:
Of things incredible, experience ſaith,
The feebleſt judgments have the firmeſt faith:
Such, in *admiring*, ſtill thoſe hours deſtroy,
They in *excelling*, only ſhould employ.
SOME think, diſtemper'd times leſs heal'd may be,
By wiſe mens woes, than fools felicity:
Think not, that fortitude grows more unſound,
By vice's balſam, than by virtue's wound:
That without deeds, words hold no laſting height,
Unbodied feathers wanting nerves for flight:
While airy ſounds ſoon loſe their empty name,
Surviving record is ſubſtantial fame.
To boundleſs forms, ſome, crude collections breed,
And write a life, wou'd waſte a life to read!
With griping hands, ſome ſhrink up life's ſhort ſpan,
And to a mite, epitomize a man!
Others add ſtreams, to rivers ſwoln too high,
While drowned paſtures unrecover'd lie;
Prop thoſe, who boaſt ſuperfluous aids to ſtand,
While crowds deſerted, moſt their aid demand!
The aim's more lofty, th' art, in more eſteem,
To ſave the ſinking, than ſink thoſe who ſwim.
Thus, upon others lives, their own are loſt,
Or leaſt devoted, where deſerved moſt.
But worſe, deſert in others, there is known,
Where none from others, or themſelves, is ſhown;
Whoſe mem'ry of the GOOD, the LEARN'D, the BRAVE,
Shou'd be their monument, and is their grave.
BUT victories o'er *Death*, muſt be renown'd;
Triumphs like thoſe, muſt thro' fame's clarion ſound:
His victors ſhou'd her richeſt trophies wear,
To fame who reſcue, what the fates won't ſpare.
Garlands ſhall crown their works, that cannot fade;
The lights they lend, with luſtre be repaid.
Who nobleſt do, moſt nobly muſt deſerve;
Great, who perform, but greater who preſerve:
If virtue moſt directs, which moſt dilates,
The draught excels, that moſt communicates;
Such copy ſpread, thus durably to all,
Begets more virtue, than th' original:
'Tis an original; its own outvy'd;
Where life leſs copied is, than multiply'd;
And they are deathleſs made, who long ſince dy'd.
Thus, when a Heroe is compar'd to you,
Th' Hiſtorian is the Heroe of the two;
The BRAVE, LEARN'D, GOOD, more efficacious grown,
In your immortal lives, than in their own.
YOUR merit is, who labour'd hath ſo much,
Such to revive, to be reviv'd as ſuch:
Our ſhame is, in your WORTHIES to be read,
Till one at leaſt, each to their number add:
Till we, your Worthies reading, ſuch ſhall turn,
As ſacred Reliques ſanctify the Urn:
Till they, thro' you, dart influential worth,
As Stars, tho' fixt in Heav'n, ſhine down on Earth.
PHOEBUS, the fire of your reſplendent wit,
Who blinds all brightneſs, muſt to your's ſubmit:
HE, only in th' Horizon, gilds our day,
YOU here, tho' ſet, your glory ſtill diſplay.

ſiderable feaſt. Of theſe leſſer tracts, now difficult to recover, we ſhall here only preſerve the titles [*R*]; and proceed to obſerve, that, having been at Saliſbury to ſettle his revenue, as Prebend of that Deanery, in his return about the tenth of Auguſt 1661, he brought home an aguiſh diſorder, which turned to a malignant fever, whereof Dr Matthew Nicholas, Dean of St Paul's, after his return about the ſame time from the ſame place, died but two days before him (*d*). On Sunday the twelfth of that month he was taken with a dizzineſs in his head; upon which his eldeſt ſon, John, adviſed him to lie down, urging how dangerous ſuch ſymptoms were; but he would go to Church, becauſe he had promiſed a relation to preach his wedding ſermon, declaring that *he had often gone up into the pulpit ſick, but always came down well* (*e*); and ſaid to his audience, *I will preach this ſermon, though it be my laſt.* In the middle of it he faultered, and after it, was ſo weak that he was led down the pulpit-ſtairs, carried in a *ſedan* to his lodgings in *Covent-Garden*, and put to bed. When Dr Walter Charlton, the Phyſician, came, he ſoon found him in a raging fever; which diſtemper he long before conſidered, and often diſcribed in his writings; but always ſuſpiciouſly, if not prophetically, as what might be moſt fatal to, or was moſt feared by, him (*f*), and which was then ſo rife, and unuſually violent, that it was called the *new diſeaſe*. Though he loſt twenty ounces of blood, the paroxyſms continued, and ſet the Phyſician's ſkill at defiance. It ſeized upon his intellects; but, in all his words, he would moſt frequently call out for, *the pen and ink*, ——— and, *he would write it out.* ——— On Wedneſday the diſeaſe, like a flame which has nearly burnt up the ſpirits that fed it, abated, as his ſtrength decayed. At laſt, his enfeebled ſenſes were a while reſtored, but wholly alienated from all worldly thoughts; and the next morning, being the ſixteenth of that month, the light of his life went gently out, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. A while after his death, an effuſion of blood burſt forth at his temples, which was thought to have been ſettled there by his ſedate and intenſe application to his ſtudies. The ſolemnity of his funeral was performed by the direction, and at the expence, of his noble friend the Lord Berkeley; and he was moſt reverendly attended, by at leaſt two hundred of the Clergy, to his grave; where his corps was depoſited, in the chancel of Cranford church (*g*). Dr Thomas Hardy, the Dean of Rocheſter, preached his funeral ſermon, in which he pathetically deplored ſo great a loſs; to which learned diſcourſe, we are further referred for his juſt commendation, when it had paſſed the preſs, as was then ſoon expected and deſired; but we cannot find that it was ever printed. His Biographer, whom we have here been ſo much obliged to follow, has alſo given a copious character of him (*), an extract from which, of the moſt obſervable particulars, is hereunder added [*S*], as in this work it

(*d*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 54. And J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. fol. 1716. p. 185.

(*e*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 55, &c.

(*f*) See Fuller's good Thoughts in bad times, edit. 12mo. 1652. p. 2, and p. 84, &c. Alſo the Life of Dr Fuller, p. 20.

(*g*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 63.

(*) Idem, from p. 65, to 106.

[*R*] *We ſhall here only preſerve the titles.*] Theſe detached pieces, hitherto in this article unſpoken of, are ſo many, that he might paſs for a very induſtrious author, if he had never publiſhed the much larger quantity of his works which we have before mentioned; as may be ſeen by the following titles of them.

I. *Joſeph's party-coloured coat, and Sermons on the Corinths*; which we take to be the ſame with *A Comment on part of the eleventh chapter of the firſt Epiſtle of the Corinths*; with *other Tracts*, by *T. Fuller*, B. D. and Prebendary of *Sarum*, 4to. 1640. The ſecond edition enlarged, Cambridge 1648. II. *Sermon on the Revelations*, ii. 5. 4to. 1646. III. *The Times anatomized*, by T. F. 12mo. 1647. From thoſe initial letters, we conceive, it has been ranged, with other books that were written by our author, under his name, in ſome catalogues: but as the writer of his life has left it out of his liſt, and A. Wood ſays, there was a little thing printed in 12mo. under the name of Thomas Forde, perhaps the ſame with him of that name beforementioned, entituled, *The Anatomy of the Times*, tho' Wood had never ſeen it (†), we think it moſt likely that the ſaid Forde was the author. IV. *Sermon on the 2d of Peter*, i. 10. 4to. 1647. V. *The Cauſe and Cure of a wounded Conſcience.* 8vo. 1647, 1649. VI. Sermons on Matthew, upon Temptations (or his Comment on the 11 firſt verſes of the 4th chapter of St Matthew) 8vo. 1652. VII. *The Infants Advocate*; of *Circumciſion* and *Baptiſm*, on *Jewiſh Chriſtian* Children. 8vo. 1653. VIII. *The Tripple Reconciler:* ſtating the controverſies, whether, 1. *Miniſters* have a power of *excluding* Communicants. 2. Whether *unordained* perſons may *preach*. 3. Whether the *Lord's Prayer* ought not to be uſed by *Chriſtians*. 8vo. 1654. IX. *A Faſt Sermon preached on* Innocents *Day*, 4to.— X. *Sermon of Life and Death*, 8vo.—— XI. *A Comment on* Ruth, with *two Sermons*, 8vo. 1654. XII. *Three Sermons*, London, 8vo. 1655. XIII. *Four Sermons*, and *notes* upon *Jonah*. 8vo. 1656. XIV. *The beſt name on earth*, with *other Sermons*; and a copper print, in a 4to ſize, doubled in before it, of *Thomas Fuller*, B. D. and Hiſtorian; having paper, pen and ink beſide him, 8vo. 1657. XV. *The ſpeech of birds, alſo of flowers, partly moral, partly myſtical.* 8vo. 1660. XVI. A *Latin Tract* on the *Church* in a MS. left imperfect; mentioned in the catalogue at the end of his life. XVII. *The Library of Britiſh Hiſtorians* MS——This is referred to by our author himſelf, in the beginning of his *Church Hiſtory* (115): But as it was never printed, we take it to be a work only then intended ſeparate, and that he afterwards incorporated thoſe Hiſtorians among his *Worthies*. XVIII. *T. Fuller's Triana:* or *Threefold Romanza*, of *Mariana, Paduana*, and *Sabina:* 12mo. 1662. This, if written by our author, is a poſthumous publication, which we have ſeveral times met with aſcribed to him in ſome catalogues, but never ſaw the book (‖). XIX. Several *Letters to his Friends* at Cambridge, and other places; which, as he had ſo many patrons, and ſo many occaſions of intelligence, from his correſpondents in relation to their own knowledge, or the particulars in many books concerning the eminent and learned perſons, he ſo much enquired after, muſt have been ſo numerous, that a good volume might doubtleſs have been collected out of them, eſpecially if the *anſwers* he received, had been added thereunto.

(†) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 577.

(115) Lib. I. cent. 6. fol. 42.

(‖) Bibliotheca Smithiana: 4to. 1682. p. 218, &c.

[*S*] *An extract from his character is hereunto added.*] This we muſt chiefly gather from the author of his life; who beginning with his perſon, informs us what a convenient habitation, learning and virtue had choſen (116); in which nothing could be complained of but that they were tenants for ſo ſhort a term. He was of a ſtature rather tall, or exceeding the middle ſize, and of a becoming bigneſs, not inclined to corpulency; exactly ſtrait, and proportionable, of a florid or ſanguine complexion; his hair ſhort, light coloured, and naturally curling; in his gait ſomewhat ſtately or majeſtical; in his garb the leſs careful externally, as he was ſo curious in that of his mind. As he had ſuch an honourable and numerous acquaintance, he was no ways undiſciplined in the arts and forms of courtly

(116) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 65.

it may be expected. Mr James Heath, who wrote a Chronicle of the Civil Wars, alſo publiſhed *an Elegy upon Dr Thomas Fuller, that moſt incomparable Writer*, &c. and it was printed on a ſheet, in broad-ſide, the ſame year he died (*b*). But here to conclude; as our author beſtowed ſo much time and pains in illuſtrating ſo many lives and characters of others; thus much, at leaſt, we hope cannot be here thought redundant, by candid and grateful readers, in commemoration of himſelf.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Tom. II. col. 337.

courtly civility, but they were circumſcribed by his ſincerity, to an eaſy and ſuccinct compaſs. He was a walking library, but ſometimes required turning over to attain the contents; and when he was unbent from his ſtudies, no man could better promote civilized and well-tempered mirth. In diet, he was very temperate, eſpecially as to liquor, which greatly contributed to his little need of ſleep, and his great ſhare of health, till his firſt ſickneſs, and his laſt. All his recreation was intellectual; even riding he little indulged, but on his neceſſary occaſions. He was a kind huſband to both his wives, a tender parent to both his children, ſparing no coſt in the education of them, and ſerviceable to his neighbours; who found it the greateſt prudence to rely on his advice. He never indulged his correction or ſeverity ſo much, as on the offspring of his brain; and tho' he might not entirely clear all the cockle from his corn, any more than his adverſaries from theirs, yet they have plough'd with his heifers, and been beholden to the direction of his authorities for many exceptions they made againſt him. He had a memory ſo vaſtly comprehenſive (117), that he is deſervedly known for the firſt inventor of that noble art (*), whereof he left no rules behind him, but many extraordinary proofs; as, after a walk from Temple-Bar to the furtheſt conduit in Cheapſide, his repeating all the ſigns on both ſides of the way, orderly without miſſing or miſplacing one; and ſo he would do by the words of different languages to any number; to the great aſtoniſhment of his hearers. Yet he would ſay, as we are told by David Lloyd, that the *art* of *memory* was apt to corrupt the *nature* of it. Which may be, as others have explained, that ſome men, thro' an inſatiable monopoly of knowledge, ſo much truſt to the numerous notifications of what they would not forget, till they loſe all recollection of what they preſerved, and cannot *remember* what is become of their *memorandums*. But what was moſt ſtrange and rare, was his way of writing; ſomewhat like that of the Chineſe, from the top to the bottom of the page. He would write next the margin, the firſt words that ſhould make every line, down to the foot of the paper; then beginning at the head again, would ſo perfectly fill up every one of the lines, as, without ſpaces, interlineations or contractions, would ſo connect the ends and beginnings, that the ſenſe would appear as complete, and as much to his mind, he would ſay, as if he had writ it after the ordinary manner, in a continued ſeries (118); which ſeems to denote a great command of the language, and is ſomewhat like the practice that has been among ſome Poets, eſpecially in France, who would ſet one another taſks of difficult rhymes, as incoherent as they could in ſenſe, to be filled up with words, that would make them complete verſes. Our author, ſpeaking of a leidger-book collected by Robert Fuller, the laſt Abbot of Waltham, gives a character of him as a happy penman, for his fair and faſt writing therein; and adds, that others of his ſurname were no leſs defective in thoſe qualities (119). The treaſury of this happy memory, with his great reading, ready faculties of invention, diſtinction, application, and graceful elocution, completed him for the pulpit: and even upon very obſcure texts of Scripture, of which ſome noble friends would deſire his explanation, he would, only upon two hours warning, acquit himſelf with great applauſe. 'Twas ſufficiently known how well grounded he was in the Proteſtant Religion, againſt the innovations of the Preſbytery, and the ſchiſm of Independency; but his zeal againſt theſe, was allay'd with greater compaſſion, than towards the Papiſts; diſtinguiſhing between the ſeducers and the ſeduced. He avoided polemical controverſies with one and the other, as endleſs or needleſs; and looked upon the new invented arguments againſt Epiſcopacy, but as inſects of a day. While the Clergy were widening the diviſions by their warm debates, he both preached and practiſed moderation; growing, in the promotion thereof, more diligent, as the dawning Reſtoration grew more viſible; when he moſt plainly ſaw, how neceſſary the condeſcenſion of all parties would be, to remove all cauſe or remembrance of their former contentions, and combine in the eſtabliſhment of a general concord (†). As he choſe not to ſtruggle thro' or make his way foremoſt in the crowd at Court; had he lived till the tide of ſolicitations was abated, 'tis not doubted but his advancement in the Church would have been no leſs eminent than his merits; eſpecially ſince he had ſo many noble and honourable friends; who, thro' their affection to his virtuous and agreeable qualities, would have been as liberal of their intereſt in the preferment of his perſon, as they had been of their contributions, in the publication of his works.

(117) His Life, p. 76.

(*) Doubtleſs much owing to the methodizing genius he was ſo happily bleſſed with, having ſaid himſelf, according to the Latin motto, before quoted, on his Picture, that *Method is the Mother of Memory*: See his Worthies in Cambridgeſhire, fol. 161.

(118) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 77.

(119) Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey fol. 7.

(†) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 88, &c.

G.

GALE (THEOPHILUS), a very pious Divine, as well as a very learned and elegant writer, among the Nonconformiſts, in the XVIIth century (*a*). He was deſcended from a very good family in the Weſt of England; and his father was Dr Theophilus Gale, Prebendary of Exeter, and Vicar of King's-Teignton in Devonſhire (*b*), where this ſon of his was born ſome time in 1628 (*c*). He received the rudiments of polite learning in his father's vicaridge-houſe, which having cultivated in a neighbouring grammar-ſchool, he was, when about nineteen, ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he became a Commoner of Magdalen college ſome time in 1647, that is, after the ſurrender of that place, as one of the King's garriſons, to the forces of the Parliament (*d*). He was much diſtinguiſhed, ſoon after his coming thither, by Dr John Wilkinſon, who was then Preſident. In 1648, he was appointed a Demy of that college, by the Parliament Viſitors (*e*). In 1649, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, December the ſeventeenth, and had this character from the Commiſſioners (*f*) before mentioned, that he was *Vir provectioris ætatis, & uberioris Spei Juvenis*, ſomewhat advanced in age (as to the uſual time of taking that degree), and a youth of pregnant hopes. In 1650, he was choſen Fellow of his College, when many of his ſeniors were ſet by (*g*). He was no leſs countenanced by Dr Goodwin, than by the former Preſident (*h*); and having, June the eighteenth 1652, compleated his degree of Maſter of Arts, he became an eminent Tutor, and a diſtinguiſhed Preacher (*i*). Among other pupils under his care at that time, was Mr Ezechiel Hopkins, afterwards Lord Biſhop of Rhaphoe in the kingdom of Ireland, and one of the moſt pathetick preachers of that age; who was but five years younger than Mr Gale his tutor (*k*). In 1657, he went to Wincheſter, and became there a ſtated preacher, where, as well for his exemplary life and converſation, as for his excellent ſermons, he was generally eſteemed and admired (*l*). Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles the Second, not being able to conform to the terms preſcribed by law, he was excluded from the publick exerciſe of his function, and loſt likewiſe his Fellowſhip (*m*). In this ſituation of his affairs, he was taken into the family of Philip Lord Wharton, who put his two ſons, Thomas, afterwards the famous Marquis of Wharton, father of the late Duke, and Godwin, under his care; with whom he travelled in the month of September 1662, and reſided with them for ſome time at Caen in Normandy, then a celebrated ſeminary for learning, under the direction of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion in France (*n*). This excurſion into foreign parts was of very great ſervice to Mr Gale, as well in the enlarging his mind and affording him an opportunity of acquiring the French language, as in procuring him the acquaintance of the famous Mr Bochart, and other great men who then reſided there; and, by a communication of ſtudies, improving thoſe extraordinary talents nature had beſtowed (*o*). In 1665, he returned with his pupils into England; and being now releaſed from that employment, he became an aſſiſtant to Mr John Rowe, his countryman (*p*), who had then a private congregation in Holborn. Some time after this, his papers, which were his greateſt treaſure, and which, at his going over to France, he confided to the care of a friend in London, narrowly, but luckily, eſcaped (*q*) that dreadful fire which will be ever remembered, for the devaſtation it made in this metropolis [*A*]. As Mr Gale had now ſome leiſure, he reſolved to proſecute a great

(*a*) Wood, Calamy, Prince, &c.

(*b*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 349.

(*c*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 603.

(*e*) Proceedings at Oxford, p. 197. Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 69.

(*f*) Regiſtr. Convocat. T. p. 23.

(*g*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608.

(*i*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97. Faſti Oxon. col. 99.

(*k*) From a MS. Memoir.

(*l*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608.

(*n*) Kennet's Hiſtor. Regiſt. p. 782.

(*o*) From a MS. Memoir.

(*p*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 597.

(*q*) See the particulars in note [*B*].

[*A*] *For the devaſtation it made in this metropolis.*] It is to be regretted, that we have not a more diſtinct account of this accident. Upon Mr Gale's coming from France, he carried his pupils to the Seat of the Lord Wharton their father, and in his return from thence to London in the beginning of September 1666, he was ſtruck with the dreadful ſight of the city in flames (1). His concern for his friend, as well as the effects which he had depoſited with him, naturally prompted him to enquire of almoſt all he met, whether ſuch a ſtreet, naming the place where his friend lived, was in danger; to which they very uniformly anſwered, that

(1) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 65.

great work, which he had for many years in his mind; for compleating of which he had made vaſt collections, and on the principal points of which he had conſulted the moſt learned amongſt his friends. The care he had of his reputation, as well as the vaſt extent of his plan, and the great pains it required to digeſt his large ſtock of materials into a clear and conciſe method, took up a great deal of time, and obliged him to add ſeveral things to his original draught (*r*), that it might the more effectually anſwer the important ends himſelf propoſed, and the high expectations of thoſe he had occaſionally conſulted about it [*B*]. At length, when it was entirely finiſhed, he grew apprehenſive that the bulk of it

(*r*) From his Advertiſement prefixed.

that it was wholly burnt to the ground. This was very bitter news at the firſt hearing, and he could not help regretting the loſs of ſo many years reading, and the large collections which had coſt him ſo much time and pains, and which he had little ſpirit left to think of going through a ſecond time. By degrees, however, he quieted his thoughts, and as his learning, his paſſions, and his deſires, were always ſubſervient to his religion, he did not diſquiet himſelf in vain, but ſubmitted patiently to an evil, which he thought paſt remedy. It was not long before he met with his friend, and having received from him a detail of this dreadful calamity, with this alleviating circumſtance, however, that by timely and vigorous precautions he had happily ſaved a good part of his effects, Mr Gale could not help interjecting this ſhort queſtion, *and what is become of my deſk?* 'Why truly, replied his 'friend, that is ſaved too, and by a very ſingular acci-'dent. It ſtood in my compting houſe, the contents 'of which being thrown into a cart, I thought there 'was ſtill ſomething wanting to make up a load, and 'in that inſtant caſting my eyes upon your deſk, in it 'went among the reſt, and you may have it returned 'when you pleaſe.' This, as it may be imagined, filled the mind of Mr Gale with joy, and as it was a very acceptable thing to him, ſo it was no inconſiderable benefit to the learned world, for if that deſk had periſhed, *the Court of the Gentiles* had never appeared.

[*B*] *He had occaſionally conſulted about it.*] It was about the time he began his ſtudies at Oxford, that our author obſerving what Grotius had remarked in his excellent book of the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, began to be perſuaded that it might be made appear, 'the wiſeſt and moſt eſteemed of the Pagan 'Philoſophers, borrowed the moſt rational of their 'ſentiments, and were indebted for their moſt ſublime 'contemplations, as well natural and moral, as divine, 'from the Scriptures; ſo that how different ſoever 'they might be in their appearance, not only their 'Theology, but their Philoſophy, and Philology were 'derived from the ſacred oracles.' The more he conſidered and reflected upon this propoſition, it ſeemed to him of ſo much the more importance, and his conviction was the ſtronger when he manifeſtly perceived that the moſt able and judicious critics in all ages had expreſſed their approbation of this opinion. As for inſtance, Joſephus in his book againſt Appion; Origen in his defence of Chriſtianity againſt Celſus; that learned Chriſtian Father, Clement of Alexandria, in the firſt book of his Miſcellanies; Euſebius, in his Evangelical Preparation; Tertullian, in many of his writings; Auguſtin, in his book of the city of God; John the Grammarian, in his treatiſe of the creation of the world. Steuchus Eugubinus, Ludovicus Vives, with other learned Papiſts of the former age; as alſo Julius and Joſeph Scaliger, Serranus, Voſſius, Sandford, Heinſius, Bochart, Selden, Jackſon, Hammond, Uſher, Preſton, Owen, Stillingfleet, with others among the Proteſtants. He thought that ſo many great men could not be deceived, and he was fully ſatisfied, that if, upon a cloſe and ſtrict examination, this propoſition could be made out to the ſatisfaction of reaſonable and learned men, it would be attended with many very high advantages to the Chriſtian Religion. Upon this principle he undertook ſo arduous and ſo painful a work, which however he went through chearfully for the courſe of twelve or fourteen years, being continually ſtimulated from the hopes he entertained of its good effects, which were chiefly theſe. Firſt, he thought that this would greatly confirm the authority and demonſtrate the perfection of the ſacred Scriptures, in which he was not led by his own ſentiment only, but by the example of ſeveral modern Divines, and particularly of the moſt learned Stillingfleet. His ſecond motive muſt be expreſſed in his own words (2), becauſe they ſhew the reaſon upon which the title of his book is founded. 'Another great end I have in this diſ-'courſe, is to demonſtrate what great marks of divine 'favour and rich tokens of his Grace, Chriſt the Me-'diator has been pleaſed to vouchſafe to his poor af-'flicted Church. And indeed is it not a great mark 'of honour that his poor infant Church, ſo much de-'ſpiſed and perſecuted by the Gentile world, ſhould 'be not only the ſeat of his own preſence and wor-'ſhip, but alſo as the moon to reflect ſome broken 'rays, or imperfect traditions of that glorious light 'ſhe received from the ſun of righteouſneſs to the 'Pagan world, which lay wrapt up in midnight darkneſs? 'What, that the proud Sophiſts of Greece, eſteemed 'the eye of the world for human wiſdom, ſhould be 'fain to come and light their candles at this ſacred 'fire, which was lodged in the Jewiſh Church! That 'the poor Temple of Jeruſalem ſhould have a COURT 'for the GENTILES, to which they muſt be all be-'holding for their choiceſt wiſdom, how great an ho-'nour is this for Mount Zion the Church of God!' His third motive was to exterminate a falſe notion, that the rational divinity, and ſound morality ſcattered through the writings of Pagan Philoſophers, were deductions made by the pure light of nature; whereas in truth, they are at beſt but broken traditions derived from the ſacred Scriptures, and the Doctrines of the Jewiſh Church. The fourth great view that he had, was to diſabuſe the minds of many young ſtudents preposſeſſed with groſs, yea in ſome degree blaſphemous, ideas and notions touching God, his names, attributes, nature, operations, &c. ſuckt in together with thoſe poiſonous infuſions they derived from ethnic Poets and Mythologiſts. The ſad experience hereof made many of the primitive Chriſtians, as well learned as others, greatly decry and declame againſt the reading of Pagan books, ſpecially Poets (3). 'Yea, Plato him-'ſelf, ſays he, in his diſcourſe of Mimetic Poeſie, is 'very invective againſt it, demonſtrating how the 'minds of young ſtudents, by reading ſuch romantic 'or fabulous ſtories of the gods, and things divine, 'are firſt abuſed with falſe images, and then adulte-'rated and corrupted with falſe principles which draw 'on corrupt practices. Wherefore, in the idea of his 'commonwealth, he gives order that ſuch mimetic 'or fable-coining Poets be baniſhed, tho' with reſpect, 'from his commonwealth. For the preventing or 'removing of ſuch corruptions, I have endeavoured 'to decipher or unriddle the whole Pagan Θεογονία, 'or the genealogie of the Pagan Gods; as alſo 'other parts of hiſtory, Mythology touching the firſt 'chaos, the golden age, the ſeveral floods under 'Deucalion, &c. the Giants war, with other pieces of 'Mythology, and Pagan Theology, ſo common among 'the antient Poets and Hiſtoriographers. Hereby we 'ſhall come to underſtand the original ideas of thoſe 'monſtrous fables, as alſo diſabuſe our minds from 'thoſe falſe images of things divine and human, which 'are ſo pleaſing to corrupt nature, and too often 'prove a foundation of atheiſm. If thou ſhalt, reader, 'continues our author, farther inquire into the mo-'tives and reaſons which have induced me to ſuffer 'this diſcourſe to come under public view, then be 'pleaſed to take notice, that I am not ſo much mine 'own flatterer, as not to be ſenſible of many imperfec-'tions, both as to matter and form, which may ren-'der it unfit for any curious eye or palate. Indeed, 'I have neither time nor capacity, no, nor yet a will, 'to poliſh and flouriſh it, ſo as to render it acceptable 'to every curious critic. I have always affected, with 'that great maſter of wiſdom, Padre Paulo, the Vene-'tian,

(2) Advertiſement prefix'd to the 1ſt Part of the *Court of the Gentiles*.

(3) From the ſame Advertiſement.

it might prejudice it with ſome; that many might eſteem ſome portions, tho' they might diſapprove others; and that it would be prudent to ſee how it might be reliſhed, before the whole was committed to the preſs; which determined him to publiſh it in parts. After this wiſe reſolution, the preſs being then ſubject to reſtraint, he applied himſelf, as a member of the Univerſity, to Dr John Fell, then Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, for his licence, who, as he was a zealous friend to the Church of England, was alſo a true patron and encourager of learning, and therefore granted, with much readineſs, that mark of his approbation of the work (*s*). Thus all obſtacles being now removed, the firſt part of THE COURT OF THE GENTILES appeared, and was received with great applauſe (*t*). In proceſs of time, encouraged by this candour and kind treatment, the author adventured to publiſh likewiſe the three following parts, of that truly learned work [*C*]. The love of privacy, the deſire he had to purſue his ſtudies, and the conveniency of inſtructing a few young perſons under his own roof, of which none was more capable, induced him to make choice of Newington for his retreat (*u*), where he was often viſited by perſons of diſtinction, and ſome not of his own communion, who were deſirous, by their reſpect for him, to teſtify their eſteem for unaffected piety and extenſive learning. Upon the demiſe of Mr Thomas Tregoſſe, a zealous Nonconformiſt miniſter, but a very loyal, peaceable, and worthy perſon, it was reſolved to put ſome little remains of his to the

(*s*) His Imprimatur bears date Feb. 1, 1668.

(*t*) See the Account of the time of their publication in note [*C*].

(*u*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 349.

'tian, to ſuit my form to my matter, as nature does, 'and not my matter to my form, as the ſchools are 'wont to do. This with other moving conſiderations, 'detained me ſome while from publiſhing this diſ-'courſe, which was, in the firſt draught thereof, in-'tended for the private inſtruction of ſome perſons of 'noble condition committed to my tuition: But that 'which prevailed upon me to let it paſs a more com-'mon view and cenſure, beſides my general ends above 'ſpecified, is the perſuaſion of ſeveral judicious, learn-'ed, and pious friends, who conceive it may be ſome 'way uſeful at leaſt, for the inſtructing of young ſtu-'dents, which is a main conſideration I had in mine 'eye, when I firſt undertook the compoſition there-'of.'

[*C*] *Of that truly learned work.*] In this note we ſhall give the reader an account of the different times in which the ſeveral parts of this very learned performance came abroad. The Title of which was,

The COURT *of the* GENTILES; *or, a Diſcourſe touching the Original of human Literature, both* PHILOLOGIE *and* PHILOSOPHY, *from the* SCRIPTURES *and* JEWISH *Church, in order to a Demonſtration of,*

I. *The* Perfection *of* GOD's *Word and Church Light.*

II. *The* Imperfection *of* Nature's Light, *and miſchief of* Vain Philoſophy.

III. *The right uſe of* human Learning, *and eſpecially* ſound Philoſophy.

Part the firſt, Of *Philology*, was printed Oxon. 1669, and there again, 1672, in 4to. The ſecond part, which is of *Philoſophy*, was printed Oxon. 1671, and at London, 1676, in 4to. Of theſe two parts, there is a laudable account in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (4). The third part, of the *vanity* of *Pagan Philoſophy*, was printed Lond. 1677; and the fourth part, of *Reformed Philoſophy*, was printed there the ſame year, both in 4to. Theſe four parts, ſays *Wood*, ſhew the author to have been well read in, and converſant with, the writings of the Fathers, the old Philoſophers, and thoſe that have given any account of them or their works. As alſo to have been a good Metaphyſician and School Divine. But to give the reader a clearer idea of this large and learned work, it may not be amiſs to ſpeak particularly of the aim and intention of each of theſe parts.

(4) Vol. VI. No. lxxiv. p. 2231.

In the *firſt* he endeavours to prove, that all languages have their origin and riſe from the Hebrew, inſtancing particularly in the Oriental tongues, as the Phœnician, Copthic, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Perſian, Samaritan, and Ethiopic; and then in the European, eſpecially the Greek, Latin, the old Gallic, and Britannic. To which he adds a deduction, importing, that the Pagan Theology, Phyſic, Politics, Poeſie, Hiſtory, Rhetoric, are traduced from ſacred names, perſons, rites, and records, and ſhewing withal, how the Jewiſh traditions came to be corrupted and miſtaken by Pagans.

In the *ſecond* part, he maketh it his buſineſs to evince, that Philoſophy alſo hath it's original from the Jewiſh Church; beginning to ſhew this of the Barbaric Philoſophy, under which he comprehends the Egyptian, Phœnician, Chaldean, Perſian, Indian, Ethiopic, Scythian, and Britannic; and thence, proceeding to the Grecian, and chiefly to the Ionic and Italic, or Pythagorean, where he ſhews great reading and learning, whilſt he deduceth this doctrine of Judaic origin, from the teſtimonies of Heathen, Jewiſh, and Chriſtian, both ancient and modern, authors, paſſing through all the particular ſects of Philoſophers, with great ſollicitation and induſtry; and promiſing at the end of this work, that he is willing to undertake another treatiſe, to ſhew both the miſchief of vain, and the uſefulneſs of ſound, Philoſophy, to Chriſtian religion.

In the *third*, the vanity of Pagan Philoſophy is demonſtrated from it's cauſes, parts, proprieties, and effects; namely, Pagan idolatry, Judaic apoſtacy, Gnoſtic infuſions, errors among the Greek Fathers, ſpecially Origen, Arianiſme, Pelagianiſme, and the whole ſyſtem of Papiſme, or Antichriſtianiſme, diſtributed into three parts, Myſtic, Scholaſtic, and Canonic Theology.

In the *fourth* part he treats of Reformed Philoſophy, wherein Plato's moral and metaphyſic, or prime Philoſophy, is reduced to an uſeful form and method. He divides this, which is larger than any of the former parts, into three books, diſcourſing in the firſt, of *Moral Philoſophy*, in the ſecond, of *Metaphyſics*, and in the third, of *Divine Predetermination*. This laſt ſeems to have been a diſtinct piece, and to have been publiſhed after the fourth part of the *Court* of the *Gentiles*, to which it ſerves as an appendix, having a diſtinct preface and table of contents, which is not the method purſued through the reſt of the work. The judicious Morhoff (5) gives a very advantageous character of our author and his work, and acknowledges, that, with much patience and application, as well as with great parts and learning, he had run through the whole circle of Jewiſh, Chriſtian, and Hebrew learning; and with great diligence, and no leſs candour, had digeſted whatever was worth reading and conſideration, in an accurate and perſpicuous manner. We may plainly perceive in thoſe parts of Biſhop Huet's famous work, which relate to the ſame ſubject, that he was not unacquainted with Mr Gale's performance, or with another piece of his, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Indeed, the author beforementioned aſſures us, that there was a Latin tranſlation of the Court of the Gentiles, before the ſecond edition of the original appeared in England, by which the reputation of the author was ſpread into all parts of Europe, but more eſpecially in Germany, where his labours met with great applauſe. Here at home the learned uſhered in both the editions of the firſt parts, according to the mode of that time, with Latin and Engliſh poems, of theſe the Engliſh pindaric before the firſt part, contains ſome fine ſtrophes. Before the ſecond part, there is a long Latin poem, ſubſcribed Thomas Gilbert, and a ſhorter by Owen Price, M. A. a long Pindaric poem, probably by the ſame perſon, who wrote that prefixed to the firſt part, and a ſhorter complement in heroics, both without any name ſubſcribed.

(5) Polyhiſtor. II. 1. 1. 8. III. 5. 1. 2.

[*D*] *In*

the preſs; and the better to preſerve his memory, it was wiſhed that ſome particulars of his life ſhould be prefixed (*w*). Our author undertook and performed it with ſpirit and eloquence, for it was a ſubject very well ſuited to his temper, and he was perfectly ſatisfied as to the veracity of the facts which he reported, and which were very much enlivened by the manner in which he ſet them forth; and yet he ſo carefully concealed his being the author, that we do not find it mentioned in any catalogue of his writings (*x*) [*D*]. In the diſcharge of his miniſtry, and the improvement of his faculties, he ſpent his years in ſolitude and quiet; and yet in a way highly uſeful to his contemporaries, and to poſterity (*y*). He compoſed, amongſt other uſeful and learned treatiſes, a compendious view of the antient Philoſophy in general (*z*), with an immediate regard to the ſervice of his pupils, but in ſuch a manner as that it might be very advantageous to the publick; and therefore, at the requeſt of ſeveral eminent and worthy perſons, he printed it in Latin, which is one reaſon perhaps why it is leſs known than ſo judicious a treatiſe deſerves [*E*]. We mention theſe works

(*w*) From a MS. Memoir.

(*x*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 98.

(*y*) See the notes [*E*], [*F*], [*G*].

(*z*) Morhoff, Polyhiſtor. II. i. 5. 8.

[*D*] *In any catalogue of his writings.*] The title of this book, which is properly our author's, for the letters and other papers, are only annexed to it, bore this title.

The Life *and* Death *of* Thomas Tregoſſe, *late Miniſter of the* Goſpel, *at* Milar *and* Mabe *in* Cornwall, *with his Character.* Lond. 1671, 8vo

This Mr Thomas Tregoſſe was of an ancient and worthy family, ſeated at St Ives in Cornwall, and educated in Exeter college at Oxford; he was a zealous nonconformiſt miniſter, and ſuffered for preaching privately very much. Amongſt his other misfortunes he was once ſent to the Marſhal of Bodmyn, to be kept in cuſtody as a dangerous and ſeditious perſon, of which King Charles II, being informed, and being alſo acquainted, that notwithſtanding what was ſet forth in his commitment, he was ſo far from meddling with ſtate affairs, that he did not ſo much as touch the controverſies between the Church and the Diſſenters, in any of his ſermons; but, on the contrary, exhorted his hearers to live peaceably, and to manifeſt their faith by their works; his Majeſty directed a ſpecial order to the Marſhal to ſet him at liberty. Yet this did not hinder his being fined and impriſoned afterwards; and much notice was taken of misfortunes that befel thoſe who were inſtrumental in his troubles; and it was currently reported, that he had propheſied the death of one of his great perſecutors. Mr Gale mentions this matter, but not in ſuch terms as will juſtify that report; for he tells us (6), 'that after Mr Tregoſſe had been committed by Mr Robinſon, to Lanceſton Jail for three Months, and had been four days returned home, Mr Robinſon, who was indefatigable, gave out, that he would ſpeedily ſend him back again to the place from whence he came. In order whereto, providing to ride to market, to procure another juſtice to join with him in a warrant, for a ſecond conviction of Mr Tregoſſe, for a conventicler, and to proſecute ſome others; whilſt he was at a tenement of his, his own bull, which was never known to hurt any before, followed him in a field with much fury, and gave him deadly wounds, whereof he ſhortly died.' This ſhews that Mr Gale was very cautious in his expreſſions; and tho' he might be of opinion himſelf, as indeed it is clear enough he was, that there was ſomewhat providential in this caſe, yet he would not take upon him to declare it a judgment, as many had before, and ſome very deliberately, have ſince done.

(6) Life and Death of Mr Thomas Tregoſſe, p. 16, 17.

[*E*] *Than ſo judicious a treatiſe deſerves.*] The title of this book runs thus:

Philoſophia Generalis *in duas partes diſterminatæ, una de Ortu & Progreſſu* Philoſophiæ, *&c. Altera,* 1. *De Minorum Gentium Philoſophiâ.* 2. *De* 9 *Habitibus intellectualibus.* 3. *De Philoſophiæ Objecto.* London 1676, 8vo. That is, *A General View of the Riſe and Progreſs of Philoſophy; to which are added, ſome particular Treatiſes.*

In this book, which is very learned, and where, in a very narrow compaſs, the ſentiments of the Ancients may be found, upon almoſt every ſubject of importance, the chief deſign of the author is the very ſame with that, in his Court of the Gentiles, only here he writes more conciſely, and fitter for the peruſal of ſuch, as were engaged in a regular courſe of ſtudy, to whoſe uſe it was eſpecially deſigned. What is ſaid in the text, of it's being leſs known from it's being written in Latin, relates to our own iſland only, where this piece of Mr Gale's is in a great meaſure neglected, while a great many books, that might be named, that have been picked out of it, are in great eſteem. It is quite otherwiſe abroad, where it is the beſt known of any of his works, much read, and highly commended. Morhoff particularly gives it a very good character, and repreſents it as highly uſeful in affording a conſiderate perſon the ſenſe of antiquity at a ſingle view, upon any point whatever. It muſt not however be diſſembled, that in one thing he paſſes a cenſure upon our author, but with great decency and moderation (7). He ſays, that when learned men have addicted themſelves to any particular hypotheſis, they bend every ſubject that way, from which failing he thinks our author not entirely free, in his endeavouring to deduce all the arts of Philoſophy and fabulous Divinity of the ancient Pagans, from the law and doctrine of the Jews. His poſition, generally ſpeaking, is without doubt, true enough; for we may very eaſily perceive, that the friends of an hypotheſis, and much more the author of one, will bend things any way, rather than ſuffer the repugnancy of them to their own ſentiments from becoming apparent. In this caſe, however, it is to be conſidered, that ſome very learned men have been in a direct oppoſite way of thinking, and have laboured to prove, that the Pagan notions were ſo far from being borrowed from the Jewiſh Church, that there was a viſible conformity between the rites and ceremonies of the Moſaic Inſtitution, and the religious cuſtoms of certain idolatrous nations, and more eſpecially the Egyptians. Now we can hardly believe, that perſons ſo oppoſite in their judgments, ſhould agree in a falſhood; and if this be right reaſoning, then there muſt be certainly a ſtrong likeneſs between the facts in the Jewiſh Hiſtory, and the fables in the Heathen Mythology; and granting this, we cannot certainly be at a loſs to diſtinguiſh the original from the copy. There is in the Sacred Writings, a majeſtic ſimplicity that has been admired, even by the Heathens themſelves; there was a certain childiſhneſs in the Ethnick Theology, which the wiſer Pagans deſpiſed. We have no reaſon then to doubt of the foundation, or to ſuſpect that our learned author, and all who went before him in his opinion, were miſtaken, or that the French Prelate Huet, or our moſt learned Biſhop Cumberland, were miſled by their authorities; notwithſtanding which, we are at liberty to doubt, and we may preſume, that this is all that the judicious Morhoff means, whether in every particular theſe authors have been right in their conjectures; for it is one thing to lay down, and prove the truth of a general propoſition, and quite another, to make a long train of deductions with equal truth and certainty. The greateſt maſter in figures may miſtake in a particular calculation, but it would be very unfair to infer from thence, the falſity of the rule by which he wrought. Theſe reflections relate equally to this treatiſe of Philoſophy, and to the Court of the Gentiles, and are intended purely for the reader's ſatisfaction, and to do juſtice to the ſkill and diligence of our learned and worthy author; not to repreſent him as infallible, or incapable of making miſtakes, upon ſubjects ſo perplexed and embarraſſed as thoſe were, and ever will be, which he undertook to handle. His deſign in both books was good, and he purſued it with indefatigable labour, which is more than ſufficient to juſtify the little pains we have taken

(7) Polyhiſtor, II. i. 8.

works of his particularly, becauſe in thoſe days they gained him univerſal eſteem; but his other performances deſerve alſo to be remembered, as breathing the ſame ſpirit of kindneſs and charity, tho' ſome of them written on leſs ſtriking ſubjects; and therefore the reader will find an exact catalogue of them in the notes (*a*), with ſome neceſſary remarks [*F*]. Upon the death of Mr John Rowe, to whom, as we have ſaid, he was for many years aſſiſtant, October the twelfth 1677, he, together with Mr Samuel Lee, was choſen Paſtor of his congregation (*b*). He continued, as long as his ſtrength would permit, to labour for the ſervice of the Church of CHRIST, and in promoting, as it's ſupport, ſound literature A very ſhort ſpace before his death, he publiſhed propoſals for printing by ſubſcription a very large and uſeful work, which he had long under his hands, and which was very far advanced (*c*). This, with ſome pieces he left behind him, ſerved to prove how well he had ſpent his time, and how great a loſs the world had, in ſo learned, ſo ingenious, ſo communicative, ſo indefatigable, and, in all reſpects, ſo pious and worthy a perſon [*G*]. He breathed his laſt, either at the cloſe of the month of February, or in the beginning of the month of March 1678, when he was in his fiftieth year (*d*). He was decently interred in the burying-ground near Bunhill-Fields, and his death univerſally regretted (*e*). He was a man whoſe learning made him admired and eſteemed, by all who were judges of it; his piety was ſo evident and unaffected, his courſe of life ſo innocent and uniform, that his example went as far as his ſermons; he was ſtedfaſt in his opinions, and warm in the defence of them; but had charity for thoſe who differed from him, whom he would labour to convince, but not to compel; he was as much an enemy to ſedition as to perſecution; and the known averſion he had to the former, defended him from the latter, when many of his brethren were expoſed. In a word, he maintained to the laſt the character which he had early acquired, of having, in a very high degree, thoſe qualities that moſt adorn a Miniſter of CHRIST, which ſecured him the love and veneration of men ſincere and devout of all parties (*f*). His concern for learning and piety, reached beyond the times in which he lived; not in his writings only, but in the manner in which he diſpoſed of the temporal goods, which either came to him by deſcent, or were the product of his œconomy in managing his ſmall income. He beſtowed all his eſtate, real and perſonal, on young ſtudents of his own principles, and appointed truſtees to manage it for their ſupport (*g*). All his well choſen library he gave towards promoting uſeful learning in New England, where, at that time, ſuch a numerous collection was a publick benefit. Out of this, he excepted only ſuch books of Philoſophy as might be judged more proper for young ſtudents here; and thus having ſpent his whole life in doing good, he provided at his death that there might be a continuance of perſons of the ſame frame of mind, and of like qualifications with himſelf, or at leaſt he did towards ſuch a proviſion all that was in his power.

(*a*) See the Catalogues in Wood and Prince.

(*b*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 59.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(*d*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 350.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608.

(*f*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 59.

(*g*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 350.

to ſet his character, and that of his writings, in their true light; and ſo far as in our power lies, to revive the credit of both, as is certainly our duty.

[*F*] *With ſome neceſſary remarks.*] In this note, we are to give the reader an account of ſuch other pieces, as fell from the pen of Mr Theophilus Gale, which we ſhall do as exactly as we can; tho' it is not impoſſible, that ſome may have eſcaped us, but if there be any, ſuch it is moſt likely, that they are prefaces to other mens works; or, it may be, that ſome of the treatiſes he left behind him, have been publiſhed without any mention of the author. The treatiſes known to be his are theſe:

The true Idea *of* Janſeniſm, *both* Hiſtorick *and* Dogmatick, Lond. 1669, 8vo. The large Preface to it was written by Dr John Owen.

Theophily; *or, A Diſcourſe of the* Saint's *Amity with* God *in* Christ, &c. Lond. 1671, 8vo.

The Anatomy *of* Infidelity; *or, an Explication of the Nature, Cauſes, Aggravations, and Puniſhment of Unbelief.* Lond. 1672, 8vo.

A Diſcourſe of Christ's coming, *and the Influence which the Expectation thereof*, &c. Lond. 1673, 8vo.

Idea Theologiæ *tam contemplativæ quam activæ, ad formam S. Scripturæ delineata.* Lond. 1673, 12mo. That is, *An* Idea *of* Theology, *contemplative as well as active, according to the* Holy Scriptures.

Wherein the Love of the World is inconſiſtent with the Love of God. *A* Sermon *on the* 1 *Epiſt. of* John, *chap.* ii. *ver.* 15. Lond. 1674. And in the Supplement to the *Morning Exerciſe* at *Cripplegate*:

A Summary *of the* two Covenants. This is ſet before a book by him publiſhed, intituled, *A Diſcourſe of the Two Covenants*, &c. Lond. 1678. fol. Written by *William Strong*, ſome time Preacher in the Abbey Church at Weſtminſter.

There is another book uſually put into the catalogues of his works, which bears this title.

Ars Sciendi; *ſive* Logica *novo Methodo diſpoſita, & novis præceptis aucta*, Lond. 1682, 8vo. This is John Clauberg's Logic, and *Ars Cogitandi*, called the Janſeniſts Logic, digeſted into one volume, with ſome alterations and enlargements; but we are aſſured by Dr Calamy (8), that this was unjuſtly aſcribed to Mr Theophilus Gale.

(8) Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

[*G*] *So pious and worthy a perſon.*] The title of this work, of which he gave a large account in his printed propoſals for publiſhing it, ran thus:

Lexicon Græci Teſtamenti Etymologicum Synonymum ſive Gloſſarium & Homonymum.

This Lexicon of the Greek Teſtament was finiſhed as far as the letter Iota; and the moſt conſiderable words were alſo placed under the other letters. It would have made when printed, a large folio volume, and have been much more compleat in every reſpect, than any thing of the kind yet extant, the author intending that it ſhould ſerve for a Concordance as well as a Lexicon, and with that view, had taken great pains in ſettling the different ſenſes of the ſame word, ſhewing whence they aroſe, and how they might be with certainty diſtinguiſhed. It was a great loſs to the world, that he did not live to compleat it; and ſtill a greater, that we have not ſo much as the titles of the other manuſcripts which he left behind him. It is very remarkable, that in Anthony Wood's account of Mr Gale, there is not the leaſt abatement or reſtriction in his commendations; and it is no leſs remarkable, that the Reverend Mr Echard (9), joining his accounts of Dr Thomas Manton, and Mr Theophilus Gale, ſays, the latter ſeemed to have more learning and leſs faction than the former; he adds, that he ſhewed himſelf to be a man of vaſt reading and induſtry, an exact Philologiſt and Philoſopher, as his Court of the Gentiles, and other learned works, ſufficiently teſtify; and that in the midſt of his great deſigns, he was ſnatched away in the prime of his years. Theſe teſtimonies do as much honour to thoſe who gave, as to the memory of him to whom they are given. E

(9) Hiſt. of Eng. p. 936.

GALE.

GALE (THOMAS), a moſt excellent ſcholar in the laſt century, was born at Scruton in Yorkſhire, in the year 1635, or 1636 [*A*], and educated in Weſtminſter-ſchool. Thence he was elected a ſcholar of Trinity-college Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (*a*). He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1658, that of Maſter in 1662; and accumulated the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity in 1675 (*b*). At the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, July 12, 1669, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity (*c*). Among other branches of learning, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt particularly by his curious, critical, and exact knowledge of the Greek tongue; of which he was Regius Profeſſor at Cambridge: And he publiſhed new and accurate editions of ſeveral ancient writers in that language; whereof an account is given below. In 1672, he was choſen Head-maſter of St Paul's-School in London, in the room of Mr Samuel Cromleholme; and had the Honour of being employed by that city, to write the elegant inſcriptions on the Monument, erected in memory of the dreadful conflagration in 1666; for which he was preſented with a piece of plate (*d*). June 7, 1676, he was collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral church of St Paul's (*e*). He was alſo a Fellow of the Royal Society, to which he gave a Roman urn with its aſhes. About the year 1697, he preſented the new Library at Trinity-college in Cambridge, with a great number of curious Arabic manuſcripts (*f*). This moſt learned and induſtrious perſon, tho' encumbered with the care of ſo large a ſchool, found means to publiſh new Editions of ſeveral ancient valuable Greek authors: Namely, A collection of the Mythologiſts, and other writers of moral and natural Philoſophy [*B*]: A collection of authors on the Poetical Hiſtory [*C*]: The ſelect Rhetors, or Orators [*D*]: Jamblichus of Myſteries [*E*]: An Edition of the Greek Pſalter, from the Alexandrine MS. [*F*]: and Herodotus [*G*]. He alſo reviſed Cicero's Works, printed in 1684 [*H*]; and publiſhed two volumes in folio of our antient Engliſh Hiſtorians [*I*]. After having continued about twenty-five years Head-Maſter of St Paul's-ſchool,

(*a*) S. Knight's Life of J. Colet, Lond. 1724. 8vo. p. 382.

(*b*) From the Univerſity Regiſt.

(*c*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. ed. 1721. col. 177.

(*d*) Knight, ibid. And Supplement to Jer. Collier's Diction. Vol. III. amongſt the *Addenda*, at the end.

(*e*) Newcourt's Repertor. Vol. I. p. 144.

(*f*) Collier, ibid.

[*A*] *Was born at Scruton in Yorkſhire, in the year* 1635, *or* 1636.] We learn from his Epitaph, that he died April 8. 1702. in the 68th year of his age. And as it doth not appear how far he was then advanced into his 68th year, he might therefore be born either in the year 1635, or in the beginning of 1636.

[*B*] *A collection of the Mythologiſts, &c.*] The title of which volume is, *Opuſcula Mythologica, Ethica, & Phyſica, Græce & Latine.* Containing. 'I. *Palæphatus de Incredibilibus Hiſtoriis. Cum variis lectionibus. Ejuſdem duo Fragmenta, ex Chronico Alexandrino, ſcil. De inventione purpuræ: & de primo ferri inventore; Mat. Radero interprete.* 2. *Heracliti de incredibilibus. Leone Allatio interprete.* 3. *Anonymi, longe Heraclito recentioris, de incredibilibus, eodem interp.* 4. *Phurnuti [vel Cornuti] Commentarius de Natura Deorum. Interprete Conr. Clauſero.* With our learned Doctor's notes, and various readings. 5. *Salluſtius Philoſophus de Diis & Mundo. Interprete Leone Allatio.* At the end are the learned editor's notes. 6. *Ocellus Lucanus Philoſophus de Univerſi natura, interprete Ludovico Nogarola Comite Veronenſi. Ejuſdem Nogarolæ Annotationes, & Epiſtola de viris illuſtribus Italis qui Græce ſcripſerunt.* Editio nova emendatior, &c. 7. *Platonis Timæus Locrus de Anima Mundi, i. e. Natura.* 8. *Demophili, Democratis, & Secundi Veterum Philoſophorum Sententiæ Morales a Luca Holſtenio editæ. Editio ſecunda accuratior.* 9. *Joannis Pediaſimi deſiderium, de muliere mala & bona.* 10. *Sexti Pythagorei Sententiæ e Græco in Latinum a Ruffino verſæ, & Xyſto Romanæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopo falſo attributæ.* 11. *Theophraſti Notationes Morum [vel Characteres Ethici] If. Caſaubono interprete. Editio nova correctior.* 12. *Pythagoreorum Fragmenta partim apud Stobæum, partim alibi reperta.* Among them, are two letters of Pythagoras. 13. *Heliodori Lariſſæi Capita Opticorum. Ex bibliotheca Fr. Lindenbrogi.*' Cantabrigiæ. 1671. 8vo. reprinted at Amſterdam. 1688. 8vo. with great improvements.

[*C*] *A collection of Authors on the Poetical Hiſtory.*] *Hiſtoriæ Poeticæ Antiqui Scriptores.* Pariſ. 1675. 8vo. viz. *Apollodorus Athenienſis, Conon Grammaticus, Ptolemæus Hepheſt. filius, Parthenius, & Anton. Liberalis.*

[*D*] *The ſelect Rhetors, or Orators.*] *Rhetores ſelecti:* viz. 1. *Demetrius Phalereus de Elocutione.* Editio emendatior. 2. *Tiberius Rhetor de Schematibus apud Demoſthenem.* 3. *Anonymus Sophiſta de Rhetorica.* Theſe two, firſt publiſhed by our learned author, with a Latin verſion. 4. *Severi Sophiſtæ Alexandrini Ethopoeiæ.* Publiſhed before by Fred. Morel and Leo Allatius, but more correctly by Dr Gale, with a new tranſlation. Oxon. 1676. 8vo.

[*E*] *Jamblichus of Myſteries.*] Under this title, *Jamblichus Chalcidenſis de Myſteriis. Epiſtola Porphyrii de eodem argumento. Græcè & Latinè ex verſione Thomæ Gale.* Oxon. 1678. fol.

[*F*] *An edition of the Greek Pſalter, &c.*] The title of this edition, was, *Pſalterium juxta exemplar Alexandrinum,* Editio nova Græcè & Latinè. Oxon. 1678. 8vo.

[*G*] *Herodotus.*] This neat and accurate edition of that moſt valuable ancient Hiſtorian was publiſhed at London, in 1679. fol. And, conſidering how ſeverely Gronovius's edition hath been animadverted upon, and very groſs errors diſcovered in it by the beſt of criticks (1), Dr Gale's edition of Herodotus muſt, upon many accounts, ſtill paſs for the beſt.

(1) See Kuſter's Examen Criticum Editionis Herodoti Gronovianæ: in J. Le Clerc's Biblioth. Ancienne & Moderne, Tom. V. p. 383, &c. And Acta Eruditorum Lipſi: an. 1716. p. 201, 337, 417, &c.

[*H*] *He alſo reviſed Cicero's works, &c.*] This edition was printed at London in 1681, and 1684. 2 vols. folio (2).

[*I*] *And publiſhed two volumes in folio of our ancient Engliſh Hiſtorians.*] Theſe two volumes are a continuation of another collection of the like kind, publiſhed by, or under the direction of, the moſt learned and worthy John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford; with the title of, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum veterum Tom.* I. *Quorum Ingulfus nunc primum integer, cæteri nunc primum prodeunt.* Oxon. 1684. fol.——— Of the two volumes publiſhed by Dr Gale, the firſt was, at Oxon 1687. fol. and intituled, *Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Quinque, ex vetuſtis Codicibus nunc primum in lucem editi.* Which volume contains. I. *Annales de Margan;* The Annals of Margan-Abbey in Glamorganſhire; that is, once belonging to that Monaſtery, and written there: Reaching from the year 1066, to 1232. II. *Chronicon Thomæ Wikes, aliter Chronicon Saliſburienſis Monaſterii.* i. e. The Chronicle of Thomas Wikes, a famous Monk of Oſeney-Abbey in the 13th century. It begins at the year 1066, and extends to the year 1304. But from the year 1289, it was continued by another hand. III. *Annales Waverleienſes;* i. e. The Annals of Waverley-Abbey in Surrey, from 1066. to the year 1291. [N. B. Every conſiderable Abbey in this kingdom, uſed to keep a Chronicle of what happened moſt memorable every year.] IV. *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi, & aliorum in terram Hieroſolymorum. Auctore Gaufrido Viniſauf.* i. e. The expedition of King Richard I. and others into the Holy Land: by Geffrey Viniſauf. To which is ſubjoined an account of the taking of Damieta. V. *Chronica Walteri Hemingford, Canonici de Giſſeburne, de Geſtis Regum Angliæ.*

(2) See Dr Knight's Life of J. Colet, as above, p. 476.

school, he was, as a just reward for his merit and pains, promoted to the Deanery of York, into which he was admitted Sept. 16, 1697 (g). Here he kept an hospitable table, and was particularly remarkable for his care and good government, and the repairing and beautifying the fabric of the Cathedral (b); besides an especial service he did to his Deanery [K]. But, after having enjoyed that Dignity little more than four years and a half, this worthy person, to the universal loss of learning, died at York April 8, 1702, in the 68th year of his age (i). He was buried in the Cathedral there, with an Inscription on his Grave-stone, as below [L]. As to his Character; he was a learned Divine, a great Historian and Antiquary, and one of the best Grecians of his age. He was not only known and esteemed at home, but also by the most learned of his contemporaries abroad; and kept a particular correspondence with Father Mabillon, Monsieur Baluze, Peter Allix, James Cappel, Sebastian

(g) Survey of the Cathed. of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 70.

(b) Collier's Diction. ut supra.

(i) Br. Willis, ubi supra.

gliæ. Ab anno Domini. 1066. *ad annum* 1300. i. e. The Chronicle of Walter Hemingford, Canon of Gisеburne [in Yorkshire] from the year 1066, to 1300. But the learned editor hath published it here only as far as the year 1273, reserving the rest for another volume of our English Historians, beginning at King Edward I. which he intended to oblige the world with, but never did. It was published entire by T. Hearne in 1731, in 2 vols. 8vo.

The second volume of our English Historians published by Dr Gale, was intituled, *Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores* XV. *Ex vetustis Codd. MSS. editi opera Thomæ Gale Th. Pr.* Oxon. 1691. fol. This volume comprehends I. *Gildæ sapientis de Excidio Britanniæ liber querulus. Ex antiquissimo MS. Cod. Cantabrigiensi.* i. e. An History, and a Letter, concerning the destruction of Britain by the Saxons; written by Gildas, a Monk of Banchor in the 6th century. II. *Vita S. Wilfridi Episcopi Eboracensis. Auctore Eddio Stephano.* i. e. The life of St Wilfrid *the third* Archbishop of York, [who died in 711.] written by Eddius, or Heddius, surnamed Stephen, that flourished about the year 720. III. *Historia Britonum, auctore Nennio.* i. e. The History of the Britons, by Nennius; a Monk of Banchor, who flourished in the beginning of the 7th century. With notes at the end. IV. *Annales Joan. Asserii.* i. e. The Annals of J. Asser, Bishop of Sherbourn, who died anno 909. These Annals begin at Julius Cæsar, and end at the year 904. V. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higdeni Monachi Cestrensis.* i. e. The Polychronicon of Ralph Higden Monk of Chester: divided into six books. It begins at the earliest times, and was brought down by the author to the year 1343: but Dr Gale has published it here only as far as the year 1066, and hath retrenched from it every thing that did not relate to the English History. VI. *Willielmus Malmesburiensis de Antiquitate Glastonienſis Ecclesiæ.* i. e. William [Somerset, Monk] of Malmesbury, of the Antiquity of Glaston-bury-church. VII. *Wil. Malmesburiensis Liber V. de Pontificibus.* i. e. The same William's fifth book of the English Bishops: being the life of *Aldelm*, first Bishop of Sherborn (3); and a supplement to his IV. books *De Pontificibus*, published by Sir Henry Savile, with the rest of that author's historical works. He had promised this life, at the beginning of his account of the Bishops of Sherborn. VIII. *Historia Ramesiensis, sive Liber de Fundatione & Benefactoribus Coenobii Ramesiensis.* i. e. The History of the foundation of Ramesey-monastery, in Huntingdonshire; and of the benefactors to the same. IX. and X. *Historia Ecclesiæ Elienſis. Lib.* II. i. e. The History of the Church, or Monastery of Ely, in two books. XI. *Chronica Joannis Wallingford.* i. e. The Chronicle of John Wallingford, twenty first Abbot of St Albans. It begins at the year of Christ 449, and ends at 1035. XII. *Historia Compendiosa de Regibus Britonum, auctore Radulpho de Diceto.* i. e. A compendious [and indeed an imperfect] History of the British Kings, from [the pretended] Brutus to Cadwalader, anno Ch. 689. By Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St Paul's in the 13th century. XIII. *De Partitione Provinciæ in Schiras, & Episcopatus, & Regna.* i. e. Of the Division of England into Shires, Bishopricks, and Kingdoms. By an author unknown. He reckons 32 counties in England; exclusive of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Cornwal, and Wales; and two Archbishopricks, and twenty Bishopricks. XIV. *Joannis Fordun Scoti-Chronicon, sive Scotorum Historia.* i. e. The History of the Scots, by John Fordun, Chaplain of the Church of Aberdeen. [Published in a more compleat manner by Thomas Hearne. Oxon. 1722. 5 vols. 8vo] XV. *De Pontificibus & Sanctis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis Poema, auctore Flacco Alcwino.* i. e. A poetical account of the Archbishops and Saints of the Church of York, by Flaccus Alcwinus, or Albinus (4). To this collection the learned editor hath added an Appendix, of what several ancient authors have written concerning Britain: namely, 1. The 2d and 3d chapters of the viiith book of Ptolemy's Geography, in Greek and Latin. 2. Extracts, from Antoninus's Itinerary; the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani*; & *Geograph. Anonymus Ravennas.* 3. The number of hides in several counties south of the Humber. 4. An abstract of Doomesday-book, which he intitles, *Consuetudines & Jura Anglicana, ex libro censuali, dicto Doomesday.* 5. The ancient names of the people, places, &c. in Britain; from Camden, in alphabetical order. 6. Chap. 16. of book iv. of Pliny's Natural History, relating to Britain. 7. Genealogies of the several Saxon Kings in this island; from the *Textus Roffensis*, and Alured of Beverley. Interspersed with learned notes, and emendations. This very particular account of the contents of these two volumes I thought necessary to give, for the sake of all lovers of English History, to whom such notices are very useful, and save them a great deal of time.

(3) See above, in the article ALDHELM.

(4) See above, in the article ALCUINUS.

Our learned author left also several pieces in manuscript, namely, 1. *Jamblichus de vita Pythagoræ.* 2. *Origenis Philocalia, variis MSS. collecta, emendata, & nova versione donata.* 3. *Antonini Itinerarium.* This last was published by his learned son Roger Gale, Esq; under this title, *Antonini Iter Britannicum, commentariis illustratum Thomæ Gale S. T. P. nuper Decani Eboracensis. Opus posthumum revisit, auxit, edidit R. G. Accessit Anonymi Ravennatis Britanniæ Chorographia cum Autographo Regis Galliæ MS. & Codice Vaticano collata. Adjiciuntur conjecturæ plurimæ, cum nominibus locorum Anglicis, quotquot iis assignari potuerint.* Lond. 1709. 4to. But this is the most exceptionable of Dr Gale's works: for, out of an affectation of saying something new, he hath displaced most of the ancient stations, without sufficient authority; and hath indulged himself a great deal too much in fancy and conjectures.——There were likewise published in 1704, 'Sermons preached 'upon several holy days observed in the Church of 'England, by Thomas Gale Dean of York.' Lond. 8vo.

[K] *Besides an especial service he did to his Deanery.*] It was this: at his admission to his Deanery, finding the Dean's title to be a Canon-Residentiary called in question; in order to put it out of all dispute, he generously procured letters patent, in 1699, to fix it to himself, and successors (5).

(5) Br. Willis, ubi supra.

[L] *With an inscription on his grave-stone*] Being as follows. *Æ. M. S.* Thomæ Gale *S. T. P. Decani* Ebor. *Viri, si quis alius, ob multifariam eruditionem, apud suos exterosq; celeberrimi. Quale nomen sibi conquisivit, apud* Cantabrigienses, *Collegium SS.* Trinitatis, *& Græcæ Linguæ Professoris Regii cathedra; apud* Londinates, *Viri literatissimi, in Rempublicam, & Patriæ commodum, ex Gymnasio Paulino emissi; apud* Eboracenses, *hujus res Ecclesiæ heu! vix quinquennio, at dum per mortem licuit sedulo & fideliter, administrata; & ubicunque agebat donata luce, veneranda Linguæ Græcæ, & Historiæ* Anglicanæ *monumenta, marmore loquaciora, perenniora, testantur. Ob. Apr.* viii. A. S. H. MDCCII. *Ætat. suæ.* LXVIII (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 71, 72.

[M] *And*

baſtian Feſchi, John Rudolf, Wetſtein of Baſil, Henry Wetſtein of Amſterdam, J. G. Grævius, Louis Picques, and eſpecially the renowned Peter Huet biſhop of Avranches (*k*), who had a ſingular reſpect for him, and gave him the higheſt commendations poſſible [*M*]. He had a noble Library of choice and valuable books, and a curious collection of many eſteemed Manuſcripts; which he left to his eldeſt ſon the learned Roger Gale, Eſq; late one of the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe, Treaſurer of the Royal Society, and Vice-Preſident of the Antiquarian Society, London, who hath publiſhed ſeveral valuable works [*N*]. His younger ſon, is the ingenious Samuel Gale, Eſq; Treaſurer of the Antiquarian Society. He alſo left a daughter.

(*k*) Collier's Dict. ibid. And Knight, ubi ſupra.

[*M*] *And gave him the higheſt commendations poſſible.*] In theſe words, *Quem utraque dote, & Modeſtiæ & Doctrinæ,——omnibus hominibus, quos quidem noverim, anteferendum puto* (7). i. e. who I think exceeds all men that ever I knew, both for modeſty and learning.

(7) Commentar. de rebus ad eum pertinentibus, l. v. p. 315. edit. Amſt. 1717.

[*N*] *Who hath publiſhed ſeveral valuable works.*] Namely, 1. *Regiſtrum Honoris de Richmond.* i. e. A Regiſter of the Lands, Manors, and Towns belonging to the Honor of Richmond in Yorkſhire. Lond. 1722. fol. Printed from the original ſurvey, taken in Henry the IVth's reign, and preſerved in the Cottonian Library. 2. *An Eſſay towards the Recovery of the Courſes of the four great Roman ways* in Britain. And a letter to Thomas Hearne occaſioned by that Eſſay, &c. Printed in the ſixth volume of Leland's Itinerary. 3. A diſcourſe in the Philoſophical Tranſactions No. 357. p. 823. occaſioned by a Roman inſcription found at Lancheſter in 1715.

His brother *Samuel* hath alſo publiſhed, *The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Wincheſter*, begun by Henry Earl of Clarendon, and continued to the year, 1715. Lond. 1715. 8vo. C

GALE (Dr JOHN), a learned Divine, an eminent Preacher, and the moſt applauded Champion of the Engliſh Anabaptiſts (as they are called) in the XVIIIth century. He was born May the twenty-ſixth 1680, at London, his father being a worthy and well eſteemed citizen, one who had great natural abilities, and a very high reputation for integrity (*a*). The natural gravity, and unuſual compoſure, of his ſon's temper thro' the courſe of his childhood, induced him to ſpare no pains or expence in his education, as having an early view to thoſe labours for the inſtruction of mankind, which were to be the principal buſineſs of his riper years (*b*). He correſponded preciſely with his father's intentions thro' his primary ſtudies, which were his ſole occupation, as well at thoſe hours when his ſchool-fellows were employed in amuſements ſuitable to their age, as when, according to the ordinary courſe of education, a ſtrict attention was expected from him (*c*). By this indefatigable purſuit of learning, he ſoon outſtripp'd thoſe of his ſtanding, and qualified himſelf for more important inquiries than thoſe which relate to grammar and languages. The good old man, deſirous of giving all imaginable advantages to ſo great a genius, and ſo uncommon an application to literature, ſent him over to Leyden, in order to finiſh perfectly what he had ſo happily begun (*d*). He was there engaged in the moſt ſerious enquiries; when at the age of ſeventeen, he received the unexpected, as well as unwelcome, news of his mother's death, whom he had many other reaſons to regret beſides thoſe of tenderneſs and affection ſpringing from ſo near a relation (*e*). He well expreſſed the motives to his own conſtancy, in a letter of conſolation he wrote his afflicted father on that melancholy occaſion. Yet he was well apprized, that this breach in the family would make his return to England neceſſary, earlier than otherwiſe it would have been, which made him very induſtrious in improving all the time which he ſtill had to ſtay; and in this he was not only ſo diligent, but ſo ſucceſsful, that, in the ſpace of two years, a ſhort time indeed for ſo great a work! he conquered all the difficulties of his favourite ſtudy, and, with univerſal applauſe, received, when little more than nineteen years old, the academical degrees of Maſter of Arts, and Doctor in Philoſophy (*f*) [*A*]. In attaining theſe honours, at a time of life when moſt others begin only to aſpire to them, he not only raiſed his own reputation very high, but reflected glory on his country; the rather becauſe at his coming to that ſeat of the Muſes, he was completely maſter of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which, beſides being unuſual in a youth of ſixteen, muſt have greatly facilitated his other ſtudies (*g*), and contributed thereby to ſo ſurprizing a progreſs as that before mentioned.

(*a*) Account of the Life of Dr John Gale, which is prefixed to the firſt of the four Volumes of his Sermons, p. 3.

(*b*) Funeral Sermon on Dr John Gale, by Joſ. Borroughs.

(*c*) Life of Dr Gale, p. 4.

(*d*) Borroughs's funeral ſermon, p. 25.

(*e*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 4.

(*f*) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tom. XVIII. p. 392.

(*g*) Oratio Burcheri de Volder de novis et antiquis, p. 40.

Surprizing

[*A*] *Of Maſter of Arts and Doctor in Philoſophy.*] To be ſatisfied that there is no exaggeration in what we have advanced in the text, the reader need only caſt an eye on what his Profeſſor teſtified to his father upon this ſubject, and which is much ſtronger than any thing in our account, and yet conſidering the reputation of the perſon ſubſcribing it, no doubt need be conceived of its veracity. 'It has happened to no 'body ſays he, that I know of, to gain ſuch a know-'ledge of things, which are to be traced out by na-'tural reaſon within the ſpace of fifteen months and 'no more, which is all the time your ſon has applied 'himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and that 'before the expiration of the nineteenth year of his 'age, as to be judged worthy to be adorned with the 'higheſt honours in a ſolemn ceremony. God grant 'he may go on in the ſame pace he has begun, and 'continue the ſame aſſiduity and diligence to the end, 'that ſo he may become a moſt fit inſtrument to ad-'vance the glory of the name of the Lord, the fur-'thering his own ſalvation, and the publick good of 'his neighbours.'

Sign'd

WOLFERDUS SENGUERDIUS.

Upon this occaſion when he publiſhed his Theſis, *De ente ejuſque conceptu*, dedicated to his father and his two uncles, Sir John and Sir Joſeph Wolf, the famous

Surprizing, one has a right to call it, ſince it appeared ſuch even in the eyes of the beſt judges, as is manifeſted not only from the pieces preſerved in the former note, but from the moſt eloquent oration pronounced by the learned Volder, expreſsly upon this occaſion, July the third 1699, and publiſhed after his death by the celebrated Profeſſor Boerhaave (*b*), of which a few periods will be found at the bottom of the page [*B*]. After he left the Univerſity of Leyden, he made a tour to Amſterdam, which afforded him ſeveral opportunities of viſiting the famous Mr John le Clerc, with whom he then fix'd a correſpondence, and of whoſe character we find him, in his writings, a very zealous as well as very able defender (*i*). Upon his return to his native country, he purſued, with the ſame vivacity and diligence as at School or the Univerſity, the acquiſition of all uſeful knowledge in regard to the concerns of this life, and with ſtill more attention and vigilance that ſacred ſcience which affords the means of obtaining a ſure title to a better. With a view to this, he perfected his ſkill in the oriental languages; and, having carefully ſought all the previous helps neceſſary to the thorough underſtanding of them, began, with moſt ſerious application, to ſtudy aſſiduouſly the ſacred Scriptures in their originals, and to conſider what lights might be obtained towards reaching their true ſenſe, not only from commentaries, but antient verſions (*k*). When he had been in England, or at leaſt from that ſeat of

(*b*) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tom. XVIII. p. 390.

(*i*) See this Point explained in Note [*D*].

(*k*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 8, 9.

mous Adrian Reland (1) ſubjoined a noble teſtimony of his worth, in a Latin panegyric which ends thus, alluding to the Carteſians whom he had always oppoſed.

(1) Life of Dr John Gale, prefixed to his Sermons, p. 5.

Vince tuos hoſtes, & murus aheneus eſto,
Ut referat laudes Anglica terra tuas.
Summè ens perfectum cœptis magis annuat iſtis,
Ut ſæcli noſtri lucida ſtella fores.

O'ercome thy foes, and riſe ſupremely great,
That bearing thee, thy country may elate.
So theſe beginnings the great Being bleſs,
That thee their ſtar, the preſent age confeſs,
Nor ſhall poſterity conclude thee leſs.

[*B*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It will certainly be ſome entertainment to the reader, and can ſcarce be conſidered as a digreſſion from our ſubject, if in this note we give ſome account of Mr de Volder, whoſe harangue does our author ſo much honour; he was Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Mathematics in the Univerſity of Leyden, and had therefore the faireſt opportunity of knowing Mr Gale thoroughly, which adds not a little credit to what he ſays. This learned man was brought up, and in his youth embraced the ſect of the *Mennonites*, or *Minniſts*, or as they are with greater propriety called *Baptiſts*, but before he entred upon the functions of his Profeſſorſhip, he became a member of the reformed Church in Holland. He was a zealous Carteſian, and had high notions as a Republican, which being maliciouſly repreſented to King William then Prince of Orange, he ſuperſeded his own nomination of this gentleman to be Rector of the Univerſity, the very night before it was to have taken place. But in 1697, which was eleven years afterwards, his Majeſty of his own accord conferred upon him that honour (2). In 1699, he preſided in that publick Act, in which our young Student had his degrees conferred upon him, and in his oration he ſhews how unreaſonable it is to oppoſe notions, merely upon account of their novelty, and from thence he takes occaſion to make it appear, that it is highly imprudent for Princes or States to interfere at all about ſpeculative opinions, by encouraging one ſide or depreſſing the other; he remarks, that truth and falſehood are not at all ſubject to authority, and that where a Government leaves an entire freedom to Theologians and Philoſophers in their debates, it is impoſſible it ſhould be hurt by them; whereas by a contrary conduct, factions are excited that frequently become dangerous, whereas when there is no ſuch interpoſition, how loud or how warm ſoever thoſe diſputes may be for a time, *truth* is ſure to prevail at laſt. This is the general ſcope of his diſcourſe, and from the facts before related, the reader will ſee the true motive to it. The whole oration in Latin is very judiciouſly prefixed to the poſthumous works of our author, and very well deſerves reading, but for what more particularly concerns him, who is the ſubject of our diſcourſe, it follows tranſlated with the form of creation, (which is curious) as ſpoken in Latin (3). 'If that be new, ſaid 'he, which has not been done for many years, which no 'one of the Profeſſors in this Univerſity hath ſeen in 'his time, then 'tis new to declare a Doctor of Phi'loſophy from this place, tho' if you conſider the ce'remonies with which this ſolemnity is performed it 'appears antient. But I wiſh the noble and very lau'dable deſign of this candidate in proſecuting his ſtu'dies was a thing cuſtomary, who after he had ap'plied his mind to them, thought it his buſineſs, not 'according to the new, but very bad, method to reſt 'ſatisfied with a ſlight and ſuperficial knowledge of 'the liberal arts, but to look into their inmoſt re'ceſſes, and to acquaint himſelf with what lay moſt 'concealed in thoſe of them which he converſed with. 'Wherefore in the firſt place, with great labour he 'gained the knowledge of the tongues, that he might 'afterward with more eaſe and advantage apply him'ſelf to the ſciences themſelves. For this purpoſe he 'not only carefully ſtudied the Latin Tongue, but 'what in this age is very rare and unuſual the Greek 'and Hebrew. I ſay nothing of the Latin in which 'he has often ſpoke publickly at London, that famous 'city, for you have heard with what elegance, pro'priety, and force of perſuaſion, he commended the 'ſtudy of wiſdom. But I can by no means omit to 'obſerve, that he ſo applied himſelf to the Greek 'Language, as not only to underſtand it, but be able 'to declaim in it publickly. To theſe he added like'wiſe the Hebrew, thinking the knowledge of the 'Greek inſufficient without this, and that he muſt 'depend upon the credit of others for the interpre'tation of the ſacred writings. Furniſhed with theſe 'helps he entered upon the ſtudy of Philoſophy be'ing induced to it partly by the pleaſure which ariſes 'from enquiries into things obſcure, and partly by 'the advantage which thoſe ſtudies afford both in life 'and other ſciences, and partly likewiſe as thinking 'it the beſt method to cultivate his mind, and diſpoſe 'it more readily and clearly to diſtinguiſh truth from 'falſehood in every ſubject. And before he had pur'ſued theſe ſtudies full two years, ſee, I beſeech you, 'what penetration of mind, joined with incredible 'diligence, is capable of performing, he was willing 'to give ſome publick proof of his proficiency in 'them. Nor has he failed in the attempt, for both 'in his private and publick examinations he diſco'vered ſo acute a genius, and ſuch knowledge of 'things natural, divine, and moral, that, agreeable to 'his great merit, the higheſt honours in Philoſophy 'have been decreed to be conferred on him in a ſo'lemn manner, and according to antient cuſtom.' *Having ſaid this he added.* 'Quare quod felix fau'ſtumque ſit tibi, tuiſque honorificum, ex auctoritate 'ampliſſimi Senatus Academici ego te *Johannem* 'Gale, Londinenſem Anglum L. A. M. & *Philoſo'phiæ Doctorem* creo, dico, renuncio: do tibi facul'tatem Cathedram hanc Doctoralem conſcendendi, & 'ex ea Philoſophiam docendi: confero denique in te 'omnia privilegia, immunitates, quæ L. A. M. & 'Philoſophiæ Doctoribus vel legibus vel moribus de'bentur.' It was rude therefore in his antagoniſt to uſe ſo coarſe a phraſe as being *dubb'd* a Doctor (4).

(2) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tom. XVIII. p. 346—401.

(3) Burcheri de Volder Philoſophi Oratio de Novis et Antiquis, habita, cum virum doctiſſimum Johannem Gale, Lond. Britan. voce Senatus Academici Lugduſio Batavi more majorum pronunciaret A. L. M. et Doctorem Philoſophiæ, tertio Julii. 1699, p. 39.

(4) Wall's Defence of the Hiſt. of Infant Baptiſm.

[*C*] *Than*

of learning, about four years, he was offered by the Univerſity of Leyden (willing to preſerve an intereſt in him) the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*l*), provided he would give his aſſent to the articles eſtabliſhed by the Synod of Dort. But this, tho' highly ſenſible of the honour, he very prudently refuſing, preſerved the freedom of his judgment, tho' at the expence of a title (*m*). It is certain, that, in conferring this degree, the Dutch Univerſity would have loſt no credit, ſince of his age there were few in Europe deſerved it better. For, by this time, he had not only gone through, in the laborious way of a critical examination, both the Old Teſtament and the New, with the moſt celebrated commentaries on both, as well antient as modern; but the moſt eminent amongſt the Fathers, with equal diligence and impartiality, by which he acquired (as his learned writings ſhewed) a thorough acquaintance with, and due regard for, without imbibing an implicit faith in, or a dangerous reliance on, the authority of antiquity (*n*). All this time, his worth was in a great meaſure hid; and there were but a very few, and thoſe of his moſt intimate acquaintance, that knew the real merit of this excellent young man. It was not, however, many years before an occaſion offered which called his very high qualifications into a much more conſpicuous point of view. The Reverend Mr Wall, Vicar of Shoreham in Kent, wrote a celebrated treatiſe, which he intituled, The *Hiſtory* of *Infant Baptiſm*; and for this he not only received, long after, the honour of a Doctor's degree from the Univerſity of Oxford, but alſo the thanks of the Convocation then aſſembled (*o*). A friend of Dr Gale's, a member of the Church of England, and very zealous for the doctrines of the Church, conſidering the reputation of this book, wrote the Doctor a warm letter thereupon, as if it had been abſolutely impoſſible to read the arguments contained therein, without being convinced (*p*). It fell out, however, otherwiſe with Dr Gale; he was not only proof againſt both book and letter, but reſolved to anſwer them, purely to ſatisfy his correſpondent, that reaſon and learning might appear in defence of that cauſe which he thought ſo utterly overthrown by this performance (*q*). Theſe letters, though written in 1705 and 1706, were not publiſhed till 1711, and then at the very earneſt deſire of ſome perſons of diſtinguiſhed abilities, who thought it an injury to the publick that they ſhould remain longer in obſcurity (*r*). Thus, by their own merit, they came abroad into the world, and made their author generally known and reſpected in a very ſhort ſpace (*s*), even by thoſe who did not embrace his ſentiments. Indeed there was ſo much good ſenſe, learning, and moderation, in his diſcourſes, that it was impoſſible they could meet with any other than a favourable reception [*C*]. But, amongſt the beſt judges of thoſe who were in

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Agreeable to his declarations on other occaſions.

(*n*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 8, 9.

(*o*) Proceedings in the Convocation, 1705, faithfully repreſented, p. 35.

(*p*) See Advertiſment prefix'd to Dr Gale's Reflections, &c.

(*q*) So Dr Gale himſelf ſays in his firſt Letter.

(*r*) See this explained in note [*C*].

(*s*) Dr Kinch's funeral Sermon upon Dr John Gale, p. 26.

[*C*] *Than a favourable reception.*] The beſt way of making the value of this work known within the narrow compaſs of a note, will be by entring into a ſuccinct analyſis of his learned performance, in which he has ſhewn himſelf equally converſant with books and men, and with polite literature as well as eccleſiaſtical writers. In the *firſt* letter, he obſerves that Mr Wall's hiſtory is not ſo formidable as is pretended, tho' the beſt defence of Infant-Baptiſm which he had ſeen, and that for thoſe reaſons on which Mr Wall himſelf recommends it in his preface. He then tells us, that Mr Wall is not much to be depended on, and that his real aim and deſign, was only to eſtabliſh the Baptiſm of Infants, and that he takes all occaſions to blacken the Anti-Pædobaptiſts, diſguiſing his deſigns with pretences to moderation. That Mr Wall endeavours to poſſeſs his readers with an opinion of his penetration, by ſeveral needleſs digreſſions, and to gain reputation by quarrelling with ſeveral of the greateſt men for learning, &c. as particularly Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Biſhop Burnet, Rigaltius, Gregory Nazianzen, both father and ſon; St Chryſoſtom, Monſieur le Clerc, and Grotius. That he has not acted the part of a faithful Hiſtorian towards the Anti-Pædobaptiſts, but ſeveral times, on no ground at all, takes for granted ſome things, merely becauſe they favour his deſign, and charges the Anti-Pædobaptiſts with whatever he had heard any one among them to have believed or ſaid. In the *ſecond* Letter, Dr Gale endeavours to juſtify his brethren from the charge of ſchiſm; and obſerves, that in order to an union it would be requiſite (5), and 'I think, ſays he, none can except againſt it, 'that ſome fit perſons were choſe on both ſides, to 'examine the Scriptures impartially; and the Fathers 'of the three firſt centuries, who followed their great 'maſter through ſufferings, and whoſe writings are 'undoubtedly by far the beſt commentary on the ſacred books; and, with theſe helps, to collect from 'the Word of God, the true doctrine and diſcipline 'of the primitive Catholic Church. And to what 'ſhould be thus ſincerely deduced, every one ſhould 'reſolve to conform, without reſerve. And, I doubt 'not, if an union were endeavoured on this expedient, it would be accompliſhed much more eaſily 'than is imagined.' In the *third* letter our author remarks, that the diſpute between the Engliſh Pædobaptiſts, and Anti-Pædobaptiſts, may be caſt under two heads, one relating to the mode of baptiſm, whether it is to be adminiſtred only by dipping, and the other, who are the true ſubjects of it, whether adult perſons alone, or infants alſo. He tells us, that ſo far as the ſcriptures are clear, the practice of the Anti-Pædobaptiſts is allowed to be agreeable therewith; and that therefore if they err, they are, however, on the ſafer ſide. He obſerves, that the Greek word for *baptize*, always ſignifies to *dip* only into any manner of a thing, but is more commonly uſed for dipping into liquids, which obſervation he confirms from ſeveral paſſages of ancient writers. In the *fourth* letter he remarks, that the critics conſtantly affirm the proper and genuine ſenſe of βαπτίζω, to be *immergo*; that Mr Wall is conſcious, notwithſtanding his pretence that the opinions of learned men are againſt him; and that whereas that writer appeals to the ſcriptures for the ſenſe of the word, it is evidently never uſed there in his ſenſe, but the contrary. In the *fifth* letter he obſerves, that though it is very unreaſonable to appeal to the Scriptures only, for the ſenſe of a word; yet it is clear from them the Greek word muſt always ſignify to *dip*; that if the word were otherwiſe ever ſo ambiguous, yet, as it relates to baptiſm, it is ſufficiently determined, only and neceſſarily to mean to *dip*, by the doctrine and practice of St John, amongſt the apoſtles, and of the ſucceeding Church for many centuries, which urged a trine immerſion. He affirms likewiſe, that the ancient Church of the three firſt centuries did not practice affuſion; that all who baptized in the times of the apoſtles, were baptized by immerſion; that clinical affuſions do not appear to have been introduced, till about two hundred and fifty years after Chriſt, at which time their validity was much doubted; and that all allow immerſion to have been inſiſted on anciently, as the only regular way in all common caſes. In the *ſixth* letter, he proceeds to the other chief

(5) Reflections on Wall's Hiſt. of Infant Baptiſm, p. 86, 87.

in the ſame opinion with the Divine who wrote the book he anſwered, ſome thought themſelves obliged to teſtify their eſteem for his candour and abilities; while others went a little further,

chief article in diſpute, between the Anti-Pædobaptiſts and their antagoniſts, relating to the perſons who are the true ſubjects of baptiſm, whether adult perſons alone, or infants alſo. He obſerves, that Mr Wall's attempt, though the beſt in it's kind, falls very ſhort of anſwering the deſign of it; and that this writer allows it cannot be made appear from Scripture that infants are to be baptized, and therefore recurs to theſe as the only expedients. 1. To the practice of the Jewiſh Church. 2. To the practice of the antient Chriſtians. Dr Gale remarks upon this, that from Mr Wall's conceſſion, that it cannot be proved from Scripture, it unavoidably follows, that it is no inſtitution of Chriſt, and that to ſuppoſe it may be included in ſome of the more general expreſſions, is only to beg the point in diſpute; and that unleſs Mr Wall can ſhew that Infant-Baptiſm is ſo much as mentioned in Scripture, the Anti-Pædobaptiſts will not believe it inſtituted there. He obſerves likewiſe, that the Baptiſm of Infants is unlawful, if Chriſt has not inſtituted it, that true Proteſtants ſhould adhere to the Scripture as the only infallible guide in all religious controverſies, and that the ſilence of the Scripture is a good argument againſt Infant-Baptiſm. In the *ſeventh* letter, he ſhews from Matt. xxviii. 19. that the Scripture does not leave Infant-Baptiſm ſo undetermined as ſome would pretend, and that the commiſſion neceſſarily obliges to teach all whom it intends ſhould be baptized, and that therefore infants cannot be included in that commiſſion, and he aſſerts that the verb μαθητεύειν is conſtantly uſed to ſignify nothing leſs than to *teach*. In the *eighth* letter, he remarks that the ſubſtantive μαθητης is only ſaid of ſuch as are at leaſt capable of being *taught*, and that the moſt judicious have always agreed, that the word in the commiſſion particularly ſignifies to teach and inſtruct; and that this appears evidently to be the true ſenſe of the place from the authority of the Scriptures themſelves, from the practice of the Apoſtles, and from parallel places. The ſum of the Doctor's reaſoning on this head is this, that the commiſſion obliges to *teach* all that are to be *baptized*, and therefore that the Scriptures are not ſo ſilent concerning the baptizing of Infants as the Pædobaptiſts would perſuade us, ſo that if Mr Wall ſhould prove the Jews and Chriſtians did baptize their children, the Anti-Pædobaptiſts have ſtill reaſon enough not to admit the practice. In the *ninth* letter, he obſerves that Mr Wall's aſſertions, *that the* Jews *did initiate their* Proſelytes, *and their infants by* Baptiſm, *and that the* Apoſtles *and* Primitive Church *baptized the* Infants *of believing parents*, are *miſtakes*, and that the arguments brought to prove theſe two points are no better. Dr Gale examines firſt Mr Wall's pretences from the Jews in this and the following letter, in which he endeavours to ſhew, from many conſiderations, that the arguments of the Pædobaptiſts do not make it appear to have been the cuſtom of the Jews in our Saviour's time to baptize Proſelytes and their children, and urges ſeveral arguments to evince the contrary. He remarks likewiſe, that even ſuppoſing the fact could be demonſtrated, it is no rule in the adminiſtration of a Chriſtian Sacrament, as being only the tradition of their elders, and not grounded on Scripture or derived from Moſes. In the *eleventh* letter, Dr Gale proceeds to the other kind of evidence produced by Mr Wall, viz. the authority of the Primitive Fathers, which the Doctor obſerves ought to be valued more than Monſieur Daillé and ſome others ſuppoſe (6). 'It is an ill return, ſays he, for the 'great leſſons and examples of piety they have given 'us, and for their having been ſo inſtrumental in 'tranſmitting to us the knowledge of our moſt holy 'religion. And there is yet a greater evil attends 'this method, for all the abuſes and affronts put upon 'the Fathers of the firſt centuries, do in the end reflect on Chriſtianity itſelf which thoſe great men 'have handed down, and which therefore muſt needs 'be in ſome degree of but doubtful authority, if it 'depends upon ſufficient teſtimony. It would not be 'difficult to defend the writings of the Fathers from 'the reproaches caſt on them by theſe men, and by 'Daillé, their oracle, notwithſtanding he has taken 'ſuch pains in the matter, and puſhed it with all the 'vigour he could. But it is a nice ſubject, and much 'too copious to be treated here at large. I ſhall 'therefore only ſay, that in many caſes the rejecting 'the authority of the Fathers is a very wild extreme, 'which men are driven to, only becauſe they have 'nothing better to ſay for themſelves, and cannot 'brook to ſee their opinions contradicted in their 'writings. That the Fathers of the firſt Churches 'were honeſt faithful men, and every way capable to 'acquaint us with the true poſture of affairs in their 'own Churches and times, and therefore are to be 'depended on, as far as they relate facts within their 'proper cogniſance, muſt be allowed on all hands, and 'I don't ſee how their greateſt enemies can have the 'face to deny this.' The Doctor then obſerves, that Mr Wall's argument from the Fathers turns upon a ſuppoſition which cannot eaſily be granted him, viz. *That the* Primitive Church *believed and practiſed nothing but what they had received from the* Apoſtles *themſelves*. But Dr Gale tells us, that without any reflection on the honour and fidelity of the Fathers, their teſtimonies cannot ſupport Infant Baptiſm, tho' they ſhould afford Mr Wall ever ſo many and full citations, 'for if the Fathers only prove Fact in the 'Church and not Right, and the Church was not 'wholly pure from innovations, how does this prove 'the Baptiſm of Infants was no innovation, but an 'inſtitution of Chriſt? And yet this is the *thing* our 'author ſhould have done, tho' he takes no notice 'of it. It is irkſome to remember the inſtances of 'human frailty which even the moſt antient Church 'was liable to. They were men ſubject to like paſſions with us, and therefore no wonder they were 'ſometimes in the wrong, and their zeal for God's 'honour was not always according to knowledge, 'which, tho' it might keep them from loſing the 'chief thing our Lord had commanded, might however expoſe them to the inconveniency of ſuperadding ſeveral things he never authorized. The 'Apoſtles undoubtedly kept cloſe to his directions in 'all things without deviation, either in defect or exceſs, for they had the immediate aſſiſtance in a moſt 'extraordinary manner of the Spirit of God (7).' But that the Chriſtians of the very next age made ſeveral additions, Tertullian confeſſes in his book *de Corona*. And Euſebius from Hegeſippus (8) notes, 'that the 'Church continued all the Apoſtles times a pure virgin and undefiled.——But when thoſe holy men 'were dead——then errors began to ariſe thro' 'the miſtakes of other teachers.' Dr Gale then proceeds to diſcuſs the grand queſtion, *whether it can be proved from any of the* authentic pieces *of the* Primitive Fathers, *that the* Church *uſed* Infant-Baptiſm *in thoſe early times?* He conſiders in this and the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* letters, ſuch paſſages as are produced by Mr Wall. He remarks in the *thirteenth*, that in St Cyprian's time, Infant-Baptiſm was practiſed in Africa; and infers from thence, it probably took its riſe there, together with Infant-Communion; that the Africans were generally men of weak underſtandings, that the Greek Church probably had not yet admitted the error, that the practice of Infant-Baptiſm began, as all innovations do, with only ſome little variations in opinion, and then paſſed to as little deviations in practice, and ſo by very ſhort ſteps at length attained, unobſerved, the great reputation it has now indeed for a long time enjoyed; that this was occaſioned in ſome meaſure by a zeal which was not always according to knowledge, and that the earlieſt Pædobaptiſts admitted children to the Lord's Supper on the ſame principles as to Baptiſm. His own words upon this ſubject highly deſerve the reader's notice (9), 'for thus, ſays he, in a caſe 'moſt exactly parallel, the ſame perſons who introduced the baptizing of infants, were equally for admitting them, immediately after that, to the other 'Sacrament likewiſe, and that upon juſt ſuch another 'miſtake of our Saviour's words too, for as they inferred the neceſſity of Baptiſm from John iii. 5. ſo 'they did alſo that of the Euchariſt from John vi. 53.

'Thus

(6) Ibid, p. 395, 396.

(7) Rigaltius in Cyprian. Epiſt. 64. p. 279b.

(8) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. c. 32.

(9) Reflections on Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 546.

further, and confeſſed they were moved by his arguments, and that they had never received ſo much ſatisfaction before as to this point, tho' they had been long converſant even in the moſt arduous diſputes in Divinity, and the writings of the very ableſt maſters in controverſy (*t*). Such, again, as did not eſteem it neceſſary to make any declaration as to the point in queſtion, ſhewed equal regard for his learning and modeſty (*u*), for that ſtrength and dignity which appeared in his manner of reaſoning, and that ſpirit of candour and decency, which ſo happily diſtinguiſhed his writings (*w*). Above all, they ſet an high value upon his charity, and that inclination he diſcovered that things ſhould be calmly examined by the infallible ſtandard of the Holy Scriptures, taking their true ſenſe from the commentaries of genuine antiquity, in order to a thorough reconciliation of all ſincere Chriſtians upon a ſtable baſis (*x*) [*D*]. In the management of this diſpute, he took a proper opportunity to vindicate his friend Mr John le Clerc, from ſome imputations thrown on him by Mr Wall, or rather which he had taken upon truſt from others. One ſees in this, how much our author adhered to his own rule, that ſincerity was a thing never to be diſpenſed with. He had converſed with Mr le Clerc, but could have hardly ſtudied under him as his pupil; for after he quitted Leyden, he applied himſelf to the celebrated Limborch, one of the moſt learned and moderate of their Divines, and the ſcholar then in greateſt eſteem amongſt the Dutch (*y*). Yet, for the ſake of this acquaintance, and a perſuaſion that the attack on le Clerc was ill founded, and calculated to do him hurt here, he very generouſly engaged in his behalf, and very fully refuted whatever in his heat his opponent had charged upon him as impious, as well as heretical. This was certainly due to truth and friendſhip, but, without all queſtion, many would not have been ſo ready to diſcharge the debt. The point too as to which this defence is made, was not a little difficult; and, in ſpeaking to it, the Doctor's own notions would neceſſarily appear: He was no way moved by this conſideration, but has very fairly and juſtly ſtated the imputation, or rather inſinuation, which he overturns from that learned man's writings [*E*]; and then ſpeaks as frankly

(*t*) See the Quotations from Dr Whitby and Mr Whiſton, in note [*C*].

(*u*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 10, 11.

(*w*) Borroughs's Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

(*x*) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 12.

(*y*) Memoirs des Hommes illuſtres, par P. Niceron, Tom. XI.

'Thus St Auſtin from theſe very texts at the ſame 'time argues for baptizing and communicating in- 'fants. And this cuſtom of communicating infants 'accompanied the baptizing them, even from the firſt 'riſe of Pædobaptiſm for ſeveral hundred years toge- 'ther, as in the Greek Church it does to this day, all 'which is ſo true and manifeſt as to be pretty gene- 'rally acknowledged. Dr Taylor (10) ſomewhat 'largely proves it, and frequently ſays, the one is 'altogether as well grounded as the other, and in- 'deed earneſtly pleads for the continuance of both.'

(10) Worthy Communicant, ii. §. 2.

[*D*] *Of all ſincere Chriſtians upon a ſtable baſis.*] There is ſomething ſo attractive in a modeſt and learned ſearch after truth, through the obſcureſt paths of antiquity, that ſuch as take different roads in that ſearch, naturally wiſh each other well, and ſpeak kindly of their common labours. Thus the learned Dr Wotton, though he writes expreſsly againſt our author, in relation to the Jewiſh Talmud (11), ſays thus much of him: 'He ſeems to be well acquainted with 'thoſe books, and is a writer ſo well verſed in the 'arts of perſuaſion; and his way of writing is gene- 'rally ſo very winning, that when I had undertaken 'to treat of the true authority of this moſt ancient 'text of Jewiſh traditions to us Chriſtians, I ſhould 'have been wanting to my ſubject, if I had not taken 'notice of what he had ſaid upon theſe matters.' The famous Dr Whitby (12), who made no ſcruple of thinking freely, and of ſpeaking as freely what he thought, ſays, that Dr Gale's very learned letters prove it to be doubtful and uncertain, whether that practice did conſtantly obtain. Mr Whiſton (13), in a little treatiſe of his, very fairly acknowledges that the firſt light he received in reference to the primitive mode of baptizing, was from Dr Gale's obſervations upon the paſſage of Iræneus, which laid the foundation of what he wrote upon that ſubject. This account he has very much enlarged in a late work of his, in which he ſays (14), 'this moſt important diſcovery I ſoon 'communicated to the world in this paper, which both 'Biſhop Hoadley and Dr Clarke greatly approved, 'but ſtill went on in the ordinary practice notwith- 'ſtanding. I ſent this paper alſo by an intimate 'friend, Mr Haines, to Sir Iſaac Newton, and de- 'ſired to know his opinion: The anſwer returned 'was this, that they both had diſcovered the ſame be- 'fore: Nay, I afterward found, that Sir Iſaac New- 'ton was ſo hearty for the Baptiſts, as well as for the 'Euſebians, or Arians, that he ſome times ſuſpected 'theſe two were the two witneſſes in the Revelations.' In ſeveral other places of that work, where Mr Whiſton takes occaſion to mention our author, he never fails to do it with the higheſt marks of eſteem and reſpect, and makes no ſcruple of pronouncing him *the moſt learned* amongſt the Baptiſts, though it will fully appear from the ſucceeding note, that Dr Gale was not at all of the ſame ſentiments with him, in reſpect to ſome very material points; and therefore, this character of his, is the more to be admired, as it is the leſs to be ſuſpected. Sir Peter King, ſucceſſively Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, High Chancellor of Great Britain, and Lord King of Ockham, had a very high opinion of Dr Gale, who was alſo honoured with the friendſhip of Dr Hoadley, in his time Biſhop of Saliſbury, and now of Wincheſter, and of Dr Samuel Bradford, late Biſhop of Rocheſter, who declared in writing his eſteem of our author, on account of his good underſtanding, great learning, candour, and largeneſs of mind (15). Theſe were truly ſuch qualities as merited general eſteem, and ought to preſerve univerſal reſpect to his memory, as in his life-time they attracted from wiſe and good men of all denominations, a ſincere regard and veneration for his abilities, and the uſe he made of them, in labouring to promote the fundamental principles of the Goſpel, and that ſpirit of extenſive charity, which is the peculiar ornament of the Chriſtian religion.

(11) Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes, Vol. I. ch. viii.

(12) Diſſertat. de S. Scripturæ Interpretatione, Præfat. §. 5.

(13) Infant Baptiſm improved.

(14) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life, p. 205, 206.

(15) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 10, 11.

[*E*] *From that learned man's writings.*] It is in his firſt letter upon Dr Wall's Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm, that he inſerts this vindication of Mr le Clerc, which he thought the more neceſſary, becauſe his opponent was not the only learned man who had attacked, and as, the Doctor conceived, miſrepreſented this gentleman's opinions, which therefore he thought requiſite to ſet in a true light. 'You may obſerve (16), 'ſays he to his correſpondent, he, that is Dr Wall, is 'very angry with Mr Le Clerc, chiefly on theſe two 'accounts: Becauſe he endeavours, with ſo foul a 'mouth, to vilify the Fathers and their writings; and 'the other is, his ſuſpected Heterodoxy concerning the 'Bleſſed Trinity, and particularly the Deity of Chriſt. 'This is the common objection of all Mr Le Clerc's 'enemies, for which they moſt bitterly exclaim a- 'gainſt him, though very unjuſtly, and oftentimes, in 'very bad language too. But it ought to be conſi- 'dered, whether a different ſentiment, or ſuſpending 'the judgment in ſo abſtruſe a point, is a ſufficient 'warrant to diſpenſe with the rules of charity and for- 'bearance, which the great incarnate God ſo repeat- 'edly enjoins, and has made the diſcriminating badge 'of his diſciples. 'Tis dreadfully ſevere to damn 'men, becauſe they can't find out the Almighty to 'per-

(16) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 32, 33.

frankly his own ſenſe of things, the very mention of which, by a very little addreſs, might have been wholly left out of this diſpute (z). He was little more than twenty-ſeven years of age when he finiſhed this work, which ſhewed not only ſtrong parts and great judgment, but alſo moſt extenſive reading. Yet the reputation acquired thereby, did not haſten him in his deſign of publick and ſtated preaching, which he would not undertake till himſelf judged every obſtacle removed, and that he was in all reſpects qualified to diſcharge his truſt duly, and with ſucceſs (a). Upwards of ſeven years elapſed before this happened, and he who had merited and received a Doctor's degree at nineteen, declined a like degree in Divinity at twenty-three; and, before he attained the age of thirty, acquired the moſt eſtabliſhed character for learning and a ſound underſtanding, would not adventure on the great charge of conſtantly exhorting and inſtructing from the pulpit, till he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age (b). He was then choſen one of the miniſters of the Baptiſt's congregation, in Paul's-alley near Barbican (c); and his ſermons being chiefly calculated to promote the amendment of his hearers lives, and to preſs on Chriſtians the great duty of living up to their profeſſion, he was deſervedly attended to and admired by perſons of all perſuaſions, which occaſioned a prodigious reſort to hear him as often as he entered the pulpit (d) [F]. He was Chairman of a ſociety for promoting primitive Chriſtianity,

(z) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 31.

(a) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 11.

(b) Boroughs's Funeral Sermon, p. 27.

(c) Plain Dealer, Vol. I. No. 52.

(d) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 18.

'perfection; for who then can be ſaved? But thanks 'be to God, the ſcriptures give us better hopes, and 'at the ſame time aſſure us, their condition is much 'the more dangerous, who ſo freely preſume to judge 'their brethren: *For thou art inexcuſable, O man,* 'ſays St Paul, Rom. xi. 1. *whoſoever thou art that 'judgeſt.* Beſides ſuch men, in effect, do nothing leſs 'than oppoſe themſelves to the merciful deſigns of our 'great Redeemer, and ſtrive to fruſtrate his kind endeavour, to make us like himſelf, while he would 'teach us thoſe admirable virtues of meekneſs, love, 'and good will, &c. And though he has been pleaſed 'to take ſo much more care to fix us right in the 'practice of theſe things, than in the ſpeculations 'which diſturb us; yet, an exact conformity in theſe 'weighty matters, which our Lord himſelf lays ſo 'much ſtreſs on, as ſpotleſs converſation, a pious life 'in all godlineſs and honeſty, are not protection powerful enough to ſecure men from the inſults of theſe 'furioſo's, as if they thought all moral virtues were 'nothing, without being right in the notion of the 'Trinity; and that this one ſpeculation might compenſate for the want of all other good qualities; 'and I believe, Sir, you may have obſerved with me, 'that many of theſe fiery zealots are none of the exacteſt men in their lives. But God grant, they may, 'in time, conſider that moſt charitable warning, our 'gracious Lord has given them, of their danger beforehand, aſſuring them, *Not every one that ſays unto him Lord! Lord!* and in words only acknowledges 'his mighty power and attributes, *ſhall enter into the 'Kingdom of Heaven; but he only that does the will of 'his Father which is in Heaven.* But what conſiderably aggravates the crime in the preſent caſe is, that 'the charge is utterly falſe; and 'tis ſtrange, perſons 'that pretend to juſtice and honour, ſhould exclaim 'againſt Mr Le Clerc, on ſuch ſlender grounds, who 'muſt be acknowledged a man of great piety and 'learning. For the ſubſtance of all they urge, with 'any manner of probability, is, that his interpretations of ſeveral portions of ſcripture, deſtroy the fine 'gloſſes others have built upon them; and that he has 'gone about to ſhew, that the Fathers did not altogether underſtand this myſtery in the preſent orthodox 'ſenſe. Hence ſome angry men proceed to accuſe 'him of Socinianiſm; ſome, for they are not agreed 'of Arianiſm, and others again of Photinianiſm; but 'they all join to reproach him, though for no reaſon, 'as I can diſcover, but his refuſing to ſtrain any text, 'which he believes in his conſcience is not to the purpoſe, as men of no mean figure have done. A method which he rightly thinks only ſerves to expoſe 'the cauſe they pretend to vindicate. By the way, 'Sir, I would not be thought to juſtify all his expoſitions, ſome of them I receive, and thank him for, 'but not all; and I know Mr Le Clerc will not be 'offended at my diſſenting. The queſtion is not whether his interpretations are juſt or not, he thinks 'they are, and has a right therefore to propoſe them, 'without being ſtunned with ſuch hideous outcries of 'Socinianiſm, &c. eſpecially, ſince in ſeveral parts of 'his works he has cleared himſelf to the ſatisfaction of 'any impartial readers.' He then proceeds to cite ſuch paſſages, as render it very evident that Mr Le Clerc acknowledged the Divinity of Chriſt, as plainly and expreſsly taught in the Holy Scriptures, but was unwilling to make an article of faith, of any human explanation of that myſtery, which our Lord had left to exerciſe our faith, and not our reaſon.

[F] *As often as he entered the pulpit.*] The great figure this learned perſon made in his life-time, in quality of a teacher of divine truths, and the general eſteem the diſcourſes he left behind him, and which have been ſince publiſhed, are in, at this day, render it abſolutely neceſſary, that we ſhould ſet his character in this reſpect, in a clear and full light. One who had an intimate acquaintance with him for fourteen years, treats this ſubject of his preaching in the following terms (17). 'Thus mature in knowledge, and prepared for his Maſter's ſervice, he began ſtatedly to 'preach about the thirty-fifth year of his age, poſſeſſed 'of a heart glowing with humanity, and diſpoſed to 'ſacrifice every private view to that moſt glorious one, 'of promoting the eternal intereſt of mankind. This 'pleaſing work he purſued with unwearied diligence 'and integrity, preaching the word, as the Apoſtle directs, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting, with all long ſuffering and doctrine, reſolving firmly to regard no man in the diſcharge of his duty. He ſtood too much in awe of 'his great Maſter, to fear or know any man, or to be 'ſwayed by any worldly conſiderations. He believed 'firmly that he muſt render an account of his conduct 'at the day of Judgment, and wiſely reſolved to act 'as that he might do it with rejoicing. He was equally qualified, both to teach and perſuade. His 'ſtile was eaſy and natural, his expreſſions ſtrong and 'lively, his reaſonings clear and convincing. He had 'almoſt an irreſiſtible power over the paſſions which 'he uſed, agreeably to reaſon, and to the nature and 'importance of the ſubject. Who would not love 'God, when what may be known of the Supreme 'Being was deſcribed by him? When he maintained 'and vindicated human freedom, fate and neceſſity 'ſeemed to vaniſh before him. How gloomy does he 'make the vale of death appear, and how glorious 'the reſurrection from that ſtate of darkneſs, and the 're-uniting for ever the immortal ſpirit, to the unchangeable body! how awful does he draw the laſt 'tribunal, when the Son of God, arrayed with the 'glory of his Father, ſhall come to render to every 'man, according to his works.' Dr John Kinch, who was alſo well acquainted with him, gives us the following pathetic account of his labours (18). 'But 'what rendered him moſt valuable was, that his mind 'was well ſtored with heavenly gifts and graces, ſo 'that as a ſcribe, well inſtructed in the law, he brought 'forth of his treaſures, things new and old. Furniſhed to every good work, he was prevailed on to engage in the Miniſtry, in the diſcharge of which office, he ſtudied to ſhew himſelf approved to God, a 'workman that needed not to be aſhamed, rightly dividing the word of truth, and giving to all a portion 'in due ſeaſon. In his preaching, though he highly 'deſerved

(17) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 11, 12.

(18) Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

ſtianity, from July the third 1715, to the tenth of February following. This ſociety met weekly at Mr Whiſton's houſe in Croſs-ſtreet Hatton-Garden, in order ſeriouſly and amicably to conſider and examine the moſt antient writers of the Chriſtian Church, to determine which of the pieces attributed to them were, and which were not genuine, that from thence the doctrines and diſcipline of the Church, in the ages next to the Apoſtles, might be clearly and certainly underſtood and embraced (*e*). This, as we have already ſeen, was entirely, was exactly, conformable to the Doctor's views, who was not paſſionate againſt any Church, or obſtinate in any opinions; but ſincerely deſirous of being, in faith and practice, a true Chriſtian, without regard to any other diſtinction. It is alſo acknowledged by Mr Whiſton, that none of that aſſembly ſhewed a more ſteady, warm, and conſcientious diſpoſition, in this reſpect, than he did; or diſcovered more willingneſs to contribute to the utmoſt of his power, to extinguiſh all diſputes amongſt Chriſtians (*f*) [G]. He remained however, at all times, firm to his firſt principles of religious liberty, which he conceived eſſentially neceſſary to the peace of the Church; and therefore, in the year 1719, when a great Synod was held amongſt the diſſenting Divines, in order to pacify the diſputes raiſed amongſt the people in their ſentiments at Exeter, he was one of the ſeventy-three who ſubſcribed an advice not to impoſe unſcriptural ſubſcriptions, whereas ſixty-nine ſubſcribed a contrary letter on that ſubject. This ſhews he was uniform in his judgment, and of the ſame opinion in an aſſembly of his friends, as in a controverſy againſt one who oppoſed that Chriſtian ſyſtem which he had embraced. At the perſuaſion alſo of Mr Whiſton, he had, in that gentleman's houſe, a conference with his former antagoniſt Dr Wall, which ended as ſuch conferences generally do, without any ſignal or deciſive ſucceſs (*g*). Indeed Mr Whiſton is very clear, that the advantage was altogether on the ſide of Dr Gale; but having

(*e*) Mr Whiſton's Memoirs of Dr Samuel Clarke, p. 96.

(*f*) His Memoirs of his own Life, p. 475.

(*g*) Id. ibid. p. 461.

' deſerved the praiſe and commendation of his hearers, ' yet what he ſought, was their profit and advantage. ' It was pleaſing and agreeable to a polite and ingenious audience, which uſually attended him, and at ' the ſame time plain and eaſy to perſons of a meaner ' capacity; ſo that in his diſcourſes, there was inſtruction for the ignorant, and entertainment for the moſt ' learned and judicious. His deportment in the pulpit was eaſy, yet attended with a ſerioufneſs and gravity, becoming the ſolemnity of the work in which ' he was engaged. His method was exact, his ſtile ' elegant, but unaffected, his reaſoning clear and ' ſtrong, and his arguments juſt and nervous, which, ' by his happy managing them, conſtantly diſcovered ' freſh beauties to his hearers. His voice was clear ' and melodious, which at once charmed the ear, ' raiſed and fired the imagination, and could not eaſily ' fail to gain the affections, and engage a reaſonable ' mind, not wholly ſunk in ſin, and bound down with ' vicious habits, to receive the truth in love. He did ' not ſhun to declare, as far as he could, the whole ' counſel of God; nor was he afraid to oppoſe thoſe ' ſentiments he apprehended to be erroneous: though ' the zeal he ſometimes uſed upon thoſe occaſions, ' might perhaps induce ſome, unreaſonably fond of ' their own opinions, to treat his labours with diſreſpect. However, it is apparent from the whole of ' his conduct, that the earneſtneſs he has at any time ' ſhown, in contending for what he eſteemed the ' truth, did not ariſe from the diſaffection of his mind ' to the perſon of any man, but from the love he bore ' to ſouls, from his great deſire to reclaim thoſe whom ' he thought miſtaken, and prevent, to the utmoſt of ' his power, others from running into the like ſentiments. He ſtrictly adhered to the Scriptures, as ' the perfect and only rule of his faith and practice, ' and was a zealous aſſerter and patron of univerſal liberty, where it tended not to licentiouſneſs; a warm ' oppoſer of all human impoſitions, in matters of religion, and uſed earneſtly to preſs all Chriſtians to ' ſtand faſt in that liberty, wherewith Chriſt had made ' them free. He entertained a ſincere and hearty reſpect for all good men, and paid a great regard to ' his Maſter's new commandment to his diſciples, to ' love one another. The different apprehenſions between him and other Chriſtians, did not in the leaſt ' alienate his affections from them. He truly loved ' all who bore the image of the bleſſed Jeſus. He valued all his fellow-travellers, though they did not ' walk juſt in his path.' To theſe teſtimonies, it may not be improper to join that of Mr Joſeph Borroughs (19), ſpeaking to the congregation of Dr Gale, to whom he appealed for the truth of all he ſaid. ' Of his happy talent in the Miniſtry, when once he ' was brought ſtatedly to it, you all are witneſſes. ' Concerning which, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak ' more particularly by and by. In the mean time, ' the conſideration that a perſon ſo well furniſhed, ' was content to ſtruggle with ſo many difficulties as ' he did, when he might have enjoyed eaſe and plenty; that for the ſake of what he believed to be the ' truth, and commands of Chriſt, he choſe to miniſter ' in an unfaſhionable and deſpiſed way, when he ' might have had both applauſe and riches, in turning ' his thoughts to ſome other courſes; and that he ' perſiſted in this choice to the laſt, obliges me to obſerve, that herein he did, like the Apoſtle, fight the ' good fight, and finiſh his courſe, and keep his fidelity. He imitated him likewiſe, in his zeal, as well ' as in his integrity and conſtancy. But though he ' would be very earneſt in defending his own opinion, ' yet he was far from bearing ill-will to any, for the ' ſake of their differing from him; and of very large ' and generous principles, as to the extent of Chriſtian ' Communion, with regard to any matters merely ' ſpeculative; and in his converſation in general, he ' ſhewed a good and agreeable temper.'

(19) Funeral Sermon, p. 27.

[G] *To extinguiſh all diſputes amongſt Chriſtians.*] We have before ſhewn, that our author declared himſelf a lover of peace, and one that was by no means inclined to increaſe thoſe heats, or widen thoſe diviſions, which had been already ſo fatal to Chriſtianity. It was with this view, and in hopes of finding a rule for interpreting Scripture, of greater authority, and more conſiſtent, than private opinion, that induced him to become a member of the ſociety at Mr Whiſton's, which conſiſted of men of very different perſuaſions, united by no other ties, than thoſe of being ſerious and ſincere in their enquiries after truth, as will fully appear, from the firſt and third articles of the rules (20) laid down for the conduct of that ſociety, conceived in the following words. I. That the main, proper, and direct deſign of theſe ſocieties, and their meetings, be the calm, ſerious, and impartial diſcovery of true religion, and genuine Chriſtianity, both as to faith, practice, government, worſhip, and diſcipline, as they were at firſt ſettled by the Apoſtles from Chriſt himſelf; and the conſequent recommendation of it to, and the re-eſtabliſhment of it in, the ſeveral Churches in Chriſtendom, with the propagation of the ſame throughout the world, and in proper and direct oppoſition to all party notions, human determinations, and modern controverſies, among the ſeveral contending bodies.——III. To admit and invite good Chriſtians of all perſuaſions and denominations to theſe ſocieties, to avoid all unhandſome reflections upon any of their perſons and opinions, and to treat them all with that reſpect, tenderneſs, love, and affection, that are due to fellow-members, however different in their ſentiments about leſſer matters.

(20) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life.

[H] *As*

having himſelf embraced his opinion, perhaps his judgment in this caſe may admit of ſome exception. It is out of all doubt that reverend perſon was far enough from thinking ſo, ſince ſome years afterwards he wrote a reply to Dr Gale's anſwer, which, as we have already hinted, procured him a Doctor's degree from Oxford, which ſhews they conſidered his undertaking as no eaſy taſk (*b*). Notwithſtanding this, Dr Gale was not either ſilenced or diſcouraged, but reſolved to write a rejoinder; yet this, as well as many other important deſigns, were defeated by his death. All that we know concerning it, is from a paſſage in a letter to his father upon the ſubject, in which he does not ſeem to have much doubt of making his party as good againſt the defence, as he had done againſt the hiſtory (*i*) [*H*]. This

(*b*) Borroughs's Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

(*i*) Dr Kinch's Funeral Sermon, p. 25.

[*H*] *As he had done againſt the Hiſtory.*] The deſign of Dr Wall's *defence of his Hiſtory of Infant Baptiſm*, was, in general, to refute whatever had been ſaid againſt it by Dr Gale and others. His motives to it himſelf informs us were theſe (21). 'The book, ſays 'he, that is, the Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm having had 'more ſaid and publiſhed by ſome for, and by ſome 'againſt it, than I could have expected, theſe latter 'who have wrote againſt it, and eſpecially Mr Gale's 'large book of *Reflections*, ſo he calls them, he might 'have entitled them *reproaches*, have made it need-'ful, in the opinion of ſome worthy men to whom I 'owe a deference, for me, even in this my weak and 'ſuperannuated ſtate, to write ſomething in vindica-'tion, partly of the cauſe, and partly of myſelf, ſome 'people having it ſeems raiſed a report or ſuſpicion, 'as if I myſelf had altered my opinion about the duty 'or the antient practice of baptizing infants.' After diſpatching what he has to ſay againſt the reſt of his antagoniſts, in about the ninth part of his book, he enters upon what he has to ſay of our author, in the following manner (22). 'Thoſe that I have hitherto 'been ſpeaking to have concerned themſelves with my 'book but briefly and occaſionally. But Mr Gale in '1711, wrote profeſſedly againſt it. And tho' the 'greateſt part of his book be either of perſonal mat-'ters, ſome about my life, temper, actions, &c. not 'relating to the cauſe; and ſome about my way of 'writing, when it is too long or too ſhort, or too cen-'ſorious, or catching at here and there a paſſage of 'my book, which he thought might be repreſented 'ſo as to put me out of favour with the Anti-Pædo-'baptiſts, as are his two firſt chapters which he calls 'my character, or elſe on another ſubject, viz. not the 'age or time of receiving Baptiſm, but the way of 'adminiſtring it, with which I had meddled very lit-'tle, as are his three next, yet he gave to the whole 'the title of Reflections on my book. And tho' he 'goes no farther in any methodical way of anſwering 'than to the introduction, and five firſt chapters of 'my book, not nigh one tenth part of it, which an-'ſwer begins at his ninth chapter, and he has but 'thirteen in all, yet it has gone among the men of 'his party as an anſwer to it. He deals not much 'with argument which the others have chiefly aimed 'at, but writes in a way of declaiming and flouriſh, 'and much addicted to reproaching, taking a pride 'in ſhewing how eaſily, and how naturally he can 'expreſs a contempt of his adverſary, or of any rea-'ſon or argument. He writes in a ſtile indeed ſuffi-'ciently fluent, and with a good ſtock of philological 'learning, but does not keep very cloſe to the rules 'of candour, modeſty, or truth; but delights in vaunt-'ing, inſulting, ſlighting, and laying odious and falſe 'imputations, not on me only, but on the Clergy of 'England in general, and indeed our whole Church, 'as that was a time in which ſome people found their 'advantage by raiſing ſuch ſlanders. His talent in 'Rhetoric, which is not inconſiderable, he uſes to 'falſe colouring, and gaining his point, as he calls it, 'by wreſted repreſentations of things and paſſages. 'Of his impertinencies, to name but one ſort of them, 'an unparallel'd inſtance is his picking up ſtories of 'things ſaid or done by me before he was born, and 'naming the people, whoſe names one would never 'have thought to have ſeen in print, nothing, thanks 'be to God, of which one need be aſhamed. But it 'is a great ſhame to ſee ſuch impertinent ſtuff brought 'into a controverſy of religion. Of his untruths, I 'would before-hand inſtance in one flagrant and ma-'nifeſt one, which, as I ſhall ſhew, he has affirmed 'above twenty times over; his ſaying that I have in 'my books yielded, and owned that there is no Scrip-'ture proof for Infant-Baptiſm, tho' near half his 'book be ſpent in refuting, as well as he can, thoſe 'proofs which I brought from Scripture. The pro-'vince which I had undertaken, was the hiſtory of 'the times near following, but I did not altogether 'omit thoſe of Scripture. If I had followed my own 'inclinations, or the advice of ſome of my friends in 'drawing up an anſwer to him, I ſhould have made 'it ſhorter by half than it is, and taken notice only 'of thoſe few reflections of his, that ſeemed to be of 'moment to the main point. The tyranny of cuſtom 'obliges me not only to take more pains than I needed, 'but the dry work of following him καθ' ὁδὸν, 'and anſwering to many things that are impertinent 'to the cauſe, or of ſmall weight in it: but alſo when 'I have done it to make an excuſe to any judicious 'reader why I did it. Such an one will pardon me, 'if he conſider, that ſome captious and litigious men 'would otherwiſe have been apt to ſay, that I had 'paſſed over the material objection. To ſpare the 'time of thoſe who are choice of it, tho' I had not 'liberty to ſpare my own, I muſt advertiſe them, that 'there is hardly any thing in Mr Gale's firſt ſix chap-'ters, or in my anſwer to them that is very material 'to the point of Infant-Baptiſm. And it will be no 'great loſs to ſtep over them. A vein of boaſting 'and magnifying his own performance runs through 'all his book. With that he continues his work, and 'with that he ends, and contrary to Horace's rule, 'who ſays of a vaunting prefacer, *Quid dignum tanto 'feret hic promiſſor hiatu?* With that he begins. 'For in an advertiſement prefixed to his book, having 'taken notice that ſeveral great and worthy men 'whom he names too, had given a favourable charac-'ter of my book, he ſays, that he publiſhed theſe his 'Reflections, to inform the publick, &c.——*and to 'let thoſe learned gentlemen know, that they had been 'too haſty in their judgments, and that this hiſtory is 'not by far what they take it to be.* Is not this youth 'a likely man, think you, to be able to inform their 'judgment of any conſiderable thing? I ſet down this 'as a ſpecimen of the arrogance you are to expect all 'through the book. In the ſame advertiſement, he 'ſays, that theſe Reflections, tho' publiſhed in 1711, 'were written in 1705, and 1706. Suppoſe that. 'But when he ſaw in 1707, my ſecond edition with 'ſome alterations, ſhould he not have left out his 'needleſs remarks on thoſe places of my firſt edition, 'which I myſelf had altered in the ſecond? He there 'adds, that he had hoped that a more learned advo-'cate would have been engaged. If Mr Stennet were 'once deſired or pitched on to anſwer my book, and 'it was devolved upon this man, it was an unhappy 'change both for the Anti-Pædobaptiſts and for me. 'For if he had anſwered at all, he would have ſaid 'more to the purpoſe, would have uſed a more ra-'tional, modeſt, and candid way of ſeeking the truth, 'and I ſhould have had far more Chriſtian treatment.' In another place, he acquaints us with particularity relating to the Doctor's book, which at once contains both compliment and ſatire (23). 'I will make one 'obſervation, a better natured one tending to the com-'mendation of him, and of the Anti Pædobaptiſts of 'them for their generoſity and being pleaſed, and of 'him for his abundant juſtice. It is to be noted, that 'this chapter was publiſhed a good while before the 'reſt, as a ſpecimen of what the book ſhould be. 'They ſeemed very well pleaſed, and much taken 'with it, and encouraged him to go forward. Which 'was an inſtance of very good nature, ſince it is ſo 'little to the purpoſe, that if one were to expoſe him among

(21) Defence of the Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 2.

(22) Ibid. p. 53.

(23) Ibid. p. 100, 101.

This, as we juſt now hinted, was not the only great deſign of which he had formed the plan before he quitted this life, and of which the publick was deprived by the loſs of ſo valuable and ſo induſtrious a perſon. He had thoughts of contributing to the ſtudy of the oriental languages, by offering ſome means for facilitating the ſpeedy acquiſition of them; which he knew would have a very great effect in rendering the Scriptures, as well of the New as of the Old Teſtament, thoroughly underſtood, which, without this help, is impoſſible, and is one great ſource of thoſe miſtakes which do ſo much diſcredit to Revealed Religion. Another great and uſeful labour he had propoſed to himſelf, if Providence had lengthened his days, was a tranſlation into Engliſh of the Septuagint, according to the accurate edition publiſhed by Dr Grabe, at Oxford. But what ſeems moſt to have occupied his thoughts, to have been in the faireſt train of execution, and for the loſs of which, in all appearance, the Chriſtian world has moſt cauſe to be concerned, was the ſcheme he had framed of a compleat *Expoſition* of the whole *New Teſtament* from the pulpit, which, whoever impartially reflects on his critical knowledge of the Greek tongue, his ſoundneſs in the fundamental articles of religion, his great ſagacity in judging, his known candour in ſpeaking, and his moderation towards ſuch as differed from him in opinion, muſt allow it to have been a loſs indeed! It is hard to ſay, whether this loſs is ſoftened or irritated, by the plan he left behind him of this important work; but this, as is highly fit, ſhall be left entirely to the reader's judgment, by inſerting that very curious and accurate, though plain and conciſe, piece, in the notes [*I*]. We muſt add to theſe another treatiſe of great expectation,

' among judicious men, one would deſire them to read ' this chapter. But he is to be commended for doing ' them more than juſtice, and making the goods to be ' delivered better than the ſample. For the following ' chapters are really ſomething more to the purpoſe, ' and of a better ſtrain.' Yet many diſintereſted perſons who have read our author's book, think there is not a ſtronger chapter in it, and that the firſt part of it particularly contains as much as can poſſibly be ſaid in favour of his opinion. As Dr Wall is very angry with him for being rude in many places in his book, yet in the following paſſage he cenſures him for being civil (24). ' He labours, ſays he, to defend ' the late Biſhop of Saliſbury's notion, that by *the* ' *Kingdom of God* in that text, is meant not *Heaven*, ' but the *Church* on *Earth*, and by ſome flattering ' elogiums of his Lordſhip's, *unanſwerable arguings*, ' &c. ſeems to have aimed at *currying favour*. And ' whereas, I had ſaid that all the Antients underſtand ' it in this place of the Kingdom of Glory; he ſays, ' yet it may not be the true ſenſe if they do. For ' the Antients were fallible, &c. It ſeems he could find ' no unanſwerable arguments among them, for they ' were all dead and had *no places to give*.' It does not appear that this inſinuation had the leaſt foundation, from the conduct of the perſon to whom it is applied; and the truth of the matter is, that Dr Gale's civility in one place (25), was intended to atone for his cenſure in another; for tho' he does acknowledge that the Biſhop had very well proved, that this expreſſion, generally ſpeaking, refers to the *Kingdom* of *Chriſt*, and not to the *Kingdom* of *Glory*; yet he denies his Lordſhip's concluſion, from the paſſage which he had cited, and maintains, that tho' it does rarely ſignify the *Kingdom* of *Glory*, yet there it muſt be ſo underſtood. If this be currying of favour, it is a ſtrange way of doing it. We come now to the paſſage of our author's letter mentioned in the text, which was conceived in theſe words. ' Dr Wall has written a de' fence of his Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm, in which he ' has treated me very roughly, and has endeavoured ' to enrage the Clergy, as well as our own people, ' againſt me, beſides which there appears not to be ' much in his book, however I am preparing an an' ſwer, which, &c.' After all, as they were men, we do no injuſtice to theſe learned perſons in ſaying they had both their failings, or to ſpeak with greater propriety, both had the ſame failing, that of warmth, and ſuffering themſelves to be too much heated in the courſe of the diſpute. But when a proper allowance is made for this, it may be truly ſaid, and indeed tho' in their heat they ſometimes unſay it, yet in ſeveral places they ſay it of each other, that Dr Wall's Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm is by much the beſt vindication of the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church that ever appeared; as, on the other hand, Dr Gale's reflections upon that work is the beſt defence of the Baptiſts that was ever publiſhed, and this, tho' it be no more than the truth, is ſaying a great deal for both, ſince the ſubject had been handled by very great men before.

(24) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 410, 411, 433.

[*I*] *Tho' plain and conciſe piece in the notes.*] Amongſt Dr Gale's papers after his deceaſe, there was found his introduction to this practical expoſition, and therein we have the plan of it ſo clearly, and ſo circumſtantially laid down, that we may from thence form a juſt notion of the nature and importance of his deſign, and of how great value the work itſelf would have been had he lived to finiſh it. This ſhort preface runs thus (26).

' I am now about to begin an Expoſition of the New ' Teſtament, and deſign, if God in his boundleſs good' neſs ſhall give me life and ability, to go thro' the ' whole, with as much brevity as the nature of the ' thing will conveniently admit. To engage your ' moſt diligent attention, and to help your memory, ' and thereby render theſe lectures the more uſeful, I ' think it may be very proper at preſent to give you ' a ſhort model of my deſign, and the method I in' tend to take in the proſecution of it. Now my ' chief view is not to engage you in any particular ' ſet of opinions, or to enſlave your minds to any ' man's private interpretation of the Scripture, by ' dreſſing them to advantage, and concealing or miſ' repreſenting what is ſaid by others; this indeed is ' commonly thought warrantable enough, but truth ' needs no ſuch artifices, but diſdains to trick men ' unwarily into the belief or knowledge of it. Be' ſides, ſince we are too ſenſibly convinced, how liable ' we are all to error and miſtake, we by this artificial ' way deprive ourſelves of the aſſiſtance of other men ' for the diſcovery of the truth, and when we are in ' an error ourſelves, do all we can to cover others ' with the ſame darkneſs, and if our endeavours were ' ſucceſsful, we ſhould effectually deprive them of any ' poſſibility of being better informed. I am very ſen' ſible what poor ſhort-ſighted creatures we are, and ' therefore will endeavour not to eſpouſe any parti' cular opinion or interpretation, or urge any with ' that warmth, which may any way contribute to ' blind or obſcure my own mind, or deceive you. ' But my whole aim ſhall be to lay before you the ' moſt ſacred and awful rule of our faith and practice, ' without any partial diſguiſes; and to the utmoſt of ' my power aſſiſt you in opening your minds to re' ceive and own thoſe great truths, which are able to ' make you wiſe unto ſalvation; that you may, upon ' a mature and due conſideration of things, judge for ' yourſelves with all that juſt liberty and true free' dom of thought which ſo well becomes all men, and ' is the indiſpenſible duty of every Chriſtian, and upon ' which, 'tis the peculiar glory of the Chriſtian reli' gion to have ſpread itſelf thro' the whole world. ' To build your faith on the ſenſe and authority of ' great men, is giving up your ſouls intirely to them, ' and to believe in them and not in Chriſt, as pee' viſhly and haſtily to paſs judgment or take up an ' opinion without hearing, and diligently weighing ' what

(26) Printed from his own Papers in the Life of Dr John Gale.

pectation, which was an Hiſtory of the Notion of Original Sin, in which he hoped to have explained many deep truths, and to have driven out of the boſoms of reaſonable men, ſeveral rooted and yet dangerous errors (*k*). About the beginning of December 1721, he was attacked by a flow languid fever (*l*), of which he died, after an illneſs of about three weeks, on the of the ſame month. He bore his laſt ſickneſs with great conſtancy and patience, expreſſed the utmoſt reſignation to the Divine Will, and, in his laſt moments, teſtified an entire confidence in that almighty and all-wiſe Being in whoſe hands are the iſſues of life and death, and whoſe mercy is over all his works (*m*). He may be ſaid to have died in the flower of his age, being in his forty-ſecond year; and in ſome meaſure unexpectedly, as being of a ſtrong and healthy conſtitution. In his perſon he was rather taller than the common ſize, of an open pleaſant countenance, and of eaſy and affable behaviour. Serious, without any tincture of moroſeneſs; chearful without levity, having a moſt perfect command over his paſſions, inſomuch that one who knew him intimately for many years, aſſures us he never once ſaw him diſcompoſed (*n*); extremely humble, tho' in ſuch high reputation for learning; and particularly careful of giving offence to ſuch as were in low circumſtances, as being ſenſible that nothing makes the mind of man ſo tender as poverty, and that nothing wounds ſo deep as the very ſuſpicion of contempt. As to his character in other reſpects, it may, in a great meaſure, be collected from what has been already ſaid; and, if this ſhall appear deficient, the reader may receive ample ſatisfaction from thoſe pieces that ſhall be preſently mentioned, and in ſome meaſure from the extracts at the bottom of the page [*K*]. He was, as is apparent from a variety of evidence, as univerſally

(*k*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 20.

(*l*) Croſby's Hiſt. of the Engliſh Baptiſts, Vol. IV. p. 370.

(*m*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 21. Croſby's Hiſt. of the Eng. Baptiſts, Vol. IV. p. 370.

(*n*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 19.

'what others ſay, is ſetting up a very dangerous ignorant idol in your own minds, and paying divine honour and worſhip to the vain deluſion. Beſides, 'tis the higheſt affront and indignity that can be put upon God and Chriſt, to deal ſo careleſsly and diſreſpectfully with thoſe holy books, as if we would boldly deſpiſe and trample upon all the ſacred doctrines which the Son of God himſelf came down from heaven to teach us, and that purely for our good. Since then the extremes on both ſides are ſo very dangerous, it highly concerns every private Chriſtian to proceed in affairs of ſuch great moment with the utmoſt caution and calmneſs of mind, with great ſincerity and impartiality, for the Scripture contains ſuch things as are undoubtedly to every one of you matters of the laſt concern. On your conſcientious obedience to this rule your eternal welfare depends, and by this you ſhall be judged. To give you what help I can in this very important buſineſs, I intend to take this as the moſt proper method for your aſſiſtance and inſtruction. I will take in order entire portions of Scripture, which comprehend a full and compleat ſenſe. This I would, if it were proper, read to you in the original language, but that not being convenient, I ſhall read the common verſion and conſider it carefully, comparing it with the parallel places where the ſame thing is handled, the ſame words or phraſes uſed, or any thing which may give light, and ſhall conſult alſo the ſeveral opinions of learned men, with the reaſons on which they build and compare the antient verſions in the learned languages, together with the interpretations of the firſt Chriſtians, and ſuch remarks from the antient Hiſtorians, and ſuch accounts of the Jewiſh and Greek Antiquities, as may give us any light at this diſtance from the time and place wherein the Scriptures were at firſt written. After having thus examined every thing which may ſeem to need examination, from the whole I will endeavour to give a very impartial and unbiaſſed tranſlation and paraphraſe, and herein draw out and make ſome rules and maxims for the conduct of life, in order to faſten all upon your minds, and leave it to your ſerious and diligent conſideration. Before I do this, I ſhall in general prove the truth of the Chriſtian rule. This comprehends, firſt that the books were written by thoſe whoſe names they bear, and ſuch as could not but know, whether what they writ was true or not; ſecondly, they could not deſign to impoſe upon us. And I will ſettle the authority of each book juſt before I enter upon the expoſition of it. It may perhaps be objected by ſome, that in the courſe of theſe lectures there muſt be ſeveral things ſaid not fit for common auditories; but ſince it is neceſſary to render the Scriptures intelligible to all, whatever is neceſſary to this end muſt not be omitted upon this pretence, that theſe things are unfit for common auditories, i. e. not to be eaſily underſtood by common auditories, becauſe people do ſo rarely, if at all, hear them talked of. By treating theſe moſt difficult matters frequently, they will become familiar to all, all things even the moſt neceſſary are ſtrange and diſtaſteful, and hard to underſtand at firſt. In the ſchools men are made acquainted with the moſt difficult matters, by being frequently entertained with them, and having them repeated over and over again. And this is deſtroying and cutting up by the very roots, hereſy and ſchiſm, atheiſm, irreligion and profaneneſs, and all error and miſtake, as far as it can be hoped for in this imperfect ſtate of men; for 'tis reſerved for the life to come to be perfect, when all error and miſtake ſhall be done away for ever.'

[*K*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The author of that ſhort account of his life prefixed to the Sermons publiſhed after his deceaſe, among other remarkable paſſages has theſe (27). 'The grand principle which he endeavoured to root the deepeſt, and cultivate with the greateſt care, in his own mind, as well as in the minds of his hearers, was that of ſincerity, upon which he thought our happineſs or miſery in a future ſtate will depend. He therefore conſidered that this would be of the higheſt importance, when many of the acquirements we here gain one above another will fade and wither away, which made him very humble, notwithſtanding his great abilities. This alſo diſpoſed him to judge charitably of thoſe who differed from his ſentiments, and to be very diligent in his enquiries after truth. His embracing the doctrine of the Trinity was one effect of this, for he did not run into this belief from any prejudices of education or biaſs put upon his mind, in his youth having been early introduced into the converſation of thoſe who examined the ſeveral doctrines of the Chriſtian Revelation with the utmoſt freedom, amongſt whom were ſome foreigners as well as others of the firſt rank for learning and abilities.' Dr Kinch, in his diſcourſe (28), ſets ſome other parts of his character in a very graceful light. 'He was bleſſed, ſays he, with extraordinary natural abilities, a hail ſtrong conſtitution, a ſmooth ready wit, a bright and lively fancy, a piercing thought, a quick invention, a ſtrong memory, and a good and ſolid judgment. Theſe excellent qualifications were very much heightened and improved by the advantages he received from an ingenuous and liberal education, in which he made ſo great a progreſs, as rendered him truly valuable to all perſons of real worth and learning, who were ſo happy as to have any knowledge of or acquaintance with him.—He had an even and compoſed temper, which diſcovered itſelf in the conſtant ſerenity of his countenance. The different turns of his affairs ſeemed to make little or no impreſſion upon his mind, for he, with the great

(27) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 12, 19.

(28) Funeral Sermon, p. 23, 28, 29, 30.

Apoſtle

verſally regretted as any man of his character and abilities ever was, or could be, notwithſtanding the heats and party prejudices which prevailed in thoſe days (*o*). His funeral ſermon was preached at Barbican, to his own congregation, by Mr Joſeph Burroughs, December the fourteenth (*p*); and on the ſunday following, December the thirty-firſt, by John Kinch, Doctor of Laws (*q*); elegant and pathetick diſcourſes both. But his praiſes were not only in the mouths of his brethren, I mean thoſe of his own communion; but others alſo who were acquainted with his merit, his learning, and his zeal for the fundamental truths of the Chriſtian religion, took alſo a ſhare in the ſorrow for his death, and willingly contributed their part in confeſſing and applauding his virtues (*r*). It is very certain that thoſe who have ſaid ſuch high things of his attention to the great duties of his calling, his contempt of the vanities of this life, and his exalted confidence in the ſupreme Being, have not gone to any exceſs, or expreſſed his diligence, humility, or patience, with any excuſable degree of latitude, but have ſtrictly adhered to truth. Thoſe were his ſentiments in the vigour of his health, nor did they ceaſe to be his ſentiments on his bed of ſickneſs. While he was able, he preached to his congregation from the pulpit; when he was no longer able, he preached to them from his death-bed. He taught them in words how to live with hope, he taught them by his example to die in comfort. Theſe things, which might otherwiſe, in an age ſo cenſorious and incredulous, meet with doubts and ſuſpicions, are put beyond all queſtion by his ſermons printed ſince his deceaſe, and which fully ſhew what he was. As theſe poſthumous works make the greater part of what he has left behind him to poſterity, we reſerved the mention of his writings till we could ſpeak of them at once, and preſent their titles all together to the reader's view [*L*]. In them the juſtification of all that has been ſaid of his parts, or his piety, will be found; and there

(*o*) Plain-Dealer, Vol. I. No. 52.

(*p*) Lond. 1722, printed for E. Bell in Cornhill, 8vo.

(*q*) Lond. 1722, for Aaron Ward, Little Britain, 8vo.

(*r*) See the Plain-Dealer, No. 52.

'Apoſtle St Paul, had learned in whatever ſtate he 'was therewith to be content. He knew both how 'to be abaſed, and how to abound every where, and 'in all things was he inſtructed, both to be full, and 'to be hungry, both to abound, and to ſuffer need. 'He was truly pious, but without any thing of oſten'tation, exerciſing himſelf herein to have a conſci'ence void of offence toward God, and toward man. 'He adorned the profeſſion he made of the Chriſtian 'Doctrine by a holy and exemplary life, which was 'a convincing proof that he firmly believed religion 'to be of the greateſt importance, and that he was 'in earneſt when he endeavoured to perſuade others 'to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this pre'ſent world. He was a perſon of great integrity, 'and preferred the peace of his own mind in the an'ſwer of a good conſcience to all other conſiderations. 'His thoughts were ſo fully employed about affairs 'of the higheſt conſequence, that he neglected ſeveral 'opportunities of advancing his temporal intereſts. 'He was ſo intent upon his great Maſter's buſineſs, and 'was ſo warmly engaged in the purſuit of the durable 'riches of the eternal world, that theſe fading trea'ſures paſſed his notice. He was a kind friend, and 'made it his buſineſs to inſtruct and inform, to ad'viſe, and, on proper occaſions, to reprove thoſe with 'whom he converſed; which moſt difficult office of 'friendſhip he ſo well managed, that none could be 'offended with him. And being always delighted in 'doing good, he was ever as ready to perform any 'friendly office even for the meaneſt diſciple of Chriſt 'Jeſus, as for thoſe whoſe circumſtances being more 'exalted, are from thence generally deemed to have 'a more commanding influence. He abounded greatly 'in theſe fruits of the Spirit mentioned by the Apo'ſtle, Gal. v. 22, 23. love, joy, peace, long ſuffer'ing, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs, and tem'perance. But that virtue wherein he peculiarly ex'celled, was his great humility. Notwithſtanding his 'valuable and uncommon abilities, both natural and 'acquired; he always appeared humble and modeſt, 'mild and courteous; and was ſo far from having a 'vain and proud conceit of his own endowments, that 'he knew how, without the affected vanity of leſſen'ing his own qualifications, to eſteem others better 'than himſelf. He bore his laſt ſickneſs with great 'patience and reſignation to the will of God. When 'a little before his diſſolution, his mournful conſort, 'with weeping eyes and wringing hands, expected the 'dreadful ſeparation, *Truſt in the all-ſufficient one*, 'ſays the good man, *who can if he thinks fit raiſe me 'up*. He ſeemed to depart with the greateſt com'poſure and ſerenity of mind, making good that ob'ſervation of the Pſalmiſt, that the end of the per'fect and upright man is peace, and indeed what 'ſhould diſcompoſe him? For he well knew in whom 'he had believed.' Mr Borroughs obſerves alſo of his departed friend (29), 'That his extenſive know'ledge, and the ſweetneſs of his addreſs, gave him an 'eaſy acceſs to men of the greateſt figure and worth, 'by converſing with whom, his own abilities were 'very much improved, and this advantage he con'ſtantly purſued. The large acquaintance he had 'with the Claſſic authors in both languages, and the 'progreſs he made in mathematical ſtudies, and in 'the moſt valuable parts of Philoſophy, were accom'panied with a good degree of ſkill in the oriental 'tongues. But tho' he took a large compaſs, 'tis 'evident that he turned the whole courſe of his ſtu'dies to the work of the Miniſtry, to prepare for 'which, he ſpent a very conſiderable part of his time 'in the ſtudy of the Scriptures themſelves in their 'originals, and in comparing them with the verſions 'of various languages, particularly the more antient, 'whereby he became a great maſter in the knowledge 'of the Scriptures, and capable of diſcourſing to ad'vantage upon any point which immediately related 'to them. Beſides this, he employed himſelf with 'much diligence in conſulting the antient commenta'tors upon the Bible, and in reading and digeſting 'the primitive writers of the Chriſtian Church, for 'whoſe interpretations of Scripture he ſhewed a more 'than ordinary value. And here I think it deſerves 'to be mentioned, to his ſpecial honour, that he en'tered into a voluntary ſociety erected on purpoſe to 'enquire into the *primitive doctrines* and practices of 'the Chriſtian Church, and compare them with the 'books of the Old and New Teſtament, at a time 'when ſuch a thing could not be done without ſuf'fering much reproach for it; and that he continued 'diligently ſeveral years to ſearch into the antient 'books for this purpoſe, and by diſcourſe with others 'to make them familiar to him, the effect whereof 'might have been very beneficial to the publick, if 'it had pleaſed God to prolong his life.'

(29) Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

[*L*] *All together to the reader's view.*] We have already ſpoken largely of our author's principal work, publiſhed in his life-time; we have likewiſe ſpoken of thoſe that he intended to have compoſed, if Providence had beſtowed upon him a longer ſtay in this life; all therefore that is intended in this note, is, for the ſake of perſpicuity, to ſet down the titles of ſuch of his works as are extant, and to give from the laſt, a ſhort ſpecimen of thoſe excellencies that we have applauded in the text.

I. *Reflections on Mr* Wall's *Hiſtory of* Infant-Baptiſm, *in ſeveral Letters to a Friend.* Lond. 1711, 8vo.

II. *A* Thankſgiving Sermon, *preached November the fifth*, 1713. Lond. 1713, 8vo.

III. *Ser-*

there is no queſtion they will preſerve his reputation, and their own, as long as there ſhall be any taſte for ſtrong, and yet clear, reaſoning; maſculine unaffected eloquence flowing from

III. *Sermons preached upon ſeveral Subjects, by the late Reverend and Learned Dr* John Gale; *to which is prefixed, an Account of his Life, in four* Vols. Lond. 1726, 8vo. the ſecond edit.

The firſt edition, was publiſhed very ſoon after the death of the author, and met with ſuch a reception as might be expected, from the reputation he had acquired while living. In theſe four volumes, there are ſeventy-eight diſcourſes, excluſive of that preached on the fifth of November, which is reprinted (30). It may be very truly ſaid, that though the eloquence of the pulpit be in itſelf a very diſtinct thing, from the various kinds of eloquence, by arriving at perfection, in which ſome men make themſelves the guides and leaders of others; yet even this eloquence of the pulpit, is capable of many ſubdiviſions; and we ſhall find, upon a ſtrict enquiry, that few have been diſtinguiſhed preachers, without having ſomething very peculiar in their manner. We cannot either illuſtrate this obſervation, or bring this article better to a cloſe, than by giving an inſtance from Dr Gale's Diſcourſes (31).

(30) It is the 16th Diſcourſe in the 4th Volume.

(31) Gale's Sermons, Vol. IV. p. 414.

In diſcourſing upon theſe words, *Follow peace with all men, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the* LORD. Having firſt ſtated the nature of this command, and deſcribed that habit of mind which Chriſtians are directed to acquire, he proceeds to ſhew the advantageous conſequences, that muſt be the natural, and therefore neceſſary, reſult of ſuch an acquiſition. 'This noble, generous, peaceable, and 'holy diſpoſition of mind, ſays he, as it is every man's 'duty, and highly acceptable in the ſight of the great 'God, and ſupreme Governor of the world; ſo is it 'likewiſe of unſpeakable advantage to mankind, and 'abſolutely neceſſary to their well being, in every 'ſtate and condition, whether here or hereafter. To 'confine ourſelves at preſent, to a proſpect of this life 'only, we know men can't ſubſiſt without ſociety, 'there is ſuch a mutual dependance upon one another, ſo ſtrongly planted and rooted in our very natures, that no art or violence can pluck it up; beſides, our internal diſpoſitions, and ſtrong inclinations to converſe, and which ſhine out ſo clearly, 'that ſome of the ancient Philoſophers have thought 'fit to define man, by calling him a ſociable creature, 'believing nothing in man to be ſo eſſential and diſtinguiſhing as this: we are likewiſe, as to our external condition, viſibly placed, by the wiſe Author of 'all things, very much in one another's power; and 'though men were to condemn themſelves to the 'moſt unnatural and uncomfortable ſtate, and betake 'them to deſarts, and ſolitary mountains and foreſts, 'there to lead a ſavage life, in the moſt obſcure retirement, they could not remove themſelves out of 'one another's reach; for even theſe places would be 'open to their rude incurſions, and inevitably haunted by wilder and more ſavage monſters, than they 'are at preſent. The only remedy for all the numberleſs evils, and inconceivable miſeries, into which 'an independent ſtate, in every particular man, would 'certainly plunge us, is this of ſociety, which nature 'itſelf, that is, the finger of God, has pointed out to 'us; and yet, without theſe virtues of peace and holineſs, ſociety, inſtead of a good, will be the worſt 'condition rational creatures can be in; families, cities, 'and commonwealths, will be only ſo many ſwarms 'of ſcorpions, tygers, and all manner of venomous 'and rapacious creatures, pent up together in a narrow compaſs, and inceſſantly ſpending their utmoſt 'rage and fury upon one another; for no creature is 'more fierce and unruly than man, or expoſed to more 'failings, which diſturb and overturn ſociety, when 'he throws off all reſtraint. Our own experience, as 'well as the hiſtory of all paſt-times, ſhews us, that 'moſt ſavage man exerciſes all his cruelties, not like 'the gentler beaſts of the foreſt, upon thoſe chiefly 'of a different kind, but even more eſpecially upon 'mankind itſelf; and beſides the ſtings of hunger, and 'other natural appetites, which it ſeems are not 'enough abuſed to the worſt purpoſes, they have 'created to themſelves other more powerful, at leaſt 'more frequent and miſchievous, incentives to violence and oppreſſion, and the vileſt acts of injuſtice 'and impiety. Thus they have raiſed in themſelves, 'an endleſs burning thirſt after things ſuperfluous, 'which muſt be continually gratified, no matter how; 'they have planted in their very hearts, the moſt pernicious of all evils, the curſed ſins of ambition, pride 'and avarice, which lead captive virtue in adamantine chains of ſlavery, while they ravage the world. 'Outrageous malice, fierce reſentment of petty injuries, and implacable revenge, do almoſt ſeem the 'natural product of a human mind; theſe are ſome 'of the inexhauſtible ſprings, whence pour forth thoſe 'deep foul rivers of ſin and wickedneſs, which ſpread 'themſelves over the whole earth, and pollute all the 'ſeveral degrees and ſtations of life. Hence ariſe 'quarrels, envy, hatred, rancour, enmities, diſcord, 'confuſion, and endleſs diſorders. Hence ſpring all 'kinds of violence, injuſtice, oppreſſion, and fraud; 'hence come robberies, horrid murthers, and cruel 'devaſtations, by fire and ſword, together with all 'manner of direful calamities; and, in fine, hence 'proceed the mighty armies of impiety, vice, and profaneneſs, which make a conſtant and too ſucceſsful 'war upon religion and virtue, eſtabliſhing infidelity 'and impurity, irreligion and debauchery, atheiſm 'and immorality, and all manner of licentiouſneſs, 'and numberleſs abominations, which utterly ſubvert 'and deſtroy all ſociety from amongſt men, and bury 'the diſtinctions of good and bad, right and wrong, 'in one common dreadful ruin: for by theſe, private 'perſons break to pieces all the bonds and ties of 'duty, friendſhip, and relation; and by theſe, ſupreme governors, and men of great influence, whoſe 'ſphere of action is large, and widely extended over 'the commoner ſort, when they throw off the reſtraints of reaſon and law, ſpread ruin and deſolation throughout the world. Thus then you ſee, as it 'were in miniature, a repreſentation of man's unculcivated nature, which may well be likened to a deep 'wide ſea, which theſe unnatural paſſions ſoon blow 'up into a dreadful ſtorm, and render very turbulent 'and boiſterous, and hardly to be confined within any 'bounds; but of what amazing force and efficacy 'then, muſt thoſe divine virtues be, which can remedy all theſe mighty evils; which can ſubdue, manage, and tame the wild ſavage nature, and make 'it mild and calm; which can curb and reſtrain all 'the unruly paſſions, and confine them within the 'bounds of right and good, juſt and honourable? 'Nothing can be more amiable or beneficial to mankind; and here, no doubt, you'll fix your thoughts 'upon that peace and holineſs, which the great Lover 'and Benefactor of mankind ſo earneſtly recommends 'to us, not for his own advantage, but for our good; 'for theſe moſt powerfully expel all noxious humours, 'and naturally tend to ſettle an everlaſting ſerenity, 'quiet, and uninterrupted happineſs among men: 'And notwithſtanding the corruptions of our natural 'appetites, or any unnatural propenſions and diſpoſitions, we may have contracted theſe great virtues, 'having once gained admiſſion into our hearts, and a 'full power there, will render us pure and holy, as 'that bright flame which warms the breaſts of ſaints, 'gentle as innocence, and kind and peaceable as love. 'For a truly peaceable diſpoſition of mind, will 'conſtantly exert itſelf in all manner of generous and 'wonderful acts of goodneſs to all mankind; 'twill 'teach us to put on a calm, modeſt, and friendly behaviour towards every one, and is always bent upon that beneficial work, of promoting the growth 'of publick and private peace and concord; and accordingly, is in all caſes forward, and ſtrongly inclined, to put the moſt candid and favourable interpretations upon mens words and actions, and not 'quick-ſighted to ſee their failings, and forward to 'blow them through the world, or lightly to play 'with another's reputation and good name; for a 'generous and good man, would ſooner ceaſe to 'breathe, than one contagious peſtilential breath ſhould 'eſcape him, to blaſt his neighbour's fame. The true 'diſciples of the Lord Jeſus, whoſe diſtinguiſhing cha-

'racter

from the juſt diſtribution of the parts of a diſcourſe, and not a pomp of choſen words, and ſounding epithets; or men retain any ſenſe of thoſe intereſting and important truths, which he has ſo repreſented as to be ſure of their making an impreſſion on the heart, by their filling the whole meaſure of the underſtanding.

'racter it is, *to follow peace with all men, and ho-*
'*liness*, poſſeſs a mind ſeaſoned with the divine arts
'of peace, and works of purity; and therefore, in-
'ſtead of improving occaſions of quarrelling, by re-
'turning ill language, or hard words, or by reſenting
'the reflections and affronts, put on them by vio-
'lent, angry, or abuſive men, they rather ſtrive to
'moderate matters; and by a winning and engaging
'ſweetneſs of temper, and *ſoft anſwers to turn away*
'*wrath*, Prov. xv. 1. when *grievous words* would ſtir
'up *anger*, and blow up a ſpark into a raging flame,
'afterwards it may be hardly ever to be quench-
'ed.' E

GARDINER (STEPHEN), an able Lawyer, a learned Divine, and ſhrewd Stateſman; Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Chancellor of England, in the XVIth Century (*a*). Few have riſen higher by mere dint of abilities, few ſuffered greater changes of fortune, few have been more magnified or commended, few more invidiouſly and outrageouſly treated, than this famous Prelate, in his life-time and ſince his deceaſe; yet, for any tolerable account of him there is none. We find no article of him in any collection of this kind, very little amongſt the compilers of hiſtorical memoirs, and, tho' there is more in our literary and other biographical Hiſtorians, it is ſo intermixed with other matter, or ſo viſibly tinctured with party reſentment, that it is almoſt impoſſible to know what to think, or whom to truſt. In this caſe, the collecting his memoirs with caution, care, and candour, and reporting them fairly to poſterity, is a work of equal labour and difficulty; but what then? It is neceſſary, uſeful, conducive to the bringing much truth to light, and expoſing many errors which have been ſo often, and elegantly, repeated by thoſe who took them to be truths, that we may reaſonably hope a kind and favourable reading of what particulars are here digeſted concerning this great man's life, which are as copious, as exact, and as free from bias of any kind as we were able to make them. It is alſo to be hoped, that they will be peruſed with the ſame equal ſpirit, and that the reader will bring an inclination to be informed how things really happened, what were, and what were not, the actions of this famous man, who had many failings, and ſome vices; but, withal, had fine parts, general knowledge, and abilities every way equal to the poſts he gradually filled, and even to thoſe high employments to which he at length attained [*A*]. At the very entrance

(*a*) Bale, Pits, Fuller, Godwin, Tanner.

[*A*] *To which he at length attained.*] Such as have not had experience of the incertainties, inconſiſtencies, and contradictions, that perpetually occur in moſt of the books relating to Engliſh Hiſtory, will very probably wonder at theſe complaints, and look upon it as a thing ſtrange, that the perſonal hiſtory of one who roſe to ſuch high dignities, both in Church and State, ſhould be a thing ſo very obſcure and perplexed, as we have repreſented it. The only method of making this plain, would be producing to the reader's view, the genuine cauſes of this darkneſs and embarraſſment; but, as that would require a volume inſtead of a note, it ſhall, in this place, ſuffice to ſet down briefly, only a few of theſe cauſes, and ſuch as have a direct relation to the article before us. The authors of our Chronicles and Annals, very frequently, either in the courſe of their hiſtories, when they ſpeak of remarkable perſons, or at the cloſe, perhaps, of a Prince's reign, when they come to ſpeak of the ſcholars, ſtateſmen, and ſoldiers, that flouriſhed in his time, give ſhort characters of ſuch great men, from what occurs to their memory; but theſe conciſe repreſentations, rather heighten than ſatisfy our curioſity, and excite in us a deſire, to know where we may meet with more, inſtead of giving us content in the particulars we would be glad to learn. Some again, from an inclination to render their narratives more pleaſing, draw their pictures a little fuller, and give not barely the out-lines, but add alſo ſomething of ſtrength and colour to the piece, which is attended with various inconveniencies, not foreſeen by the author. For the ſame period of time falling under the conſideration of ſome other writer of a different genius and ſentiments, he gives the picture of the ſame perſon oppoſite, it may be, in ſeveral, if not in all reſpects; and then we want new lights, to inform us which, or whether either, of theſe pictures were taken from the life. Thoſe who have attempted to exhibit the lives and characters of ſuch as have filled certain high offices, either through the want of proper materials, or negligence in collecting them, have rather given us catalogues, and thoſe too very imperfect. Biſhop Godwin, for inſtance, in this very article, has hardly two right dates in the whole. Such as out of a love to learning, have undertaken the hiſtory of our eminent writers, content themſelves, commonly, with a few general ſtrokes in relation to their characters, and theſe rather taken from common fame, than from a cloſe examination of their works. Beſides, partiality and prejudice have had ſo great a dominion over the two principal authors in this way, with reſpect to our nation, that we learn from them, rather their own opinions, than the hiſtories of thoſe of whom they write. According to Bale (1), this Biſhop of Wincheſter was a devil incarnate; but then, according to Pits (2), he was a very angel of light. It is the ſame thing with reſpect to Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, or ſuch as have written tracts relative to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. John Fox (3) aſſerts, that this prelate was of a moſt fierce and ſanguinary diſpoſition; and the principal author of all the cruelties, in the reign of Queen Mary. Father Perſons (4), on the other hand, aſſures us, that ſuch as will ſpeak truth, muſt acknowledge Biſhop Gardiner to have been not only of a mild, but of a moſt compaſſionate nature; and that it was chiefly owing to him, the principal Proteſtants in that reign eſcaped. The remedies that are to be applied in this caſe, in order to free ourſelves from miſtakes, and to make the way open for truth, is to proceed methodically, and to ſhew his progreſs in preferment, the ſeveral employments through which he went, and the manner in which he diſcharged them. It is from facts, that we muſt collect his real character, and not from the panegyricks written by his creatures, or the invectives penned by his enemies. We muſt conſider the temper of the times in which he lived, the nature of the affairs which went through his hands, the circumſtances attending his actions, the means by which he roſe, the cauſes of his fall, the manner of his recovery, and the meaſures he afterwards purſued. We muſt be content to compare what is advanced by diffe-

(1) Script. Brit. p. 685.

(2) De illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 748.

(3) In his Martyrology throughout.

(4) Warn. Word, p. 34.

trance of our labours, we meet with nothing but doubts and incertainties. Moſt authors of his age tell us he was born of obſcure parents at Bury St Edmund, in the county of Suffolk (*b*). As to the place, indeed, there is no diſpute at all; but for the obſcurity of his parentage, if we may truſt to ſome very good authorities, it aroſe from hence, that he was the illegitimate ſon of a prelate nobly deſcended and royally allied, who took pains to conceal that ſo much diſcrediting circumſtance to himſelf, by beſtowing his concubine on one of his meaner ſervants, whoſe name, being born in wedlock, this infant bore (*c*). Fuller, who is not always an enemy to ſecret hiſtory, rejects this ſtory, as invidious and ill contrived (*d*); but many, as like to be well informed, and not at all more credulous, admit the truth of it; and Sir William Dugdale (*e*), whoſe knowledge in ſuch points can hardly be diſputed, ſets it down as a fact. We cannot, indeed, go quite ſo far; but, laying all circumſtances together, there appears to be the greateſt probability that this was really the caſe, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*B*]. As to the year of his birth, that has been hitherto as great a ſecret as his deſcent; and very likely the deſign of concealing the one, might occaſion ſo profound a ſilence in reſpect to the other; however, from an original picture of his ſtill preſerved, we have good grounds to conclude that it ought to be fixed to 1483 (*f*). We know nothing of his education, or the manner in which he paſſed his youth, till he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied in Trinity-Hall with great diligence and ſucceſs. He was diſtinguiſhed there by his quick parts, his correct pen, his elegance in writing and ſpeaking Latin, and for his extraordinary ſkill in Greek, which procured him very high compliments, as to his acquiſitions in literature, when he was in no condition to reward flatterers (*g*). In proceſs of time he applied himſelf entirely to the Civil and Canon Law, for which that learned foundation was very famous [*C*]. The reputation he attained at

(*b*) Bal. Script. 685. Pits, p. 748.

(*c*) Σκελετὸς Cantabrigienſis, a Rich. Parkero, conſcript. p. 26.

(*d*) Worthies, Suffolk, p. 60.

(*e*) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 231.

(*f*) Painted by Hans Holbein.

(*g*) Leland. Encom. illuſtr. viror. p. 48, 49.

rent authors, in order to diſcover not only the truth of ſome things, and the falſhood of others, but the probability or improbability of ſuch tranſactions, as at this diſtance of time cannot be reduced to any abſolute certainty. It is not of much importance to us, whether our diſcoveries heighten or depreſs the characters of ſeveral writers; but it is of very great importance to know the truth, and to have a juſt notion how the great buſineſſes he managed were brought about, and whether he was at the bottom, a weak and wicked man, or a politician of great art and addreſs; and who, like other politicians, ſometimes purſued the intereſts of his country, for which, upon what motives ſoever he did it, it is fit he ſhould be commended, and ſometimes croſſed them to purſue his own, when he ought to be cenſured, how plauſible ſoever his excuſes might be. Theſe are the true principles upon which this kind of writing ought to reſt, that thoſe who move in the ſuperior ſpheres of life, may be always ſenſible, that whatever their preſent fate may be, they will have juſtice done them by poſterity; and that their memories will not be either tarniſhed by the groundleſs calumnies which envy excited, or preſerve any of that falſe luſtre, their mercenary flatterers, while living, were encouraged to beſtow.

[*B*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] The plain fact, in reſpect to his birth, was this. He is ſaid to have been the ſon of Dr Lionel Woodvill, Widvill, or as he wrote his own name, Wydviſle, Dean of Exeter, and Biſhop of Saliſbury, brother to Elizabeth, Queen Conſort to Edward the Fourth, who died in 1484 (5). Dr Fuller (6) objects to this, that Saliſbury is at a great diſtance from Bury, where Gardiner was born, which is, in reality, no objection at all, for, ſince that prelate was ſo cautious as to oblige his miſtreſs to marry an inferior ſervant of his, whoſe name was Gardiner, the better to conceal this ſhameful tranſaction, he might therefore be well ſuppoſed to have been as careful in ſending her far enough off to lie in. Another objection he makes, has ſomewhat more weight, he thinks Biſhop Woodvill muſt have had this ſon in his youth; and if ſo, the age of Gardiner, at his death, would not agree with the ſtory. But thoſe who relate it, ſay that he was born while his father was Biſhop of Saliſbury; and he did not hold that dignity above two years, which takes away the force of this objection. In the ſatirical writings againſt him and Bonner (7), it was objected to them, that it was not ſtrange they were againſt the marriage of prieſts, ſince they were both born in adultery. Now Bonner was the baſtard of one Savage, a clergyman, who was himſelf the baſtard of Sir John Savage, Knight of the Garter. Bonner's was preciſely the ſame caſe with Gardiner's, for his mother was married before he was born, to the perſon whoſe name he bore; and it is very remarkable, that both of them, till they were Biſhops, declined uſing their ſurnames, the one being called Dr Stephens, and the other Dr Edmonds. But Gardiner ſeems to have been better reconciled to his name afterwards, ſince he aſſumed the arms of the Gardiners of Glemsford in Suffolk (8), with a diſtinction of a border; and afterwards, either through the miſtake of the painter, or by his own direction, they were impaled with the arms of the See of Wincheſter, without any ſuch diſtinction. Biſhop Burnet plainly proves, that this ſtory was believed in our Prelate's life-time, for he tells us, that he had ſeen a letter written by Sir Edward Hobby, to one of the exiles abroad, for religion, immediately upon Gardiner's death, in which it was ſaid, that he was a man of higher deſcent, than he was commonly reputed; and in the margin of the letter it was noted, that he was Nephew to a Queen of England (9); but though this might be true, and though he was, by this means, ſecond couſin by the King's mother to Henry the Eighth, Biſhop Burnet's conjecture is not at all probable, that this might be the cauſe he was ſo ſuddenly advanced to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter; for as the reader will ſee, there was another cauſe, which is aſſigned by Gardiner himſelf; neither is it at all likely, that the King knew this piece of ſecret hiſtory, or would take any notice of it if he did. Had it been otherwiſe, amongſt the many private papers relating to that reign (for whence it's publick hiſtory is beſt collected) which, in proceſs of time, have come to light, ſomething of that kind would have appeared.

(5) Godwin. de Præſul. p. 236.

(6) Worthies, Suffolk, p. 60.

(7) Burnet's Reformat. Vol. II. p. 320.

(8) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(9) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 320.

[*C*] *For which that learned foundation was very famous.*] Amongſt other poems of the famous Antiquary, John Leland, there is one addreſſed to Stephen Gardiner, when he wore no higher title; and in the cloſe of which, he foretels him, that his brow would be honoured with a mitre. In this poem he compliments him on his great progreſs in polite literature, on his fine taſte, and juſt reſpect for the Ancients; and the deſire he had ſhewn of promoting the ſtudy of their valuable writings in the univerſity (10). His own writings ſhew how much he had ſtudied Cicero; and the critics of thoſe times reproached him with affectation in that reſpect. As to ſeverer ſtudies, he is allowed to have excelled in the Civil and Canon Law; and in reſpect to the latter, he was ſo able, that Biſhop Burnet tells us, King Henry, as eager as he was for promoting his divorce, would not ſuffer the proceedings to be begun before the two Cardinals, till the return of Dr Gardiner from Rome, ſo much he relied upon his judgment and abilities. Both that Biſhop, and the Reverend Mr Jeremy Collier, who ſeldom thought the ſame way of men or things, agree that he was but moderately ſkilled in Divinity; and therefore, it is reaſonable to acquieſce in their deciſion. But then it is

(10) Encom. illuſt. viror. p. 48, 49.

to

at Cambridge, ſoon opened him a paſſage into the favour and confidence of ſeveral of the greateſt men of that age. Firſt, as ſome report he was taken under the protection of that generous and potent Peer Thomas Duke of Norfolk (*b*), and afterwards received into the family of the ſtill more potent Cardinal Wolſey, in quality of his Secretary (*i*). But whatever hopes he might entertain of riſing at Court, he had ſtill academical honours in view, and in 1520 received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law (*k*), and was the year following made Doctor of Canon Law alſo; but whereas the learned Biſhop Tanner, not without authority, makes him Maſter or Guardian of Trinity-Hall the ſame year (*l*), there ſeems to be good reaſon to ſuppoſe he did not attain that preferment till ſome years after. There is no queſtion, that, as the Cardinal of York's Secretary, he had a good proviſion made for him; but this muſt have been by way of penſion or ſalary, for preferment, ſo far as we find as yet, he had none. In 1525, he was, by an accident, admitted at once into the King's preſence and favour (*m*) [*D*], to the great ſatisfaction of the powerful Cardinal, his Maſter

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 451.

(*i*) Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. Angl. lib. xxvii. p. 84.

(*k*) Regiſt. Acad. Cantab.

(*l*) Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 308.

(*m*) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

to be conſidered, that they ground their ſentiments upon his book of *true Obedience*, which they confeſs he wrote to pleaſe his Sovereign, and againſt his own ſentiments. It is no great wonder, therefore, that his arguments are not very ſtrong, and that he does not reaſon ſo cloſely and convincingly as he might have done; but notwithſtanding this, whoever reads that book with attention and impartiality, will not be able to deny, that he has overturned the Pope's Supremacy effectually; and though it is not penned, at leaſt the greater part of it, with that heat and vehemence, viſible in the writings of Proteſtant Divines, yet there is enough in it to ſhew learned men, that he had thoroughly conſidered the point, and was able to have ſaid much more if he had been ſo inclined. All this learning he muſt have brought with him from the univerſity, for from the time that he firſt came into buſineſs, to his being committed to the Tower, he was continually employed in matters of ſuch high importance, that it was impoſſible he ſhould have much leiſure for ſtudy. That his parts and learning indeed were very extraordinary, muſt be confeſſed; but if what one of his greateſt enemies ſaid of him was true, we muſt have ſtill an higher idea of them, ſince there is nothing harder, than for a man of a diſagreeable, and even forbidding aſpect, to make his way in a Court, and inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of all ſorts of people, which it is confeſſed he did. But we will tranſcribe the paſſage, which is very curious, and the book from which it is taken very ſcarce, for the reader's ſatisfaction (11). '*Albeit*, this Doctor be now but too 'late thoroughly known, yet it ſhall be requiſite, that 'our poſterity know what he was; and, by his deſcription, ſee how nature hath ſhaped the outward 'parts, to declare what was within. This Doctor 'hath a ſwart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, 'eyes an inch within his head, a noſe hooked like a 'buzzard, noſtrils like a horſe, ever ſnuffing into the 'wind, a ſparrow mouth, great paws, like the devil's 'talons, on his feet, like a gripe, two inches longer 'than the natural toes, and ſo tied to with ſinews, 'that he cannot abide to be touched, nor ſcarce ſuffer 'them to touch the ſtones. And nature having thus 'ſhaped the form of an old monſter, it gave him 'a vengeable wit, which at Cambridge, by labour and 'diligence, he had made a great deal worſe, and 'brought up many in that faculty.' The author who wrote this, and whom we ſhall be obliged to quote hereafter, was Dr Ponet, advanced to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter, upon the deprivation of Gardiner, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth; and at the time he wrote this book, an exile in Germany, where he died. In his treatiſe, he gives Gardiner, who was then Chancellor of England, the title of *Doctor* of *Practices*, and beſtows the name of *Maſter* of *Practices* upon the Lord Paget, whom he makes to have been Gardiner's *pupil*; he was indeed bred up in his houſe, and owed his firſt riſe to Biſhop Gardiner's favour; and to ſhew how great wits will differ in opinion, John Leland complimented Paget upon this very circumſtance, calling Gardiner's family the ſchool of the Muſes. At the time he directed theſe verſes to him, he was Sir William Paget, and Secretary of State to Henry VIII; and their author thought it would not create either diſcredit or diſpleaſure to him, to ſhew how much he, and Wriotheſley, then his Fellow-Secretary, and afterwards Chancellor, were obliged to that Prelate for his countenance, and for their own preferment. The lines are very remarkable, and worth reading (12).

(11) Treatiſe of political Power.

(12) Encom. illuſt. viror. p. 100, 101.

Ecce petis vivos fontes, Grantana fluenta,
Nectareoque rigas labra liquore tua.
Aſt ego præceſſi: nec ſigniter ipſe ſecutus
Viciſti ſortis munera parva meæ.
Tu Gardineri petiiſti tecta diſerti
Eloquii ſedem, Pieriique chori.
Sors vel ad obſtreperos me duxit iniqua ſophiſtas,
Tale quidem potui non ego ferre jugum.
Suffugio quodam ſed honeſto Gallica regna
Inviſi, ſchola qua Parrhiſiana viget.
Quo magnis & tu properâſti paſſibus, ardens
Linguarum nitida cognitione frui.
Confecta tandem cauſſa feliciter omni,
Tu patriam repetis civis amicus humum.
Gardinerum etiam recolis de more patronum:
Uritiſlegi & nomina chara tibi.
Per quos cœpiſti commendatiſſimus eſſe
Henrico Regi, nobilibuſque viris.
Scriba Palatinas coluiſti hinc ſedulus ædes,
Exercens calamos dexteritate nova.

[*D*] *Into the King's preſence and favour.*] There is nothing more entertaining, as well as more uſeful and ſatisfactory, than to be thoroughly and certainly informed, of the firſt ſteps by which thoſe who have made a figure in the world, have riſen to greatneſs. That of Gardiner, as of many others, was owing purely to accident, to ſpeak according to the common ſenſe of mankind. In the year 1525, his maſter Wolſey thought fit to change ſides; and from being moſt violently attached to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, became as warm a friend to the French King, Francis the Firſt, then a priſoner in Spain. Humanity and compaſſion, one would think, muſt have been the motives to this change; and they might be ſo, but a very grave Italian Hiſtorian, has ſuggeſted cauſes of another kind (13). He ſays, that before the battle of Pavia, in which the French King was made priſoner, the Emperor uſed to write to Wolſey, with his own hand, and ſubſcribe *your ſon and couſin* CHARLES; but after that victory, the letters to Wolſey, like thoſe to other perſons, were written by his ſecretary, till the Cardinal taught him to reſume his old manner of writing. It was the penning this leſſon for his Imperial Majeſty, that brought Gardiner to the knowledge, or at leaſt introduced him to the favour of Henry the Eighth; the Cardinal had projected a treaty, which was to change the face of affairs in Europe, as indeed it did; and the King coming to his houſe at More-Park, in Hertfordſhire, found Gardiner, then the Cardinal's Secretary, buſy in framing that alliance. Few Princes underſtood buſineſs, or could tranſact it better, than Henry; and therefore, it is no wonder that from ſuch a ſpecimen, he ſhould make a true judgment of Dr Gardiner's abilities. He liked his performance extremely, his converſation better, and that fertility he had in the invention of expedients, beſt of all (14). He did not diſguiſe his ſentiments from Wolſey, there was no need of it, the Cardinal was truly great in this particular, that he feared no man's

(13) Guicchard. Hiſt. lib. XIX.

(14) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 451.

parts,

Maſter at this ſeaſon; whatever it might be in proceſs of time, when, as the Politicians remarked, the Cardinal ſunk in the ſame proportion as this ſervant of his roſe. At this juncture, the King's affairs at Rome were but in an untoward ſituation, the Roman Pontiff, Clement VII, having addreſs enough to feed the King's Agents with fair promiſes, according to the ſtanding maxim of that Court; but, in effect, making no progreſs at all towards the King's point, which was the obtaining a divorce from his Queen Katherine of Arragon. His Majeſty therefore reſolved to ſend ſome perſon thither in whom he could entirely confide, and of whoſe abilities and attachment he had a like opinion (*n*). After much conſideration, he fixed upon our Doctor, now become Maſter of Trinity-Hall, and, as Biſhop Burnet remarks, eſteemed at that time the beſt Civil Lawyer in England (*o*); to whom he joined Edward Fox, Provoſt of King's College in Cambridge. At the time of his departure, in February 1528, there is nothing clearer, or more certain, than that he had the moſt entire confidence repoſed in him, both by the King and his Miniſter, who hoped all things from his diligence and dexterity [*E*]; and who, if there be any credit due either to their verbal or written declarations, were equally ſincere and in earneſt in this matter. In their journey towards Italy they executed a commiſſion at the Court of Paris, where, by warm and vigorous repreſentations of what their Maſter had done, and might do, for King Francis, they obtained that Monarch's letter to the Pope, in as ſtrong terms as could be deſired, in ſupport of King Henry's demands. When they came to Orvieto, where the Pope then was, Dr Gardiner uſed very free language with his Holineſs, ſhewed him the danger he was in of loſing the King by playing a double game, and how much injury he would do the Cardinal if he failed his expectations. By theſe meaſures all was obtained which his inſtructions required, and a new commiſſion directed to the Cardinals Wolſey and Compegius was iſſued (*p*). In the courſe of this long embaſſy, the Pope, whoſe mind was continually perplexed, and to whom the Imperial, French, and Engliſh Miniſters allowed no quiet, fell dangerouſly ill, the diſorders of his affections operating upon the humours of his body; and this, as might be expected, gave a new turn to the intrigues of Rome. Dr Gardiner had as large a ſhare in theſe as any Miniſter, for he laboured the cauſe of the Cardinal of York, in caſe the Pope's death made way for a new election (*q*). He had the French King's letters alſo to ſupport this deſign; for by ſolliciting the Popedom, he thought to make Wolſey more than amends for the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo, which was once tendered him by the Emperor; it may be with the ſame ſincerity, or, in other words, with none at all. Yet ſo much was Wolſey ſet upon having, at leaſt for a time, the title of Pope, that, having intelligence the King's agents, and his own,

(*n*) See note [*E*].

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 52.

(*p*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 907.

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 64.

parts, but was proud of bringing to the royal notice, able and active men; and even under his misfortunes, as will be hereafter ſhewn, he had no reaſon to repent that the new miniſters, Cromwell and Gardiner, were taken out of his houſe, becauſe, in their higheſt proſperity, they did not forget that they had been once his domeſticks. This treaty, (which was the foundation of Gardiner's fortunes) or at leaſt the ſubſtance of it, may be found in that great work of the noble Hiſtorian (15), who has done ſo much honour to the reign of Henry the Eighth, and placed that important period of time, in a much better point of light, than almoſt any other, relating to the affairs of this kingdom. It was from this time, that Dr Gardiner was admitted into the ſecret of affairs, and equally employed and truſted by the King and his Miniſter, tho' we have no particular account of the matters, which exerciſed his care, till he came to be employed in the troubleſome buſineſs of the King's divorce, which was about three years afterwards. All we know is, that he and his friend Dr Fox, were the perſons upon whom the Cardinal chiefly relied, for directing his fine buildings, and for laying the plan of thoſe magnificent foundations, which, however they might excite the envy of the times in which he lived, have very juſtly recommended his memory to poſterity.

(15) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

[*E*] *From his diligence and dexterity*] Our Hiſtorians, are moſt of them dark, and divided in their ſentiments, as to the ſincerity of Cardinal Wolſey, in the buſineſs of the divorce. Yet this may be obſerved, that thoſe who were beſt informed, and took moſt pains to look into original papers, are very clear, with reſpect to the Cardinal's real intention, to carry that point for the King, as the only one that could preſerve his power, and ſecure him againſt all his enemies. Dr Ponet however, who made no ſcruple of laying every thing to Gardiner's charge, that might render him odious, tells us plainly, that, in order to his own advancement, he betrayed the Cardinal in this embaſſy, and puſhed, with the greateſt vigour, what his maſter wiſhed might be ſpun out, in order to gain time. But let us hear what the induſtrious and impartial Mr John Strype ſays upon this ſubject, from better authorities than any of our Hiſtorians, except Fox, had ever ſeen, which will effectually clear up this affair (16). 'Gardiner, ſays he, the Cardinal's Secretary, and Fox, the King's ſervant, Provoſt of King's College Cambridge, were diſpatched to the Pope to effect this, in February 1527, according to the computation of the Church of England. Of whom, Gardiner was the chief, having been admitted into the King's and Cardinal's Cabinet Council for this affair, and ſtiled in the Cardinal's credential letters to the Pope, *Primary Secretary of the moſt ſecret Counſels*. He was grown into extraordinary requeſt with the Cardinal, in ſo much, that in his ſaid letters, he called Gardiner *the* half *of* himſelf, *than whom none was* dearer *to him*. He writ, that he ſhould unlock his breaſt to the Pope; and that in hearing *him* ſpeak, he might think he heard the *Cardinal himſelf*. The particulars of this embaſſy, of which I have the very minutes, in divers letters ſent to the King and Cardinal, I will give ſome account of, eſpecially of ſuch things, as the Lord Herbert, or the Right Reverend Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, have made no mention of, or but briefly and imperfectly.' He proceeds then to ſhew from theſe papers, that when the Pope intimated to Dr Gardiner, that he underſtood this proceeding was not managed with Cardinal Wolſey's conſent; and that he had likewiſe heard ſome ſtrange things of the Lady intended for the King's bed; the Doctor thereupon, in the name, and by the authority of the Cardinal, who had been acquainted with this before he left England, demonſtrated to him the falſity of thoſe ſuggeſtions, and what the Cardinal's real ſentiments were in both points (17); and that the reader may have no doubts, as to the relator's capacity in ſtating theſe matters, he has printed ſeveral letters from the originals, which very fully juſtify all that is ſaid of them; and ſhew the Cardinal was, hitherto at leaſt, diſpoſed to ſerve his maſter as far as he could.

(16) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 89.

(17) So in the Ambaſſador's Diſpatches.

[*F*] *Were*

own, had procured for him the ſuffrages of one third part of the Cardinals, orders were ſent them immediately, to cauſe thoſe Cardinals to withdraw to a place of ſafety, in caſe the Conclave appeared more inclined to any other, and there to declare him Pope, aſſuring them they ſhould be moſt vigorouſly ſuſtained by King Henry and his allies. No doubt the pains taken in this buſineſs muſt have been highly pleaſing to the Cardinal, though, after all, the deſign came to nothing; for when Wolſey had ſhewn his utmoſt ſtrength, and procured from the King very liberal marks of eſteem for the Cardinals of his faction, Clement VII. recovered, and things once more returned to their old ſtate (*r*). All imaginable care was taken to have the new commiſſion penned to the King's mind, which, not without much difficulty, was obtained; and then it was to be carried from Orvieto to Rome, to paſs through the neceſſary forms requiſite to render it authentick. This being alſo a matter of nicety, and the diſpoſing Cardinal Campegio to make a tour to England with a good will, requiring ſome extraordinary management, Dr Gardiner took it upon himſelf, after having procured whatever was requiſite for his negotiation, and put every thing neceſſary to ſet this in a proper light at home into the hands of his colleague (*s*). Upon this, Provoſt Fox was ſent home with a full account of their negotiation, with which the King, the Cardinal, and Mrs Anne Bullen, were equally pleaſed, and unanimouſly joined in applauding the induſtry, intrepidity, and ingenuity, of this new Miniſter, as is inconteſtably proved from the authentick minutes of this negociation, which are, or at leaſt very lately were, ſtill preſerved and in being [*F*]. The King, indeed, had the beſt reaſon to be ſatisfied, ſince Dr Gardiner dealt clearly with him, and ſhewed him plainly there was nothing to be obtained by ſolliciting at Rome; that the Pope might probably be induced to approve any thing the King could perſuade the Legates to do, but, without queſtion, would never be prevailed on, by hopes or fears, to do any thing himſelf, which, in his judgment, was the final iſſue of all this trouble and ſollicitation (*t*). Biſhop Burnet is offended with Gardiner for deſiring the King not to ſhew this epiſtle to the Cardinal (*u*), which, however, might be very conſiſtent with his attachment and regard for his old maſter, ſince, from this caution, it appears he had no ſettled private correſpondence with the King; for then it would have been needleſs, and ſome of the contents, as he was to ſit in judgment in the cauſe, were exceedingly improper for him to have ſeen. The reader will find at the bottom of the page the greateſt part of this letter, which ſhews not barely a ſtrong capacity and a true political genius, but alſo how politely and how correctly he wrote, and that too in language very little antiquated even at this day [*G*]. When the King

(*r*) Theſe Paſſages are from Gardiner's Inſtructions and other Diſpatches.

(*s*) From his Diſpatches.

(*t*) See his Letter to the King.

(*u*) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 322.

[*F*] *Were lately preſerved, and in being.*] We learn from the ſame author, and from the ſame authorities, that Fox was moſt joyfully received upon his return, which was in the beginning of the month of May 1529; it was evening when he came to Court, when he was directed to go to Mrs Anne's, that is, Anne Boleyn's chamber, where he firſt made a recital to her, of ſuch points as were fitteſt for that Lady's ear; ſoon after the King came thither, and the Lady being withdrawn, he delivered his Majeſty the letters he had brought, and run into a large and particular detail of the ſeveral ſteps they had taken; all of which he entirely approved and highly admired. After ſome time, he ſent for Mrs Anne back again, and directed ſome paſſages to be repeated in her preſence; then Fox went to the Cardinal, who was no leſs pleaſed with every thing he heard, and particularly with the accounts given him, of Dr Gardiner's juſtifying his colleges to the Pope's ſatisfaction, and making his Holineſs ſenſible, that the revenues of the monaſteries granted for their endowment, were fairly applied. Altogether, made ſuch an impreſſion on the Cardinal's mind, that ſpeaking of Gardiner, he cried out, *O ineſtimable treaſure, and jewel of this realm!* which exclamation, he deſired Fox to remark, and to infert in his letter (18). As for Mrs Anne Boleyn, ſhe thought herſelf under ſuch obligations to this able negotiator, that even before Fox's coming, ſhe wrote him the following letter (19), which is not amongſt the papers collected by Strype.

(18) Extracted from Dr Fox's long Letter.

(19) Copied from the Original in the Paper-Office.

'Mr STEPHENS, I thank you for my letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful mind that you have to do me pleaſure, not doubting, but as much as is poſſible for man's wit to imagine, you will do; I pray God to ſend you well to ſpeed in all your matters, ſo that you would put me to the ſtudy how to reward your high ſervice. I do truſt in God, you ſhall not repent it; and that the end of this journey ſhall be more pleaſant to me, than your firſt, for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceaſing, the lack of it does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know; and therefore I do truſt, that this hard beginning ſhall have the better ending.

'Mr STEPHENS, I ſend you here cramp rings, for you and Mr Gregory, and Mr Peter, praying you to diſtribute them as you think beſt. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as ſhe that, you may aſſure them, will be glad to do them any pleaſure which ſhall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God ſend you good health. Written at Greenwich, the 4th day of April.'

The firſt part of this letter ſeems to refer to the journey made by Dr Gardiner, from the Pope's court at Orvieto to Rome, in order to quicken the departure of Cardinal Campegio. It is indeed very difficult to ſettle the dates of many letters, written about that time, becauſe ſometimes they have only the month, without either day or year; but more frequently the day and month without the year, which can only be recovered from circumſtances.

[*G*] *Even at this day.*] It has been very juſtly obſerved, that the ſureſt method of making a right judgment, as to the capacity of public miniſters, is to conſider their diſpatches; and it is for this reaſon chiefly, that the collections of letters, written by famous men, are ſo highly and ſo deſervedly valued. It is impoſſible for a man with a confuſed head, or of ſuperficial parts, to write clearly and cloſely; theſe are qualities not to be acquired even by a long habit of buſineſs, but are the pure effects of ſuperior talents. There is another remark, that may and ought to be made, upon this curious and important letter of Dr Gardiner's, which is, that ſolid learning enables a man to form a ſtile, very different from that of the age in which he lives; and if the ingenious reader will be pleaſed to compare the following epiſtle, not only with thoſe written about the ſame time, of which numbers are preſerved, by Fox, Hollinſhed, Stow, Fuller, Burnet, Collier, and Strype, but with ſuch as are in the Cabala, and even in later collections, he will find it is written with peculiar elegance and eaſe, and has nothing of that ſtiffneſs or pedantry, which is viſible in many of thoſe compoſitions. It is no exception to this, that

King had conſidered this advice ſufficiently, and ſaw how well it coreſponded with events, he recalled Dr Gardiner from Rome, in order to make uſe of him in the management of his

Gardiner makes uſe therein of ſeveral Latin expreſſions, becauſe of their apparent propriety; and that he was writing to a Prince, not only well verſed in that language, but who valued himſelf upon his learning. It may be alſo obſerved, that he ſhews a hearty and generous concern for Mr Gregory, in which there could be nothing of artifice or colluſion, ſince it is very evident, from the contents of this letter, that he could not have communicated it; as it is likewiſe plain, that, by recommending this gentleman's affairs, when he is abſolutely ſilent as to his own, he meant to render him the greateſt, and moſt effectual ſervice, in his power, which is a ſtrain of friendſhip rare amongſt Politicians (20).

(20) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. amongſt the Records joined to Vol. II. p. 297.

'Pleaſeth it your Majeſty to underſtand, that beſides all other means uſed to the Pope's Holineſs, for attaining and atchieving your Highneſs's purpoſe and intent, ſuch as in our common letters to my Lord Legate's Grace, and my ſeveral letters to the ſame, be contained at length. I have alſo a-part ſhewed unto the Pope's Holineſs, that which your Highneſs ſhewed me in your gallery at Hampton-Court, concerning the ſollicitation of the Princes of Almayn, and ſuch other matter, as ſhould and ought to fear the Pope's ſaid Holineſs, adding alſo, thoſe reaſons which might induce the ſame to adhere expreſsly to your Highneſs, and the French King; and ſo to take the more courage, to accompliſh your Highneſs deſires, uſing all ways poſſible, to enforce him to do ſomewhat, being a man of ſuch nature, as he never reſolveth any thing, but by ſome violent affection compelled thereunto. And conſidering we can ſpeed no better at his hands, it agreeth with that, your Majeſty, of your high wiſdom before perpended, that his Holineſs would do nothing which might offend the Emperor, unleſs he firſt determined himſelf to adhere to your Highneſs, and the French King, and ſo to declare himſelf, containing himſelf no longer in neutrality, which he will not do: nor, the ſtate of the affairs here conſidered, it were for his weal ſo to do, unleſs the Leagues otherwiſe proceeded, than they yet do; or that his Holineſs would determine himſelf to leave theſe parts, and eſtabliſh his See in ſome other place, for as much as here being, he is daily in danger of the Imperial's, like as we have ſignified by our other letters.

'His Holineſs is in great perplexity, and agony of mind, nor can tell what to do; he ſeemeth in words, faſhion, and manner of ſpeaking, as though he would do ſomewhat for your Highneſs, and yet, when it cometh to the point, nothing he doth: I dare not ſay certainly, whether it be for fear, or want of good-will, for I were loth to make a lie of him, or to your Highneſs, my Prince, Sovereign, Lord, and Maſter. Finally, I perceive this by the Pope, and all other here, that ſo your Highneſs cauſe were determined there by my Lords Legates, they would be glad thereof; and as I think, if the Emperor would make any ſuit againſt that which ſhall be done there, they would ſerve him as they now do your Highneſs, and ſo drive off the time; for they ſeem to be ſo minded, as in this cauſe they would *ſuffer much*, but *do* very *little*.

'Wherefore, if my Lord Campegius will ſet a-part all other reſpects, and frankly promiſe your Highneſs to give ſentence for you, then muſt be your Highneſs remedy ſhort and expedite; nor ſhall there want wit by another means, to meet with ſuch delays, as this falſe counterfeit breve hath cauſed. For with theſe men here, your Highneſs ſhall, by no ſuit profit, which thing I write unto your Highneſs, as of my moſt bounden duty I ought to do, there ſhall every day riſe new devices, and none take effect, but long delays and waſted time; wherefore, doing what I can yet to get the beſt, although we be fully anſwered therein, I ſhall do what I can to get the commiſſion amplified as much as may be, and at the leaſt, to extend to the reprobation of the brief if I can, for I dare promiſe nothing to your Majeſty at this man's hands; and that which ſhall be obtained, if any be obtained, ſhall be, according to your Highneſs pleaſure, ſent by Mr Bryan.

'And whereas your Highneſs, in your gracious letters directed to me, and my colleague, marveleth that I have not, e're this, advertiſed the ſame of ſuch Bulls as your Majeſty willed me to impetrate here; I thought verily, that for as much as the ſame be, to be impetrate at the Pope's hand, and that we ſignified unto your Majeſty, by our letters of the Pope's great ſickneſs; and how we could not have acceſs unto the ſame, that it had been ſuperfluous for me in my letters, to make any mention of the ſaid Bulls, ſignifying unto your Highneſs now, that having thoſe matters, as it becometh me, to have in good remembrance, I have not yet broken with the Pope's Holineſs in them, nor thought good to interrupt the proſecution of your Highneſs matter, with the purſuit of thoſe, ſaving that I ſpake a word to the Pope's Holineſs, *de Eccleſiis Cathedralibus*; and his Holineſs ſaid, nothing could be done, till the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor be recovered.

'In other things I ſpeak not, for our audience with the Pope's Holineſs hath been ſo ſcarce, that we thought it little enough to ſpend the ſame in your Highneſs principal matter. And to advertiſe your Highneſs what Counſel is here conducted, for the defence of your Majeſty's cauſe, the ſame ſhall underſtand, that this court, as it hath ſuffered in all other things, ſo it is alſo much appeyred in learned men; and of them that be, we dare not truſt every one, *ne Cauſa Majeſtatis veſtræ illis denudata*, they ſhould, *prodere illam Adverſariis*, wherefore, counſelling as yet only with two, the one called Dominus Michael, the other Dominus Sigiſmundus; we perceived nothing to be ſollicited openly on the other ſide; and that there, as yet, hath been no need to diſpute openly, have communicated your Highneſs matter to no more. And as for that article, *Quod Papa non poſſit diſpenſare*, the Pope himſelf will hear no diſputations in it; and ſo he might retain your Highneſs good mind, he ſeemeth not to care for himſelf, whether your Highneſs cauſe be decided by that article or no, ſo he did it not; but ſurely it appeareth, as a man may gather, by his faſhion and manner, that he hath made his account no further to meddle in your Highneſs matter, neither with your Majeſty, nor againſt the ſame, but follow, that ſhall be done by his Legates there.

'Wherefore, if my Lord Campegius would promiſe your Majeſty to give ſentence frankly and apertly, having *propitium Judice*, I would truſt, being there, with ſuch conſultations, as I ſhould bring from hence, to ſay ſomewhat to this breve there, *Apud illos & iſta eſt ſacra anchora Majeſtatis veſtræ*; for from hence ſhall come nothing but delays, deſiring your Highneſs not to ſhew this to my Lord Campegius, nor my Lord's Grace.

'Mr Gregory ſendeth preſently unto your Highneſs, the promiſe made by the Pope's Holineſs, concerning your Highneſs cauſe, at ſuch time as I went to Venice, for his cauſe, which promiſe in the firſt three words, viz. Cum nos juſtitiam ejus cauſæ perpendentes, &c. doth make as much, and more, for the maintenance of that, ſhall be done in your Highneſs cauſe; then if the commiſſion decretal, being in Cardinal Campegius's hands, ſhould be ſhewed, and this your Highneſs, at your liberty, to ſhew to whom of your Council, it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, thinking, in my poor opinion, that it were not the beſt, therefore, to move the Pope in that matter again, in this adverſe time. I moſt humbly deſire your Majeſty, that I may be a ſuitor to the ſame, for the ſaid Mr Gregory, ſo as by your gracious commandment, payment may be made there, to his factors, of ſuch diets as your Highneſs alloweth him; for omitting to ſpeak of his true, faithful, and diligent ſervice, which I have heretofore, and do now perceive in him here, I aſſure your Highneſs, he liveth here ſumptuouſly and chargeably to your Highneſs honour; and in this great ſcarcity, muſt needs

'be

his cauſe before the Legantine Court. Upon his return he had the Archdeaconry of Norfolk beſtowed on him by Biſhop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained ſome favours from the Pope. He was inſtalled March the firſt 1529 (*w*), and this, ſo far as appears, was his firſt preferment in the Church; but in the State his growth was quicker, for the King having conſtant need of his ſervice, and not eſteeming it proper to uſe it while he belonged to another, took him from his old Maſter Cardinal Wolſey, and declared him Secretary of State (*x*). In this ſituation he was conſidered as having a large ſhare in the management of all affairs, and was particularly adviſed with by the King, when Cardinal Campegio declared that the cauſe was avoked to Rome, and that himſelf and his colleague could proceed no further (*y*). An accident furniſhed the King with the means of extricating himſelf out of the many difficulties into which this behaviour of the Pope's had thrown him, for which he was indebted to the ſhrewd advice given by Dr (afterwards Archbiſhop) Cranmer (*z*), as he was indebted for that to Dr Gardiner, who introduced him [*H*]; and by this, and this only, contributed to his old patron's ruin. As ſoon as the King ſaw a way open for the concluſion of his buſineſs, without the aſſiſtance of the Cardinal, he delayed no longer making himſelf ſenſible of his diſpleaſure. Whence it aroſe, is variouſly and inconſiſtently related by our Hiſtorians; but, without recurring to deep and incertain motives, we may be ſatisfied with this, that when Henry ſaw his Miniſter had either concurred with the Court of Rome in duping him, or was in reality duped moſt ungratefully and egregiouſly by that Court himſelf, he determined to truſt him no longer, but to make him

(*w*) Regiſt. Norwich.

(*x*) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 71.

(*z*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 4.

'be driven to extremity, unleſs your Highneſs be a 'gracious Lord unto him in that behalf.'

This letter is dated the twenty-firſt of April, which muſt have been in the year 1529; but before it came to the King's hands, he had written a long diſpatch to Gardiner, which is ſtill preſerved. The orders for his return to England, were communicated to him, and to Sir Francis Bryan, in a long diſpatch by Cardinal Wolſey, who tells the former, what has been hinted in the text, that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary at home, the King being unwilling to commence his ſuit before the two Cardinal Legates, without having his advice; and therefore, there is reaſon to believe, that he left Italy ſome time in the month of May, or it may be in the latter end of April (21). He was ſucceeded by Dr Bennet, who was alſo a creature of the Cardinal's, and who was particularly charged to ſpare no pains, in moving the compaſſion of the Pope, by ſhewing him plainly, that the welfare or ruin of the Cardinal of York, depended upon the ſucceſs, or want of ſucceſs, in the King's ſuit for a divorce (22).

(21) By comparing his Letters from Rome, with the matters he tranſacted at his return.

(22) Extracts of his Letters may be found in Strype.

[*H*] *Who introduced him.*] There are ſome writers, who aſcribe the introduction of Cranmer to the King's knowledge, to Fox entirely; and whoever was inclined to flatter Gardiner's memory, would ſuffer this to paſs; for certainly, the manner in which he introduced him, was very unworthy; Biſhop Burnet, after John Fox and others, relates it thus (23). 'Dr Cranmer, being forced 'to fly out of Cambridge, from a plague that was 'there, and having the ſons of one Mr Creſſy, of 'Waltham-Croſs, committed to his charge, he went, 'with his pupils, to their father's houſe at Waltham. 'There he was, when the King returned from his 'progreſs, who took Waltham in his way, and lay a 'night there. The harbingers having appointed Gardiner and Fox, the King's Secretary and Almoner, 'to lie at Mr Creſſy's houſe, it ſo happened, that 'Cranmer was with them at ſupper. The whole diſcourſe of England being then about the divorce, theſe 'two courtiers, knowing Cranmer's learning and ſolid 'judgment, entertained him with it, and deſired to 'hear his opinion concerning it. He modeſtly declined it, but told them, that he judged it would be 'a ſhorter and ſafer way, once to clear it well, if the 'marriage was unlawful in itſelf, by virtue of any 'divine precept: for if that were proved, then it was 'certain that the Pope's diſpenſation could be of no 'force, to make that lawful, which God had declared 'to be unlawful. Therefore, he thought that, inſtead of a long fruitleſs negotiation at Rome, it were 'better to conſult all the learned men, and the univerſities of Chriſtendom; for if they once declared 'it in the King's favour, then the Pope muſt needs 'give judgment, or otherwiſe, the Bull, being of itſelf null and void, the marriage would be found 'ſinful, notwithſtanding the Pope's diſpenſation. This 'ſeemed a very good motion, which they reſolved to 'offer to the King; ſo next night, when he came to 'Greenwich, they propoſed it to him, but with this 'difference, that Gardiner had a mind to make it paſs 'for their own contrivance, but Fox, who was of a 'more ingenuous nature, told the King from whom 'they had it. He was much affected with it, ſo ſoon 'as he heard it, and ſaid, had he known it ſooner, 'it would have ſaved him a vaſt expence, and much 'trouble, and would needs have Cranmer ſent for to 'Court, ſaying, in his coarſe way of ſpeaking, *That 'he had the ſow by the right ear.* So he was ſent for 'to Court, and being brought before the King, he 'carried himſelf ſo, that the King conceived an high 'opinion of his judgment and candour, which he preſerved to his death, and ſtill payed a reſpect to 'him, beyond all the other churchmen that were 'about him; and though he made more uſe of Gardiner in his buſineſs, whom he found a man of great 'dexterity and cunning, yet he never had any reſpect 'for him. But for Cranmer, though the King knew 'that in many things he differed from him, yet for 'all his being ſo impatient of contradiction, he always 'reverenced him.'

(23) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 79, 80.

This laſt obſervation of the Biſhop's, is, perhaps, a little too refined, ſince it was impoſſible to know what were the real ſentiments of King Henry, farther than they are diſcovered to us by facts; and theſe ſpeak pretty equally in favour of Cranmer and Gardiner. They were both countenanced, employed, and preferred, and both were ſometimes checked and frowned upon by their maſter; he had this in his temper, which no body better underſtood than Gardiner, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. They were both guilty of inexcuſable compliances, to preſerve their credit with that haughty and haſty Prince, which Cranmer did to the laſt; and how Gardiner came to loſe it we ſhall enquire. At preſent, it may be convenient to give ſome account of what is aſſerted in the text, that the bringing Cranmer to the King, proved Wolſey's ruin, as to which, it muſt be confeſſed, that our hiſtories are ſilent, but it appears thus. All the world expected his diſgrace, upon the avocation of the King's ſuit to Rome, which, however, did not happen; and Biſhop Burnet very well obſerves, that the Cardinal himſelf began to be cured of his apprehenſions, when he ſaw that the King's countenance was not altered towards him; and that thoſe who were moſt familiar with that Monarch, preſerved their reſpect to him. But when, to uſe the King's coarſe expreſſion, he had once *got the ſow by the right ear*, he no longer temporized with the Cardinal, but ordered his Attorney-General, Chriſtopher Hales, to file an information againſt him in Michaelmas-term; ſent for the Great Seal, and ordered him to retire to his houſe at Aſher, which belonged to his Biſhoprick of Wincheſter. It is therefore plain, from a compariſon of dates, and of facts, that the King's receiving and embracing Cranmer's counſels, was the true ſource of the Cardinal's diſgrace, the King being then perſuaded, that he had no farther need of him.

him in ſome meaſure the victim that might ſatiate popular reſentment, and ſtifle thoſe clamours raiſed amongſt his ſubjects in different parts of the kingdom (*a*). This tempeſt broke with ſuch fury on the head of this devoted Miniſter, that his miſery became as much the ſubject of amazement, as his proſperity had ever been. In this diſtreſs he had recourſe to his old ſervant the Secretary, and, though ſome have inſinuated the contrary, he met with as ſincere returns of gratitude and friendſhip, as he could deſire or expect [*I*]. The

(*a*) Hollinſhed, Stowe, Baker.

[*I*] *As he could deſire or expect.*] There is a great deal to be met with in ſecret hiſtory, in relation to the fall of Cardinal Wolſey, as well as of the ſtrange calamities into which he fell; and his misfortunes are, by many, attributed to the reſentment of Mrs Anne Boleyn, which, however, there is ſome cauſe to doubt. Great Miniſters have always bitter enemies, who earneſtly wiſh, and would willingly work, their deſtruction; but it does not follow from thence, that they accompliſh what they have wiſhed and worked for, even when it falls out; for it may and often does happen, from other ſecret cauſes, in reſpect to which, they have no power, and of which, ſometimes, they have not the leaſt knowledge. It has been ſhewn, in the former note, that the King thought he had no farther need of this Miniſter; and whoever looks cloſely into the hiſtory of Henry the Eighth, will perceive that it was his ruling maxim, to promote men whom he might uſe, to protect them while he could uſe, and to give them up when they were of no further uſe. He was not entirely ſatisfied, that the deſtruction of Wolſey's perſon could promote his deſigns, and therefore he ſpared him; and as he ſaw further, that the fall of his Miniſter, would be conſidered as a point of importance in other kingdoms, as well as his own; he was willing to ſee how far the Cardinal's intereſt reached, and whether the Court of Rome, for which he had done ſo much, might not be inclined to do ſomething for him; and this induced the King to take ſo much care of his life, when, through the agitation of his ſpirits, he fell into a dangerous illneſs at Aſher (24).

(24) He ſent his own Phyſician, Dr Butts, to attend him, and by him ſent kind meſſages and preſents.

It is very rare in ſuch caſes, for Miniſters to find friends, more eſpecially amongſt thoſe, who, in point of fortune, depend upon the maſter with whom they are in diſgrace. Thomas Cromwell, then Secretary to the Cardinal, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by adhering ſteadily to his maſter, and ſoliciting ſtoutly for him at Court; in reſpect to this, all our hiſtories agree, and commend him for it, as he deſerved. But they do not tell us, to whom he applied himſelf at Court, though at that time, he was not of a rank to have any admittance to the King, though his conduct, in this reſpect, recommended him afterwards to his favour, as a man of abilities, ſpirit, and fidelity. Dr Gardiner was then Secretary of State, in the King's Council, and one of his moſt active Miniſters. To ſay nothing of his having been bred and raiſed by Cardinal Wolſey, the then ſtate of affairs, and the ſituation of that once great man, were points that muſt have fallen under his notice; and whoever had an inclination to look into his hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily be curious to know how he acted in ſo delicate a conjuncture; and whether ambition, and ſelf-intereſt, ſo much took up his heart, as to leave no room for gratitude or pity. It might have been ſurmiſed, that conſidering his former condition, and his ſtation at this time, that he was the perſon to whom Cromwell had recourſe, in favour of his unfortunate maſter, that he ſollicited his ſuits, and procured him thoſe gleams of royal clemency and compaſſion, that broke through all the obſcurity of his misfortunes, to a degree, that revived the envy and the malice of his enemies. But the ſilence of our greateſt Hiſtorians, and the character commonly given to Stephen Gardiner, would have prevented any conjecture of this kind, from gaining the leaſt degree of belief. However, the indefatigable Strype (25), who had no talent for inventing or interpolating hiſtory, and who very honeſtly communicated to the public all he knew, has effectually ſettled this matter; and the reader will be pleaſed to ſee a part of his evidence in his own words, founded not upon obſcure hints, or upon memoirs of incertain authority; but upon Cardinal Wolſey's own letters; and facts, that will admit no diſpute.

(25) Memorials, Vol. I. p. 114.

'In the mean time, he employed thoſe few friends 'he had, to intercede with the King, and to make as 'good a concluſion of his troubles as they could. He 'had two that ſtuck cloſe to him, viz. the aforeſaid 'Thomas Cromwell, and Dr Stephen Gardiner, Se- 'cretary of State. This latter he plied with his let- 'ters, the bearer whereof was Cromwell, whom he 'called *his truſty friend.* After he had got free of the 'articles drawn up againſt him in Parliament, by the 'means of Cromwell, the King appointed, to come to 'ſome concluſion of the Cardinal's buſineſs, and to 'determine what was to be done concerning him. 'This Secretary Gardiner ſignified to him in writing, 'and likewiſe the time when he ſuppoſed it might be, 'namely, within a week, or thereabouts: and like- 'wiſe told him, that he would not fail to write to him 'the particulars. The Cardinal impatient to know 'the iſſue, and not thinking the Secretary ſwift enough 'in his information, above a week being now paſt, 'could take no reſt till he heard from him the ſum of 'what had paſt concerning him. And therefore in a 'letter ſent by Cromwell, moſt earneſtly begs the Se- 'cretary in much meanneſs of ſpirit, *As he tendered 'his poor life, and at the reverence of God, and that 'holy time, he would ſend him his letter, appealing alſo 'to his pity, knowing in what an agony he was, and 'that he would not only deſerve towards God, but bind 'him thereby to be his continual beadſman.* And ſo 'ended from Aſher. *Written*, thoſe are his words, 'with his rude hand and ſorrowful heart. Subſcrib- 'ing himſelf *T. Carlis Ebor. miſerrimus*, The moſt 'miſerable Thomas, Cardinal of York. This was 'written in Chriſtmas holidays.

'Soon after Cromwell returned from the Secretary 'with this meſſage to the Cardinal. *That the King 'moved with pity of the* Cardinal, *and commiſerating 'his lamentable condition, preſt with extreme poverty 'as well as ſickneſs of body and mind, had committed 'the ending of his troubles to the* Secretary, *and* ſome 'others *of the* Privy Council, *and that to be done with 'all the haſte that might be. And that he ſhould have 'a pardon drawn up in the moſt full and ample form, 'that his own Counſel could deviſe.* Upon this meſ- 'ſage he ſoon diſpatched a letter to the Secretary, im- 'porting, that this favourable order of the King, he 'was more ſenſible of and thankful for, *becauſe it pro- 'ceeded from himſelf, out of a gracious remembrance 'of him: for which he accounted himſelf moſt bounden, 'to ſerve and pray for the preſervation of his moſt 'royal Majeſty: thanking God, that he, the* Secre- 'tary, *had occaſion given him to be a ſollicitor and ſet- 'ter forth of ſuch things, as ſhould conſerve his end. 'That in the making and compounding whereof, his 'aſſured truſt was, that he would ſhew the love and 'affection which he bore towards him.* He earneſtly 'intreated him, to whom he, the Cardinal, had been 'an old lover and friend, that *he would ſo declare 'himſelf in the managing of his buſineſs, that the 'world might perceive that by his good means, the* King 'was the better good Lord unto him; *and that now 'coming newly in a manner into the world, there might 'ſuch reſpect be had unto his degree, old age, and long 'ſervice, as might be to the King's honour, and the* 'Secretary's *praiſe; which would*, as he ſaid, *un- 'doubtedly follow, if he obtained his benevolence to- 'wards him. And men would perceive, that it was 'by his wiſdom and dexterity, that he was relieved and 'holpen in his calamity. At the reverence therefore of 'God, he prayed him that was his refuge, to ſet to his 'hand, that he might come to a laudable end and re- 'poſe. And that he would ſee that he might be fur- 'niſhed after ſuch a ſort, that he might end his ſhort 'time and life to the honour of* Chriſt's Church *and 'his* Prince. *Promiſing withal to requite his kindneſs 'in ſuch a manner, as he ſhould have cauſe to think his 'pains to be well employed. And ſo referring him to 'his truſty friend* Cromwell, *to whom he deſired him to 'give firm credence, he concluded,* at *Aſher with the 'trembling hand and heavy heart, of his aſſured lover*

'and

year ensuing opened with the most important service, at least as his Master conceived it, that had been as yet rendered him by Dr Gardiner, and which nevertheless does more honour to his abilities than his virtue; and this was to manage the University of Cambridge, so as to procure their declaration in the King's cause, after Dr Cranmer's book should appear in support of it (*b*). This, in conjunction with Dr Fox, he accomplished, tho' not without much artifice and address, as his own letter shews [*K*], which sufficiently demonstrates that men, and even great bodies of men, have been much the same in all ages. After

(*b*) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 5, 6.

'*and beadsman*——Soon after, viz. February the twelfth the King sealed his pardon, and three days after restored him the Archbishoprick of York, and sent him money, upwards of six thousands pounds, besides plate, and furniture for his house and chapel. Which favours pretty well recovered the Cardinal, while he remained still at Asher, and by the King's leave removed thence to Richmond.

'But his enemies now thought him too near the Court: so they prevailed to get him removed to his Diocese of York. In the month of September Anno 1530, he came to Cawood-castle near York, so the Lord Herbert (26); but before he came hither, I find him in the months of July and August at Southwell (27), a manor of the Archbishop's, where he made some stay. Here the Cardinal recommended unto the Secretary, one who had the title of Provost of Beverley, the Governor of a religious house, situated in his Diocese. His state, it seems, was in some hazard. Whereupon the Cardinal espousing his cause, and probably to make himself popular upon his first coming into his Diocese, desired the Secretary that he would use his interest for him to the King, and bring him into his presence. This the Secretary did accordingly, receiving the Provost as coming from the Cardinal, humanely and lovingly, and introducing him into the King's Highness presence. Whom the King received, and shewed him, *that he was his good and gracious* Lord, *and admitted and accepted him as his* Orator *and* Scholar. For this the Cardinal from Southwell thanks him much, intreating him to continue his good favour towards the said Provost, and to take him into his patronage and protection. The Cardinal now found a great change in his revenues and incomes, which were sinking very low, in comparison of what they had been. So that he laboured under want. This made him write in the month of July to his friend the Secretary, to take the opportunity to excite the King to some liberality towards him. *That he would remember the poor state and condition he stood in, and to be a means to the* King's Highness *for his relief; whereby he would not only as* he said, *deserve thanks of* God, *but also declare to his perpetual laud and praise, that he being in authority, had not forgotten his old master and friend.*' This is all the language of those times and of those letters, much more to the same purpose the reader may find in the same place; but this being enough to our point, we shall not detain him any longer.

(26) In his Life of Henry VIII.

(27) There is a distinct account of all the stages in his journey, in Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 914.

[*K*] *As his own letter shews.*] We are told by the Lord Herbert of Cherbury (28), who had read this letter, and had a very just notion of the business, and of the means by which it was carried, what the reasons were, that occasioned the King more trouble in obtaining the declarations of his own Universities in his favour, than of many others in foreign parts, and more especially of the difficulties that were met with at Cambridge. He says, that there were two parties in the University, that united together in opposing the King's desire; that is, those who were really against the divorce, as a thing they apprehended to be unjust; and those, who, independent of that motive, were zealous for the Popish religion, and disliked whatever had a tendency to promote the Reformation, or, as it was stiled in those times, the new opinions. The reason that the latter party were so much alarmed, was, because they saw those they opposed, with Cranmer at their head, eager for this declaration; and the strength these united parties had in the University, being well known to Cranmer, we need not at all wonder, that the King was so uneasy about it; or that he considered the service in procuring it, even in the manner it was procured, as a thing of the greatest consequence. Let us now come to the letter (29), which will shew, that the King had intrusted his concerns in the hands of very capable agents.

(28) Life of Henry VIII.

(29) Cotton. Vitel. B. 13.

February 1530, *from* Cambridge.

To the King's Highness.

'PLeaseth it your Highness to be advertised, that arriving here at Cambridge upon Saturday last past at noon, that same night and Sunday in the morning, we devised with the Vice-Chancellor, and such other as favoureth your Grace's cause, how, and in what sort to compass and obtain your Grace's purpose and intent, wherein we assure your Grace, we found much towardness, good-will, and diligence in the Vice-Chancellor, and Dr Edmunds; being as studious to serve your Grace as we could wish or desire: nevertheless, there was not so much care, labour, study, and diligence employed on our party by them, ourself, and other, for attaining your Grace's purpose, but there was as much done by others, for the let and impeachment of the same; and as we assembled, they assembled; as we made friends, they made friends, to let that nothing should pass as in the University's name, wherein the first day they were superiors; for they had put in the ears of them, by whose voices such things do pass *multas fabulas*, too tedious to write unto your Grace.

'Upon Sunday at afternoon were assembled, after the manner of the University, all the Doctors, Bachelors of Divinity, and Masters of Art, being in number almost two hundred: in that *congregation* we delivered your Grace's letters, which were read openly by the Vice-Chancellor. And for answer to be made unto them first, the Vice-Chancellor calling apart the Doctors, asked their advice and opinion; whereunto they answered severally as their affections led them, *& res erat in multa confusione.*

'*Tandem* they were content. Answer should be made to the questions by indifferent men: but then they came to exceptions against the Abbot of St *Benet's*, who seemed to come for that purpose; and likewise against Dr Reppes and Dr Crome, and also generally against all such as had allowed Dr Cranmer's book; inasmuch as they had already declared their opinion; we said thereunto, that by that reason they might except against all; for it was lightly, that in a question so notable as this is, every man learned hath said to his friend, as he thinketh in it for the time, but we ought not to judge of any man, that he setteth more to defend that which he hath once said, than truth afterward known. Finally; The Vice-Chancellor, because the day was much spent in those altercations, commanding every man to resort to his seat apart, as the manner is in those assemblies, willed every man's mind to be known secretly, whether they would be content with such an order, as he had conceived for answer, to be made by the University to your Grace's letters, whereunto that night they would in no wise agree. And forasmuch as it was then dark night, the Vice-Chancellor continued the *congregation* till the next day at one of the clock; at which time the Vice-Chancellor proponed a *grace*, after the form herein inclosed, and it was first denied: when it was asked again, it was even on both parties, to be denied or granted; and at the last, by labour of friends, to cause some to depart the house, which were against it, it was obtained in such form, as the schedule herein enclosed purporteth, wherein be two points which we would have left out; but considering, by putting in of them, we allured many, and that indeed they shall not hurt the determination for your Grace's part, we were finally content therewith.

'The one point is that where it was first, that *quicquid major pars*, of them that be named, *decreverit*, should be taken for the determination of the University. Now it referred, *ad duas partes*, wherein we suppose shall be no difficulty. The other point is, that your Grace's question shall be openly disputed,

After this great exploit, as it was then thought, his aſcent in the Church was marvellouſly quickened. In the ſpring of the year 1531, he was inſtalled Archdeacon of Leiceſter (*c*), reſigning that of Norfolk, which he held before; and, towards the cloſe of the month of September enſuing, he alſo reſigned that in favour of his coadjutor Dr Edward Fox, who became afterwards Biſhop of Hereford (*d*). In the month of October he was incorporated at the Univerſity of Oxford (*e*), and November the twenty-ſeventh 1531, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Wincheſter (*f*), contrary to what many writers aſſert, that he was not promoted to this See till about three years after (*g*). On the fifth of December following the temporalities were reſtored (*h*), which is a ſufficient proof that the former is the right date. Dr Gardiner, it ſeems, was not appriſed of the King's intentions, who would ſometimes rate him ſoundly, and at the inſtant he beſtowed it put him in mind of it. *I have chid* he, *often ſquar'd with you*, Gardiner (a word he uſed for thoſe kind of rebukes), *but I love you never the worſe, as the Biſhoprick I give will convince you* (*i*). He ſat with Dr Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when that prelate pronounced the ſentence of divorce againſt Queen Katherine, or rather declared her marriage with the King null and void, May the twenty-third 1533 (*k*). The ſame year he was ſent over to Marſeilles, that he might have an eye to the interview between the French King and the Pope, from whence his maſter ſuſpected ſome detriment might ſpring; and there he intimated the appeal of Henry VIII. to a General Council, in caſe the Pope ſhould pretend to proceed in his cauſe (*l*); and he did the like on the behalf of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who made a particular application to him for that purpoſe [*L*]. Upon his return to England, he was

(*c*) Tanner. Biblioth. Britanico Hibernica, p. 308.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 158.

(*e*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 50.

(*f*) MS. Lowth e Regiſt. Cantuar.

(*g*) Godwin, Wharton, Tanner.

(*h*) Rymer. Fœder. Tom. xiv. p. 429.

(*i*) In his own letter to the Duke of Somerſet.

(*k*) Burnet's Reformat. Vol. I. p. 131.

(*l*) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

' which we think to be very honourable; and it is ' agreed amongſt us, that in that diſputation, ſhall ' anſwer the Abbot of St Benet's, Dr Reppes, and I, ' Mr Fox, to all ſuch as will object any thing, or ' reaſon againſt the concluſion to be ſuſtained for ' your Grace's part. And becauſe Mr Doctor Clyſs ' hath ſaid, that he hath ſomewhat to ſay concerning ' the Canon Law, I, your Secretary, ſhall be adjoin- ' ed unto them for anſwer to be made therein.

' In the ſchedule, which we ſend unto your Grace ' herewith, containing the names of thoſe who ſhall ' determine your Grace's queſtion, all marked with the ' letter (A), be already of your Grace's opinion, by ' which we truſt, and with other good means, to in- ' duce and obtain a great part of the reſt. Thus we ' beſeech Almighty God to preſerve your moſt noble ' and royal eſtate.

Your Highneſs's

Moſt humble ſubjects and ſervants,

STEPHEN GARDINER,
EDWARD FOX.

The Grace purpoſed and obtained, Feb. 1530.

Placet vobis ut

A Vicecancellarius.

Doctores,

A Salcot, *The Abbot of* St Benet's,
Watſon,
A Repps,
Tomſon,
Venetus, *de iſto bene ſperatur,*
A Edmunds,
Downes,
A Crome,
A Wygan,
A Boſton.

Magiſtri in Theologia,

Middelton,
A Heynes,
Mylſent, *de iſto bene ſperatur,*
A Shaxton,
A Latimer,
A Simon,
Longford, *de iſto bene ſperatur,*
Thyxtel,
Nicols,
Hutton,
A Skip,
A Goodrich,
A Heth,
Hadway, *de iſto bene ſperatur,*
Dey,
Bayne,
A A Duo Procuratores,

Habeant plenam facultatem & authoritatem, nomine totius Univerſitatis, reſpondendi Literis Regiæ Majeſtatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Univerſitatis definiendi & determinandi quæſtionem in dictis literis propoſitam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum preſentium inter ſe decreverint, ſuper quæſtione propoſita in iiſdem habeatur, & reputetur pro Reſponſione, Definitione & Determinatione totius Univerſitatis, & quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus & Scrutatoribus, literis ſuper dictarum duarum partium definitione & determinatione concipienda ſigillum commune Univerſitatis apponere, ſic quod diſputetur quæſtio publice & antea legatur coram Univerſitate abſque ulteriori gratia deſuper petenda aut obtinenda.

Your Highneſs may perceive, by the notes, that we be already ſure of as many *as be* requiſite, *wanting only* three; *and we have good hope of* four, *of which* four *if we get* two, *and obtain of another* to be abſent, *it is ſufficient for our purpoſe.*

[*L*] *To him for that purpoſe.*] We have this paſſage, together with the Archbiſhop's letter, from an unexceptionable author, who, having mentioned this interview, proceeds thus (30), ' Gardiner, Biſhop of ' Winton, about this time, and upon this occaſion, ' was ſent Ambaſſador to the French King, and Bonner ' ſoon after followed him to Marſeilles, where Gardi- ' ner, at the interview between the French King and ' the Pope, now was. For the King, and the Coun- ' cil, apprehended ſome miſchief to be hatching againſt ' the kingdom by the Pope, who was now inciting the ' Emperor, and other Princes, to make war upon us. ' And indeed he had vaunted, as the Lord Herbert de- ' clares, that he would ſet all Chriſtendom againſt the ' King. And the Emperor, in diſcourſe, had averred, ' that, by the means of Scotland, he would avenge his ' aunt's quarrel. The Archbiſhop, in this juncture, ' had ſecret intimation of a deſire to excommunicate ' him, and interdict his Church. Whereupon, as the ' King, by Bonner, November the ſeventh, had made ' his appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, ' lawfully called, ſo by the King and Council's advice ' the Archbiſhop ſoon after did the ſame: ſending his ' appeal with his proxy, under his ſeal, to Bonner, de- ' ſiring him, together with Gardiner, to conſult to- ' gether, and to intimate his appeal in the beſt man- ' ner they could think expedient for him. And this ' letter he wrote by the King's own commandment. ' It was not the hand of the Archbiſhop, nor of his Se- ' cretary. So I ſuppoſe it was drawn up by ſome of his ' own lawyers, and is as followeth.

In my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So it is, as you know right well, I ſtand in dread, leaſt our Holy Father, the Pope, do intend to make ſome manner of prejudicial proceſs againſt me and my Church. And therefore, having probable conjectures thereof, I have appealed from his Holineſs to the General Council, accordingly as his Highneſs, and his Council, have adviſed me

(30) Memoriale of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 22.

was called upon, as other Biſhops were, not only to acknowledge and yield obedience to the King as Supreme Head of the Church, but to defend it; which he did, and this defence, or court ſermon, he publiſhed; and this is that celebrated piece of his, intituled, *Of true Obedience.* His pen was made uſe of upon other occaſions, and never declined vindicating the King's proceedings in the buſineſs of the divorce, the ſubſequent marriage, or throwing off the dominion of the See of Rome, which writings of his then acquired him the highest reputation (*m*). In the next year 1535, he had ſome diſpute with Archbiſhop Cranmer, on account of his viſiting his dioceſe; upon which occaſion there appeared a good deal of heat on both ſides (*n*). When he went over again to France, to reſume his embaſſy, he had the ill luck to differ with another Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as he afterwards became, Dr Reginald Pole, then Dean of Exeter, whom, as King Henry's bittereſt enemy, he prevailed on the French King to remove out of his dominions, whence thoſe diſtaſtes grew which afterwards became publick (*o*). While he was thus employed, Cromwell demanded his opinion about a religious league with the Princes of Germany; which, on that bottom, he diſſuaded, and adviſed making an alliance grounded on political motives, and ſtrengthened by ſubſidies, which he thought would laſt longer, and anſwer the King's ends better (*p*). In 1538, he was ſent Ambaſſador, with Sir Henry Knevit, to the German Diet, where he is allowed to have acquitted himſelf well in regard to his commiſſion; but either fell into ſome ſuſpicion, or was in danger of having ſomething faſtened on him, in reſpect to his ſecret correſpondence with the Pope, which at that juncture might have been his ruin (*q*) [*M*]. His being ſo often, and ſo much, abſent from the Court, as it gave him a great knowledge of foreign affairs, ſo it kept him from having any hand in ſeveral tranſactions which did no great honour to that reign, ſuch as the divorce and death of Queen Anne Bolleyn, the proſecution of Sir Thomas More, and bringing Biſhop Fiſher to the block. It is however aſſerted, that tho' he was clear of theſe, yet he inſtigated other ſeverities, and was the principal author of all the cruelties committed upon Hereticks, as they were then called; which, being a matter of great conſequence, the reader may expect ſhould be more clearly diſcuſſed. The only way of doing this, will be to conſider a few of thoſe ſanguinary proceedings, in which he is ſaid to have had the chief hand; for this will ſhew us what credit is due to the general ſuggeſtion, that perſecution was the great object of his counſels. Amongſt theſe, the firſt that occurs is the caſe of Lambert (*r*), who was burnt for denying the Real Preſence in the Sacrament, and which is commonly attributed to the virulent ſpirit of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and with what reaſon the reader will diſcover in the notes [*N*]. The ſtatute, commonly called the Six Articles, and which it muſt

(*m*) Tanner. Bibliot. Britanico-Hibernica, p. 308.

(*n*) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 33.

(*o*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 275.

(*p*) As appears from his own letter, preſerved by Collier.

(*q*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 274.

(*r*) Bale, Fox, Burnet.

me to do. Which my appeal, and procuracie, under my ſeal, I do ſend unto you, herewith deſiring you right-heartily to have me commended to my Lord of Wincheſter, and, with his advice and counſel, to intimate the ſaid provocation, after the beſt manner that his Lordſhip and you ſhall think moſt expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, becauſe the King's Highneſs commandeth me thus to do, as you ſhall, I truſt further, perceive by his Grace's letter: nothing doubting in your goodneſs, but, at this mine own deſire, you will be contented to take this pains, though his Highneſs ſhall percaſe forget to write unto you therein. Which your pains and kindneſs, if it ſhall lie in me in time to come to recompence, I wol not forget it with God's grace. Who preſerve you, as well as myſelf. From Lambeth the twenty-ſeventh day of November.

THOMAS *Cantuar.*

[*M*] *Might have been his ruin.*] We have this ſtory thus told by Mr Strype (31). 'About the year '1538, a Diet was held at Ratiſbone, whither King 'Henry ſent Biſhop Gardiner and Sir Henry Knevit, 'his joint Ambaſſadors: where alſo was Contarini, a 'Legate from the Pope. This Legate brought letters 'from the Pope to Wincheſter, and, going away ſud-'denly, deſired an Italian Merchant, named Lodovico, 'to go to Wincheſter, and to haſten his anſwer to the 'Pope's pacquet, for that the carrier was ready to de-'part in a day or two. This Lodovico ſoon after 'meeting one Wolf, Steward to Sir Henry Knevit, 'prayed him that he would tell the Engliſh Ambaſſa-'dor what the Legate deſired. Wolf told him there 'were two Ambaſſadors, and aſked him which. He 'ſaid he knew not that: but he ſaid it was a Biſhop, 'whom he ſtiled Reverendiſſimo. This, Wolf diſco-'vered to Mr Chaloner, Sir Henry Knevit's Secretary. 'And him Wolf carried to Lodovico, that there might 'be another witneſs beſides himſelf; and then pumped 'him ſo in Chaloner's company, that he again ſpake 'of it. This whole matter was fully related by theſe 'two perſons to Knevit. And he ſent ſecret notice of 'it to the King. The King thought fit, at that time, 'to put it up, and ſent word to Knevit and the Biſhop, 'who had words together about this, that they ſhould 'both unite and mind his buſineſs.'

(31) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 274.

This was Sir Henry Knevit's explanation of the matter; but the Biſhop of Wincheſter gave it quite another turn, he ſaid that there was poiſon in his diſh, which he explained by ſuggeſting that Lodovico was ſuborned to ſet this ſtory on foot, of which he complained to the Emperor, and the man was impriſoned. All our Hiſtories of Henry VIII, forbid us to believe that he would wink at a miniſter's betraying him; it is much more probable, that he underſtood the thing thoroughly, and adviſed his miniſters wiſely to make uſe of the keenneſs of their wits in the diſcharge of their duty, and not to the prejudice of each other. But tho' this tale was harmleſs in one reign, it proved hurtful in another; one who owed his bread and being to the Biſhop, and who came to the knowledge of it by being his Secretary, gave it in evidence when the Protector firſt picked, and thoſe who came after maintained, a quarrel with the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the time of Edward VI (32); and this has very unaccountably helped it to credit ever ſince, tho' ſurely ſuſpicions ſlighted by King Henry deſerve none; had there been any thing in it, he would not have been afterwards employed in affairs of the greateſt importance, both foreign and domeſtick.

(32) In the evidence at what is called the Biſhop's Trial when deprived.

[*N*] *In the notes.*] It is allowed on all hands, that the caſe of this unfortunate perſon, was, in all reſpects, the moſt extraordinary that happened throughout this reign, in which there were ſo many, and ſuch ſtrange, proſecutions. Let us hear the account that Biſhop Burnet gives of it (33). 'One John Nicholſon, alias 'Lambert, was then queſtioned by the Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury. He had been Miniſter of the Engliſh 'company at Antwerp, where, being acquainted with 'Tindal and Frith, he improved that knowledge of 'Religion which was firſt infuſed in him by Bilney: 'but Chancellor More ordered the Merchants to diſ-'miſs

(33) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 252.

must be owned was the law on which many were put to death, is attributed to his contrivance, and said to have been passed by his influence, having been warmly opposed, both by the Archbishop, and the Vicegerent Cromwell (*s*); but those who alledge he had no credit with the King, and was little beloved by the people, cannot expect an implicite faith to attend such an assertion. That he was principally concerned in drawing it, and that he was very earnest in promoting it in the House of Lords, in conjunction with the Duke of Norfolk, and other Lords Spiritual and Temporal, those must have but little knowledge in English History who will attempt to deny. It was not long after this, that Robert Barnes (*t*) fell under persecution, and, in the issue, was condemned to be burnt; who, because

(*s*) Fuller, Burnet, Collier.

(*t*) See his article in Bayle.

'miss him; so he came over to England, and was 'taken by some of Archbishop Warham's officers, and 'many articles were objected to him. But Warham 'died soon after, and the change of Councils that followed, occasioned his liberty. So he kept a school 'at London, and hearing Dr Taylor afterwards preach 'of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he came 'to him upon it, and offered his reasons why he could 'not believe the doctrine he had preached: which he 'put in writing, digesting them into ten arguments. 'Taylor shewed this to Dr Barnes, who, as he was 'bred among the Lutherans, so had not only brought 'over their opinions, but their temper with him: he 'thought that nothing would more obstruct the pro'gress of the Reformation, than the venting that doc'trine in England. Therefore Taylor and he carried 'the paper to Cranmer, who was at that time also of 'Luther's opinion, which he had drunk in from his 'friend Osiander. Latimer was of the same belief. 'So Lambert was brought before them, and they stu'died to make him retract his paper: but all was in 'vain, for Lambert, by a fatal resolution, appealed to 'the King. This Gardiner laid hold on, and persuad'ed the King to proceed solemnly and severely in it. 'The King was soon prevailed with, and both interest 'and vanity concurred to make him improve this op'portunity for shewing his zeal and learning. So let'ters were written to many of the Nobility and Bishops 'to come and see this trial, in which the King intend'ed to sit in person, and to manage some part of the 'argument. In November, on the day that was pre'fixed, there was a great appearance in Westminster'Hall, of the Bishops and Clergy, the Nobility, Judges, 'and the King's Council, with an incredible number of 'spectators. The King's guards were all in white, and 'so was the cloth of state.'

All this is taken upon the credit of Fox, who likewise informs us, that, as Lambert had advanced ten (34) arguments in defence of his opinion, the King resolved that these should be answered by ten Bishops, appointing Cranmer to solve the first of Lambert's objections, which was, *The impossibility of* Christ's body *being in two places*; and Fox makes it a great crime in the Bishop of Winchester, that he interposed to assist Cranmer in the debate; however, the King himself had the greatest share in the triumph, for he so affrighted the poor man with the sternness of his looks, and the roughness of his language, that, at length, wearied out with the debate, he said, *he would submit himself to the King's clemency*; upon which Henry ordered the Lord Cromwell, as his Vicegerent, to read the sentence by which this tragedy was ended, Lambert being appointed to die on the ninth of October 1538. Fox says, that, in the morning before he suffered, he was carried to the Lord Cromwell's house, who most humbly asked him forgiveness.

(34) Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 396.

Another writer, no way inclined to favour Popery or Bishop Gardiner, gives quite another turn to this whole affair, for he represents it thus (35). 'John Lambert, 'alias Nicholson, bred in Cambridge, had lately been 'much persecuted by Archbishop Warham, about some 'opinions he held against the corporal presence in the 'Sacrament. And now being fallen into fresh troubles 'on the same account, to make the quicker work (fol'lowing the precedent of St Paul appealing to Cæsar) 'he appeals to the King. Who having lately taken 'upon him the title of the *Supreme Head* of the *Church* 'of *England*, would shew that *head* had a *tongue* could 'speak in matters of Divinity. In Whitehall the place 'and day is appointed where an *Act Royal* was kept, 'the King himself being the *Apponent* and Lambert the '*Answerer*; and where his Highness was worsted or 'wearied, Archbishop Cranmer supplied his place, ar'guing, tho' civilly, shrewdly against the truth and 'his own private judgment. Was not this worse than 'keeping the cloaths of those who killed St Stephen, 'seeing this Archbishop did actually cast stones at this 'Martyr, in the arguments he urged against him? Nor 'will it excuse Cranmer's cowardice and dissimulation, 'to accuse Gardiner's craft and cruelty, who privily 'put the Archbishop on this odious act; such Christian 'courage being justly expected from a person of his 'parts and place, as not to be acted by another con'trary to his own conscience. I see not, therefore, 'what can be said in Cranmer's behalf; save only, that 'I verily hope, and stedfastly believe, that he craved 'God's pardon for this particular offence, and obtain'ed the same on his unfeigned repentance.' And be'cause that mens faults are commonly seen in the glass 'of their punishment, it is observable, that as Lambert 'now was burnt for denying the corporal presence, so 'Cranmer now, his opponent, was afterwards con'demned, and died at Oxford for maintaining the 'same opinion; which valour, if sooner shewn, his 'conscience had probably been more clear with'in him, and his credit without him, to all poste'rity.'

(35) Fuller's Church Hist. p. 229.

Here the charge, with respect to Gardiner, is entirely changed; for he is accused not of giving ill counsel to the King, but of making a tool of the Archbishop; quite contrary to the relation of Fox, and very unlikely to be true, since they were not friends. But this imputation is nothing in comparison of the load laid upon the Archbishop, and this too without any cause; for, as Mr Strype has very clearly shewn in the life of that prelate (36), he sincerely believed the real presence at that time, and did not change his opinion till about the close of King Henry's reign, or a little after.

(36) Memoirs of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 255.

It would take up too much room to produce Strype's account of this matter, who has preserved the original argument of the Bishop of Chichester against Lambert; from whence it appears, that Fox is mistaken in many particulars, for instead of *ten* there were but *eight* arguments advanced by Lambert, and of these the first was answered by the King, so that there were but seven left to the Bishops. Upon the whole we may see, that Ecclesiastical Historians, of all others, are to be read with great caution, as being too much addicted to suffer their own conjectures to supply the want of materials, and this sometimes at the expence of the highest characters; as of Cranmer's, by Fuller, for want of considering duly the progress made by that great prelate, in detaching himself by reasoning and reading, from the errors in which he was bred. Yet, in the main, Dr Fuller seems to be in the right as to the true motive of this transaction, which was the King's vain affectation of displaying his authority as *Supreme Head* of the *Church*, to which Cromwell, Cranmer, Gardiner, perhaps all, more or less unwillingly, were obliged to bow. At least it is apparent, that the Bishop of Winchester had no hand in the seizing, or examining, this man; on the contrary, he was brought before Cranmer, and, by his *appeal* from him to the King as Supreme Head of the Church, he made that method of proceeding necessary; the advising of which, Bishop Burnet, from Fox, imputes to Gardiner, whose guilt, in this business, seems to have been no greater than that of the rest; and yet leaves it great enough too, since it was extremely hard to proceed in a matter of such exceeding difficulty, with such celerity and severity, in those, more especially who contended themselves for the right of a free inquiry, which this method was plainly calculated to destroy.

[O] Of

because he shewed particular spleen against Bishop Gardiner, and was first committed to prison for want of respect to him in a sermon, he is surmised to have been the author of all his sufferings, and the person by whose power that unfortunate Friar was at length brought to the stake, which is mentioned as a second instance of his good will to persecution [O]. There is no doubt, that, in the course of this reign, the Bishop of Winchester must have done many things against his inclination, and several against his conscience. He was obliged to take a share in the divorce of Anne of Cleves, which was none of the most honourable; and he was likewise obliged to bear a part in that of Queen Katherine Howard, which, considering his attachment to that most noble family, could be no very pleasing employment (u). But in these, and other compliances, he had many companions, and the excuses made for them by some great pens, may serve for him; or the reader will pass sentence as he pleases, since we have no intention to disguise faults, but to disclose truths. Upon the death of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge 1540, which preferment was very acceptable to him (w). He still preserved his Mastership of Trinity-Hall; and it was well he did preserve it, since, in

(u) Strype, Fuller, Burnet.

(w) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 119.

[O] *Of his good will to persecution.*] There was certainly a very strange spirit prevailing at this time among all ranks of people, and this was a bitterness against each other, in respect to religious opinions, which led them to be busy in persecuting others, at the very time that themselves were flying in the face of those doctrines which had the sanction of the law on their side. In this state of things, it was impossible for those who held high stations in the Church, to avoid odium, because the very people who complained of persecution, when they felt it, complained as loudly of indulgence, whenever it was extended to others. These are plain and natural observations founded on facts, and which nothing can more fully prove, than the story now before us. 'This Barnes, says my author, had formerly 'been in trouble, upon the score of his preaching 'and opinion. During Wolsey's Ministry, he had 'reflected in a sermon at Cambridge, upon the Car-'dinal's port and equipage (37). The Cardinal told 'him, this state and magnificence could not well be 'dispensed with by a person in his station; that it was 'necessary to support his character, and the reputation 'of the government. Barnes not reaching this reason, 'was unwilling to retract his invective: but Gardiner, 'the Cardinal's Secretary, and Fox, afterwards Bishop 'of Winchester, being his friends, prevailed with him 'to give satisfaction, and abjure some opinions charged 'upon him. He was afterwards, in 1536, related 'upon other articles, and in danger of being burnt; 'but counterfeiting himself lunatick, got off into Ger-'many. Here he made an acquaintance with Luther, 'Melancthon, and other Divines. He was likewise 'known to the Duke of Saxony, and the King of Den-'mark. Fox, Bishop of Hereford, Ambassador at 'Smalcald, sent him into England, where he was 'kindly entertained by Cromwell. By his interest, 'the correspondence with the Germans was in some 'measure kept up. He was first employed in the busi-'ness of the King's marriage with the Lady Anne of 'Cleve. But this Lady's person proving unacceptable, 'was, it may be, one occasion of Barnes's disgrace. 'But other accidents concurred to Barnes's misfortune. 'This year, 1540, in Lent, Bishop Bonner appointed 'him, Gerrard, and Jerom, to preach at St Paul's 'Cross; this it seems, was done as a mark of respect, 'and to oblige Cromwell; but Gardiner sent Bonner 'word, he intended himself to preach at St Paul's Cross 'on sunday. In his Sermon, he spent some strokes of 'satire against the new teaching: complained that the 'Devil had taught some people to throw off confession, 'fasting, and other instances of discipline and penance. 'About three weeks after, Barnes took the same text, 'but spent his discourse in maintaining the opposite 'doctrine. Besides this, he gave himself the liberty 'of making some bold indiscreet reflections upon Gar-'diner's person. He played upon his name, and 'brought a jingling comparison or two, which were 'short both in sense and breeding. Gerrard and 'Jerom preached much the same doctrine, but with-'out falling foul upon any person. Jerom had been 'charged with preaching against the magistracy, but he 'explained himself to a very defensible and honest 'meaning. He affirmed, That if the laws of Princes, 'are consistent with those of God Almighty, we are 'bound to obey them; but in case the Prince is 'wicked, and commands a contradiction to Revealed 'Religion, when this happens, we are to submit and 'suffer, and not apply to the expedient of resistance. 'To return to Barnes: though Gardiner seemed to 'bear the affront with great temper and neglect, his 'friends thought it necessary to sollicit for reparation. 'To this purpose they complained to the King of 'Barnes's intemperate language; how ill he had used 'Gardiner, who was both a great Prelate and a Privy-'Counsellor. Fox reports one circumstance otherwise, 'and saith, Gardiner complained to the King himself. 'But let this be as it will, Barnes was reprimanded for 'his misbehaviour, and ordered to ask the Bishop of 'Winchester's pardon. They were likewise to argue 'the point of Justification. Upon this article, Barnes 'had maintained, *That though God requires us to for-'give our neighbour, as a condition of forgiveness from 'him, yet God must forgive us first, before we forgive 'our neighbour; for else, it would be sinful to forgive 'our neighbour:* For St Paul tells us, *Whatsoever is 'not of faith, is sin.* By this foreign and uncatholick 'construction of the text, it appears, Dr Barnes was 'none of the greatest Divines. The next day, Gardi-'ner and Barnes had another conference: at the con-'clusion, the latter made his submission, asked the Bi-'shop's pardon, and desired to be under his instructions. 'The Bishop very frankly passed over the former af-'front, entertained Barnes as his companion, and of-'fered him a pension of forty pounds a year. Barnes 'accordingly went to the Bishop's house: but hearing 'the people talk to his disadvantage, and discoursing 'with some men of learning, he grew weary of this 'close correspondence, and disengaged with the Bishop. 'The King was displeased with Barnes's manage-'ment; and ordered him, Gerrard, and Jerom, to re-'nounce their opinions. They promised satisfaction, 'and made their recantation. But this, it seems, was 'but a force upon their judgment; for they retracted 'their recantation in the pulpit. Upon this, they 'were sent to the Tower, and attainted of heresy in 'Parliament. On the thirtieth of July, they were 'brought to Smithfield, with three others of a different 'persuasion, Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel. These 'were attainted for owning the Pope's Supremacy, and 'denying the King's. One of each was put upon a 'hurdle; the Papists were hanged, drawn, and quar-'tered, and the other three burnt. This was an odd 'spectacle, and looked like fanciful severity. Inso-'much, that a Frenchman who was there, being sur-'prised at the conduct of the Government, told his 'friend in Latin, *They had a strange way of managing in 'England; for those who were for the* Pope, *are* 'hanged, *and those against him* burnt.' At his death, this Barnes behaved with great courage and constancy, forgave the world in general, and the Bishop of Win-chester in particular, if he had any hand in his death; which implying a doubt in him at that time, and in those circumstances, it will not be easy to find any evi-dence to render this matter certain to us; and therefore a famous writer (38), than whom none was more a friend to liberty, or less inclined to palliate persecution, after reading the proceedings against Barnes, which his friends took care to send into Germany, lays no blame upon Bishop Gardiner at all.

(37) Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 182.

(38) Bayle, in his article of BARNES (Robert).

in the next reign, this in moſt peoples opinion preſerved the foundation. As he was elected Chancellor of the Univerſity without influence, he was very aſſiduous in his office, that he might conciliate the affections of it's members, and did all he could to aſſiſt them with his intereſt at Court, which, when he had done any great ſervice, was very good. Certain it is, that whatever power or preferments his compliances obtained under this Monarch were dearly purchaſed, ſince they were held in continual hazard, and imbittered with violent ſtorms of royal reſentment; which, though, as this Prelate himſelf ſays, he knew how to ſuſtain without ſinking, muſt nevertheleſs be exceedingly diſtaſteful [*P*]. In ſome conjunctures too we are ſatisfied they filled him with many apprehenſions, and, tho' he might be dextrous in ſometimes ſhifting off the King's ill humours, yet at others, how great or how alert ſoever his ſpirit might be, he was forced to bear ſlights with patience, and even ſubmit to very

[*P*] *Be exceedingly diſtaſteful.*] Though Cromwell and Gardiner had been both bred in the ſame family, and both derived their preferment from the diſplay of their abilities in Cardinal Wolſey's ſervice; yet when Cromwell, though he came later into the King's favour, gained the aſcendant, they could never agree together, which will be the leſs ſtrange, when we conſider, that they acted upon very different maxims; Cromwell being deſirous to place his ſafety and proſperity in being always of the ſame ſide with the King, in which, perhaps, he followed his old maſter; but Gardiner, taught by the example of that maſter, thought it better to lean upon the law than the King; by which, if he did not make his court ſo well, yet certainly he carried his point better. Amongſt other diſputes they had, the Biſhop has left us one, in a letter of his to the Duke of Somerſet, which is worth the knowing, and it cannot be better told than in his own words (39). 'The 'Lord Cromwell had once put in the King's, our late 'Sovereign Lord's head, to take upon him to have his 'will and pleaſure regarded for a law; for that he ſaid 'was to be a very King; and thereupon I was called 'for at Hampton-Court; and as the Lord Cromwell 'was very ſtout, come on my Lord of Wincheſter '(quoth he), for that conceit he had, whatſoever he 'talked with me, he knew ever as much as I, Greek 'or Latin, and all. Anſwer the King here, quoth he, 'but ſpeak plainly and directly, and ſhrink not, man: 'Is not that (quoth he) that pleaſeth the King, a law? 'have ye not the Civil Law therein? (quoth he) *Quod 'principi placuit*, and ſo forth, (quoth he) I have ſome-'what forgotten it now: I ſtood ſtill, and wondered 'in my mind, to what concluſion this ſhould tend; the 'King ſaw me muſing, and with earneſt gentleneſs, 'ſaid, Anſwer him whether it be ſo or no? I would 'not anſwer my Lord Cromwell, but delivered myſelf 'to the King, and told him, I had read indeed of 'Kings that had their will always received for a law; 'but I told him the form of his reign, to make the 'laws his will, was more ſure and quiet, and by this 'form of government ye be eſtabliſhed, quoth I, and 'it is agreeable with the nature of your people: if ye 'begin a new manner of policy, how it will frame no 'man can tell; and how this frameth ye can tell, and 'would never adviſe your Grace to leave a certain, 'for an uncertain. The King turned his back, and 'left the matter after, till the Lord Cromwell turned 'the cat in the pan afore company, when he was angry 'with me, and charged me, as though I had played 'his part.' Some other particulars there are in the ſame reign, curious in themſelves, and the more ſo, as coming from him, a perſon of great ſagacity, and who made no vulgar obſervations. As they are in reality part of his perſonal hiſtory, and written with his own pen, we will be bold to inſert them, ſpeaking to the ſame great perſon he ſays in his letter. 'Whether the 'King may command againſt the Common Law, or an 'Act of Parliament, there is never a Judge, or other 'man in the realm, ought to know more by experience 'of that the Lawyers have ſaid, than I. Firſt, my 'Lord Cardinal had obtained his Legacy, by our late 'Sovereign Lord's requeſt at Rome; yet being, it was 'againſt the laws of the realm, the Judges cenſured 'the offence of premunire, which matter I bore away, 'and take it for a law of the realm, becauſe the Law-'yers ſaid ſo, but my reaſon digeſted it not. The 'Lawyers, for the confirmation of their doings, brought 'in a caſe of my Lord Typtoft, an Earl he was, and 'learned in Civil Laws, who being Chancellor, be-'cauſe in execution of the King's Commiſſion, he of-'fended the laws of the realm, he ſuffered on Tower-'Hill; they brought in the examples of many Judges 'that had fines ſet on their heads in like caſes, for 'tranſgreſſion of the Laws, by the King's command-'ment, and this I learned in this caſe. Since that 'time being of the Council, when many proclamations 'were deviſed againſt the carriers out of corn; when 'it came to puniſhing the offenders, the Judges would 'anſwer, it might not be by the Laws, becauſe the Act 'of Parliament gave liberty, wheat being under ſuch 'price: whereupon at the laſt, followed the Act of 'Proclamations, in the paſſing whereof were many 'large words. When the Biſhop of Exeter and his 'Chancellor, were by one body brought into a premu-'nire; I reaſoned with the Lord Audley, then Chan-'cellor, ſo far as he bad me hold my peace, for fear of 'entring a premunire myſelf: but I concluded, that 'although I muſt take it as of their authority that it is 'Common Law, yet I could not ſee how a man autho-'riſed by the King, as ſince the King's Majeſty hath 'taken upon him the Supremacy, every Biſhop is, that 'man could fall in a premunire. I reaſoned once in 'the Parliament-Houſe, where was free ſpeech without 'danger, and there the Lord Audley, Chancellor, 'then to ſatisfy me, becauſe I was in ſome ſecret eſti-'mation as he knew, though art a good fellow, Biſhop, 'quoth he, look the Act of the Supremacy, and 'there the King's doings be reſtrained to ſpiritual juriſ-'diction; and in another Act, no Spiritual Law ſhall 'have place contrary to a Common Law, or an Act of 'Parliament. And if this were not (quoth he) the Bi-'ſhops would enter in with the King, and by means of 'his ſupremacy, order the Law as you liſted; but we 'will provide (quoth he) that the premunire ſhall never 'go off your heads. This I bore away there, and held 'my peace.' But as there was little fair weather abroad in thoſe days, the courtiers were not always ſure of avoiding foul by their keeping at home. The Biſhop himſelf tells us, that the King could be very angry, and would then talk very loud, very probably too his language was but coarſe, ſince many ſamples there are of that ſort in his hiſtory; this had a great effect upon thoſe that were about him, and kept them ever in a ſtate of deep humility, in which, without doubt, Gardiner differed but very little from the reſt; but the King letting him into the ſecret, that he could look four and talk rough without meaning much harm, he ever after bore thoſe ſallies with much leſs anxiety. The thing happened thus, the Earl of Wiltſhire and Dr Gardiner had been joined in ſome affair of conſequence, which had not been managed ſo as to give the King ſatisfaction, upon which he treated Gardiner, in the preſence of the Earl, with ſuch a ſtorm of words as quite confounded him; but before they parted, the King took him into his chamber, and told him, that he was indeed very angry, yet not particularly with him, though he had uſed him ſo, becauſe he could not take quite ſo much liberty with the Earl. Biſhop Gardiner thenceforward could ſtand a royal rattling pretty well, or, to uſe his own words to the Duke of Somerſet, *He folded it up in the matter, and bore it patiently.* The King had another practice, which he called *whetting*, and this in effect was ſcolding with pen and ink; the Biſhop ſays, that when ſome of the courtiers ſaw letters to him in this ſtile, they looked upon him as undone, while himſelf was under no ſuch apprehenſions, knowing the King to be a wiſe Prince, and who, after thus venting his anger, would remember paſt ſervices, and be more ready to do an old ſervant a good than an ill turn, after giving him ſuch correction.

(39) Extracted from the Letters of the Biſhop of Wincheſter to the Protector Somerſet, publiſhed by John Fox, in his *Acts* and *Monuments*.

[2] To

very diſagreeable ſupplications and expreſſions of deep humility, and great ſenſe of his own failings, directly contrary to the conviction of his own conſcience and underſtanding [Q]. In the time of King Henry, theſe were indiſpenſable conditions of miniſterial greatneſs; nor was there any ſuch thing as enjoying court favours, without being expoſed alſo to threats and frowns. Biſhop Gardiner felt theſe, as Cranmer and others did alternately, living now in the ſunſhine, and by and by in the ſhade, or rather under a cloud. But, in the latter end of the King's life, the proſpect grew darker than ever. In 1544, if we may rely on the credit of John Fox (x), who aſſures us he had what he relates from one Morrice, who was Secretary to Archbiſhop Cranmer, this Prelate had a very narrow eſcape from the greateſt danger to which he was ever expoſed in his whole life. He had a Secretary, and a relation, one German Gardiner, who is ſaid to have been much in his favour, and who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his conferences with John Frith the martyr, an account of which he publiſhed. This young Clergyman being ſuſpected in the matter of the King's ſupremacy, a proſecution was commenced againſt him, and, his obſtinacy being great, he was executed as a traitor March the ſeventh 1544. The enemies of the Biſhop, and, as Fox ſays, the Duke of Suffolk particularly, ſuggeſted to the King, that it was very likely, notwithſtanding all he had written, that he was of his Secretary's opinion, and that, if he was once in the Tower, matter enough might be found againſt him; on which his Majeſty conſented to ſend him thither. But the Biſhop, having intelligence of this, went immediately to the King, ſubmitted with the utmoſt humility, confeſſed whatever his Majeſty charged him with, and, to the no ſmall diſappointment of his enemies, by complying with the King's humour, and ſhewing the deepeſt concern for his real or pretended failings, obtained his full pardon. Yet, after this, we may

(x) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 646.

[Q] *To the conviction of his own conſcience and underſtanding.*] As long as this article may ſeem, our great care has been to make it as ſhort as it was poſſible, conſiſtent with perſpicuity, truth, and ſuch authorities as are requiſite to ſupport the facts mentioned therein; without which it muſt be confeſſed, that there is very little credit due to the hiſtories and memoirs of theſe times, which bear on all ſides ſuch viſible marks of partiality and prejudice, that nothing is to be depended upon, where there is not a degree of evidence produced proportionable to the importance of what is aſſerted. Mr Strype (40), who has preſerved the following letter, thinks it was written about the year 1535, and he gives us this account of the occaſion of it. The King, it ſeems, was deſirous that the Clergy of all ranks ſhould acknowledge, that all the powers they had were derived from him, as the ſupreme head of the Chriſtian Church in his dominions. Againſt this doctrine ſomebody had written a book, with which the King was offended; and, as the Biſhop of Wincheſter had both preached and written much to his ſatisfaction, in the ſupport of his ſupremacy, he ſent him this book, with orders to anſwer it. But, upon the peruſal of it, this Biſhop, whom we find often repreſented as one ſo complaiſant that the King could require nothing from him which he was not ready to perform, not only declined writing ſuch an anſwer as was expected, but profeſſed himſelf of the ſame opinion with the author of that book. It is no wonder at all, that, to a Monarch of Henry's diſpoſition, this diſappointment ſhould appear in a very bad light, or that he ſhould teſtify his diſlike in very ſtrong terms. This it ſeems he did, and ſent the Biſhop of Wincheſter word of it by his Almoner Dr Fox, as Strype conceives. The Biſhop knowing his Maſter's temper well, and not caring to meet the tempeſt of his anger by a perſonal apology, thought fit to write him the following letter, which is produced to ſhew the real ſentiments of the man, and that he was not always ſo ſervile, or ſo willing, an inſtrument of the King's will, as we find him ſometimes repreſented. In ſtating this fact without the letter, we muſt have left the reader in much incertainty; but now having that before him, he may judge for himſelf, and form a true deciſion of the fitneſs, or unfitneſs, of this Prelate's behaviour upon ſo important an occaſion.

(40) Memorials, Vol. I. p. 215.

Cotton Library, Cleopatra, E. 6.

'MY duty remembered to your Majeſty, with all lowly humility and reverend honour. For as much as letted by diſeaſe of body, I cannot perſonally repair to your Highneſs preſence, having heard, of your Grace's Almoner, to my great diſcomfort, what opinion your Highneſs hath conceived of me. I am compelled, by theſe letters, to repreſent me unto the ſame, lamenting and wailing my chance and fortune, to have loſt, beſide my deſerts, as much reputation in your Grace's heart, as your Highneſs, without my merit, hath conferred unto me, in eſtimation of the world. And if I comforted not myſelf with remembrance of your Grace's goodneſs, with whom Veritas ſemper vincit, & fortis tæderet & vitæ. I know in myſelf, and can never forget your Grace's benefits, your Highneſs notable affection toward me. I know my duty and bond to your Highneſs. How much I deſire to declare, in outward deeds, mine inward knowledge, God knoweth, and I truſt your Highneſs ſhall know. But, in the mean time, for want thereof, thus I ſuffer, and know no remedy but your Highneſs goodneſs, to expend what I have done, what I ſhould have done, and what I may do; and not to be miſcontent, though, in correcting the anſwer made, I believed, ſo great a number of learned men affirming it ſo preciſely to be true, that was in the anſwer alledged concerning God's law. Eſpecially, conſidering your Highneſs book againſt Luther, in mine underſtanding, moſt plainly approveth it. The book written in your Grace's cauſe, and tranſlated into Engliſh, ſeemeth to allow it. And the Council of Conſtance, condemning the articles of Wycklif, manifeſtly decreeth it. The contrary whereof if your Grace can now prove, yet I, not learned in Divinity, ne knowing any part of your Grace's proves, am, I truſt, without cauſe of blame in that behalf. When I know that I know not, I ſhall then ſpeak thereafter. It were pity we lived, if ſo little expreſſing our love to God in our deeds, we ſhould abuſe his name and authority to your Highneſs diſpleaſure, of whom we have received ſo many benefits. On the other part, if it be God's authority to us allotted, tho' we cannot uſe it condignely, yet we cannot give it away. And it is no leſs danger to receive than to give, as your Highneſs, of your high wiſdom, can conſider. I am, for my part, as I am bound, moſt deſirous not only to do what may be done to your Highneſs contentation, but alſo appliable to learn the truth what ought to be done. Truſting your Majeſty will finally take in good part, that I think that true for which I have ſo good grounds and authorities, until I hear ſtronger grounds and reaſons to the contrary. I ſhall moſt gladly confer with any of your Grace's Council in this matter. And, in the mean time, daily pray to God for knowlege of his truth, and preſervation of your Majeſty in much felicity; alway moſt ready and deſirous, to do as becometh

'Your moſt humble Subject,

'Moſt bounden Chaplain,

'And daily Bedeman,

'STEPHEN Winton.'

[R] At

may ſuppoſe, provoked by ſuch uſage, for, as Fox ſtates it, one cannot avoid ſeeing it was a deſign to deſtroy him at any rate, he thought of refining upon this invention, and of turning their own artillery upon his adverſaries. In ſhort, he is ſaid to have dipped very deep in a plot againſt Archbiſhop Cranmer, which was diſcovered and diſſipated by the King, who left all his enemies to his mercy, and, amongſt the reſt, the Biſhop of Winchester; but he forgave them (y). After this, the King opening himſelf to Biſhop Gardiner, upon ſome ſuſpicions he entertained of his laſt Queen Katherine Parre, as inclined to Hereſy, he ſo far improved theſe jealouſies as to prepare a paper of articles againſt her, which the King ſigned, and it was agreed to ſend her to the Tower; but Chancellor Wriothiſly, who was entruſted with this paper, dropped it out of his boſom, and it was immediately carried to the Princeſs. She ſo wrought upon the King's affections, as to diſpel his ſuſpicions; and this brought ſevere reproaches upon the Chancellor, and the King's reſentment againſt the Biſhop grew ſo ſtrong that he would never ſee his face afterwards (z). One has, however, ſome reaſon to wonder, that when John Bale wrote his article of Queen Katherine Parre, in which he celebrates her learning, piety, and zeal for true religion, at the time all parties were living, and when any thing againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter would have been well received, he ſhould ſay nothing of this iniquitous contrivance (a). Nor is it leſs ſtrange, that, when matter was ſought much farther back to charge him with, this ſhould not be remembered in the proceedings at his deprivation under the ſucceeding reign. We need not wonder, if, ſtanding in this light with the King, when drawing towards his latter end, he left him out of his will, and did not appoint him one of the Counſellors to Prince Edward, as he once intended. Sanders alledges another reaſon for this, which was, that Gardiner, taking ſome favourable opportunity, perſwaded the King to reſtore the ſupremacy to the Pope, either by a ſolemn declaration in Parliament, if there was time to call one; or by an authentick act of his own, if there was not; which would ſufficiently manifeſt his intention. In this reſpect, the King, as he tells the ſtory, ſoon after changed his mind; and thence proceeded his enmity to Gardiner (b). But all is pure fiction, for Biſhop Gardiner himſelf, in a ſermon before King Philip and Queen Mary, mentions ſome ſuch thoughts in the King during the Northern rebellion; and, had there been a grain of truth in it, no doubt would have mentioned his inclination at this time. Beſides, there actually was a Parliament then in being, which was diſſolved by his death. Some other reaſons were aſſigned for the King's excluding him in his teſtament, which will be mentioned at the bottom of the page [R]. Whatever uſage he might meet with at any time from his maſter, he ſhewed, upon all occaſions, very high reſpect for his memory, and ever ſpoke and wrote of him with much deference; and tho' Fox treats him very coarſely on that head, yet others have thought there was in it as much of prudence as of gratitude. Upon the acceſſion of King Edward VI, Archbiſhop Cranmer, being earneſt in

(y) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 124.

(z) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 345.

(a) Bale Script. edit. 1548, 4to. fol. 238.

(b) Schiſmat. Anglican. p. 209.

[R] *At the bottom of the page.*] All that is ſaid of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's contriving to thruſt Queen Katherine into the Tower, is taken from John Fox; nor are there any diſtinct marks, by which the time when this happened can be certainly known. At the time when the King went to France, in his laſt expedition, the Biſhop of Wincheſter was intended to be one of his executors (41); but, after that, when the King's will came to be drawn afreſh, he was left out without the privity, as it ſeems, of any of the Council. Sir Anthony Brown, it is ſaid, twice moved the King to put his name again into his teſtament, but without effect; and the King ſaid, *if he was one, he would trouble them all, and they would never be able to rule him*; it is alſo reported, that, when the King ſaw him once with ſome of the Privy-Counſellors, he ſhewed his diſlike, and aſked What he did there? He was anſwered, that the Biſhop came to inform him of a benevolence granted by the Clergy; upon which the King called him immediately to deliver his meſſage, and, having received it, went away. Yet, for all this, the Biſhop himſelf, in one of his letters to the Protector, puts him in mind of a commiſſion in which he was named, amongſt others, in the very laſt year of the King's life; ſo that whatever the King's diſtaſte was, it muſt have been ſudden; and there is nothing ſo probable, as that his acquaintance with, and attachment to, the Norfolk family, might be the cauſe. The King knew this very well, and, having determined to reduce the power and authority of that family, as well as to take off the heads of it, it was a very eaſy and a very natural conſequence of that reſolution, to remove the Biſhop of Wincheſter from being one of his executors, whom he knew to have great obligations, and a very warm friendſhip, for the Duke of Norfolk and his ſon. Biſhop Burnet (42), after diſcuſſing this point, gives us to underſtand, that this ſecond will laboured under a ſtrong imputation of forgery, grounded upon this circumſtance; that though it was prepared by the King's direction, yet he delayed ſigning it ſo long, that, at length, he became unable, and then his ſtamp was put to it by the direction of ſome about him, when the King was either dying or dead. It is very certain, that, in Queen Elizabeth's time, Mr Maitland, Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots, ſuggeſted this on the behalf of his miſtreſs, as a thing poſitively teſtified by Lord Paget, and deſired that ſome perſons of great quality, who were then living, might be examined to this point (43). This was conſidered, in thoſe days, as a matter of great conſequence; for if it could have been fully proved, the will muſt have been regarded as invalid; becauſe, upon the teſtimony of one Clark, that he put the ſtamp to the inſtrument which regarded the Duke of Norfolk's attainder, that was in full Parliament declared to be void; and the ſtatute that gave the King power to limit the ſucceſſion by his will, declared expreſsly the form in which ſuch a will ſhould be executed. But however theſe affairs ſtood, they were kept as impenetrable ſecrets upon the King's demiſe, the will being then taken not only for a legal and authentick piece, but as the very foundation of the new government. All theſe facts came out afterwards by degrees, and in conſequence of a great variety of accidents. Paget deſerting his old maſter Wincheſter, attached himſelf to the Protector Somerſet, and was examined as a witneſs againſt the Biſhop, afterwards falling under the Duke of Northumberland's diſpleaſure, for having had ſo large a ſhare in the confidence of the Protector (44); he was very ſeverely treated, and, tho' this ſeemed to be afterwards paſſed over, yet when Queen Mary came to the throne, he laid open every thing that had been done during the former reign, and this tranſaction about the will amongſt the reſt.

(41) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 647.

(42) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p 349.

(43) The original Letter was in the hands of the famous John Evelyn, Eſq;

(44) See the Biſhop's Trial in Fox.

[S] *In*

in carrying on the great work of Reformation, to which he found the Protector Somerset well inclined, laboured all he could to gain the Biſhop of Wincheſter to a concurrence, or at leaſt to an acquieſcence (*c*). But this wary Prelate thought, or ſeemed to think, that, by making too much haſte, all might be ſpoiled; and oppoſed his ſentiments at leaſt; to thoſe of the Protector, and all his Council. He ſuggeſted, that the ruling maxim in a minority was to keep things quiet, and alledged this could never be done if any ſignal alterations were attempted in Church or State. On this principle he diſſuaded the war with Scotland, as a meaſure neceſſarily attended with much hazard and a vaſt expence (*d*). The Protector received his advice civilly, and wrote anſwers to his letters, ſtill remaining, with much decency and moderation. But, notwithſtanding this, things went on according to the plan laid down by the Archbiſhop, who formed a deſign of having a royal viſitation by commiſſioners, who might ſee the condition of every dioceſe, encourage the progreſs of reformed religion, remove and diſcredit ſuperſtition, and one in each liſt of theſe Commiſſioners, being a Clergyman, was directed to preach ſound doctrine (*e*). The wiſdom of the Archbiſhop, in framing this ſcheme, was certainly great; and yet Wincheſter no ſooner had intelligence of it, than he ſet up objections. In the firſt place, he doubted it's legality, as it was to countenance innovations; in the next, he thought it imprudent, as it would diſturb the order of government in Church and State; and laſtly, he thought it impolitick, as all things muſt be done in the King's name, and by his authority as Supreme Head of the Church, at a time when he, being a child, could know nothing of theſe things; and his uncle the Protector, being at the head of an army and abſent, could know very little more of them; ſo that in the opinion even of the meaneſt people, this would weaken that great prerogative which King Henry had aſſumed, and on the due uſe of which all reformation muſt depend (*f*). Sir John Godſalve, one of the Viſitors (but not for the dioceſe of Wincheſter), having heard of the Biſhop's diſcourſes, and, having a very ſincere regard for him, wrote to him, deſiring him to be more diſcreet, and not run the manifeſt hazard of ruining himſelf and loſing his Biſhoprick. Biſhop Gardiner ſent him an anſwer highly commended by Biſhop Burnet, and which is inſerted in the notes to ſhew the temper of the man in theſe times, and how very able he was in caſting the faireſt colour imaginable on all his opinions and actions (*g*) [*S*]. In all probability, this anſwer of

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. at the entrance of the ſecond Vol.

(*d*) Taken from the Biſhop's letter, publiſhed by Fox.

(*e*) Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 146, 147, 148.

(*f*) Biſhop Gardiner's Letters in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(*g*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36.

[*S*] *On all his opinions and actions.*] It is very ſingular, that this, being a private letter, ſhould remain and be preſerved to our times. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that it has the moſt of a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop, in it, of any thing he had ſeen of Gardiner's; he adds too, very judiciouſly, that it has no leſs of a Patriot, and therefore he reſolved not to ſuppreſs it, tho' it was on the other ſide. But, from this letter, it cannot be ſhewn that the Biſhop of Wincheſter was on the other ſide, for there is nothing of Popery in this letter, or indeed in his whole oppoſition; what he had in his heart no man can ſay; but either he was ſincere in penning this epiſtle, or he was the moſt finiſhed diſſembler in the world (45). It is true he changed afterwards, and we ſhall conſider how far he changed when we come to that period of his life, from the teſtimony of writers who did not at all flatter him. But now to the letter, which runs thus.

(45) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36.

'MR GODSALVE, after my right hearty commendations, with like thanks for the declaration 'of your good mind towards me (as you mean it), although it agreeth not with mine accompt, ſuch as I 'have had leiſure to make in this time of liberty, ſince 'the death of my late Sovereign Lord, whoſe ſoul Jeſu 'pardon. For this have I reckoned that I was called 'to this Biſhoprick, without the offence of God's law 'or the King's in attaining of it. I have kept my 'Biſhoprick theſe ſixteen years, accompliſhed this very 'day that I write theſe letters unto you, without offending God's law or the King's in the retaining of 'it, howſoever I have of frailty otherwiſe ſinned. 'Now if I may play the third part well, to depart 'from the Biſhoprick without the offence of God's law 'or the King's, I ſhall think the tragedy of my life 'well paſſed over, and, in this part, to be well handled, is all my care and ſtudy now how to finiſh this 'third act well; for ſo I offend not God's law nor the 'King's, I will no more care to ſee my Biſhoprick 'taken from me, than myſelf to be taken from the 'Biſhoprick.

'I am by nature already condemned to die, which 'ſentence no man can pardon, nor aſſure me of delay 'in the execution of it; and ſo ſee that of neceſſity I 'ſhall leave my Biſhoprick to the diſpoſition of the 'Crown, from whence I had it, my houſhold alſo to 'break up, and my bringing up youth to ceaſe; the 'remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing I made 'in my houſe at London a pleaſant ſtudy that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the 'country and leave it; and as I have left the uſe of 'ſomewhat, ſo can I leave the uſe of all to obtain more 'quiet; it is not loſs to change for the better.

'Honeſty and truth are more leef to me, than 'all the poſſeſſions of the realm; and in theſe two, 'to ſay and do frankly, as I muſt, I never forbare; 'yet, and in theſe two, honeſty and truth, I take ſuch 'pleaſure and comfort, as I will never leave them for 'no reſpect, for they will abide by a man, and ſo will 'nothing elſe. No man can take them away from me 'but myſelf, and if myſelf do them away from me, then 'myſelf do undo myſelf, and make myſelf worthy to 'loſe my Biſhoprick, whereat ſuch as gape might 'take more ſport than they are like to have at my 'hands.

'What other men have ſaid or done in the homilies 'I cannot tell, and what homilies or injunctions ſhall 'be brought hither I know not; ſuch as the printers 'have ſold abroad, I have read and conſidered, and 'am therefore the better inſtructed how to uſe myſelf 'to the Viſitors at their repair hither, to whom I will 'uſe no manner of proteſtation, but a plain allegation, 'as the matter ſerveth, and as honeſty and truth ſhall 'bind me to ſpeak; for I will never yield to do that 'ſhould not beſeem a Chriſtian. Biſhops ought never 'to loſe the inheritance of the King's laws, due to 'every Engliſhman, for want of petition. I will ſhew 'myſelf a true ſubject, humble and obedient; which 'repugneth not with the preſervation of my duty to 'God, and my right in the realm not to be enjoined 'againſt an Act of Parliament: which mine intent I 'have ſignified to the Council, with requeſt of redreſs 'in the matter; and not to compel me to ſuch an allegation, which, without I were a beaſt, I cannot 'petermit; and I were more than a beaſt, if, after I 'had ſignified to the Council truth and reaſon in 'words, I ſhould then ſeem in my deeds not to care 'for it.

'My Lord Protector, in one of ſuch letters as he 'wrote to me, willed me not to fear too much; and 'indeed I know him ſo well, and divers others of my 'Lords of the Council, that I cannot fear any hurt at

of the Biſhop's proved the cauſe of that Prelate's firſt impriſonment, which was in all reſpects extraordinary, and out of the common forms of juſtice (*b*). He was ſent for, when in London, to attend the Council, three weeks before the Viſitors came into his dioceſe; and becauſe he would not promiſe to receive the homilies, and pay obedience to whatever the King's Viſitors might require, the Council, notwithſtanding his cloſe reaſoning the point as to it's conſiſtency with law, and his earneſt entreaty to give him a little ſpace to conſider, committed him cloſe priſoner to the Fleet (*i*). He was there, as we ſee by his letters and petitions, very ſtrictly kept, and very indifferently uſed; which muſt have been by order, ſince John Fox has marked on the margin of one of his applications for redreſs, that the Warden of the Fleet was his friend (*k*). It is probable the Archbiſhop conſented to this, but it is impoſſible he ſhould contrive it; being a very deep, tho' a moſt unjuſtifiable, ſtroke of policy. The Biſhop held the viſitation, as directed by the inſtructions, illegal without an Act of Parliament; but, being confined, he could not hinder that viſitation going on; and, remaining cloſe in the Fleet during the whole ſeſſion (tho' a Lord of Parliament), he could give no oppoſition to thoſe bills, which were calculated to make the things lawful which he had objected to as illegal (*l*). When all this was done, he was diſcharged like a common malefactor, under colour of the King's general pardon, tho' never charged judicially with any offence (*m*). The very dates prove theſe facts; he was committed September the twenty-fifth, the Parliament aſſembled November the fourth, was prorogued December the twenty-fourth, and he was ſet at liberty before the cloſe of that year 1547. Beſides this, all that we have advanced is ſupported by unqueſtionable authorities (*n*) [*T*]. In the courſe of this impriſonment, it came out, that the famous ſtate

(*b*) Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

(*i*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 3.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 9. on a Letter from Biſhop Gardiner to the Duke of Somerſet when Protector.

(*l*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36.

(*m*) Strype's Memorials.

(*n*) Holinſhed, Stowe, Strype.

'their hands, in the allegation of God's law and the 'King's; and I will never defame them ſo much to 'be ſeen to fear it. And of what ſtrength an Act of 'Parliament is, the realm was taught in the caſe of her 'that we called Queen Anne; where all ſuch as ſpake 'againſt her in the Parliament-Houſe, altho' they did 'it by ſpecial commandment of the King, and ſpake 'that which was truth; yet they were fain to have a 'pardon, becauſe that ſpeaking was againſt an Act of 'Parliament. Did you never know, or hear tell, of 'any man, that for doing that the King, our late So'vereign Lord, willed, deviſed, and required, to be 'done; he that took pains, and was commanded to do 'it, was fain to ſue for his pardon; and ſuch other 'alſo as were doers in it; and I could tell who it were; 'ſure there hath been ſuch a caſe, and I have been 'preſent when it hath been reaſoned.

'That the doing againſt an Act of Parliament ex'cuſeth not a man even from the caſe of treaſon, altho' 'a man did it by the King's commandment. You can 'tell this to your remembrance, when you think far'ther of it; and when it cometh to your remem'brance, you will not be beſt content with yourſelf, 'I believe, to have adviſed me to venture the breach of 'an Act of Parliament, without ſurety of pardon, al'though the King command it; and were ſuch indeed 'as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I anſwer 'the letters with worldly civil reaſons, and take your 'mind and zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; 'and yet you ſee, that the following of your advice 'might make me loſe my Biſhoprick by mine own act, 'which I am ſure you would I ſhould keep; and ſo 'would I, as might ſtand with my truth and honeſty, 'and none otherwiſe, as knoweth God, who ſend you 'heartily well to fare.'

[*T*] *Is ſupported by unqueſtionable authorities.*] There is not, to ſay the truth, but very few writers amongſt our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians that have taken upon them to juſtify theſe proceedings; but on the other hand, none of them go to the bottom, except Biſhop Burnet (46), who ſpeaks very clearly and candidly of this whole affair. 'On the twenty fifth of September, ſays he, the 'Council being informed that Gardiner had written to 'ſome of that board, and had ſpoken to others many 'things in prejudice and contempt of the King's viſita'tion, and that he intended to refuſe to ſet forth the 'homilies and injunctions, he was ſent for to the Coun'cil. Where being examined, he ſaid, he thought 'they were contrary to the word of God, and that his 'conſcience would not ſuffer him to obſerve them. 'He excepted to one of the Homilies, that it excluded 'charity from juſtifying men, as well as faith. This he 'ſaid was contrary to the book ſet out in the late 'King's time, which was afterwards confirmed in Par'liament, in the year, 1542; he ſaid further, that he 'could never ſee one place of ſcripture, nor any an'cient Doctor that favoured it. He alſo ſaid, Eraſ'mus's Paraphraſe was bad enough in Latin, but 'much worſe in Engliſh; for the tranſlator had oft, out 'of ignorance, and oft out of deſign, miſrendered him 'palpably, and was one that neither underſtood Latin 'nor Engliſh well. He offered to go to Oxford to diſ'pute about Juſtification with any they ſhould ſend him 'to, or to enter into conference with any that would 'undertake his inſtruction in town. But this did not 'ſatisfy the Council. So they preſſed him to declare 'what he intended to do, when the viſitors ſhould be 'with him. He ſaid, he did not know; he ſhould 'further ſtudy theſe points, for it would be three weeks 'before they could be with him, and he was ſure he 'would ſay no worſe than that he ſhould obey them, 'as far as could conſiſt with God's law and the King's. 'The Council urged him to promiſe that he would 'without any limitation, ſet forth the Homilies and 'the Injunctions, which he refuſing to do, was ſent 'to the Fleet. Some days after that, Cranmer went to 'ſee the Dean of St Paul's, having the Biſhops of 'Lincoln and Rocheſter, with Dr Cox, and ſome others 'with him. He ſent for Gardiner thither, and entred 'into diſcourſe with him about that paſſage in the 'Homily, excluding charity out of our juſtification, 'and urged thoſe places of St Paul, *That we are juſti'fied by* faith, *without the* works *of the* Law: He ſaid, 'his deſign in that paſſage, was only to draw men from 'truſting in any thing they did, and to teach them to 'truſt only to Chriſt. But Gardiner had a very diffe'rent notion of Juſtification. For as he ſaid, infants 'were juſtified by Baptiſm, and penitents, by the Sa'crament of Penance; and that the conditions of the 'juſtifying of thoſe of age, were charity as well as 'faith, as the three eſtates make a law all join toge'ther; for by this ſimile, he ſet it out in the report 'he writ of that diſcourſe to the Lord Protector, 'reckoning the King one of the three eſtates (a way of 'ſpeech very ſtrange, eſpecially in a Biſhop and a 'Lawyer). For Eraſmus, it was ſaid, that though 'there were faults in his Paraphraſe, as no book be'ſides the Scriptures, is without faults, yet it was beſt 'for that uſe they could find, and they did chooſe ra'ther to ſet out what ſo learned a man had written, 'than to make a new one, which might give occaſion 'to more objections, and he was the moſt indifferent 'writer they knew. Afterwards Cranmer, knowing 'what was likely to work moſt on him, let fall ſome 'words as Gardiner writ to the Protector (47), of 'bringing him into the Privy Council, if he would 'concur in what they were carrying on. But that not 'having it's ordinary effect on him, he was carried 'back to the Fleet.'

He afterwards gives the remainder of the ſtory thus. 'But notwithſtanding all his letters, yet he continued 'a priſoner till the Parliament was over, and then by 'the

(46) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36, 37.

(47) In his Letter printed in the 2d. Vol. of the Acts and Monuments, edit. 1641.

ſtate book of religion, publiſhed by authority, under the title of *The Erudition of Chriſtian Man*, was compiled chiefly by Biſhop Gardiner (*o*). By comparing this with the religious ſyſtems in the reign of Edward VI, the difference may be ſeen between his notions and thoſe of Cranmer; and from hence we may diſcern the probability of his being in earneſt in his declarations, without ſuppoſing, as almoſt all writers do, miſled therein by the Papiſts themſelves, that in his heart he was a bigot to Popery. The Archbiſhop was once as well pleaſed with the book beforementioned as any body, and had recommended it as ſtrenuouſly; but now having changed his mind as to the real preſence, he was not unwilling the world ſhould know it's true author; and Gardiner, being touched with his inſinuations, replied very eagerly in defence of his book (*p*) [*U*]. Upon his obtaining his liberty, the Biſhop went down to his dioceſe, and there was ſo far from creating any trouble or diſturbance, that he was remarkably active and diligent in giving obedience, and ſeeing that it was given, to the laws concerning religion (*q*); but thoſe who had a diſlike to him, would not ſuffer him to be long at quiet. They were no ſooner informed of his returning to town, than they procured an order for him to come before the Council, where he was roughly treated, and then directed to keep his houſe till he gave ſatisfaction, which was to be done in a ſermon preached before the King and his Miniſters, in a publick audience; for the matter of which, he was directed as well what he ſhould not as what he ſhould ſay, by Sir William Cecil (*r*). On St Peter's day the Biſhop did accordingly preach, but was ſo far from giving ſatisfaction, that the very next day, June the thirtieth 1548, he was ſent to the Tower, and continued there a priſoner during all that reign (*s*). It was very near a year, notwithſtanding repeated applications, that he continued there, without having ſcarce any notice taken of him, his Chaplain having admittance but once when he was ill, and then reſtrained becauſe his life was not thought in danger (*t*). When the Protector was depoſed, or ſome ſmall time before, he had hopes given him of his releaſe, and from thoſe it is likely who could have done it if they had judged it proper (*u*). But finding himſelf deceived, he took the freedom of applying himſelf by letter to the Council, of which we have probably a true, tho' certainly a very unpoliſhed, account from honeſt John Stowe (*w*); who likewiſe tells us very plainly why he publiſhed it, which in effect was becauſe he ſaw that no body elſe would [*W*]. When the Duke of Somerſet, tho' removed

(*o*) See this point cleared in the notes [*U*] and [*LL*].

(*p*) Always inſiſting however that it had the ſanction of the King's authority.

(*q*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 71.

(*r*) See the Biſhop's account of this matter at large in Fox.

(*s*) Stowe, Strype, Burnet.

(*t*) So ſtated by himſelf to the Council.

(*u*) See the article of DUDLEY (JOHN) Duke of Northumberland.

(*w*) Annals, p. 600.

'the Act of Pardon, he was ſet at liberty. This was 'much cenſured as an invaſion of liberty; and it was 'ſaid, thoſe at court durſt not ſuffer him to come to the 'houſe, leſt he had confounded them in all they did. 'And the explaining Juſtification with ſo much nicety 'in Homilies that were to be read to the people, was 'thought a needleſs ſubtilty. But the former abuſes of 'truſting to the acts of charity that men did, by which 'they fancied they bought Heaven, made Cranmer 'judge it neceſſary to expreſs the matter ſo nicely, 'though the expounding thoſe places of St Paul, was 'as many thought, rather according to the ſtrain of 'the Germans, than to the meaning of theſe epiſtles. 'And upon the whole matter, they knew Gardiner's 'haughty temper, and that it was neceſſary to mortifie 'him a little, though the pretence on which they did 'it, ſeemed too ſlight for ſuch ſeverities. But it is or-'dinary, when a thing is once reſolved on, to make 'uſe of the firſt occaſion that offers for effecting it.'

[*U*] *In defence of his book.*] While the Biſhop was under this confinement, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſometimes wrote to him, and, as Strype tells us, propoſed to him, employing a part of his time in writing Homilies, which he declined; but it was in one of theſe conferences, that the diſpute to which we refer, happened, the ſame author tells it in the following words (48).

(48) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 277.

'During his being here, which was not long, there 'paſt ſome letters between the Archbiſhop of Canter-'bury and him: He had urged to the Archbiſhop, the 'ſtate of religion in King Henry's days; from which, 'he and the Clergy and the Council, did begin ſo 'much to vary, Wincheſter reminded him of the 'King's book as he called it, eſtabliſhed by Parlia-'ment. But the Archbiſhop in his anſwer, told him, 'that he indeed called it ſo, and that the King was 'ſeduced; and that he the Archbiſhop knew by whom 'he was compaſſed in that book.

But Wincheſter ſharply replied to him. 'That the 'book was acknowledged by the Parliament as the 'King's book, and that the Archbiſhop himſelf, com-'manded it to be publiſhed in his dioceſe as the King's 'book. And that if he thought it not true, he ought 'to think his Grace would not, for all the Princes 'chriſtened in the world, have yielded unto. And he 'threatened the Archbiſhop, that if he made this mat-'ter more public, and charged the late King with be-'ing ſeduced, he would vindicate his maſter, as one of 'his old ſervants. And whereas the Archbiſhop had 'adviſed him to bethink himſelf of his preſent condi-'tion, lying now in priſon; Wincheſter replied to 'this with ſeemingly much ſatisfaction: how himſelf 'was arrived to that haven of quietneſs, without the 'loſs of any notable tackle, as the mariners ſay, which 'he ſaid, was a great matter as the winds had blown, 'and with a little flea biting, conveyed to an eaſy 'ſtate. He adviſed, that ſeeing King Henry died ſo 'ſo honourably and ſo much lamented, and was con-'cluded to be received to God's mercy; the realm 'ſhould not be troubled during the King's minority, 'with matters of novelty, there being ſo many other 'things for the King's Counſellors to regard.'

[*W*] *That no body elſe would.*] Whoever will take the pains of examining our Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Hiſtories, will ſee how little care is taken to fix the dates relative to theſe tranſactions, which are only to be recovered from the original papers that are ſtill preſerved. By comparing them, the reader will perceive, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter never ſat in any one of King Edward's Parliaments; and notwithſtanding this flagrant injuſtice, we do not find ſo much as a ſingle word ſaid of it in the articles againſt the Protector Somerſet, tho' it was not only of more moment than many things alledged in them, but was alſo a fact which he could not poſſibly deny. It is indeed affirmed in the following account, and we have ſome notices of it elſewhere, that the Earl of Warwick, and ſome of the reſt of the cabal, gave Gardiner aſſurances of his liberty; but when they found themſelves able to act without him, they made no ſcruple of forgetting or breaking that promiſe, from a juſt foreſight, that he would give the ſame oppoſition to their meaſures he was inclined to have given to thoſe of the Duke.

But let us hear Stowe (49), who very ſeldom puts original papers into his Annals, and takes care, when he does, that they ſhall be equally curious and important, thus then he writes. 'Now when the Duke of 'Somerſet was firſt apprehended, Stephen Gardiner, 'Biſhop of Wincheſter, then being priſoner in the 'Tower (as before ye have heard) was borne in hand, 'he ſhould be ſet at liberty; in hope whereof, he pre-'pared him new apparel for that purpoſe, thinking 'verily

(49) Annals, p. 600.

removed from his high office, found means to come again into power, and to be called to Council, this affair of Biſhop Gardiner was brought once more on the carpet, and the Duke and others, by virtue of an order of that Board, went to confer with him in the Tower June the ninth 1550 (*x*). It was propoſed that he ſhould make a ſubmiſſion for what was paſſed, ſhould teſtify his approbation of all that had been done in religion ſince he had been laid aſide, and that he ſhould promiſe obedience for the future. The two laſt points Wincheſter readily conſented to, and actually ſigned all that was expected from him; but refuſed his aſſent to the firſt, inſiſting upon his innocence. Much ſollicitation there was, with what intent one cannot ſay; at laſt the Biſhop, perceiving they roſe in their demands, told them roundly he would do nothing in a priſon; and that he did not ſeek either favour or pity, but juſtice (*y*). On the nineteenth of July he was brought to the Council, and being aſked whether he would ſubſcribe the laſt articles or not, he anſwered in the negative; and it was thereupon declared to him, that his Biſhoprick ſhould be ſequeſtred; and, if in three months he did not comply, they would go ſtill farther (*z*). Fuller confeſſes, in caſe he was innocent, he was in the right not to acknowledge himſelf guilty (*a*); and Heylin ſeems to think, thoſe who had now to do with him, would not have been ſatisfied let him have ſubſcribed what he would (*b*). Strype, out of reſpect to Cranmer, approves the whole proceeding, as Fox applauds it; but Biſhop Burnet, having undertaken to ſtate the matter impartially, does it accordingly, with that clearneſs which the evidence of the fact demands [*X*]. When the three months were fully expired, and the Biſhop remained in the ſame

(*x*) See King Edward's Journal, inſerted in the ſecond Vol. of Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat.

(*y*) See the Proceedings againſt him in Fox.

(*z*) Strype's Memorials.

(*a*) Church Hiſt. cent. XVI, p. 400.

(*b*) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 99.

'verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days; 'but when he was forgotten, and nothing ſaid unto 'him by the ſpace of one month after, he thought it 'good to put the Lords in remembrance by his letters; 'wherein, after commendations had unto them, he 'wrote as followeth: I have continued here in this 'miſerable priſon now, one year, one quarter, and 'one month, this ſame day that I write theſe my let-'ters, with want of air to relieve my body; want of 'books to relieve my mind; want of good company 'the only ſolace of this world; and finally, want of a 'juſt cauſe why I ſhould have come hither at all. 'More of this letter came not to my hands, but that 'the Lords took it in good part, and laughed very 'merrily thereat, ſaying, he had a pleaſant head; for 'reward whereof, they gave him leave to remain 'ſtill in priſon five or ſix weeks after, without ſaying, 'or ſending any word to him; which when he con-'ſidered, then he wrote to them this letter following. 'After my due commendations to your good Lord-'ſhips: Howſoever the time is ſtolen from you with 'the multitude of buſineſſes, and variety of matters 'wherewith ye be travelled; whereby ye rather want 'time, as I ſuppoſe, than be glutted with it; yet with 'me, being alone comfortleſſe in this miſerable priſon, 'the time paſſeth more ſenſibly; and as the grief 'groweth in length, ſo it bringeth more encombrie 'and travell with it. And being now the time of 'Parliament, whereof I am a member, in my degree 'called unto it by writ, and not cut from it by any 'fault, but only by power kept here; it is a double 'calamity to be detained in priſon by ſo intolerable 'wrong, and excluded from this aſſembly, ſo much 'againſt right. I have ſuffered the like in the late 'Lord Protector's time, againſt all reaſon, which God 'hath given you power now to reform; and among 'many other things, which in his time wrythed amiſſe, 'no one thing, as I ſuppoſe, was of worſe example, ne 'more prejudicial to the good order of the high Court 'of Parliament, which is the direction of all mens 'lives, lands, and goods in this realm, than to allow 'for a precedent, that any one man being member 'thereof, might, without cauſe, be excluded, and ſo 'letted to parlee there his mind in publick mat-'ters for the wealth of the realm, and ſuch other pri-'vate cauſes as do occur. If the ſtrength of the Par-'liament be not impaired by wrong in one, becauſe 'right conſiſteth not in number, it ſhall be at the 'pleaſure of him that ruleth, to do the ſame in me, 'whereby others may take more harm than I, as ex-'perience hath ſhewed in ſuch examples. But I know 'it becometh me not to reaſon the ſtrength of that 'court, ne the order of it; the Lawyers of this realm 'know that, and to their knowledge I ſubmit my 'judgment, and take for good that they allow. But 'this I dare ſay, when religion is entreated in a gene-'ral Council of Chriſtendome, if the rulers of the Coun-'cil let any man's repaire thither, that hath right to 'be there; whatſoever is there concluded, is in the 'laws of the world abroad, taken of no force by ex-'cluding of one member wrongfully, that ſhould furniſh 'the body, which I write unto your Lordſhips for the 'good opinion I have of you, truſting that ye intend 'not to uphold or follow the late Lord Protector's do-'ings by wrong, but ſo faſhion your proceedings, as 'they may agree with juſtice at home, and ſeem agree-'able to reaſon to others abroad, being ſo aſſured of 'mine innocency, that when your Lordſhips ſhall hear 'what can be ſaid againſt me and mine, anſwer there-'unto, there ſhall appear cauſe why I ſhould have had 'praiſe, thanks, and commendations of the late Lord 'Protector (if truth, honeſty, and due obedience might 'look therefore) and no cauſe of trouble or diſplea-'ſure at all, ſo wrongfully have I been tormented in this 'priſon, ſo boldly dare I ſpeak to you of my cauſe, 'with ſuch an opinion and eſtimation of your wiſ-'domes, which I know and reverence, as I ought not, 'he would not vainly hope to abuſe you with words, 'but upon certain confidence of your indifferencies; 'verily I truſt that ye will deem and take things in 'in ſuch ſort, as being plainly, and truly opened, ſhall 'appear unto you by matter indeed. In conſideration 'whereof, I renew my ſuit unto your Lordſhips, in-'ſtantly requiring you, that I may be heard according 'to juſtice, and that, with ſuch ſpeed, as the delay of 'your audience give not occaſion to ſuch as be igno-'rant abroad of my matter, to think that your Lord-'ſhips allowed, and approved the detaining of me here. 'Which without hearing my declaration, I truſt ye will 'not but have ſuch conſideration of me, as mine eſtate 'in the Common-Wealth; the paſſing my former life 'amongſt you, and other reſpects do require; wherein 'you ſhall bind me, and do agreeably to your honours 'and juſtice: the free courſe whereof you have ho-'nourably taken upon you to make open to the realm 'without reſpect, which is the only eſtabliſhment of all 'Common-Wealths; and therefore the zeal of him 'was allowed, that ſaid, *Fiat juſtitia & ruat mundus:* 'ſignifying, that by it, the world is kept from falling 'indeed, although it might ſeem otherwiſe in ſome re-'ſpect, and ſome trouble to ariſe in doing it. And 'this I write, becauſe in the late Lord Protector's 'time, there was an inſinuation made unto me, as 'though I were kept here by policie; which, with the 'violation of juſtice, took never good effect, as I doubt 'not of your wiſdoms ye can and will conſider, and 'do therefore accordingly; for the effectual execution 'whereof, I ſhall not fail to pray Almighty God for 'the preſervation and increaſe of your honours. *From 'the Tower.*

'Thus much concerning theſe letters have I thought 'good to ſet down, for that I find not the ſame other-'wiſe extant, in large diſcourſes of the ſaid Biſhop's 'writings.'

[*X*] *With that clearneſs which the evidence of the facts demands.*] Before we come to the account of this

ſame ſentiments, a reſolution was taken to proceed judicially againſt him, in order to deprive him of the See of Wincheſter, and what other preferments he had under the authority of the King's commiſſion, in which the Archbiſhop preſided. Theſe Commiſſioners began their proceedings December the fifteenth, and ended them February the fourteenth following (c), having had in all two and twenty ſeſſions, when the grand affair was finiſhed, and the Biſhop deprived for irreverence to the King's authority; though but a few months before they had condemned the abuſe of that authority, by thoſe in whoſe hands it then was. It was added, that he was diſobedient to the King's orders and inſtructions in eccleſiaſtical affairs; tho' he twice ſubſcribed his approbation to all that was already done, and promiſed never to diſcloſe any future ſcruples he might have but to the Privy-Council. As a further aggravation of his offences, it was ſuggeſted that he refuſed to confeſs his faults, and

(c) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 223, 224, 225.

this matter given by Biſhop Burnet, whoſe authority in theſe points muſt be deciſive, as nothing could induce him to treat theſe ſubjects as he does, but a due reſpect for truth, which every hiſtorical writer ought to preſer to every other conſideration; it is neceſſary to obſerve, that he is entirely miſtaken as to the time of the King's ſending to the Biſhop, in which he ſuppoſes Fox to have erred, and all this from a notion, that, upon his ſubmiſſion, the Protector might have been prevailed with to ſet him at liberty; whereas, in truth, the offers that were made him, came from the Protector's enemies, who, it has been ſuggeſted, made very great uſe of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's head and hand, in bringing their deſign to bear; inſomuch that a certain author ſays (50), the original of the articles againſt him which he confeſſed, and upon which he was depoſed, or rather the draught of thoſe articles, was in Wincheſter's own hand-writing. But be that as it will, the King's own Journal very fully ſhews (51), that the firſt meſſage ſent from him to Gardiner, was June the ninth, 1550, when the Biſhop had been, within a few days, two years in priſon. Theſe points being premiſed, let us hear our right reverend author.

(50) Mr Strype aſſerts this from his own acquaintance with the hands of thoſe times.

(51) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 150.

'When the Book of Common-Prayer was ſet out, 'the Lord St John, and Secretary Petre, were ſent 'with it to him, to know of him, whether he would 'conform to it or not; and they gave him great hopes 'that if he would ſubmit, the Protector would ſue to 'the King for mercy to him. He anſwered, that he 'did not know himſelf guilty of any thing that needed 'mercy: ſo he deſired to be tried for what had 'been objected to him, according to law. For the 'book, he did not think that while he was a priſoner, 'he was bound to give his opinion about ſuch things; 'it might be thought he did it againſt his conſcience 'to obtain his liberty; but if he were out of priſon, he 'ſhould either obey it, or be liable to puniſhment ac'cording to law. Upon the Duke of Somerſet's fall, 'the Lord-Treaſurer, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Wil'liam Herbert, and Secretary Petre, were ſent to him: 'Fox ſays this was on the ninth of July, but there 'muſt be an error in that; for Gardiner in his anſwer 'ſays, that upon the Duke of Somerſet's coming to the 'Tower, he looked to have been let out within two 'days, and had made his farewel feaſt; but when 'theſe were with him, a month, or thereabout, had 'paſſed, ſo it muſt have been in November the former 'year. They brought him a paper, to which they 'deſired he would ſet his hand. It contained, firſt a 'preface, which was an acknowledgement of for'mer faults, for which he had been juſtly puniſhed: 'There were alſo divers articles contained in it, which 'were touching the King's ſupremacy, his power of 'appointing or diſpenſing with holidays and faſts; 'that the Book of Common-Prayer, ſet out by the 'King and Parliament, was a moſt chriſtian and godly 'book, to be allowed of by all Biſhops and Paſtors in Eng'land; and that he ſhould, both in ſermons and diſ'courſes, commend it to be obſerved; that the King's 'power was compleat now, when under age, and that 'all owed obedience to him now, as much as if he 'were thirty or forty years old; that the ſix articles 'were juſtly abrogated, and that the King had full au'thority to correct and reform what was amiſs in the 'Church, both in England and Ireland. He only ex'cepted to the preface, and offered to ſign all the arti'cles, but would have had the preface left out. They 'bid him rather write on the margent his exceptions to 'it, ſo he writ, that he could not, with a good con'ſcience, agree to the preface, and with that excep'tion, he ſet his hand to the whole paper. The Lords 'uſed him with great kindneſs, and gave him hope, 'that his troubles ſhould be quickly ended. Herbert 'and Petre came to him ſome time after that, but 'how ſoon is not ſo clear, and preſſed him to make 'the acknowledgement without exception; he refuſed 'it, and ſaid he would never defame himſelf; for 'when he had done it, he was not ſure, but it might 'be made uſe of againſt him as a confeſſion. Two or 'three days after that, Ridley was ſent to him, toge'ther with the other two, and they brought him new 'articles. In this paper, the acknowledgement was 'more general than in the former: It was ſaid here in 'the preface, that he had been ſuſpected of not ap'proving the King's proceedings, and being appointed 'to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, 'and ſo deſerved the King's diſpleaſure, for which he 'was ſorry: the articles related to the Pope's Supre'macy, the ſuppreſſion of abbies and chantries, pil'grimages, maſſes, images; the adoring the Sacra'ment; the communion in both kinds; the aboliſhing 'the old books, and bringing in the new book of ſer'vice, and that for ordaining of Prieſts and Biſhops; 'the compleatneſs of the ſcripture, and the uſe of it in 'the vulgar tongue; the lawfulneſs of Clergymens 'marriage; and to Eraſmus's Paraphraſe, that it had 'been on good conſiderations ordered to be ſet up in 'Churches. He read all theſe, and ſaid, he deſired 'firſt to be diſcharged of his impriſonment, and then 'he would freely anſwer them all, ſo as to ſtand by it, 'and ſuffer if he did amiſs, but he would trouble him'ſelf with no more articles while he remained in pri'ſon, ſince he deſired not to be delivered out of his 'troubles in the way of mercy, but of juſtice.

'After that he was brought before the Council, and 'the Lords told him, that they ſate by a ſpecial com'miſſion to judge him, and ſo required him to ſub'ſcribe the articles that had been ſent him. He prayed 'them earneſtly to put him to a trial for the grounds of 'his impriſonment, and when that was over, he would 'clearly anſwer them in all other things: but he did 'not think he could ſubſcribe all the articles after one 'ſort, ſome of them being about laws already made, 'which he could not qualifie; others of them being 'matters of learning, in which he might uſe more 'freedom: in concluſion, he deſired leave to take 'them with him, and he would conſider how to an'ſwer them. But they required him to ſubſcribe them 'all, without any qualification; which he refuſed to 'do. Upon this, the fruits of his Biſhoprick were ſe'queſtred, and he was required to conform himſelf to 'their orders within three months, upon pain of depri'vation; and the liberty he had of walking in ſome 'open galleries, when the Duke of Norfolk was not in 'them, was taken from him, and he was again ſhut 'up in his chamber.

'All this was much cenſured, as being contrary to 'the liberties of Engliſhmen, and the forms of all legal 'proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a man 'in priſon upon a complaint againſt him, and without 'any further enquiry into it, after two years durance, 'to put articles to him. And they which ſpoke freely 'ſaid, it ſavoured too much of the Inquiſition. But 'the Canon Law not being rectified, and the King 'being in the Pope's room, there were ſome things 'gathered from the Canon Law, and the way of pro'ceeding *ex officio*, which rather excuſed, than juſti'fied this hard meaſure he met with.' The ſequel of this buſineſs ſhall be related in it's proper place.

and ſubmit himſelf to the King's mercy; tho' he alledged firſt his innocence, which entitled him to receive from the King's juſtice what it was ſuppoſed he ought to accept as his mercy; and next, that he was not ſure of this mercy if inclined to ſubmit, but had reaſon to fear this confeſſion might be made a ground for conviction, where he knew there was a defect of evidence. He complained that thoſe who committed him were to be his judges, and conſequently their own; that he was charged for diſobedience to ſome of them, who in this caſe were proſecutors as well as parties and judges; and that the whole was the contrivance of men who had been long his enemies, and who, after failing in many ſchemes, hoped to prevail in this, to his deſtruction *(d)*. But as a particular detail of this matter would detain us too long, ſo ſome curious points, ſupported by unqueſtionable evidence, will be found at the bottom of the page [*Y*]. It is no wonder that the Romaniſts dwell ſo much on theſe proceedings, or that they are ſo ſlightly paſſed over by ſome of our own Hiſtorians, becauſe they are apparently indefenſible upon any conſtitutional principles, and can only be excuſed in the lump, by alledging that all was done to gratify a party; lay open the rich Biſhoprick of Wincheſter to be canton'd amongſt Clergy and Laity, ſo that Dr Poner had only the title and two thouſand marks a year, inſtead of being poſſeſſed of the temporalities as his predeceſſors held them; and to keep an old man faſt in priſon, whom they knew not how to manage out. For this, if conſidered in any other light, was by no means reconcilable to law of any kind, much leſs to any notions of liberty; ſince in effect it was delivering up both Church and State into the hands of a few ambitious and avaricious men *(e)*, who, when they had trampled on others, fell out amongſt themſelves about the ſpoil, and, by the natural conſequences of their irregular adminiſtration, made way for their own deſtruction in the iſſue; as at the very time it revived the cauſe of Popery, and the hopes of Papiſts [*Z*]. Biſhop Gardiner himſelf very prudently laid the

(d) See the Proceedings in his caſe.

(e) Sir John Hayward's Hiſt. of Edward VI.

[*Y*] *Will be found at the bottom of the page.*] It is very probable, that having once determined to deprived him of all his preferments for his contempt, they began to conſider what that contempt was, and framed an order about it, expreſſed in ſuch terms as they judged convenient, which was to paſs for the order upon which he was committed, and be made the foundation of all their ſubſequent proceedings. This is indeed a very ſtrange fact, and to which no credit could be given, if it was not reported by Biſhop Burnet, from the Council Book, where he diſcovered it by the orders being ſigned *Bedford*; amongſt other Counſellors; but that noble peer recollecting that he had not his title at the time the order was dated, ſtruck it out again, and ſubſcribed *J. Ruſſel*; we have from the ſame writer, a ſhort but very ſatisfactory account of the proceedings in that great cauſe, upon which though Collier makes ſome remarks, yet he does not treat the point ſo fairly or ſo fully as Biſhop Burnet, whoſe words are theſe.

(52) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 165.

'There was a commiſſion iſſued out (52) to the 'Archbiſhop, the Biſhops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Secretary Petre, Judge Hales, Griffith and Leyſon, two Civilians, and Goodrick and Goſnold, two 'Maſters of Chancery, to proceed againſt Gardiner, for 'his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. 'He put in a compurgation, by which he endeavoured 'to ſhew there was malice borne to him, and conſpiracies 'againſt him, as appeared by the buſineſs of Sir Henry 'Knevet, mentioned in the former part, and the 'leaving him out of the late King's will, which he ſaid 'was procured by his enemies. He complained of his 'long impriſonment without any trial, and that arti'cles of one ſort after another were brought to him, 'ſo that it was plain, he was not detained for any 'crime, but to try if ſuch uſage could force him to do 'any thing that ſhould be impoſed on him. He de'clared, that what order ſoever were ſet out by 'the King's Council, he ſhould never ſpeak againſt it, 'but to the Council themſelves; and that though he 'could not give conſent to the changes before they 'were made, he was now well ſatisfied to obey them, 'but he would never make any acknowledgement of 'any fault. The things chiefly laid againſt him were, 'that, being required, he refuſed to preach concerning 'the King's power when he was under age; and that 'he had affronted preachers ſent by the King into his 'dioceſe, and had been negligent in obeying the 'King's injunctions, and continued after all ſo obſti'nate, that he would not confeſs his fault, nor aſk the 'King mercy. His crimes were aggravated by this, 'that his timely aſſerting the King's power under age, 'might have been a great means for preventing the 'rebellion and effuſion of blood which had afterwards 'happened chiefly on that pretence, to which his ob'ſtinacy had given no ſmall occaſion. Upon this, 'many witneſſes were examined, chiefly the Duke of 'Somerſet, the Earls of Wiltſhire and Bedford, who 'depoſed againſt him. But to this he anſwered, that 'he was not required to do it by any order of Council, 'but only in a private diſcourſe, to which he did not 'think himſelf bound to give obedience. Other wit'neſſes were alſo examined on the other particulars. 'But he appealed from the Delegates to the King in 'perſon. Yet his Judges on the (*) eighteenth of 'April, gave ſentence againſt him; by which, for his 'diſobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his 'Biſhoprick.'

(*) It ſhould be the 14th of Feb.

It is to be obſerved, that Gardiner always inſiſted, that theſe proceedings in the King's minority, would produce ſuch diſturbances; that the King's ſupremacy had been ſworn to, but that the Council's ſupremacy was a new point, and this it was which he declined preaching to the people. But it was not deprivation alone that would content Gardiner's enemies, more eſpecially ſince by his proteſtation he ſhewed plainly that he did not deſpair of having this matter reviewed, and therefore they went farther, as Strype tells us (53), and on the next day the Council made the following order, which he tranſcribed from the book. 'For as 'much as it appeared he had at all times before the 'judges of his cauſe, uſed himſelf unreverently to the 'King's Majeſty, and ſlanderfully towards his Council, 'and eſpecially yeſterday, being the day of his judg'ment given againſt him, he called his Judges hereticks 'and ſacramentaries, they being there the King's 'Commiſſioners and of his Highneſs's Council; it was 'therefore ordered by the whole board, that he ſhould be 'removed from the lodging he hath now in the Tower, 'to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but 'one by the Lieutenant's appointment, in ſuch ſort, as 'by the reſort of any man to him, he have not the li'berty to ſend out to any man, or to hear from any 'man. And likewiſe that his books and papers be 'taken from him and ſeen; and that from henceforth, 'he have neither pen, ink, nor paper, to write his de'teſtable purpoſes, but be ſequeſtred from all conferen'ces, and from all means that may ſerve him to practiſe 'any way.' But in proceſs of time, very probably the rigour of this order might be diſpenſed with.

(53) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 225.

[*Z*] *Revived the cauſe of Popery, and the hopes of Papiſts.*] This, though a matter little regarded by modern writers, is in reality a thing of great conſequence, in reſpect to the hiſtory of thoſe times. Contemporary writers on both ſides agree, that theſe proceedings of King Edward's Miniſters had this effect, and that thoſe who were bigotted Papiſts, ſhewed their

joy

the weight of the whole on the Delegates who deprived him, and, by proteſting and appealing to the King, ſhewed plainly that all the hopes of redreſs he had lay in the Crown, and muſt ſpring from the exerciſe of that ſupremacy to which they repreſented him as an enemy. He could not, however, avoid ſeeing, as he was a conſummate ſtateſman, that the Politicians made tools in this tranſaction of the Prelates, and were making large ſteps towards ſuch a depreſſion of the Church, as would make it entirely dependant on the Crown and it's Miniſters, with ſuch a ſhew of it's antient privileges as might enable thoſe who commanded it to have an uncontroulable power over the legiſlature, which, how plauſibly ſoever it may be defended by ſuch as have an intereſt in it at the time, will be ever eſteemed a dangerous thing by intelligent and impartial perſons. Our eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians have been moſt of them aware of this (*f*), but unwilling to own it, becauſe they were afraid it might reflect on ſome of the great men amongſt our firſt Reformers; whereas in truth nothing can do them ſo much ſervice as ſetting this fact right, and ſhewing they were outwitted by perſons who pretended zeal for the Reformation, and yet had no religion, or were Papiſts in their hearts. It is no wonder that they were not politicians, much leſs is it criminal; on the contrary, their ſimplicity, in this reſpect, is their true and beſt excuſe. All the blame that can be juſtly laid upon them, is, that they ever ſuffered themſelves to be drawn into ſchemes, the bottom of which they could not underſtand, or foreſee the conſequences (*g*) [*AA*]. All the remaining part of this reign Biſhop Gardiner remained in the ſame

(*f*) Fuller, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(*g*) Remarks on the Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 31.

joy and ſatisfaction at theſe proſecutions. They drove ſome of the ableſt and greateſt men out of the Church, as Gardiner, Tonſtall, and Day, who had ſhewn themſelves very well affected to ſome of the principal points of the Reformation; and who, if they had gone on complying as they would have done, would in time have both ſtrengthened themſelves and drawn in others (54). Gardiner particularly had declared himſelf on the point of Supremacy very fully; which they took the moſt effectual method to make him repent; he had acknowledged, that though men were married, they might continue Prieſts, though, for prudential reaſons, he thought that the marriages of Clergymen ſhould be diſcouraged, that they might live the better, and exerciſe greater hoſpitality out of their revenues. He was a ſtrenuous advocate for the real preſence in the ſacrament, yet diſclaimed Tranſubſtantiation, and was for the communion in both kinds. He wrote againſt treating images irreverently, but juſtified the taking them away upon due proof of their being abuſed. In reference to Juſtification, he declared himſelf clearly on his deathbed, but profeſſed it ought to be taught with caution to the people, to prevent their falling into fanaticiſm and running away with a notion, that if they believed in Chriſt, they might be ſaved, though they did not live like Chriſtians. Sir John Harrington (55) therefore had reaſon to ſay, that he was a *Catholick Proteſtant*, or a *proteſting Catholic*, that is, he had given ſuch proofs of his willingneſs to adhere unto and proceed in the Reformation; that if he had not been treated as he was, he might have been highly ſerviceable; whereas by theſe ſevere, and in ſome reſpects irregular, proceedings, King Edward's Miniſters actually provided inſtruments for Queen Mary, who otherwiſe might have found none, and furniſhed a colourable pretence for what was afterwards done againſt themſelves.

(54) This was once Archbiſhop Cranmer's opinion.

(55) Brief View of the State of the Church of Eng. P. 43.

Another injury that the Proteſtant Religion received, was in the ſpoiling the Biſhopricks, which were thus rendered vacant, which was either done under colour of the King's authority, or by the perſons who accepted them; and this countenanced the clamours of the Papiſts, that all was done out of temporal views, and that men pretended a quarrel to the doctrines, that they might get at the lands of the Church. If there had been no cauſe given for theſe complaints, if the Biſhop of Wincheſter had been encouraged to proceed as he did immediately after he came out of the Fleet, in officiating as the law directed (56), and preaching the King's authority to remove what was amiſs in the ceremonies and diſcipline of the Church, and the great men had ſhewn themſelves as zealous Proteſtants in their lives, as they were in their profeſſions, without carving for themſelves eſtates out of what belonged to the Biſhops ſees, which had not been done in the time of Henry the Eighth, and which it was both unwiſe and unſafe to do in the time of a minority, all the troubles the nation ſuffered might have been avoided; the young King's uncles, and perhaps the young King himſelf, might have lived much longer; the unjuſt attempt to alter the ſucceſſion, the conſequences of which were ſo fatal to many noble and not a few innocent perſons, would never have been thought neceſſary (57); and the Reformation would have been ſo effectually eſtabliſhed, that even the eccleſiaſticks would have been againſt alterations.

(56) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. P. 71.

(57) See Hayward, Godwin, Heylin's Accounts of this reign.

[*AA*] *Or foreſee the conſequences.*] There is not any period in the Engliſh Hiſtory, where one who ſearches for truth, finds himſelf more at a loſs which road to take, than in the ſhort reign of Edward the Sixth; and the reaſon is, becauſe moſt of our Hiſtorians have written ſyſtematically, and have laboured to reduce all the characters they met with, into ſuch forms as might make them beſt ſuit with their reſpective plans. In ſome we find the Protector Somerſet repreſented as one of the wiſeſt, beſt, and mildeſt governors this nation ever had (58), and brought to an untimely end by the artifices of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who is made one of the greateſt monſters that ever lived. In others, that Duke is repreſented as a weak man, whom Dudley governed till he had made him do ſo many exorbitant and unpopular things, as ſhewed him unfit to be truſted longer with the adminiſtration, and then took the government upon himſelf (59). The truth of the matter is, they were both ambitious men, and both laboured to ſupport their power by gratifying their dependants.

(58) See Holinſhed, Burnet, Strype.

(59) See Hayward's Edward VI.

As for theſe dependants, whatever there might be of piety and true religion in ſome few of them, yet the major part were governed only by their intereſts, and would ſupport any man or any ſcheme by which theſe might be promoted. Somerſet began to make free with the Church, and by that means raiſed fortunes for himſelf and his family, in which he perſiſted, when he came a ſecond time into favour, and took up the thread of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's proſecution, juſt where he dropped it when depoſed from his Protectorate. In this he was ſupported by Northumberland and the reſt of the Council, who had views of the ſame kind, and they ſhewed great reſpect to Cranmer and the Divines he brought into the Church, becauſe they found them men eaſily over-reached, and who thought they did no wrong in obeying whatever directions came to them from the Crown. Some likewiſe were really of opinion, that large revenues and a conſiderable meaſure of temporal power, were hindrances to their miniſtry, and were therefore the leſs uneaſy in making ſuch conceſſions as they apprehended would beſt bind the great men to keep out Popery; but it is certain they had no jealouſy that many of theſe potent courtiers, and particularly thoſe of Northumberland's faction, were very far from having any hearty concern for that faith which they profeſſed; and conſequently preferred getting eſtates at the expence of the Church, to the making proviſions for the ſecurity of the Church, which they pretended to leave to the management of Cranmer and his friends, only that they might ſerve themſelves of him and them at particular conjunctures, without troubling themſelves much about futurity.

One

ſame ſtate, that is, a cloſe priſoner in the Tower, and yet not ſo ſtrictly kept, at leaſt all the latter part of the time, as the order of Council ſeemed to require; for certain it is, that, in this ſpace, he not only wrote many controverſial pieces, but alſo compoſed variety of Latin poems, and tranſlated into verſe ſeveral beautiful paſſages in the books of Eccleſiaſtes, Wiſdom, Job, and other poetical parts of the Old Teſtament (*b*). He alſo kept up his ſpirits all that time, and was wont to ſay very confidently, as either believing it or deſiring to be thought to believe it, that he ſhould live to ſee another turn, and another Court in which he ſhould be as great as ever (*i*). On the death of King Edward no doubt he foreſaw that turn was near, notwithſtanding the new Court ſet up in his neighbourhood for that unfortunate Lady, Queen Jane. On the nineteenth of July 1553, Queen Mary was publickly proclaimed by that very Council which the day before owned the right of her competitor, and gave her the coarſe and injurious title of Baſtard of Henry VIII (*k*). On the third of Auguſt the Queen made her ſolemn entry into the Tower, when Biſhop Gardiner, in the name of himſelf and his fellow-priſoners, the Duke of Norfolk, the Ducheſs of Somerſet, the Lord Courtney, and others of high rank, made a congratulatory ſpeech to her Majeſty, who gave them all their liberties (*l*). On the eighth of the ſame month he performed, in the Queen's preſence, the obſequies for the late King Edward, whoſe body was buried at Weſtminſter, with the Engliſh ſervice, by Archbiſhop Cranmer, the funeral ſermon being preached by Biſhop Day (*m*). On the ninth, Biſhop Gardiner went to Wincheſter-Houſe, in Southwark, after a confinement of ſomewhat more than five years (*n*). On the twenty-third he was declared Chancellor of England, tho' his patent did not paſs till the twenty-firſt of September (*o*). On the firſt of October he had the honour of crowning the Queen (*p*), and on the fifth of the ſame month he opened the firſt Parliament in her reign (*q*). By this time he was in poſſeſſion again of his academical honours; for as at the beginning of his misfortunes the Univerſity of Cambridge elected in his place the Duke of Somerſet, and on his fall the Duke of Northumberland; ſo when he fell they rechoſe the Biſhop of Wincheſter for their Chancellor, and reſtored him alſo to his headſhip of Trinity-Hall, then poſſeſſed by Dr Mowſe (*r*). At this juncture, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, either thro' the Queen's eſteem for, and confidence in, him; or, as ſome ſuggeſt, tho' without any great evidence, thro' the recommendation of Charles V, was poſſeſſed of a larger compaſs of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical power, than any Engliſh Miniſter ever enjoyed, except Cardinal Wolſey; and in his management of this, in all it's various branches, tho' taken from ſo long an impriſonment, and labouring under the weight of ſo great an age as ſeventy, his bittereſt enemies muſt allow he gave indubitable marks of ſuperior talents (*s*). If contriving to accompliſh, and that in a ſhort time, things ſo great and difficult as to ſurpaſs

(*b*) Tanner. Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 369.

(*i*) Lloyd's Worthies.

(*k*) Godwin's Annals, 1553.

(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 613.

(*m*) Hollinſhed, p. 1089.

(*n*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 20.

(*o*) Pat. 1. Mar. p. 8.

(*p*) Cooper's Chronicle, Part iii. p. 361.

(*q*) Godwin's Annals.

(*r*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 132.

(*s*) Remarks on the Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 39.

One cannot help looking with ſome ſurprize upon the conduct of Archbiſhop Cranmer in this buſineſs. Strype ſhews, from the Council Book, that he preſided, and was very active in the Biſhop of Wincheſter's deprivation, and for the trouble therein, received four hundred marks (60). He was particularly objected to by Wincheſter as his perſonal enemy, and both before and after, was engaged in a controverſy with him about the ſacrament. Biſhop Burnet, makes an apology for him, which deſerves to be conſidered. 'He was, 'ſays he, naturally a man of bowels and compaſſion, 'and did not love to drive things to extremities; he 'conſidered that men who had grown old in ſome er'rors, could not eaſily lay them down, and ſo were by 'degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the proceed'ings againſt Gardiner and Bonner, he was carried be'yond his ordinary temper. But Gardiner he knew to 'be ſo inveterate a Papiſt, and ſo deep a diſſembler, 'that he was for throwing him out, not ſo much for the 'particulars objected to him, as upon the ill character 'he had of him. Bonner had alſo deceived him ſo 'formerly, and had been ſo cruel a perſecutor upon 'the ſtatute of the ſix articles, and was become ſo bru'tal and luxurious, that he judged it neceſſary to 'purge the Church of him. And the Sees of London 'and Wincheſter were of ſuch conſequence, that he 'was induced, for having theſe well ſupplied, to 'ſtretch a little in theſe proceedings againſt thoſe diſ'ſembling Biſhops.'

If theſe were really the maxims upon which he acted, they were certainly very indifferent ones, whether conſidered in the light of Chriſtian prudence, or of civil policy. For to aſſume a power of judging of men's hearts, contrary to their declarations and ſubſcriptions, which were all that the law required; and to think that ſuch a conſtruction could juſtify a legal deprivation, is not very reconcilable to religious principles, and with reſpect to maxims of policy, ſuch proceedings were ſtill worſe, becauſe they eſtabliſhed the moſt dangerous precedents, and left every thing open to the will and pleaſure of ſuch as were inveſted with power, as thoſe who abetted this proſecution afterwards felt to their coſt. But the truth of the matter ſeems to be, that Archbiſhop Cranmer was not either a great lawyer, or a profound politician, which induced him to follow the ſentiments of others, of whoſe abilities he had a good opinion, to which perhaps, he might be the more inclined from the rectitude of his own intentions, and from a charitable apprehenſion, that other men were as upright as himſelf, in which, not in this inſtance only, but in many others, he was ſadly deceived.

(60) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 163.

For, in reality, he was the dupe of the Great in this buſineſs, and while he flattered himſelf that they aſſiſted him in his views for the Church, he was in fact doing theirs at the expence of the Church. The Duke of Somerſet had beſides the Admiral, another brother, Sir Henry Seymour, to whom he was deſirous ſome good eſtate might come; and therefore Dr Ponet, who was raiſed to the See of Wincheſter upon the deprivation of Gardiner, was hardly warm in it, before he conveyed to this Sir Henry Seymour the ſtately palace of Marwel, with the lordſhip and park belonging thereto, and alſo that of Twyford. There was another nobleman too, the Earl of Wiltſhire, afterwards Marquis of Wincheſter, who had a good ſtroke at the lands of this See, Biſhop Ponet conveying to him the palace, park, and manor of Waltham, with ſome good farms in the neighbourhood (61). But unluckily for theſe able politicians, Gardiner ſurvived, recovered his dignity, and recovered alſo to his See, theſe and other lands granted away during the time it was taken from him. This ſcheme was carried ſtill farther, upon depriving Dr Cuthbert Tonſtall, of the Biſhoprick of Durham, the Biſhoprick itſelf being diſſolved (62), with intent to raiſe a vaſt temporal eſtate to the great man who then ruled all, but this likewiſe proved abortive by the death of King Edward.

(61) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 101. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 273. See alſo note [*MM*].

(62) Fuller, Burnet, Strype.

paſs all mens expectations, be, as the world ſeems agreed they are, ſure ſigns of ſuperior talents [*BB*]. The Queen is ſaid, by moſt of our Hiſtorians, to have recommended three great points to the Biſhop of Wincheſter's care, with equal concern, all of which were attended with almoſt equal difficulties; the firſt was, the clearing the legitimacy of her birth, and annulling the divorce of her mother; tho' this was apparently baſtardizing her ſiſter, and preſumptive ſucceſſor. The next was, reſtoring the old religion, and reconciling the nation to Rome, in the ſame manner as before her father's deſertion. The third was, obtaining the conſent of Parliament to her marriage with Prince Philip; which was ſo unpopular, that the former Houſe of Commons prepared an addreſs to the Queen not to marry a foreigner (*t*). Amongſt all the ſecret and open obſtacles, which were not a few, that our Miniſter had to overcome in the proſecution of theſe meaſures, none probably gave him more trouble than getting over his own diſlike to every one of them. The procuring the divorce was the firſt ſervice he rendered the father; and now reverſing this divorce, and branding all who had been concerned in it, was the firſt ſervice required by the daughter. He

(*t*) See Strype and Burnet.

[*BB*] *Be ſure ſigns of ſuperior talents.*] It may perhaps be truly ſaid, that Gardiner was the wiſeſt and moſt fortunate, as Cecil was the worthieſt and moſt ſteady, of Engliſh Miniſters. The greater part of Queen Mary's reign was full of uneaſineſs and misfortunes, but neither began till after the death of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe adminiſtration was a perfect triumph, which muſt not be underſtood over his enemies, for that would be falſe as well as fulſome flattery; but over all the obſtacles he met with, and never Miniſter met with greater. Auguſt the third, 1553, he was diſcharged from his impriſonment, and took his ſeat in the Queen's Council, where he was Prime-Miniſter from the time he entered it, though he was not declared Chancellor till about three weeks after, and had not his patent before the time mentioned in the text. He was a man of ſuch comprehenſive parts, that every thing was preſent to him; and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, whatever he did, was ſo done, that it looked as if he attended to nothing elſe.

He ſaw the kingdom in great confuſion, and the Queen ſurrounded by an army, but he loved not ſtanding forces, and beſides her coffers would not afford it; he diſbanded them therefore, and provided for the Queen's ſecurity by paper. He penned firſt a proclamation for quieting people's minds in reſpect to the diſputes in Church and State, forbidding the abuſive words Papiſt and Heretick, ſpeaking fair to both parties, and prohibiting any raſh acts of loyalty, by injuring thoſe who had been concerned in ſupporting Queen Jane. To prevent deſpair, and to give a high idea of the Queen's clemency, a pardon was granted to the Duke of Suffolk, who had perſwaded his daughter to take the title of Queen, after he had been four days in the Tower. The Biſhop of Wincheſter had a conference alſo with the Duke of Northumberland, who it is ſaid told him, he was deſirous of living, if it were in a mouſe-hole; to which the Biſhop replied, that inſtead of a mouſe-hole, he would be glad to ſpare him one of his palaces, but that he would do well to prepare for the worſt; it is reported that he interceded for him to the Queen, but ſhe was not inclined to ſpare him, and indeed it could not be expected (63).

(63) Burnet, Strype, Echard. Father Perſons's Warn-word, p. 43

That the people might not be too much alarmed with the execution of that nobleman, and ſome of his followers, or conceive harſh ideas of the new reign, there iſſued about that time two proclamations, one for the regulation of the coin as far as it could be regulated, with a promiſe of what amendment ſhould follow in that reſpect; the other for remitting a tax granted to King Edward (64), and though in itſelf this was a very acceptable act of grace, yet it was ſenſibly hightened and improved by the manner of doing it; the Proclamation ſetting forth, that ſhe graciouſly conſidering the good wills, forwardneſs, and hearty diſpoſitions of her true loving ſubjects, always heretofore exhibited to the aid and ſuccour of the commonweal, with their proper ſubſtance and goods, when the ſervice, the neceſſity and honour of the realm had ſo required, as well in the times of her father and brother, but eſpecially ſince the time of her vocation to the crown, in the defence of her royal perſon, againſt the malicious force of the moſt arrant traytor Sir John Dudley, late Duke of Northumberland, and his complices: notwithſtanding it was well known to the multitude of her ſaid good ſubjects, how by the evil government of the realm in thoſe late years, eſpecially ſince the ſaid Duke had borne rule, the treaſure of the ſame was marvellouſly exhauſted; and ſhe now preſently charged with payment of notable great ſums, being the debts of her ſaid brother the King, partly due to divers of her ſervants and ſubjects, and partly to certain merchant ſtrangers and others; which for her own honour, and the honour of the realm, ſhe determined, by the help of God, truly to diſcharge, content, and pay in times convenient and reaſonable. That yet having a ſpecial mind to the weal of her ſubjects, and accounting their loving hearts and proſperity as her own weal, and the chiefeſt treaſure that ſhe deſired next the favour and grace of God; and having a full affiance in her ſaid ſubjects, that if the ſtate, the cauſe and honour of the realms ſhould ſo require, they would at all times hereafter, exhibit their ſemblable ſervice, though in the latter ſeſſion of the ſaid Parliament, holden in the time of the ſaid King Edward, towards the payment and diſcharge of the ſaid notable debts were granted, two diſmes and two fifteens, and one ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, to be raiſed and levied of the manors, lands, and tenements; and two ſhillings eight-pence of the goods and chattles of her ſubjects, which grants were now due unto her by the ſame act, and would diſcharge one great piece of the ſaid debts. Her Majeſty of her mere grace and great clemency for the relief and ſuccour of her ſaid good ſubjects, had freely for her, her heirs and ſucceſſors, pardoned and remitted to them the ſaid ſubſidy of four ſhillings the pound, and two ſhillings eight-pence the pound. Truſting her good ſubjects would have loving conſideration thereof, whom ſhe required heartily to bend themſelves wholly to ſerve God to his glory, with continual prayer for the honour and advancement of her grace and the common-weal. There is no doubt made, that theſe proclamations were drawn by the pen of Biſhop Gardiner, who by this means, in ſome meaſure, removed the jealouſies that had been conceived of Queen Mary, and eſtabliſhed, in the minds of the common people at leaſt, a firm hope, that, in matters of property, the Queen would be both punctual and juſt to her ſubjects, and gentle and moderate in her demands from them.

(64) Copied from the Proclamation.

The ſame prudent dexterity was viſible in the conduct of the firſt Seſſion of the firſt Parliament in that reign, in which there paſſed but one publick and two private bills, all three acts of grace (65). The firſt was for aboliſhing thoſe laws paſſed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, by which new treaſons were enacted, and under colour of which, as this law for repealing them recited, ſeveral perſons of high rank had been condemned and put to death for words, or for very ſlight and doubtful offences. Of the two private bills, one was for reſtoring in blood, Lord Edward Courtney, whom the Queen had created Earl of Devonſhire; and the other for reſtoring in like manner, the Lady Gertrude Courtney, widow of the Marquis of Exeter, executed in the reign of King Henry, and theſe matters diſpatched, both houſes were prorogued on the twenty-firſt of October, for a few days, that it might be ſaid in this firſt Seſſion of her firſt Parliament, the Queen had done all for, without demanding any thing from her people.

(65) Godwin, Burnet, Strype.

He had alſo aſſiſted, promoted, and defended, the King's ſupremacy, which made way for all that followed, as much or more than any in the kingdom, and had the reputation alſo of penning what was publiſhed in defence of that Prince's marriage with Anne Bolleyn, and all that happened thereupon, which was now to be condemned as null and illegal. Beſides, ſo far as we are guided by unqueſtionable authorities, this ſeems to have been going greater lengths than he intended; for hitherto he had not entered into correſpondence with the Pope, or done any thing in eccleſiaſtical affairs but in virtue of the Queen's ſupremacy, an authority more agreeable to his ſyſtem of Divinity than that of the Roman Pontiff; but in that particular the Queen was inflexible, and her paſſion as ſtrong to relinquiſh this title to the Pope, as her father's ambition was to take it from him (*u*). The Spaniſh match croſſed the mind of Wincheſter, as much as it did that of the nation; he foreſaw the many troubles would follow from it, and that the Queen would enjoy none of that felicity with which ſhe flattered herſelf in the proſpect. But he well knew what a temper ſhe inherited from her parents, and that ſhe would find miniſters enough to carry into execution all that ſhe propoſed; he knew of how great importance this was to the kingdom, and that the manner of doing theſe things was almoſt as material as the points themſelves, ſince, if any means could be found to mitigate their malignity, it muſt be by a proper regulation of the conditions attending them (*w*). Upon this conſideration therefore, joined to a ſenſe of his own danger from what was paſſed if a new revolution happened, he reſolved to remain where he was, and employ his utmoſt ſkill to render the meaſures of Queen Mary's reign as beneficial to herſelf, and as little burthenſome to her people, as in their nature they could be; tho' it is certain he was not able to prevent all the evil, or do all the good, he could wiſh (*x*). The Convocation being aſſembled, he procured ſuch queſtions to be moved there, as he judged conducive to the change he propoſed to make; yet went no farther than declaring the Real Preſence in the Sacrament, which made way for reviving the old ſervice on the twenty-firſt of December (*y*). In Parliament he went the ſame pace, repealing, by a ſingle law, nine acts paſſed in the reign of King Edward, all reſpecting religion; by which thoſe who were of that religion, countenanced by Henry VIII, became as ſafe as they could wiſh, and even the groſſeſt Papiſts were out of danger, yet not reſtored to power (*z*). The Queen's legitimacy was eſtabliſhed, the divorce declared null and void, the whole fault being thrown upon Archbiſhop Cranmer, againſt all truth and juſtice, ſince Gardiner had to the full as great a ſhare therein as he; tho' now Chancellor of England and Prime-Miniſter, while the other was attainted of high-treaſon, by a bill paſſed this ſeſſions; but to make that venerable Prelate ſome amends, upon an humble letter acknowledging his fault in the buſineſs of Queen Jane, he received a pardon (*a*). Theſe extraordinary changes were wrought rather by addreſs and fair ſpeeches, than by violence or corruption, though ſome of our writers ſay the contrary. As to force, the Queen, a few guards excepted, had none; and her caſe as to money was the ſame, tho' the Biſhop of Wincheſter was a frugal Miniſter (*b*). But what ſeems to put corruption out of the queſtion in this Parliament, is, that, after all, the members could not be brought to reliſh the Queen's marriage to Don Philip, and therefore, the Chancellor adviſed the diſſolving this Aſſembly before the cloſe of the year. And thus two of the three great points were accompliſhed [*CC*]. But much

(*u*) Fox, Fuller, Heylin.

(*w*) Collier, Strype, Burnet.

(*x*) Sanders, Perſons.

(*y*) Journal of the Convocation.

(*z*) Remarks on the Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 47.

(*a*) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer.

(*b*) Fuller, Heylin, Strype.

[*CC*] *And thus two of the three great points were accompliſhed.*] According to the character of Queen Mary, as it ſtands in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, we find zeal for religion was the ruling inclination of her mind; and that the firſt purpoſe after her acceſſion, was reſtoring the old worſhip, in which ſhe was ſure of being ſupported by many of the nobility, clergy, and gentry; and it is highly probable, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſhewed as much willingneſs thereto as any of the reſt. The queſtion however is, how far he meant to go, and whether his true deſign was to bring back the whole of Popery, or only to reduce things to the ſtate in which they were at the death of King Henry. If we truſt to what moſt authors have written, we muſt believe that the former was his great view, as well as that of his miſtreſs; but if we examine his actions, which is the ſureſt way of judging of a wiſe man's ſentiments, we ſhall ſee reaſon to conclude, that he aimed at the latter; it is acknowledged, that he diſliked the coming of Pole into England; it is certain that he procured nothing to be done, either in the Convocation or the Parliament, that went farther than his old maſter's regulations; and it is likewiſe owned, that when the Queen ſent Pole an account of the great things, which as ſhe apprehended had been carried for her in the ſecond ſeſſion of her firſt Parliament, he was far enough from ſeeing thoſe things in that light that ſhe did (66). He complained, that in the act for repealing her mother's divorce, there was no notice taken of the inſult offered to the See of Rome; nor in the other act, repealing the laws of King Edward, any proviſion made for returning again to the obedience of the See of Rome. May we not then doubt, whether Gardiner ever intended it?

Before this Parliament was called many things had been done, and the Queen had iſſued various commiſſions, as ſupreme head of the Church, and this title was alſo uſed in the writ for calling the Parliament, though afterwards laid aſide. It is alſo ſaid, that Biſhop Gardiner cauſed Pole's journey into England to be ſtopt, that he ſuggeſted receiving him with the title of the Pope's Legate, was hurrying on things too faſt, and that he procured from the Emperor Charles the Fifth, ſome intimations of the ſame kind, which diſpoſed Queen Mary to liſten altogether to his advice, inſtead of receiving Italian Counſels; againſt which ſhe had been cautioned by his Imperial Majeſty. Upon theſe motives, Pole became, and continued, his enemy, as long as they continued together in the world. It is however very true, that our Biſhop altered his conduct afterwards, that he received this Cardinal as the Pope's Legate, with the higheſt marks of honour, that he preached a famous ſermon at Paul's Croſs (67), upon the reconciling of the nation to the Pope; and if he was not the author, had at leaſt a great ſhare in that bloody perſecution which enſued againſt the Proteſtants. Againſt theſe accuſations there is no defending him, and yet ſome things may be ſaid in alleviation of his offences.

He made no great haſte in reſtoring Popery, or in calling Cardinal Pole as the Pope's Legate; he did not expreſs

(66) So he expreſſes himſelf in a Letter to the Queen, in which he warns her to beware of preferring motives of Policy to motives of Religion.

(67) Of which ſome account will be given.

much greater difficulties were to be ſurmounted before the third could be brought to bear. The marriage treaty was left entirely in the hands of Biſhop Gardiner, and it is allowed he managed it very dextrouſly. He made uſe of the great reluctance ſhewn by the laſt Parliament, to procure ſuch articles as might ſecure the nation againſt the ambition of Philip and his Spaniards; and foreſeeing expences might follow upon this match, notwithſtanding the hard bargain he had made, he procured, as is ſaid, half a million ſterling from the Emperor, to facilitate the approbation of a new Parliament. But while theſe preparations employed thoſe in the cabinet, ſuch as abhorred this match were contriving very formidable meaſures for it's diſappointment. Sir Thomas Wiat of Kent, and Sir Peter Carew of Cornwall, laid the plan of a deep and dangerous inſurrection, in which the unfortunate Duke of Suffolk had juſt ſhare enough to bring his own head, and, which was much more to be regretted, the heads of Lady Jane and her huſband Lord Guilford Dudley, to the block. The whole ſcheme miſcarried by the ill management, and, to ſay the truth, the want of honeſty in the Chiefs (*c*). Sir Peter Carew declared before the time fixed, and was eaſily ſubdued; this forced out Sir Thomas Wiat before he was ready. Yet he was very near carrying his point, and might have carried it if he had uſed leſs artifice; but he carried his declarations of duty to the Queen ſo high, that thoſe who were in the firſt digeſtion of his enterprize were afraid to join him; ſo that at length his forces were broken, and he ſurrendered. Sir George Harper betrayed the whole conſpiracy, and explained all the ſecret correſpondencies on which thoſe who embarked in it had depended (*d*). Sir Thomas alſo behaved meanly, and talked of diſcoveries to ſave his life. When he found that was impracticable, he recanted, and denied the truth of what he had ſaid. But, notwithſtanding this, ſome perſons of the higheſt rank ſuffered deeply, either by his perfidy or puſillanimity; and it is one of the heavieſt charges againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, that he gave credit, or ſeemed to give credit, to theſe informations (*e*) [*DD*]. All inſurrections,

(*c*) Burnet, Collier, Echard.

(*d*) Stowe, Hollinſhed, Speed.

(*e*) Burnet, Collier; Strype.

expreſs any great violence in the beginning of his adminiſtration, and is ſaid to have teſtified ſome indignation againſt Bonner, for the pleaſure he took in purſuing hereticks. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to diſcuſs the point of his cruelty more at large, yet here it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in the years 1553, 1554, when he was in the zenith of his power, here was not one burnt, and in the laſt year of his life, there were fewer burnt than in any year of that reign. That he did return to Popery again is not to be denied, but it ſeems to have been when he had no other choice to make, ſo that he took up with this, becauſe he could not get a better religion; for if there be any thing clear or certain with regard to his ſentiments in theſe matters, he thought the ceremonies and diſcipline of the Church ought to be under the direction of the State, and that Princes might wave their Supremacy if they thought fit, for the ſake of what was ſtiled unity in the Church.

That he had really no way to avoid doing what he did, will appear clearly from hence; that on the one ſide, he had the furious Papiſts, not his friends, who inſinuated that he was more a Stateſman than a Biſhop, and to be eſteemed rather as a Politician than a Prelate; while the Proteſtants, and more eſpecially the exiles, took every poſſible method to expoſe him, inventing many things to his prejudice, as for inſtance, at the beginning of the Queen's reign, that ſhe was with child by him (68), which however improbable, as he was above ſeventy, and ſhe near forty, made much diſturbance; and by the tranſlating the piece he had written for the King's ſupremacy, and other treatiſes, not at all conſiſtent with the cauſe of the Church and the Court of Rome. He was therefore, with ſome of his brethren, obliged to ſwim with that ſtream to which they had given ſtrength enough to carry them out of their depth. In this reſpect therefore he deſerved to be ſtiled a diſſembler, and the more ſo, becauſe upon his death-bed, when he had leaſt reaſon to diſſemble, he ſhewed his repentance of many things, and declared for Juſtification by Faith, againſt works as will be ſhewn hereafter.

(68) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 318.

[*DD*] *That he gave credit, or ſeemed to give credit, to theſe informations.*] There was, as there commonly is againſt all Prime-Miniſters, a very high ſpirit of reſentment againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter; he was repreſented as the author of the Spaniſh match, as the betrayer of his Queen and country, and as one who had ſold his country to ſtrangers. Whereas in making the match, he ſubmitted to the Queen's will, who thought ſhe could not be ſafe, even upon the throne, without the protection of ſome potent foreign Prince. In ſettling the terms, there is no doubt at all, that this prelate ſet them ſo high as that Philip himſelf, as great a Politician as he was, found it impoſſible to pick a hole in them; and in reference to the treaſure, the nation was at that time much exhauſted; the Spaniards in purſuit of their projects, were ſcattering their money through all Europe; and as the Chancellor had been obliged to cry Philip up for a great, a rich, and a magnificent Prince, he thought it not amiſs that ſome of the money ſhould be ſcattered here, and that with his perſon, the Engliſh ſhould ſee a little of his treaſure. Thoſe that roſe under Sir Thomas Wiat, when they came into Southwark, rifled the Biſhop's ſtudy, tore all his books to pieces, ſo that in Wincheſter Cloſe, people might walk up to their knees in papers (69). This however was an open teſtimony of reſentment; but William Thomas, Eſq; who had been Clerk of the Council to King Edward, and a great favourite of his, is ſaid to have formed a deſign againſt this Prelate's life; however that was, he was convicted and executed, as having been one of the principal conſpirators (70). A little before Sir Thomas Wiat died, he was examined by Secretary Bourn, before the Earl of Devonſhire, in reſpect to what he had charged him with, in reference to his deſign; but at his death, he declared him innocent (71). There were ſome aſperſions alſo very falſely thrown upon the Lady Elizabeth, who came into a great deal of trouble, was ſent priſoner to the Tower, and examined by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who is reported to have been her great enemy, and to have let fall ſome ſtrange ſpeeches, which were thought to refer to her, ſuch as, *We may ſhake off the leaves, and lop the branches; but if we do not deſtroy the* root, *the* hope *of* Hereticks, *we do nothing.*

(69) Stowe's Annals, p. 619.

(70) Bale de Script. Part ii. p. 110. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 175.

(71) Hollinſhed, Stowe, Speed.

However, her innocence and her fortitude preſerved her, and after her ſiſter's marriage, King Philip is ſaid to have interpoſed on her behalf, in hopes, as ſome ſay, of marrying her after the deceaſe of her ſiſter; but as others with greater probability affirm, from a motive of policy; foreſeeing, that if ſhe was removed, the Crown, as things then ſtood, would deſcend to Mary Queen of Scots, who being married to the Dauphin of France, that muſt have proved a great check to the Spaniſh deſigns (72), and to the project of univerſal Monarchy which Philip had formed very early; yet theſe are but conjectures, and it is very remarkable, that Mr Camden, who no doubt had the beſt information, and could have no reaſon to conceal any thing he knew, refers the expreſſion about the root and branches, to Dr John Story (73), who was afterwards executed for High-Treaſon in Queen Elizabeth's reign; aſcribes her perſecution in it's greateſt violence, and when to ſecure her life, ſhe was forced to make profeſſion of the Popiſh religion, to Cardinal Pole, without ſo much as once mentioning the Biſhop of Wincheſter's name;

(72) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 287. Godwin's Annals.

(73) Introduct. ad Annal. regn. Eliz.

insurrections, when suppressed, are useful to those against whom they are raised, more especially when managed by men of parts and dexterity. None knew better how to procure, or to use, advantages, than the Bishop of Winchester; and he so well managed mens hopes and fears, with every other help he had, that when the Queen's second Parliament met, April the second 1554, it very soon appeared he might prevail on them to give a sanction to his measures, whatever they were. The terms of the Queen's marriage, as he settled them, met with very little opposition; and as for making severe laws against Hereticks, it is allowed the Bishop had no other trouble than to restrain them, which in several instances he did. His own and the wiser Bishops zeal, not flaming near so high as that of this House of Commons (*f*). In the whole of his conduct thro' this Parliament, over which he had as much influence as Minister ever had, there was nothing done that was either unworthy of his station, or injurious to his country; on the contrary, foreseeing that some who had access to the Queen might make an ill use of her confidence, and engage her, by plausible promises, to countenance things every way beneath her, and dangerous to her subjects, he procured this to be put out of her power, by a short law drawn by his direction, as may be seen more at large in the notes [*EE*]. But when the great measures

(*f*) Godwin, Burnet, Heylin.

name; so that notwithstanding what is said in Holinshed, and other writers; there is good reason to doubt whether this Prelate went any farther in these matters than his duty and the Queen's temper, who, as Camden very truly says, though a mild and benevolent Princess, bore her sister no good will, might require. In this however it is hard to decide, as there might be a great deal, and not without authority, alledged on both sides.

[*EE*] *As may be seen more at large in the notes.*] In the former part of his life, this Prelate, upon more occasions than one, had taken upon him to express a great zeal for the Laws, and a very warm concern for the constitution of his country. But it very often happens, that Patriots preferred forget their former professions, endeavour to explain them away, or, it may be, retract them, and act in direct opposition to them. This was not the conduct of Gardiner, the best and most candid of our Historians being his judges. They very fairly admit, that he shewed himself through the whole course of his administration, a good Englishman (74), and one as careful to preserve his country from becoming a province to foreigners, or his countrymen from being enslaved by an undue extension of the prerogative, as any minister we ever had; it would be easy to prove all this by a train of numerous quotations, but as these would necessarily take up a great deal of room, and as this article has already swelled into a great extent, we will content ourselves with producing two passages from a modern author (75), who has abridged within a narrow compass, what Bishop Burnet, and other Ecclesiastical Historians have written at large, from our records and other authentic testimonies.

(74) Fuller, Burnet, Heylin.

(75) Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 318, 320.

'In the managing of this treaty Gardiner had a 'principal share, for he was the oracle of the Council 'Board, as having thirty years experience in affairs, 'and a great knowledge of the Courts of Christendom 'and of the state of England. In drawing the articles 'of the marriage he had a double design, one was to 'have them so framed, as they might easily pass in Parliament; and the other was to exclude the Spaniards 'from having any share in the government of England, 'which he designed to hold in his own hands. Accordingly it was agreed, that the government and 'gift of places, should be entirely in Queen Mary; 'and though Prince Philip was to be called King, 'named in all writs, and his image put on the coin and 'seals, yet the Queen's hand alone was to give authority to every thing without his; no Spaniard was to 'be capable of any office; no change was to be made 'in the law, nor was the Queen to be required to go 'out of England against her will, nor might their issue 'go out of England, but by the consent of the nobility. The Queen was to have a jointure of forty 'thousand pounds a year out of Spain, and twenty 'thousand pounds out of the Netherlands. If the 'Queen had a son, he was to inherit Burgundy and the 'Netherlands, as well as England; and if Philip's 'son died, he was to inherit all the Spanish Dominions. 'If the Queen had only daughters, they were to succeed to her crown, and have such portions from 'Spain, as were usually given to Kings daughters. 'Prince Philip was to have no share in the government 'after her death, and the Queen might still keep up the 'League with France, notwithstanding this match.

'On the second day of April, a new Parliament met, 'which was the second in this reign, but the most 'considerable members were before corrupted by 'Gardiner (*), who gave them pensions, some two hundred, and others a hundred pounds a year for their 'voices. The first act that passed was declaratory, that 'all the prerogatives and limitations which by law belonged to the Kings of England were the same, whether the crown fell into the hands of a male or female. The real meaning of this was little known, 'some feared there was a pernicious design in it; and, 'that it being declared that she had all the authority of 'any of her progenitors, it might be inferred that she, 'by this, could pretend to a right of conquest, and 'like William the Conqueror, seize on the estates of 'the English. But it was so conceived, that the Queen 'was put under the same limitations, as well as acknowledged to have the same prerogatives with her 'predecessors.

(*) See note [*MM*].

'The secret of this Act was afterwards discovered: 'a projecting man, who had served Cromwell, and had 'been deeply engaged in the Lady Jane's affair, and 'the late insurrection, by making a timely application 'to the Emperor's Ambassador obtained his pardon; 'and for amends, he offered a project to the Ambassador, that the Queen should declare, that she succeeded to the crown by the Common Law, but was not 'bound by the Statute Law, which only obliged 'Kings, and not Queens, by which she might pretend 'to be a conqueror and rule at pleasure, and by that 'might restore both religion and the Abbey Lands 'without any restraint. This was brought to the 'Queen by the Ambassador, who begged of her to 'keep it very secret. She disliked the paper, yet she 'sent for Gardiner, and charged him to give her his 'opinion of it sincerely, as he would answer to God 'for it at the great day. He read it carefully, and 'told her, *it was a most pernicious contrivance, and 'begged of her not to hearken to such platforms, which 'might be brought her by base sycophants.* Upon that 'she burnt the paper, and ordered the Ambassador to 'bring her no more of such projects.

'This gave Gardiner sensible apprehensions of the 'mischiefs that Spanish counsels might bring upon the 'nation, and therefore he procured the forementioned 'Act to be made, by which the Queen was as much 'bound by the Statute Law as her predecessors. He 'also procured an Act to be passed ratifying the articles of the marriage of the Queen, with very strong 'clauses for keeping the government entirely in the 'Queen's hands, so that Prince Philip might not take 'it upon him as Henry the Seventh had done, when 'he married the heiress of the House of York: for as 'that King set up a title in his own name, and kept 'the government in his own hands, so the Spaniards 'began now to derive a descent from John of Gaunt, 'father to Henry the Fourth, which caused Gardiner 'to be the more cautious in this matter; and it must 'be acknowledged, that the preserving the nation out 'of the hands of the Spaniards, was almost only owing 'to his care and wisdom (*). In this Parliament 'several

(*) This is Bishop Burnet's observation.

measures aimed at were once adjusted, the Chancellor supposing that what remained for accomplishing the whole of the Queen's plan, might be compassed more effectually after the marriage, the Queen on the fifth of May came to the Parliament, and, having given her consent to fifteen bills, dissolved that Assembly (*g*). All obstacles to the marriage being now removed, and the circumstances of the House of Austria making it necessary to hasten it, King Philip put to sea, and arrived towards the close of July at Southampton, escorted by a considerable fleet, which however was obliged to pay homage to that of England in the narrow seas; such was the temper of those times, and the vigour of that administration (*h*). He proceeded with a numerous train of nobility from Southampton to Winchester, where he was received, and splendidly entertained, by the Bishop; on St James's day, the tutelary Saint of Spain, he was by that Prelate solemnly married to the Queen in the cathedral, the Emperor Charles V. resigning to him the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and many nominal sovereignties, upon the marriage (*i*). In his way to London the King took Windsor, where he was installed Knight of the Garter, and made his entry into this capital on the eleventh of August 1554, with prodigious magnificence, and, like all new Princes, with universal acclamations (*k*). The Chancellor well knowing this fair weather would not continue long, resolved to avail himself of it while it lasted, and therefore called a new Parliament about the middle of November the same year. A very little after the session begun Cardinal Pole came into England, not much to the real good liking either of the King or Chancellor. But the Queen being set upon it, and the new House of Commons having the same bigotted spirit with the old one, a solemn deputation was sent to fetch him over, Lord Paget and Sir William Cecil being two of the Commissioners. His attainder, in the reign of the late King Henry VIII, was reversed with as much facility as it was made, and with much the same consideration (*l*). To prevent his falling into the same inconveniency that Wolsey had done, he had a licence, under the Queen's broad seal, to execute his functions as the Pope's Legate. When these advances had been gradually made, a supplication was presented from both Houses to the King and Queen, that the nation might be reconciled to the See of Rome; which being granted November 30, 1554, the request of both Lords and Commons was signified, in the presence of their Majesties, to his Holiness's Legate, by the Lord High-Chancellor the Bishop of Winchester; when the Cardinal, after a long oration, solemnly absolved them, and received the People of England once more into the bosom of the Catholick Church (*m*). By these gradations all things were brought back to their old situation; and the sanguinary laws, for repressing what they called Heresy, revived and carried into execution. Thus the Bishop of Winchester paid the full price of his exaltation to the Ministry, and obtained, in spite of all difficulties, all that the Queen had desired (*n*). But the joy ensuing on this was quickly troubled by the bloody persecution set on foot in almost all parts of the kingdom (*o*), whether by the advice, and with the entire concurrence, of the Bishop of Winchester, as many Historians affirm, it is but just should be more largely discussed [*FF*] than the bounds of this

(*g*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(*h*) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

(*i*) Godwin, Stowe, Speed.

(*k*) Godwin's Annals.

(*l*) Strype, Fuller, Burnet.

(*m*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II.

(*n*) Heylin, Fuller, Burnet.

(*o*) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

'several other bills were prepared against the Lollards, 'and for the six articles, but none of them passed, nor 'nothing material was enacted, besides a confirmation of 'former attainders, and the restoration of the Bisho- 'prick of Durham. So the Parliament was dissolved 'on the twenty fifth day of May.'

[*FF*] *It is but just, should be more largely discussed.*] We have more than once touched this matter of the strong imputations upon this Bishop, for his cruelty to the Protestants, and promised to speak of it more at large. It is fit this promise should be executed, the rather, because in most of our histories, his character is represented as very odious in this respect. In the first place we shall observe, that there is a double charge against him, that he was the author of the Doctrine of Persecution in Queen Mary's reign; and next, that he was active and zealous in carrying this doctrine into execution; with respect to the former it is very positively asserted, that when Pole advised the Queen to rely upon fair means for bringing men back to the Romish Church, to reform the lives of the Clergy, and to take other steps of the same mild nature; Bishop Gardiner opposed this, and prevailed so far, as to bring the Queen to consent, that the weapons of the Law, rather than the arguments of the Gospel, should be employed to reduce Hereticks to the Catholick Church. This, Bishop Burnet having transcribed from others, adds, that *this advice proceeded from his own abject and servile spirit* (76).

(76) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 299.

With respect to particulars, he is charged to have condemned Dr Robert Farrar, Bishop of St Davids, who was burnt with great cruelty in Wales; the like accusation we find with respect to Dr John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, with this aggravating circumstance, that it proceeded from private resentment for what Hooper had done against him in the former reign. To him, is chiefly ascribed the burning Father Latimer, once Bishop of Worcester, and Dr Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London; and he is farther said to have been a persecutor of Archbishop Cranmer, with a view of getting into his Archbishoprick; and that it was no better motive than this, which afterwards engaged him to protect and prolong that prelate's life, in order to defeat the views and expectations of Cardinal Pole, and thereby gain time for himself to equal him in one, to deprive him of another, and to supplant him in a third dignity, by procuring from Pope Paul the Fourth, a Cadinal's hat with the Legantine Power, and his nomination to the See of Canterbury, which would indeed have rendered him not equal only, but superior to his master Wolsey. Besides these, there are many lighter imputations, such as his driving abroad the Duchess of Suffolk, and other Protestants of distinction, by his menaces, and threats; and his expressing the most violent resentment against the exiles in general, though he well knew that they only fled to be out of the reach of his severity.

After reporting fairly what has been asserted, in order to render the portrait of this great man as hideous and deformed as it is possible, we are obliged in justice to consider what may be said in extenuation, both of the general and particular charges, and in doing this, we shall content ourselves with appealing to the common sense and candour of the intelligent and attentive reader, and the authorities of Protestant writers; for as to the Papists, they exceed as much on the other hand, and bestow upon him praises as little consistent with truth, as the flaming invectives of some of his enemies, so that no man of an impartial disposition, can ever prevail upon himself to give an implicit belief to either. It is

this narrative will allow. Certain it is, that, to this time, our Prelate had not discovered any thing of this disposition. He is indeed reputed, by many of our Historians, a great dissembler

strange that the Bishop of Winchester should oppose the milder measures of Pole, when he came over vested with legantine power, considering, that before he had this, that prelate himself was possessed of almost equal authority, which he exercised in quite another manner. We have observed in the text, that the House of Commons in the second Parliament of Queen Mary's reign, expressed a furious zeal for the old religion, and had actually prepared a bill for reviving the old Law of the six Articles, the passing which was prevented by the dissolution of that Parliament when Gardiner was Prime-Minister (77). Of this law the Protestants in general were so much afraid, that John Fox, in the name of the exiles, penned an epistle in Latin to the Parliament, in which he told them they had a Queen, who, as she was most noble, she was ready to listen to sound and wholesome counsel; and that they had a Chancellor too, who, as he was learned, so he was not of a rough nature, if uninfluenced by the counsels of others. His own words are very elegant and pathetick, *Porrò, habetis ad hoc* Reginam, *ut Nobilissimam, ita ad sana & salubria quæque obsequacem Principem. Habetis &* Cancellarium, *ut doctrina præstabilem, ita natura non improbum, siquorum absint concilia.* He goes on to insinuate, that as among animals there are some born to create trouble and mischief to the rest; so there wanted not of mankind, a race by nature turbulent and cruel, and formed to disturb and destroy, by their intrigues, both Church and State. It was from them therefore that Fox and his associates then dreaded those mischiefs that afterwards followed. But it is strange logick to infer, that because Bishop Gardiner, by a hasty dissolution of that Parliament, prevented that bill from passing, therefore he was the author of cruel counsels, and not the person, who by an Act of another Parliament, had the power of persecuting put into his hands.

(77) Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 320.

Before the proceedings of the Protestant Bishops for religion, the Popish Prelates, who were to persecute, went not to Westminster, or Winchester House, but to Lambeth (78), where they received their instructions, and all the bloody things that were afterwards done, were done by commissions from the person, who is said to have given those mild counsels; and it is acknowledged, even by Bishop Burnet, who makes Gardiner the author of these cruelties, that he grew very soon weary of them, and refused to have any farther hand in them, reproaching Bonner for his butcher-like disposition, in pursuing them as he did (79). Would it not have been natural in Bonner and his associates to vindicate the Cardinal and themselves, by recriminating; and if they had done so, is it possible that the world should not have heard of it? besides, in another proceeding, when the prisoner charged the Bishops with misleading the Queen, and drawing her against her will to these severe courses, they very roundly asserted the contrary, and that themselves were rather compelled by her (80).

(78) Collier's Church Hist. Vol. II. p. 379.

(79) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 304.

(80) See the Hist. of John Rogers's martyrdom in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

Indeed whatever is said from John Fox, of Gardiner's giving cruel advice, is in a good measure contradicted by what Strype delivers from the authority of records, and of the directions from Lambeth beforementioned, which it is necessary we should produce for our own justification (81). 'In these instructions, there 'are several strictures, that make it appear, Pole 'was not so gentle towards the Hereticks (as the pro- 'fessors of the Gospel were then stiled) as is reported, 'but rather the contrary, and that he went hand in 'hand with the bloody Bishops of these days. For it is 'plain here, that he put the Bishops upon proceeding 'with them according to the sanguinary laws lately re- 'vived, and put in full force and virtue. What an 'invention was that of his, a kind of Inquisition, by 'him set up, whereby, not a man might escape, that 'stood not well affected to Popery? I mean, his order- 'ing books to be made and kept, wherein the names 'of all such were to be written, that in every place 'and parish in England were reconciled; and so, who- 'soever were not found in those books, might be 'known to be no friends to the Pope, and so to be 'proceeded against. And indeed, after Pole's crafty 'and zealous management of this reconciliation, all 'that good opinion that men had before conceived of 'him vanished, and they found themselves much mi- 'staken in him, especially seeing so many learned and 'pious Gospel Bishops and Ministers imprisoned, and 'martyred under him, and by his commission. Inso- 'much, that now people spake of him, as bad as of 'the Pope himself, or the worst of his Cardinals.'

(81) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 346, 347.

We will now proceed to the particular charges. As to Dr Robert Farrar, the account given of him by Bishop Godwin, who lived in those times, and knew well what he wrote, is this (82). 'He was a man of a 'rigid temper and rough behaviour, which drew on 'him much trouble, even in King Edward's days, 'and was now perhaps his destruction: for having 'been preferred to that dignity by the Duke of Somer- 'set, after his death, this good and learned man, by 'the unhappy moroseness of his manners, which even 'bordered upon arrogance, raised against himself ac- 'cusers. Two of these, who were Bishops afterwards 'under Queen Elizabeth, easily prevailed with the 'faction against Somerset, to get Farrar imprisoned. 'Thus being in custody at Queen Mary's accession to 'the throne, he was brought before the Bishop of 'Winchester, and 'tis very probable, that by a little 'temper in his answers, and a discreet regard to the 'times, he might have saved himself, without wrong 'to his integrity, from the hands of bloody men, as 'several had done, who were not engaged in the 'cause of Lady Jane, nor had any other way affronted 'the patrons of Popery, whose flight was therefore 'connived at, or if they were taken, they were 'soon discharged again, at the intercession of their 'friends. But Farrar, sway'd by his natural severity, 'and ungoverned passion, gave such bold and provoking 'answers to the Bishops, that it is not to be admired it 'went so hard with him.' It is therefore his commitment only, that is to be attributed to the Bishop of Winchester; for as to his trial, conviction, and the terrible cruelties afterwards exercised on him, they are to be placed to the account of Dr Morgan, Bishop of St Davids; however, from the foregoing account, it appears, that Bishop Godwin, thought with John Fox that Gardiner was not naturally ill tempered, and that a little civility, which certainly is not incompatible with Christianity, might have opened a passage to this Prelate to escape the flames.

(82) Life of Queen Mary, p. 349, 350.

In reference to Bishop Hooper, we are told by Strype (83), that he was extreamly hated by Gardiner, not only as an earnest reformer of religion, but for having been one of the witnesses against him in the time of King Edward. For this, it is said, that he was exceedingly ill used in prison. Bishop Godwin gives another account of this matter; he says, that he had been very instrumental in procuring Bonner's deprivation (84), and adds, *which now probably proved his ruin*; it is very likely from hence, that Mr Strype put Gardiner for Bonner, and though he tells us afterwards, that he transcribed the circumstances he mentions from a letter of Bishop Hooper, in which he stiles Gardiner, God's *enemy and mine*; yet as that letter is not placed in his appendix, we have no opportunity of seeing whether Gardiner is there mentioned by name, or whether the person to whom that character is given, is not left to be discovered from circumstances, which point us not to Gardiner, but to Bonner. It cannot however be denied, that the Bishop of Winchester sat in judgment upon this Prelate, in the church of St Mary Overs, near his own house, but then he sat as a Commissioner, with twelve other Bishops; and though Mr Strype does not insist upon what was said by any of the rest, yet he admits that Winchester both offered a pardon, and laboured all he could to convince Hooper, that nothing dangerous to his conscience, was expected from him; which proposition he rejected with great disdain, and the Bishop of Winchester, as his commission obliged him, pronounced sentence.

(83) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 179.

(84) Life of Queen Mary, p. 349.

In this, without doubt, he acted severely, and against the sentiments of humanity; but as things were circumstanced, it is not easy to see how he could act otherwise, or how the blood of Bishop Hooper, lay more at his door, than that of the other Bishops, or the blood

of

dissembler (p); but in this acted quite another part. In all publick transactions he professed himself always of the same opinion with the Council, and did not aim at screening himself from popular odium, by putting on a cloke of moderation. But, in all the trials, where, by virtue of Cardinal Pole's commission, he was obliged to be, he was exceedingly assiduous to shew the prisoners, that, in the matter of the Real Presence, which was most insisted on, they might easily save their lives, by complying with subscriptions drawn in very general terms; till, by foul language, they convinced him that he had to do with men who were as little to be wheedled as frighted out of their principles (q). This surely proves that he was not desirous of severities, or persecuted for the sake of gratifying a cruel temper, or to revenge past injuries (r). And that such Protestants as were of milder natures, and content to reserve themselves for better times, when driven to distress were well received by him, and not barely screened but encouraged and protected, without offering any violence to their consciences farther than locking them up, and committing the key to the custody of their own discretions, I may very safely affirm is a point out of dispute (s) [GG]. But now, after the coming of Cardinal Pole, it is not impossible that the

(p) See Fox's Acts and Monuments. And Fuller, Burnet, and Strype, from him.

(q) As in the cases of Farrar, Hooper, and Latimer.

(r) Imputed to him by Fox and others.

(s) Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith.

of others put to death under colour of Heresy, in the time of Henry the Eighth; at the doors of such Bishops, as afterwards changed their sentiments, and became Martyrs for the same opinion that those held, whom they formerly condemned. These were dismal and dreadful times, when a zeal, that was certainly not according to knowledge, prevailed strongly in the minds of men, and induced them, under the colour of promoting the Gospel, to act exactly in the same manner as the Jews did against those who first preached it. It may however be inferred from hence, that being a vice of the times, it ought not, with peculiar vehemence, to be ascribed to any particular man. Bishop Gardiner, to be sure, had his share in these barbarous proceedings, yet he had but his share, and ought not therefore to bear all the reproach.

Bishop Burnet says, that by this time he was convinced, severity would not do, and that refusing to meddle any more with condemnations, he left them to Bonner (85), Yet it was some months after this, that Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford; with which, the Bishop of Winchester, is by the same writers, reported to be highly pleased, and to have been so eager to receive the news, that he delayed his dinner till the post came in (86); which how well founded a report it is, we shall hereafter have occasion to enquire. In the mean time let it be observed, how the same writers vary this man's character, he had borne five years imprisonment in the reign of King Edward, besides the loss of his Bishoprick and all his other preferments, rather than stoop to make a submission; and yet his advising these cruelties, is ascribed to his servile and abject temper, apt to be wrought on by the same means. Then he becomes a brutal persecutor, taking pleasure in the miseries and misfortunes, not only of his fellow creatures, but of some who had been his intimate acquaintance; yet the acts, or judicial proceedings, plainly prove, that he took all the pains in his power to perswade those who were tried before him to accept of pardon. At length, it is said, he was thoroughly distasted at persecution, because he saw it did not answer his end; but instead of drawing the people to, drove them from Popery; and yet we find him some months after, having a better stomach to the blood and slaughter of men, with whom he had lived before in intimacy, than to his dinner: this is not only to make him a bad man, but a beast, and those who would be inclined to believe him ever so wicked, will find it hard to reconcile this to his weakness, or that again to the great things which he performed, or the character he had with some of the best and wisest amongst the Protestants.

In respect to Cranmer, all that is said of the Bishop of Winchester's conduct towards him, is upon a supposition of the original author's sagacity, in judging of that Prelate's thoughts, and penetrating into the secrets of his heart; for no-body has the confidence to say, that he owned he preserved Cranmer's life to spite Pole, or to get possession of his See, to which, by the way, Bishops of Winchester rarely aspire. Let us now hear a few things on the other side. Very soon after King Edward's death, a rumour prevailed, as if the Archbishop had changed his sentiments (87); in answer to which, he drew up a kind of Manifesto, which was published without his consent, by the indiscretion of his friends. Upon this, he was brought before the Council where Gardiner presided, there he boldly owned the paper, said, he meant to have enlarged and strengthened it, and to have posted it upon the gates of St Paul's. He was, notwithstanding this, discharged, contrary to all men's expectations, but by the Bishop of Winchester's advice; and if the Archbishop had followed the counsel of his friends he might then have withdrawn; we are farther assured, that Gardiner proposed removing him from his dignity, and allowing him a pension for his support in a private state of life. When he was attainted of High-Treason by Parliament, for the share he had in Queen Jane's business, he had a pardon granted him. Such was the treatment of this great Prelate, while Gardiner had the sole direction of affairs; and after this, when the supreme power in Ecclesiastical affairs was transferred to Cardinal Pole, he had still authority enough to preserve the Archbishop's life, and it is allowed that he did preserve it, and there let the matter rest.

As to the Duchess of Suffolk, what is related concerning her, runs thus (88). 'This lady being most 'zealous for the Reformation in the reign of King 'Edward the Sixth, Stephen Gardiner, after that he 'was restored to his Bishoprick of Winchester, by 'Queen Mary, sent for her husband in the first year of 'her reign, and amongst some questions touching his 'religion, asked, *Whether the Lady, his wife, was 'now as ready to set up Mass, as she had been to pull it 'down, when in her progress, she caused a dog in a 'rochet, to be carried, and called by his name?* where-'upon, being advertised by his friends, that the Bishop 'meant to call the Duchess, his wife, to an account of 'her Faith; and foreseeing danger, he procured the 'Queen's licence to travel beyond sea, under colour 'of such debts as were due from the Emperor, 'to the late Duke of Suffolk, his Lady's former hus-'band. And having obtained it, passed the seas at 'Dover, in June the same year, leaving her behind, 'who in January following, went diguised from her 'house in Barbican, and passing to Leigh in Essex, 'privately took shipping, and after much danger met 'her husband in the Duchy of Cleves.' If there was any thing harsh in what the Bishop said to Mr Bertie, it must consist in putting him in mind of an action no ways suitable to that great Lady's quality. It is not pretended, that the Bishop of Winchester, either impeded their retreat, or persecuted them after they were abroad; it is true, that some injuries were afterwards offered them, which obliged them to fly, with some hazard to their lives, but this was after the Bishop of Winchester was in his grave.

We are also told, that the Bishop frighted the famous John Fox (89) out of England, at a time, when he was tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's grand-children; but as in this matter, all is ascribed to Fox's own suspicions, though it might be a reason why he did not easily forgive that Prelate, yet it ought not to reflect any stain upon his character. After all, what is here collected remains entirely under the censure of the reader, who in every case, without question, will distinguish which are facts, and which are conjectures.

[GG] *Is a point not to be disputed.*] There was, without doubt, very great confusion amongst those that had made a figure in the court of King Edward the Sixth,

(85) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 304.

(86) Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 323.

(87) Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 304, 305.

(88) Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1143, 1144.

(89) See the Life of John Fox, written by his son, prefix'd to the 2d. Vol. of his *Acts and Monuments*.

the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being deprived, and he nominated to that See (*t*), with the legantine authority in his hands, Gardiner might have leſs weight in eccleſiaſtical affairs, more eſpecially if, as ſome ſay, Queen Mary conſidered him rather as a Stateſman than a Prieſt, and looked on Pole as a Confeſſor for religion, and a Saint in morals (*u*). If this was at all the caſe, Biſhop Gardiner did wiſely not to contend with him; for, beſides the privilege of his high birth, and his dignity, it was viſible enough that he would be ſupported by a great party amongſt the Clergy, and the hot men in the Houſe of Commons; who, by reſtoring the Pope's ſupremacy, and reviving the laws againſt Hereſy, had made that cauſe their own. At leaſt there is ſomething ſo probable in this, and it accounts ſo well

(*t*) Collier's Church Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 371.

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 242.

Sixth, and who were ſincerely Proteſtants, when they ſaw Queen Mary fixed upon the throne, and how ſtrong her inclinations were to the Popiſh Religion. But however, there were ſome very eminent men, who by behaving with great moderation and decency, preſerved themſelves from trouble, without making ſhipwreck of their conſciences; and of theſe, not a few ſtood indebted for their ſafety, and ſomething more, to the protection afforded them by the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Amongſt theſe was Sir William Cecil (90), afterwards the great Lord Burleigh, who had been twice Secretary of State, and of whom it was ſuggeſted, that he furniſhed the reaſons of policy ſet forth in his maſter's will, in favour of Queen Jane. Some troubles he met with, which were not very ſharp, but lived afterwards, not only in peace and honour, but might alſo have been Secretary again if he would have complied; and tho' he declined this, becauſe of the condition, yet it was without incuring the Queen's diſpleaſure, or the loſs of Gardiner's friendſhip, with whom he went over to Calais, in the laſt year of that Prelate's life, and remained upon perfect good terms with him to the laſt.

(90) From Cecil's own Diary.

Sir Thomas Smith, who was alſo Secretary to King Edward, was, by the favour of Gardiner, permitted to live in a ſtate of learned privacy, which he affected, without any enquiry into his religious principles, and with a penſion of one hundred pounds a year, which in thoſe times was a conſiderable ſum, for his better ſupport (91), though he had a good eſtate of his own. Yet both Cecil and Smith had formerly oppoſed the Biſhop one at Court, and the other at the Univerſity, but without any thing of rudeneſs or aſperity; which Gardiner was ſo far from remembring, that he treated them both with the utmoſt kindneſs and reſpect. We may add to theſe, the celebrated Mr Aſcham, another Secretary for the Latin tongue, continued in his office, as indeed he well deſerved, and his ſalary increaſed by this Prelate's favour, which he fully repaid, by thoſe grateful and elegant epiſtles to him, that are extant among his works, which do equal honour to both, and which will be read with pleaſure, as long as there continues any taſte for ſtile or ſentiment. But let us hear how honeſt Mr Strype repreſents this matter, with reſpect both to Smith and Aſcham, his words are theſe (92).

(91) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. III. p. 338.

(92) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 65.

'This muſt be remembred to this Biſhop's commendation, among the many evil things that aſperſe and blacken his name to this day. Nor muſt the like favour, or a greater, be forgotten by him, ſhewn to ſuch another learned and grave Proteſtant, friend, and contemporary with Smith, I mean Roger Aſcham, which I muſt have leave to mention here. Whom the Biſhop of Wincheſter did not only ſpare, but called to Court, and preferred to be Secretary of the Latin tongue to Queen Mary. Whom for his learning in the languages, and incomparable faculty of a clean ſtile and beautiful writing, he greatly loved, and obliged with many benefits. And when Sir Francis Engfield, Maſter of the Wards and Liveries, a fierce Papiſt, had often cried out upon Aſcham to the Biſhop, as an Heretick, and fit to be rejected and puniſhed as ſuch; he never would hearken to him, either to puniſh him, or remove him from his place. Thus lived two excellent Proteſtants, under the wings, as it were, of the ſworn enemy and deſtroyer of Proteſtants, Aſcham and Smith; to whom we now return again.'

The ſame plain ſpoken writer, in an account he gives us of the adventures of one Underhill, a gentleman of the Band of Penſioners, and a zealous Proteſtant, has the following paſſage, which happened when the Queen was going to be married (93). 'Then was there preparing, ſays he, to go with the Queen to Wincheſter: and all the books of the ordinaries were peruſed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the Earl of Arundel, two great Papiſts, to conſider of every man, And one would think Underhill ſhould have hardly eſcaped now. Sir Humphry Radcliff, Lieutenant of the Band, brought unto them the book of the Penſioners. Which when they overlooked, and came unto Underhill's name, *what doth he here*, ſaid the Earl of Arundel? *I know no cauſe why he ſhould not be here*, ſaid Radcliffe, who alſo was ſecretly a favourer of the Goſpel. *He is an honeſt man, and hath ſerved from the beginning of the Band, and was as forward as any to ſerve the Queen, in the time of* Wyat's *rebellion. Let him paſs then*, ſaid the Biſhop. *Well*, ſaid the Earl, *you may do ſo, but I aſſure your* Lordſhip, *he is an arch-heretick.* Thus he paſſed the brunt.'

(93) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 65.

This is a ſtrange proof of our author's poſition, that Biſhop Gardiner was a *great*, that is, a *bigotted* Papiſt; and the ingenious Dr Fuller, has no leſs ſtrange a proof of his being a moſt invenomed perſecutor; perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee that too, thus then our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian writes (94).

(94) Church Hiſt. of Britain, cent. XVI. b. viii. p. 17.

'In the dioceſe of Wincheſter, conſiſting of Hantſhire and Surrey, I find no great impreſſion from Stephen Gardiner the Biſhop, and much marvel thereat. It may be, this Politician, who managed his malice with cunning, ſpared his own dioceſe, fox like, preying fartheſt from his own den; indeed he would often ſtay behind the traverſe, and ſend Bonner upon the ſtage; free enough of himſelf, without ſpurring, to do miſchief, to act what he had contrived. Yea, I may ſay of Gardiner, that he had an head, if not an hand, in the death of every eminent Proteſtant; plotting, though not acting, their deſtruction. And being Lord Chancellor of England, he counted it his honour to flie at ſtout game indeed, contriving the death of the Lady Elizabeth, and uſing to ſay, that it was vain to ſtrike at the branches, whilſt the root of all Hereticks doth remain. And this good Lady was appointed for the ſlaughter, and brought to the ſhambles, when the ſeaſonable death of this butcher, ſaved the ſheep alive.

'However, as bloody as he was, for mine own part I have particular gratitude to pay to the memory of this Stephen Gardiner, and here I ſolemnly tender the ſame. It is on the account of Mrs Clarke, my great-grand-mother, by my mother's ſide, whoſe huſband rented Farnham-Caſtle, a place whither Biſhop Gardiner retired, in Surry, as belonging to his See. This Biſhop, ſenſible of the conſumptionous ſtate of his body, and finding phyſick out of the kitchen, more beneficial for him than that out of the Apothecaries ſhop, and ſpecial comfort from the cordials ſhe provided him, did not only himſelf connive at her hereſy, as he termed it, but alſo protected her, during his life, from the fury of others. Some will ſay, this his curteſie to her, was founded on kindneſs to himſelf. But however, I am ſo far from detaining thanks, from any deſerved on juſt cauſe, that I am ready to pay them, where they are but pretended due on any colour.' Our Hiſtorian is certainly in the right, a good thing done (upon whatever motive) ought to be remembred; men, can judge of men, only by their actions, as to their intentions, they belong to a higher tribunal, and conſequently not to us. If once we deſert this rule, the reader is at the mercy of the author, it is but ſuggeſting right motives for wrong deeds, and the malefactor becomes a hero, or giving foul colours to fair facts, and the hero is turned into a malefactor.

well for the subsequent behaviour of the Chancellor, that it certainly deserves to be impartially considered [*HH*]. Towards the close of the year, it was strongly reported, and indeed generally believed, that the Queen was with child, for which rejoicings were made, and prayers appointed for her safe delivery. The Chancellor made a right use of this wrong notion; he perswaded her Majesty to set several prisoners at liberty, that had been near a year in confinement, and for that purpose went in person to the Tower (*w*), January the eighteenth 1555, and discharged the Archbishop of York, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Edward Warner, Sir George Harper, Sir William Saintlow, Sir Gawin Carew, Sir Andrews Dudley, William Gibs, Cuthbert Vaughan, *John Harrington, Esqrs.* Mr Tremain, and others. One of these had a little before taken the liberty of expostulating with him very freely, notwithstanding which he had (beyond his expectations perhaps) his liberty amongst the rest. His son has given us, an account of this adventure, some passages (*x*) relating to Bishop Gardiner very well worth notice [*II*]. The

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 626.

(*x*) Harrington's Brief View of the state of the Church of Eng. p. 43.

[*HH*] *Deserves to be impartially considered*] There is nothing more manifest in this reign, than the great change of measures which followed, after the coming over of Cardinal Pole, and the nation's submitting again to the Papal authority. It was upon this, that the persecution began, in virtue of a law passed the same session, with that for reversing the Cardinal's attainder, and restoring the Pope's supremacy. Cardinal Pole has the credit of absolving the Parliament, and the nation, as it were freely, and at the first word; but the truth is, that it was against his will. He was desirous, that the kingdom should remain under an interdict, till all who had received holy orders irregularly, or had otherwise offended the Church, should be reconciled, which Gardiner over-ruled; and in consequence of this, such of the Clergy as complied, continued in their functions, without any new ordination; this does not very well agree, either with Pole's proposing moderate measures, or Bishop Gardiner's opposing them (95).

(95) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 401.

Whoever looks closely into the History of that reign, and depends only upon facts, will find that the Bishop of Winchester's authority, was very far from being uncontrouled after the coming of Cardinal Pole, and his having the Queen's ear, and of this he gave himself some intimations, and that too in publick. He observed at one of the trials, that returning to the obedience of the See of Rome, was almost the unanimous act of the House of Commons, one member only opposing it, and that was Sir Ralph Bagnall, who publickly and plainly declared, that it was a thing to which he could never consent (96). Bishop Gardiner, by doing this, gave the Parliament the credit of those proceedings, which were the natural consequences of being reconciled to Rome, and which, in justice, ought to be ascribed to that reconciliation. At Rogers's tryal, when the prisoner imputed his sufferings to the advice the Bishops had given the Queen, Bishop Gardiner said, as has been before observed, that the Queen went before him in those counsels, appealing for the truth of this to all the rest, who affirmed it likewise. Rogers said, they might well vouch one for another (97), which was boldly and sensibly spoken. Yet from hence it appears, that the Chancellor had no inclination to pass for the author of those measures; and it is acknowledged, that he began to grow quickly weary of being the instrument of them, at the time, it is very probable, that the generality of the world ascribed them to him; for we are told, that Philpot conceived some hopes of life, upon the demise of this Prelate (98), which occasioned Bonner's saying, *What, now the Chancellor is dead, you think there will be no more burning, but you'll find the contrary*, which proved very true. Yet some say, that Bonner himself grew tired; however, the prosecutions went on to the very last week of the Queen and Cardinal's lives. Who then were the instigators?

(96) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 204.

(97) See his Case in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(98) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 328. Archdeacon Philpot's account of his own troubles in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

King Philip took care to purge himself, and a Spanish Friar, who preached publickly before him, told the people, the Bishops did not extract this doctrine of fire and faggot from the Gospel. It is not easy to conceive upon what motive the Bishops should be general in their inclinations to these severities, and in truth, many of them were not; those that were, did it in compliance with the Court and the Queen, certainly shewed what she misunderstood to be zeal for the Catholick Religion, and from which she might have been diverted, as well as she had been in the beginning of her reign, if those who had her ear then, had been of the same sentiments with the Bishop of Winchester, who is allowed to have conducted all things in the first years of her government, when there were none of these severities.

Besides, Bishop Burnet is very express, that the Emperor was averse to the Cardinal's coming, and hindered it as long as he could; he assigns the reason, for that he was afraid of precipitating things, and having recourse to harsh measures, which were entirely against that Monarch's inclinations (99). While these suggestions had weight with the Queen, moderate measures were pursued; after the Cardinal came over, they were laid aside, one would think this should confirm the Emperor's opinion (100). But Pole made a great shew of moderation, affected to speak with much tenderness and compassion, and never took any share himself in this persecution, except issuing the commissions, under which all those severities were acted. Let us then consider what are the maxims of Italy in such cases; let us remember, that after Gardiner's death, at least, none had so much influence with the Queen as he, and let us reflect, that in the Court of Inquisition, that court which is the most dreadful, and therefore the most detested, the language is as merciful and mild, as the practice bloody and cruel. If we look into all these circumstances attentively, and weigh them maturely, we shall find, that they afford a kind of evidence at least as strong as that of one writer's transcribing another, with respect to the Bishop of Winchester's advice, without producing so much as one private paper, or publick record to prove it.

(99) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 259.

(100) Godwin's Annals.

He complied with the Queen in compassing the reconciliation with Rome, that reconciliation produced a persecution; in that light, he was the author of it, but perhaps in no other, and though at first sight this may be considered as very favourably spoken of the Bishop of Winchester's memory, yet it will be found, and so it ought to be understood, a very indifferent excuse at bottom; he knew, from reason and experience, the spirit of that Church, and he ought, in pity to his countrymen, and in justice to his country, to have kept the Queen his mistress from that step, which put her into a road of stumbling, from whence it was impossible for her to recover.

[*II*] *Very well worth notice.*] The person hinted at in the text, is Sir John Harrington, of Kelston, who wrote for the use of Henry Prince of Wales, a kind of supplement to Bishop Godwin's Catalogue of English Bishops, and gives us therein an account of Bishop Gardiner's sending his father to the Tower, for carrying a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and obliging that Princess to discharge his mother for being a Heretick; but notwithstanding this, the reader will find he was no bitter enemy to that Prelate, but rather inclined to treat him, as a gentleman should, with impartiality and candour. Thus he writes (*), after transcribing some of the hard things that had been said of Gardiner, by the Martyrologist Fox and others.

(*) Brief View of the State of the Church of Eng. p. 46, 47, 48.

'Yet that I speak not at all in passion, I must confess, I have heard some as partially praise his clemency and good conscience, and namely, that he was cause of restoring many honourable houses overthrown by King Henry the Eighth, and in King Edward's minority. The Duke of Norfolk, though Mr Fox saith, that Gardiner made him stay long for his dinner one day, yet both he and those descended of him, were

The three months next enſuing, Biſhop Gardiner was employed in carrying the laws lately revived againſt Hereticks into execution, and ſat often (to his eternal diſgrace), by virtue of a commiſſion from Cardinal Pole as the Pope's Legate, at Wincheſter-Houſe in Southwark, to examine ſuch as were brought before him (*y*). Yet we are told that he ſoon grew weary, and would proceed no farther; upon which this cruel and invidious taſk was put upon Bonner; neither was it long before he grew relax, till quickened by orders from the Council, and other meaſures (*z*). The Queen, or it may be the Chancellor, foreſeeing that ſooner or later the nation might be obliged to take part in the war between the Emperor and the French King if it continued, it was reſolved to ſend over Commiſſioners, of the higheſt rank, to a ſort of congreſs that was to be held at Calais, in order to mediate a peace (*a*). Cardinal Pole went over on behalf of the Pope; the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord Arundel, and Lord Paget, on the Part of the Queen of England (*b*). They departed May the eighteenth 1555, and while they were employed in this negotiation the Pope died, and the Queen wrote moſt preſſing letters to her Commiſſioners, to engage the powers with whom they were treating to conſent that Cardinal Pole ſhould be raiſed to the Papal Dignity (*c*). But neither in this, or any thing elſe, could her Miniſters ſucceed; and therefore, after a fruitleſs ſtay of ſome weeks, at a great expence, returned upon the twenty-ſixth of June (*d*). During the Chancellor's abſence, the great ſeal was put into the hands of William Marquis of Wincheſter (*e*); and from the Council-books it appears, good uſe was made of it for ſtirring up the Perſecution; for quickening of which, writ after writ was iſſued, and letters directed to the Nobility and Gentry, as well as Clergy, exciting them to give their attendance, with their ſervants, at the burning of Hereticks (*f*); ſo that we ſee this cruel flame raged moſt when the Biſhop was abroad, and grew ſtill higher after his death. Upon his coming home he declared plainly he would have no farther hand in ſeverities, and therefore thoſe apprehended in his dioceſe were removed into that of London, and ſo put under the juriſdiction of Bonner (*g*), who in a ſhort time fell off again, and had freſh reprimands from the King and Queen for his relaxation and lenity. We may, from theſe inſtances, perceive that ſome made their court to the Queen by promoting thoſe cruel proceedings, and that they were neither preſſed, nor could be impeded, by the Biſhop of Wincheſter (*h*). In matters of government his influence was ſtill without diminution, and according to his advice a Parliament was ſummoned to meet in October (*i*); for it was one of his maxims, to have ſhort ſeſſions and frequent Parliaments. He had projected ſome additional ſecurity for Church and Abbey lands, which, by a well-timed addreſs

(*y*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 231.

(*z*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 311.

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 626.

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 310.

(*c*) From the Queen's Letter on this occaſion.

(*d*) Cecil's Diary.

(*e*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1286.

(*f*) Strype, Burnet, Collier.

(*g*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 315.

(*h*) Remarks on the Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 191.

(*i*) Godwin's Annals.

'were beholden to him, with the Houſe of Stanhope's, 'and the Lord Arundel of Warder; and I have heard 'old Sir Mathew Arundell ſay, that Bonner was more 'faulty than he, and that Gardiner would rate at him 'for it, and call him aſs, for uſing poor men ſo 'bloodily; and when I would maintain the contrary, 'he would ſay, that my father was worthy to have 'lain in priſon a year longer, for the ſaucy ſonnet he 'wrote to him from out of the Tower; which ſonnet, 'both becauſe it was written in defence of Queen Eli-'zabeth, and becauſe, if I be not partial, it is no ill 'verſe for thoſe unrefined times, and toucheth the 'matter I enforce; I will here ſet down, pre-ſuppo-'ſing, that in the eleven months before, he had ſent 'him many letters and petitions full of reaſon, that 'could not prevail for his liberty. The diſtreſſed pri-'ſoner writeth this rime:'

I.

At laſt withdraw your cruelty,
Or force the times to work your will;
It is too much extremity,
To keep me pent in priſon ſtill.
Free from all fault, void of all cauſe,
Without all right againſt all laws.
How can you doe more eruel ſpight,
Than proffer wrong and promiſe right?
Nor can accuſe nor will acquight.

II.

Eleven months paſt and longer ſpace,
I have abid your diveliſh drifts;
While you have ſought both man and place,
And ſet your ſnares with all your ſhifts;
The faultleſſe foot to wrap in wile,
With any guilt by any guile:
And now you ſee that will not be,
How can you thus for ſhame agree,
To keep him bound you can ſet free?

III.

Your chance was once as mine is now,
To keep this hold againſt your will;
And then you ſware you know well how,
Though now you ſwearve, I know how ill.
But thus the world his courſe doth paſſe,
The Prieſt forgets a Clerk he was;
And you that then cry'd juſtice ſtill,
And now have juſtice at your will,
Wreſt juſtice wrong againſt all ſkill.

IV.

But why doe I thus coldly plaine,
As if it were my cauſe alone;
When cauſe doth each man ſo conſtraine,
As England through hath cauſe to moane?
To ſee your bloody ſearch of ſuch,
Whom all the earth can no way touch,
And better were that all your kind,
Like hounds in Hell with ſhame were ſhrin'd,
Then you had might un[illegible] your mind.

V.

But as the ſtone that ſtrikes the wall,
Sometimes bounds back on th' hurler's head;
So your foul fetch, to your foul fall,
May turn and noy the breaſt that bred.
And then ſuch meaſure as you gave,
Of right and juſtice look to have.
If good or ill, if ſhort or long,
If falſe or true, if right or wrong,
And thus till then I end my ſong.

dreſs from the Convocation to the Cardinal, which he put into his hands himſelf, he had in ſome meaſure preſerved to all who poſſeſſed them; and this project was afterwards brought to bear by his friend Mr Secretary Petre (*k*). October the twenty-firſt 1555, he opened the ſeſſion with a judicious ſpeech, and was there again on the twenty-third, which was the laſt time of his appearing in that Aſſembly (*l*). Towards the cloſe of this month he fell ill, and continued to grow worſe and worſe to the thirteenth of November 1555, when he departed this life, about the age of ſeventy-two (*m*). As to the time of his deceaſe the diſpute is not great about it, but the manner of it is far from being ſettled [*KK*]. He

(k) Strype, Burnet, Collier.

(l) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 320.

(m) From an original Letter of Mr Crych, to the Earl of Shrewſbury.

[*KK*] *But the manner of it is far from being ſettled.*] In thoſe times, ſuch was the eagerneſs and heat of moſt writers, that ſcarce any extraordinary perſon went to his grave without a prodigy. In that great Chronicle which goes under the name of Holinſhed (101), tho' in the latter editions there was much added by Abraham Fleming, we have the following paſſage inſerted from John Fox, and the reaſon that we take it from thence, is becauſe this Chronicle being chiefly conſulted by the abridgers of Engliſh Hiſtory, the ſubſtance of this paſſage has been often retailed to the world for an undoubted truth.

(101) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1130.

'During this ſeſſion of Parliament, Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter and Chancellor of England, died at his houſe called Wincheſter-Palace, beſide St Mary Overies in Southwark, the ninth day of November, whoſe corpſe was ſhortly after ſolemnly thence conveyed to his church of Wincheſter, and there buried. The manner of whoſe death why ſhould I bluſh to blaze as I find it by report. One Miſtreſs Monday, being the wife of one Maſter Monday, Secretary ſome time to the old Lord Thomas Duke of Norfolk, a preſent witneſs of this that is teſtified thus, openly reported in the houſe of a worſhipful citizen, bearing office in this city, in words and effect as followeth. The ſame day when as Biſhop Ridley and Maſter Latimer ſuffered at Oxford, being about the nineteenth day of October, there came to the houſe of Stephen Gardiner the old Duke of Norfolk, with the aforeſaid Monday, his Secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged Duke there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the Biſhop being not yet diſpoſed to dine, deferred the time till three or four of the clock at afternoon. At length, about four of the clock, cometh his ſervant poſting in all poſſible ſpeed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the Biſhop what he had heard and ſeen, of whom the ſaid Biſhop diligently enquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man that fire moſt certainly was ſet unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the Duke. Now, ſaith he, let us go to dinner; whereupon they being ſet down, meat immediately was brought, and the Biſhop began merrily to eat: but what followed: The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the ſudden ſtroke of God his terrible hand fell upon him, in ſuch ſort as immediately he was taken from the table, and ſo brought to his bed, where he continued the ſpace of fifteen days, in ſuch intolerable anguiſh and torments, that all that mean while, during thoſe fifteen days, he could not avoid, by ordure, or urine, or otherwiſe, any thing that he received; whereby his body being miſerably inflamed within, who had inflamed ſo many good martyrs before, was brought to a wretched end. And thereof, no doubt, as moſt like it is, came the thruſting out of his tongue, ſo ſwoln and black with the inflammation of his body. A ſpectacle worthy to be noted, and beholden, of all ſuch bloody burning perſecutors. But whatſoever he was, ſeeing he is now gone, I refer him to his Judge, to whom he ſhall ſtand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were preſent thereat would teſtify to us what they ſaw. This we have all to think, that his death happened ſo opportunely, that England hath a mighty cauſe to give thanks to the Lord therefore; not ſo much for the great hurt he had done in times paſt, in perverting his Princeſs, in bringing in the ſix articles, in murthering God's Saints, in defacing Chriſt's ſincere religion, &c. as alſo, eſpecially, for that he had thought to have brought to paſs in murthering alſo our noble Queen that now is. For whatſoever danger it was of death that ſhe was in, it did no doubt proceed from that bloody Biſhop, who was the cauſe thereof. And if it be certain, which we have heard, that her Highneſs being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the Council for her execution, it is out of controverſy that wilie Wincheſter was the only Dedalus and framer of that engine. Who no doubt in that one day had brought this whole realm into woful ruin, had not the Lord's moſt gracious Council, thorough Maſter Bridges, then the Lieutenant, coming in haſte to the Queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophel's bloody devices. For the which thanks be to the ſame our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all Engliſh churches, amen.'

There are many exceptions to the truth of this account, which, in common juſtice to this Prelate's memory, ought to be mentioned. Mr Strype very juſtly obſerves, that both the time and place of his death are miſtaken; ſince he did not die on the ninth, but on the thirteenth of November, at two in the morning; neither did he die at Wincheſter-Houſe, but in Weſtminſter (102). Yet Mr Strype does not obſerve another miſtake, which is that of the day when Latimer and Ridley ſuffered at Oxford, which was not on the nineteenth of October, but on the ſixteenth; ſo that here is at leaſt a week gained towards making the judgment more probable. Then the ſuppreſſion of urine is expreſsly ſaid to have continued fifteen days; whereas, according to his manner of ſtating it, it muſt have laſted one and twenty at leaſt; and had the ſtory been true, and the dates rightly placed, it muſt have laſted twenty-ſeven.

(102) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 270.

This, however, is not all; the Biſhop of Wincheſter, as Chancellor, opened the new Parliament on the twenty-firſt of October, and was there again on the twenty-third, a week after the death of the two martys; at whoſe death it is not likely he ſhould rejoice, if what Heylin ſays be true, that he ſtudied to prevent it (103). One of the exiles abroad, who laboured to expoſe Gardiner all in his power, charges him with ſtraining his authority, in offering Latimer a pardon without the knowledge of the Queen or Council (104). But to come cloſer to the point, the old Duke of Norfolk, who waited ſo long for his dinner, as his Secretary reported, who waited with him, died in the month of September 1554, that is, thirteen months before this tranſaction happened (105). His death was a thing of great notoriety, the Queen and Court, out of reſpect to his memory, going into mourning. One would think that Fox might have known this as well as another, ſince he lived long in that Duke's family, and went abroad but a very little before his death.

(103) Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 227.

(104) New Book of ſpiritual Phyſick.

(105) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 200, 201. Echard's Hiſt. of Eng. p. 320.

In reference to the latter part of this account, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the honeſt and impartial Hiſtorian John Speed, who was furniſhed with the beſt materials from ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in this kingdom, aſcribes the ill uſage of the Princeſs Elizabeth, and the advice given to take her off, to the Lord Pagett (106); and aſſerts, that King Philip was ever after diffident of him, and thoſe of his party. A certain Popiſh writer does indeed pretend to let us into the ſecret of the affair; he ſays, that Sir Thomas Wiat's plan for an inſurrection, was ſent to the Lady Elizabeth in a bracelet; that this was diſcovered by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, but that he puſhed it no farther than to perſwade her to ſubmit herſelf to the Queen. But the ſilence of Camden, in the account he gives of her ſufferings before her acceſſion to the Crown, as to all theſe facts, leaves them not a little doubtful.

(106) Chronicle, p. 828.

It muſt be acknowledged, that Fox is not the only author that has given the manner of his death the air of a judgment, for John Bale (107) goes even farther than he, affirming that he was informed by a letter wrote

(107) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 281.

He died at the royal palace of Whitehall, about one in the morning; and about three the ſame morning, his body was carried over to Wincheſter-Houſe, from whence the funeral was performed (*n*). His death was a great loſs to the Queen his miſtreſs, who found no Miniſter that could manage her affairs ſo well, or keep her on ſo good terms with her Parliaments, from whom, during his adminiſtration, ſhe received nothing, but lived upon the ſettled ordinary revenue of the Crown, with ſome help it may be from the treaſure brought over by King Philip. But this courſe was ſpeedily altered, and from that hour diſſatisfaction and complaints began (*o*). The Clergy had alſo a great loſs in him; they depended much on his wiſdom, and no leſs on his experience, but moſt of all on his caution and due regard for the law, by which they might be kept out of the reach of a præmunire; nor did he deceive their expectations in this, taking care while he lived that Cardinal Pole ſhould do nothing within this realm, but by authority under the broad ſeal of England as well as that of St Peter (*p*). Thoſe who were affectionate to that government had a great loſs in him, for he kept things together; and, by ſteering ſteadily and keeping a good countenance, preſerved a degree of reſpect which can never be preſerved where there is a fluctuation of Councils. His pen alſo was of no ſmall uſe, ſince in polemical writings he was inferior to none of his contemporaries, and with one party (few have it with more) had a high reputation for learning from the many books he had penned, of which ſomething will be ſaid at the bottom of the page [*LL*]. The freedom taken in diſplaying this character

(*n*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 229.

(*o*) Godwin, Heylin, Strype.

(*p*) Memorials, Vol. III.

wrote out of England, 'that his diſeaſe was *hydrops* '*acidus & prodigioſus ſcabies*, a ſharp dropſy and pro-'digious leproſy, taken, as was commonly reported, 'by drinking or whoredom. For he had indulged 'much to both thoſe vices in his life-time. In his ſick-'neſs he ſtunk like a jakes, his breath not to be en-'dured, his body diſtended, his eyes diſtorted and 'turned inwards; during his illneſs he ſpake little but 'blaſphemy and filthineſs, and gave up the ghoſt with 'curſes in his mouth, in terrible and unexpreſſible tor-'ments, &c.' He likewiſe adds, that he left thirty thouſand pounds in ready money behind him, beſides plate and rich furniture.

Dr Thomas Cooper, who was himſelf Biſhop of Wincheſter in Queen Elizabeth's time, and publiſhed his Chronicle within five years after Gardiner's death, ſets it down ſimply, and without any of theſe ſtrange circumſtances (108). He charges the death of Latimer and Ridley expreſsly upon Cardinal Pole; and tho' he gives a very particular account of the ill uſage of the Lady Elizabeth, yet he does not aſcribe it in the leaſt to Gardiner. Dr Francis Godwin, Biſhop of Hereford (109), aſſures us that he died of the Gout. Dr Fuller (110), as we have ſeen, aſcribes his end to a conſumption. In a book compiled by the direction of Archbiſhop Parker (111), he is alſo ſaid to have died of the gout or rheumatiſm; the lower parts of his body being mortified, ſmelt very offenſively. We are told by Biſhop Burnet (112), 'he had great remorſe 'for his former life; and Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter, 'coming to him, and comforting him with the aſſu-'rance of juſtification through the blood of Chriſt, he 'anſwered him he might ſpeak of that to him, or 'others in his condition, but if he opened that gap 'again, and preached that to the people, then farewel 'all together. He often repeated thoſe words, *Erravi* '*cum Petro, ſed non flevi cum Petro*; I have erred with 'Peter, but I have not wept with Peter.'

(108) Chronicle, fol. 371.

(109) De Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 237.

(110) Church Hiſt. Cent. XVI. p. 17.

(111) Antiquit. Britan. Eccleſ. p. 511.

(112) Hiſt. of the Reformat. col. xi. p. 320.

[*LL*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It is, without doubt, a very difficult taſk to attempt giving the reader an account of the writings of this Prelate; ſome few of them indeed were publiſhed with his name, and concerning them there is no diſpute. Others are without any name, and yet there are good reaſons to induce us to believe they fell from his pen; and others again have the names of other men ſet before them, tho' they were in reality penned by this Biſhop. We will, however, handle the matter as well as we can, and give the reader as juſt and as correct a catalogue of his writings, as the beſt enquiry we could make has put in our power.

The firſt piece made publick by our author, was his treatiſe *De vera Obedientia*, i. e. Of true Obedience, *Lond.* 1534, 1535, 4*to.* at *Hamburgh* in 1536, 8*vo.* with Biſhop Bonner's epiſtle prefixed, in which ſeveral ſtrong things are contained againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, and in ſupport of the King's divorce from Queen Katherine. We have before told the reader the nature of this work, which induced the author to ſpeak rather as an Orator than as a Logician; yet ſome of his arguments are not eaſily anſwered, tho' delivered with great plainneſs and moderation. He ſuggeſts, that the policy of the Church, in every kingdom, was partly ſpiritual and partly temporal; that, with reſpect to the former powers, they came from God; and for the latter, ſince they could not be executed without the conſent, ſo it is impoſſible they ſhould come but from the Civil magiſtrate. He urges, that Princes loſe their ſovereign dignity if they are not ſupreme in all cauſes over their ſubjects, and that therefore their ſupremacy makes a part of their ſovereignty; when therefore novelty is objected to this doctrine, he ſays it goes no farther than this, that a new term is employed in ſpeaking of an old right. He poſitively aſſerts, that St Peter's ſupremacy cannot be proved by Scripture; that the Biſhoprick of Jeruſalem was yielded by him, and the reſt of the Apoſtles, to St James, the brother of our Lord; and that if, on particular occaſions, St Peter acted as chief of the Apoſtles, it was owing to the deference they had for his extraordinary conduct and courage, which being perſonal qualities, could not convey any right to his ſucceſſors. In the cloſe he puts an objection againſt himſelf, it might be ſaid there was no agreement between his book and his practice; he had undertaken to preſs obedience, and failed notoriouſly in that branch of his duty. He had engaged his ſubjection to the Court of Rome, ſworn ſubmiſſion to the Pope and his ſucceſſors, and ſolemnly obliged himſelf to defend the privileges and juriſdiction of the Apoſtolick See. He received his epiſcopal character by the Pope's conſent, and was conſecrated by his mandate; and yet, after all theſe ties and aſſurances, he has ventured to write againſt his ſupremacy, and renounce him in the moſt publick manner. To take off the imputation of falſhood and perjury, he obſerves, that an engagement againſt *right* is by no means *binding*. For an oath was never intended a bond of iniquity, and a bar againſt repentance. He illuſtrates his caſe by a huſband's marrying a ſecond wife, living the former, whom after the beſt enquiry he concluded dead. Thus he continued undiſturbed in his ſecond marriage: and when his firſt wife returned from a foreign country, and challenged him for her huſband, he denied the relation. But after ſhe had made out her claim by legal proof, he lived with her again, and diſmiſſed the ſecond. This inſtance the Biſhop applies to his own caſe. He thought the Pope's authority unqueſtionable at firſt, and ſubmitted accordingly. But when truth appeared he found himſelf miſtaken, and therefore ought not to be charged with breach of faith for altering his meaſures. There were many other editions of this work, and a tranſlation into Engliſh, printed abroad in Queen Mary's time, by one Dr Turner, with a moſt vindictive preface before it; as alſo ſome additions, with intent to expoſe the Biſhop's inconſtancy, who had now ſubmitted again to the Pope.

Palinodia dicti libri; that is, *A Retraction of the foregoing Work*; when or where publiſhed we cannot ſay.

A ne-

character from the evidence of facts, and supporting what is advanced by the cleareſt authorities, might in ſome degree diſpenſe with our offering to ſum up at the cloſe what has been

A neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chriſtenman, *ſet furthe by the Kynges Majeſtie of* England, &c. *Lond. by* Thomas Barthelet, 1543; this, as we have ſaid before, was publiſhed with royal authority; and Mr Strype, in giving us the hiſtory of this piece, which was the ſyſtem of religion in King Henry's time, allows the Biſhop of Wincheſter but a very ſmall ſhare in it; yet, in King Edward's time, Archbiſhop Cranmer was for yielding him the whole merit of the work; and his report was ſo much credited, that John Bale put it into the catalogue of our author's writings, in which he has been followed by Biſhop Tanner; yet there is a paſſage in the declaration, concerning the life and actions of the Archbiſhop, written by his Secretary Mr Morris, ſtill preſerved in Bennet College Library at Cambridge (113); which is not very conſiſtent with this account, and which is reported here only to ſhew how very difficult a thing it is to come at certainty, with reſpect to matters of fact, even from thoſe who one would think muſt have been beſt acquainted with them.

(113) This Declaration is a very curious piece, and deſerves to be printed entire.

'At what time, ſays he, the book of articles of our 'religion was new penned. For even at that ſeaſon, 'the whole rabblement, which he took to be his 'friends, being Commiſſioners with him, forſook him, 'and his opinion and doctrine. And ſo leaving him 'poſt alone, revolted altogether on the part of Stephen 'Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter. As by name, Bi'ſhop Hethe, Shaxton, Day, and all other of the 'meaner ſort. By whom theſe ſo named were chiefly 'advanced and preferred unto dignities. And yet this 'ſudden inverſion, notwithſtanding God gave him ſuch 'favour with his Prince, that book altogether paſt by 'his aſſertion againſt all their minds. More to be 'marvelled at, the time conſidered, than by any rea'ſon to compaſs how it ſhould come to paſs. For then 'would there have been laid thouſands of pounds to 'hundreds in London, that he ſhould, before that Sy'nod had been ended, have been ſhut up in the Tower, 'beſide his friend the Lord Cromwell. Howbeit, the 'King's Majeſty having an aſſured and approved affi'ance, both of his deep knowledge in religion, and 'fidelity both to God and him, ſuſpected in that time 'other men in their judgments, not to walk uprightly 'nor ſincerely. For that ſome of them ſwerved from 'their former opinions in doctrine: and having great 'experience of the conſtancy of the Lord Cranmer, 'it drove him all along to join with the ſaid Lord 'Cranmer, in the confirmation of his opinion and doc'trine againſt all the reſt, to their great admiration.' When the Biſhop of Wincheſter was in Germany, with the title of Ambaſſador from King Henry VIII, he had ſeveral conferences with the learned Bucer, upon different points, which afterwards occaſioned warm writings on both ſides, ſome of which were publiſhed, and others not.

In the year 1550, Archbiſhop Cranmer publiſhed a book intituled, 'A Defence of the true and Catholick 'Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood 'of our Saviour Chriſt, with a Confutation of ſundry 'Errors concerning the ſame: grounded and eſtabliſh'ed upon God's holy Word, and approved by the 'Conſent of the moſt antient Doctors of the Church.' In this book he mentioned the Biſhop of Wincheſter by name, as one of the greateſt writers amongſt the Papiſts; with which this Prelate was ſo much offended, that he thought himſelf obliged to write an anſwer, as he did under this title, *An Explication and Aſſertion of the true* Catholick faith, *touching the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the* altar, *with the Confutation of a book written againſt the ſame:* which was printed abroad in 1551, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter endeavoured to make the world believe, that his writing this book was one great cauſe, or rather the principal cauſe, of the ſevere proceedings againſt him; which, however, was peremptorily denied by the Archbiſhop, who not long after publiſhed another piece, under the following title, 'An Anſwer, by the Reverend Father in God Thomas 'Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, 'and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and ſophiſtical Ca'villation, deviſed by *Stephen Gardiner*, Doctor of 'Law, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, againſt the true and 'godly Doctrine of the moſt holy Sacrament of the 'Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt. Wherein is 'alſo, as Occaſion ſerveth, anſwered ſuch Places of 'the Book of Dr *Richard Smith*, as may ſeem any 'thing worthy the anſwering. Alſo a true Copy of 'the Book written, and in open Court delivered, by 'Dr *Stephen Gardiner*; not one Word added or di'miniſhed, but faithfully in all points agreeing with the 'Original.' To this, Gardiner replied in Latin, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, a Divine of Lovain, giving his book the following title, *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus, ſacroſanctum Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum, ab impiis* Capernaitis *impeti ſolet.* Printed at Paris 1552. This piece he compoſed while a priſoner in the Tower; which is the reaſon of our affirming that the order for debarring him the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, muſt have been relaxed; and to this the Archbiſhop, during his own confinement, wrote a large and copious anſwer, which he did not live to finiſh.

Biſhop Gardiner managed this controverſy alſo againſt Peter Martyr, and others who eſpouſed Cranmer; and it was for theſe writings of his, that he was in thoſe days magnified by the Papiſts, as a moſt zealous Catholick; and diſliked and dreaded by thoſe of the Church of England, as a warm and irreconcileable enemy; whereas, in truth, he admitted the Communion to be given in both kinds, and, being allowed to put his own ſenſe upon the words, would have ſubſcribed to what was eſtabliſhed about the Sacrament. After the acceſſion of Queen Mary, finding himſelf attacked with the utmoſt violence and virulence by ſeveral of the exiles abroad, and particularly by Dr Turner (114), who wrote ſeveral treatiſes on purpoſe to expoſe and abuſe him; as Dr Poynet likewiſe did, who ſucceeded him in the title of Biſhop of Wincheſter, when he was deprived, to which he wrote replies, and is alſo ſaid to have corrected at leaſt, if he did not compoſe, Dr Martyn's book againſt the married Clergy.

(114) See his article in Bale and Tanner.

He likewiſe preached two very remarkable ſermons in that reign: the firſt, November the thirtieth 1554, at Paul's Croſs, to a very numerous audience, in which he placed the new opinions, as he called them, in a very bad light, attributing to them all the extravagant and unjuſt things that had been done under the reign of King Edward. In this ſermon he took ſhame to himſelf, and acknowledged that he had erred too as well as the reſt, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe. In the ſecond part of his ſermon he gave a high character of King Philip, whom he repreſented as a prudent, gentle, and temperate Prince, exhorting the people to behave well towards him, by which they might gain him, and all that he had brought with him; which ſome ſay alluded to his money that had been carried publickly to the Tower, in order to ingratiate him with the populace. Thus much is certainly true, that, by the marriage articles which Gardiner framed, that Prince was allowed to bring what riches he pleaſed into the kingdom, but was reſtrained from carrying out ſpecie, bullion, or jewels.

The Biſhop's ſecond ſermon was likewiſe preached at Paul's Croſs, on the the ſecond of December following, on account of the nation's returning to communion with the See of Rome. His text was (*), *Knowing the time that it is now high time to awake out of ſleep*, &c. From theſe words, amongſt other things, he obſerved that when King Henry VIII. was preſſed with a rebellion in the North, he reſolved to return the Pope his Supremacy. But this reſolution came to nothing. *The hour was not yet come.* For had the matter gone forward under ſuch circumſtances of difficulty, ſome would have ſaid the King had been over awed into juſtice. After this, Gardiner and Knevet were ſent Embaſſadors to the Emperor, to requeſt his mediation for bringing the Pope and the King to a good underſtanding, and to ſmooth the way for renewing the former correſpondence between them: *But the time was not yet come:* For the juncture might have made the King's meaſures miſunderſtood, and interpreted his compliance to reaſons of State. In the beginning of King Edward's reign

(*) Rom. xiii. 11.

been in a great meaſure inſiſted on thro' the whole article. But the length of it (how abſurd ſoever that may ſeem) will not ſuffer ſuch an omiſſion, leaſt an unwary reader ſhould take his ſenſe from a part, and not from the whole; which on that account it is neceſſary, as well as expedient, ſhould be contracted into one point of view, and therefore in the notes, his conduct in different ſtations is clearly and candidly, tho' not copiouſly, ſtated [*MM*].

The

reign the buſineſs of reconciliation was moved, but neither was that *a proper time:* For the King being then a child, he could not have had a ſhare in the ſubmiſſion. In ſhort, he told them this was the time which Providence ſeemed to have reſerved for ſo great a bleſſing.

There are likewiſe extant, in the firſt edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments, ſeveral letters of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's to the Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, with the Duke's anſwers to ſome of them; as alſo other letters of his, to different perſons; we might add to theſe, ſeveral other little pieces; but to avoid prolixity, and in order to bring this long article to a ſpeedy cloſe, we will refer the curious reader to Biſhop Tanner's accurate catalogue, with this obſervation only, that whereas he mentions two penitent letters to Archbiſhop Cranmer, publiſhed by Strype, as if they were written by the Biſhop; that is plainly a miſtake, for they were written by *William Gardiner*, one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, who, about the year 1543, was engaged in a baſe deſign of aſperſing the Archbiſhop, for which he ſeems to have been very penitent (115). It is not impoſſible that this man's name might occaſion other miſtakes, and prove the handle for objecting to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, his being ſo deeply concerned in the ſeveral plots formed about that time againſt the Archbiſhop.

(115) Tanneri Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 309. Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, in the Appendix, p. 69, 70, 71.

The letters of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, againſt the new pronunciation of the Greek language, are moſt of them extant; in which it was Roger Aſcham's opinion, that tho' theſe learned Knights ſhewed themſelves better criticks than our Prelate, yet his letters manifeſted a ſuperior genius, and were chiefly liable to cenſure, from his affecting to enter farther into a diſpute of this kind than was neceſſary for a perſon of his dignity. On the whole it may be truly affirmed, that if he had not entered into buſineſs ſo early, or had not been ſo much employed as he was in political affairs, he might have eſtabliſhed a great reputation for his knowledge in polite literature, which was certainly very extenſive; and ſo much a maſter he was of foreign affairs, that in the latter part of King Henry's reign they were compelled to conſult him, tho' unwilling to confide in him.

Under Queen Mary he ſhewed his great abilities in this ſcience ſo highly uſeful to Miniſters, by his maſterly conduct in the management of the Spaniſh match, and by his keeping the friends of King Philip, ſo long as he lived, from involving the Engliſh nation in a war with France, againſt which he had expreſsly provided in the laſt article of the marriage treaty. It is alſo believed, that notwithſtanding he could not prevail with Queen Mary to retain the title of *Supreme Head* of the *Church*, or prevent her ſubmitting to the See of Rome; yet he gave her ſuch notions of her own rights, and of the neceſſity of oppoſing Papal encroachments, as induced her, after his death, to act with ſo much ſpirit as ſhe did, when an attempt was made to ſend over a Legate who was unacceptable to her, merely becauſe her politicks happened not to be very conſiſtent with thoſe of the Court of Rome at that juncture; tho' in all probability, had he ſurvived, that quarrel would have been prevented, ſince it was owing to the Queen's deſerting his maxim, and embracing her huſband's foreign intereſts againſt her own.

[*MM*] *Clearly and candidly, though not copiouſly, ſtated.*] The only certain way of collecting men's characters, is from their actions; it is true, theſe are not always uniform, but neither is the mind of man, we muſt take them as we find them, and be content to follow the evidence they give, inſtead of ſuborning them to teſtify to the notions we have conceived. If we conſider Stephen Gardiner in this light, we muſt allow him great parts, ſince he raiſed himſelf, and that to the higheſt ſtations. We muſt alſo own, that he had many good qualities, not only becauſe it is impoſſible that he ſhould have roſe without them, but becauſe the proofs we have ſeen, are ſuch, as will not ſuffer it to be diſputed. He was learned himſelf, and a lover of learning and learned men; he was grateful to his maſter Wolſey in diſtreſs; to the memory of his royal maſter Henry VIII, when he was dead; to the Duke of Norfolk, when himſelf was exalted to power. He was of a generous and liberal diſpoſition, kept a good houſe, and brought up ſeveral young men, ſome of which, became afterwards Stateſmen, Peers, and Privy-Counſellors, Secretaries of State, and Chancellors. He had courage, which enabled him to ſtand againſt all his enemies, in the time of King Henry, and bore him up through a long courſe of miſery and misfortunes in the ſucceeding reign, neither did it forſake him in the laſt period of his life, ſince, in point of vigour, as well as prudence, his adminiſtration is as conſpicuous as any in our records, and the more ſo, ſince from the day of his death his miſtreſs's affairs went wrong, and the publick confuſion became ſo great, as to break that Princeſs's heart, the force and credit of the nation being long before broken.

He had great addreſs in conciliating the minds of men, which plainly appeared by that attachment which ſome of the greateſt Stateſmen in all reſpects, had to his perſonal advice for almoſt forty years together, as well as by his intereſt with foreign Princes, of which he availed himſelf upon all occaſions. But his greateſt virtue was publick ſpirit, which he ſhewed in maintaining the rights of his College, preſerving the revenues of his See, and, above all, in preventing the projects of Philip from taking place, circumſcribing the power of the Queen, when he found it might be dangerous to the conſtitution, and obliging Cardinal Pole, to accept a commiſſion under the Great Seal, for executing his Legantine Power, by which the Papal authority, when reſtored, was ſtill in a condition of reſtraint.

He had his vices, and his bad qualities too, for what man, what Miniſter, has them not? His envy appeared in his croſſing the deſigns of Cranmer, *in the* reign of King Henry, and if he really drew the articles againſt the Protector Somerſet, it is a proof that he was vindictive. He had certainly a great meaſure of pride, and his ambition was boundleſs, to which, if we add what moſt writers beſtow upon him plentifully, a refined diſſimulation, we ſhall perhaps have a tolerable notion of the dark, as well as the bright ſide of this character. As to his religion, he ſeems to have been more a Proteſtant than a Papiſt in his principles, but with a great regard to the authority of the Church, from whence aroſe his unwillingneſs to reform haſtily; he conſidered the maſs of the people as groſsly ignorant, and therefore he thought that ſome allowances were to be made them, from an apprehenſion, that if they were ſuddenly taught to contemn what they had long revered, it might render it very difficult to make them revere any thing; Cranmer was honeſt and open, hated prieſtcraft and ſuperſtition; Gardiner was cloſe and circumſpect, afraid of novelties, and ſuſpicious that anarchy would enſue from affording a premature countenance to foreign opinions; this difference in their ſentiments, had, as might well be expected, a ſtrong influence on their fortunes, expoſed Cranmer to ſufferings, and Gardiner to miſrepreſentations.

To enter more thoroughly into his merit, let us conſider him in the Univerſity, the Church, and the Court, ſince in the different ſcenes of his life, he was in ſome meaſure ſupreme in all. He loved an academical life, had a true notion of it's advantages, and was very deſirous of promoting them to the utmoſt extent of his power. Dr Fuller, ſpeaking of Trinity-Hall (116), ranges the great men produced by that foundation, in four claſſes, Maſters, Benefactors, Writers, Biſhops, and we find Gardiner's name in every one of them. The Duke of Somerſet, when Protector, would have had him reſigned that houſe into the hands of the crown,

(116) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 48.

giving

The faſhion of thoſe times allowed more to exterior expreſſions of funeral ſorrow than ours, and by entertaining the eyes of the vulgar with a lugubrious ſpectacle (q) of a great man's laſt journey, impreſſed on their minds a greater degree of reverence than could be wrought by

(q) Stowe's Annals, p. 627.

giving out, that from his affection to the Civil Law, he was inclined to erect a College for promoting that ſtudy, and to endow it with the revenues of that foundation, and of Clare-Hall. 'Moſt politick Gardiner, 'ſays my author, not without cauſe, ſuſpecting ſome 'deſign or cruelty might ſurpriſe the interval between 'the diſſolution of the old, and the erection of this 'new foundation, civilly declined the motion, inform-'ing his Grace, that the way to advance the ſtudy of 'the Law, was by promoting the preſent profeſſors of 'that faculty (now ſo generally diſcouraged) and not by 'founding a new College for the future ſtudents there-'of, ſeeing Trinity-Hall alone, could breed more Ci-'vilians than all England did prefer according to their 'deſerts.' This, as the ſame writer obſerves, coſt Gardiner his maſterſhip, but ſaved the foundation.

He was no leſs tender of the privileges of the Univerſity as Chancellor, than of the welfare of that Hall of which he was Maſter; this fully appears from Aſcham's letters to him, even when the Protector had ſupplanted him in that office, ſo much the Univerſity depended upon his friendſhip, when neceſſity obliged them to deprive him of his power (117). Upon the turn of the times, and his coming again into that office, he purged it thoroughly, turning out all the maſters except two, yet ſome kind things made amends for this, if there was any injuſtice in it, for Queen Mary made a conſiderable grant to Trinity-College, and the Chancellor, by the help of his Vice-Chancellor, and another famous inſtrument of his, Dr Andrew Perne, preſerved that ſeat of the Muſes from the flames of perſecution. Cardinal Pole, who ſucceeded Gardiner, and was Chancellor at once of both Univerſities, began his adminiſtration at Cambridge, by burning the dead bodies of Martin Bucer, and Paul Fagius, which had remained quiet in their graves during Gardiner's time, though Bucer was his old opponent; yet our Hiſtorians ſay, Gardiner was a furious perſecutor, and Pole a very moderate man, to which we ſhould have no exception, if he had burnt only dead bodies.

(117) Aſchami Epiſtolæ.

As Biſhop of Wincheſter, we find him always very conſiderable; he was able to do much in Convocation, and more in Parliament. Such as are diſpoſed to ſee with their own eyes, and not truſt to the reports of Hiſtorians, will find abundant proofs of this, by reſorting to the remains of the journals of both aſſemblies that are ſtill preſerved; and the further evidence of this is the extraordinary care that was taken to exclude him from both, during the whole reign of King Edward. In this thoſe who loved the Reformation concurred, as fearing his abilities, and the courtiers aſſiſted them therein, as being thoroughly acquainted with his reſolution. They knew that no See in England afforded richer plunder than Wincheſter; and they knew in that point, that no Biſhop in England was more inflexible than Gardiner, but being once heaved out, they made no doubt of cutting many pretty eſtates out of the lands of this Biſhoprick; and we have elſewhere ſhewn that in this they were not miſtaken; but as this is a point of very great conſequence, and as at the beginning of this article, we gave the reader Gardiner's picture drawn by the hands of his ſucceſſor, Biſhop Poynet; ſo here we will give a detail of Biſhop Poynet's adminiſtration, as Mr Strype (118) has drawn it from records, which will ſhew what thoſe apprehenſions were, that made Biſhop Gardiner ſo ſtiff in his oppoſition, and what conceſſions the great men in power exacted for the countenance they gave to the Reformation, to which we may in a great meaſure aſcribe the turn that happened upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary.

(118) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 272, 273, 274.

'In the month of May, 1551, when Ponet was 'made Biſhop of Wincheſter, after the deprivation of 'Gardiner, a great alienation was made of the lands 'and revenues antiently belonging to that Biſhoprick, 'according as it was required of the ſaid Ponet, when 'he firſt came to the See, or rather conditionally to 'his preferment thither. Then he paſſed away to the 'King, the manors of Marden, Twiford, Marwel, 'Waltham, &c. in the county of Southampton, and 'divers other lands, lordſhips, tenements, rents, &c. 'and, in effect, all the temporalities of that rich Biſho-'prick. And to make all ſure, letters were diſpatched 'to the Dean and Chapter, to confirm the grant of the 'ſaid Biſhop, by their full conſent and ſeal of the 'Chapter, as in that caſe, by the order of the 'laws, is required and accuſtomed. Then did the 'King give to the Biſhop and his ſucceſſors, in conſide-'ration of the ſaid Biſhop's ſurrender, a great many 'rectories, as that of Bremmer, and of the Chapel of 'Charford and Hale, and the rectory of Regborn, in 'the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, 'to the value of two thouſand marks, to be held in '*liberam eleemoſynam*, and to take the profits from 'Michaelmas laſt. He granted him moreover, for 'ſome recompence for all this taken away, that his 'firſt fruits, which before were charged in the King's 'books, at three thouſand eight hundred eighty-five 'pounds, three ſhillings, three-pence half-penny far-'thing, ſhould be now reduced to two thouſand marks, 'and that for his tenths, from henceforth he ſhould be 'taxed at two hundred marks and no more, to be paid 'yearly; that he ſhould have ten years ſpace to pay 'his firſt fruits in; that bonds ſhould be taken for pay-'ment from the Biſhop only, without ſureties to be 'bound with him: and that all the bonds and writings 'for the firſt fruits of his former Biſhoprick, viz. of 'Rocheſter, ſhould be delivered him up, which the 'King forgave him. And for the putting all this into 'effect, a warrant was iſſued out to the Chancellor, 'Treaſurer, and Council, and to all others being of-'ficers of the court of Firſt Fruits and Tenths. The 'King alſo gave him a licence to enter into his Biſho-'prick, and to take the profits thereof, without pay-'ing any thing therefore, notwithſtanding a ſtatute 'made in that behalf, in the twenty-ſixth of Henry 'the Eighth, the import whereof was, that no ſpi-'ritual perſon ſhould enter upon his benefice before he 'had paid the firſt fruits, or given bond and ſecurity to 'pay them. A pardon alſo was granted him of all 'pains, penalties, and ſums of money that might be 'forfeited and due to the King, for entring into the 'Biſhoprick of Rocheſter, contrary to the ſaid ſtatute. 'The King ſoon gratified his ſervants with the lands 'and manors of this Biſhoprick, viz. To Sir John 'Gates, the manors of Sutton, Ropley, &c. in Sou-'thampton and Surry, of the yearly value of one 'hundred forty-five pounds, nineteen ſhillings, nine-'pence half-penny. To Sir Philip Hoby, the manors 'of Marden, &c. in the county of Southampton, of 'the yearly value of eighty-ſeven pounds, eighteen 'ſhillings, ſeven-pence. To Sir Andrews Dudley, the 'manor of Witney, &c. of the yearly value of one-'hundred eighty pounds, ſeven-pence half-penny far-'thing. To Sir Henry Seymour, lands to the yearly 'value of one-hundred eighty-ſix pounds, four-pence. 'To William Fitz-Williams, the manor of High Clere, '&c. to the yearly value of eighty-four pounds, ſeven-'teen ſhillings, three-pence. To Henry Nevyle, the 'manor of Margrave, &c. to the yearly value of one-'hundred fourteen pounds, eighteen ſhillings, ten-'pence. Sir Thomas Wroth, had alſo an annuity of 'one-hundred pounds. And for the further confirma-'tion of this alienation made by the Biſhop of Win-'cheſter, it was thought requiſite to have it allowed 'and conſented to by the Dean and Chapter under 'their ſeal. Whereupon, in Auguſt, a letter was ſent 'to Sir John Maſon, Knight, that he ſhould repair to 'Wincheſter, and to agree with the Biſhop to meet 'them there at a certain day, and to cauſe all the 'Canons, Prebendaries, and others whom it concerned, 'to aſſemble in the Chapter-Houſe, for confirming the 'ſaid lands before Michaelmas next, and to advertiſe 'the Council the next day, that order might be given 'to the King's learned Counſel to be there at the ſame 'time. And a letter was ſent to this Biſhop, in behalf 'of the City of Wincheſter, namely, to take order, 'that the city and citizens, and their ſucceſſors, might 'be freed from their ſuits and ſervices heretofore made 'to that court, called the Palm Court, and all other 'liberties he had to the ſame, clearly exonerated and

'diſcharged

by words. As this is a point not altogether unworthy of obſervation, and as we rarely find ceremonies of this kind ſo clearly, ſo circumſtantially, and ſo methodically ſet down as theſe are, we judged it not altogether amiſs to give them a place in the notes, as a ſort of feature of that age, when there was more attention paid to Sight than to all the reſt of the Senſes, and more money beſtowed, and more diligence uſed, in ſetting out ſuch a ſolemnity, than without ſuch a detail as this could be eaſily imagined [*NN*]. Many intrigues were

' diſcharged by his ſufficient writing under his ſeal, and ' confirmed by the Chapter Seal according to his pro- ' miſe.'

We ſee that it was not either doctrine or ceremonies that produced Gardiner's deprivation, he would have conſented to the one, and complied with the other, though at the ſame time he profeſſed, that more alterations were made than he could approve; but ſpoiling his Biſhoprick was a thing to which he would never have yielded. He judged the Chriſtian Church with the ſupremacy placed in the crown, to be a neceſſary part of the Engliſh conſtitution, and for that reaſon was for preſerving it; and when he afterwards recovered this See, he made uſe of the law to recover it's revenues. But how right ſoever his conduct might be in this reſpect, his compliances were certainly wrong in the reign of Queen Mary, becauſe he acted contrary to his own knowledge. However he might ſolve to himſelf the reſtoring the Papal power, and reviving the ſanguinary laws, without which, it could not be ſupported; it is impoſſible to juſtify him, nor will any honeſt and ingenuous man attempt it; but that he acted in many things unwillingly, and under that neceſſity which he had brought upon himſelf and the nation, by complying with Queen Mary's bigotry, is apparent enough from his actions, which though they excuſe him in ſome inſtances from cruelty, yet that very excuſe demonſtrates, that he acted againſt his principles, in procuring that power for others, which was executed with ſuch unchriſtian rigour and ſeverity.

Some of our Hiſtorians urge in favour of Cardinal Pole, that he was under no neceſſity of putting Cranmer to death, in order to come at the Archbiſhoprick, ſince that was conferred upon him by the Pope (119), before the burning of his predeceſſor. If this was really ſo, then the ſuggeſtion that Biſhop Gardiner preſerved Cranmer's life out of ſpleen to Pole, and from private views, muſt be alſo ill-founded, and his preſervation of him as long as he lived, may be therefore referred to a better motive. But ſtill, his reconciling the Engliſh nation to the obedience of the See of Rome, which was plainly his act and deed, is as indefenſible as ever. Whatever compaſſion he might have as a man, he ſhewed little of the piety or prudence of a Chriſtian Biſhop in that action, the worſt without all doubt of his whole life, though not the worſt ſpoken of, even by Proteſtant Hiſtorians.

(119) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 391.

His behaviour as a Miniſter of State in the reign of Henry, is far from being unexceptionable. His ſolliciting the divorce from Queen Katherine, at home and abroad; his carrying Cranmer to the King, applauding his advice, and taking upon himſelf to carry it into execution at Cambridge, if done contrary to his ſenſe of things, as there is great probability it was, cannot be either defended or excuſed. His reverſing all this, by an Act of Parliament, and throwing the whole odium upon Cranmer; Biſhop Burnet ſays (120), ſhewed he had loſt all ſenſe of ſhame, and a man muſt want either conſcience or underſtanding, who does not think ſo. His adviſing Queen Mary to acts of lenity at her entrance on the government, was certainly very commendable. His ſolliciting her to reſtore what the crown had taken from ſeveral noble families, ſuch as Norfolk, Arundel, Stanhope, and Hungerford, and the proviſion for reſtoring in blood, the Earl of Devonſhire, and the ſon of the Duke of Somerſet, highly laudable; his excluding foreign influence from Engliſh Councils, and his preventing a Spaniſh Prince from being placed on the Engliſh throne, were eſſential ſervices to his country; his attention upon all occaſions to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, in preference to every thing, and particularly, both to royal and miniſterial power, is worthy of praiſe and of imitation.

(120) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 254.

It might be thought a ſtrange omiſſion, if we ſhould ſay nothing of the charge that was brought againſt him of corrupting Parliaments, as it is mentioned by ſeveral eminent Hiſtorians, but the aſſerting boldly, or tranſcribing a fact, often is no kind of evidence. We find nothing of it in the earlieſt Hiſtorians, who wrote in the ſucceeding reign; and there is nothing brought to juſtify it, excepting what has been ſaid of King Philip's bringing over a large ſum in ready money. As to the Parliament, particularly inſiſted upon, which is the ſecond of the Queen's reign, and as to which it is ſurmiſed, that he gave penſions to ſeveral of the members; there is a matter of fact that ſtrongly contradicts it, and it is this, that this Parliament did not continue full two months, meeting on the ſecond of *April*, and being diſſolved on the twenty fifth of May. Now it is natural to believe, that if this Miniſter's influence, which was indeed very great, had been built upon corruption, he would have continued that Parliament; for it is not the cuſtom of thoſe who give wages, to be content with ſuch ſhort ſervice, more eſpecially when a Parliament was again called the very ſame year. Beſides the Spaniſh money was not then arrived.

We may add to all this, that our Prelate had leſs occaſion to bribe, becauſe he aſked no ſupplies. It is uſual to wet the ſucker, before the hand is applied to the pump, but it would be a mere waſte of water, if there was no intention of pumping. The Miniſters who followed him in that reign, ſtood in need of that vile expedient, and practiſed it, but they ſteered by other maxims than Gardiner had done, and knew not the art of managing Parliaments, by beginning with Conſtitutional Bills, and thereby putting them in a good humour, or of being contented with a moderate ſhare of ſucceſs, and not puſhing too many government points at once, which were the principal arts he uſed.

In this reſpect he was perfectly happy, that he died before he found himſelf under the neceſſity of altering his conduct, or of forfeiting the reputation he had acquired by unwarrantable compliances. We are now at ſuch a diſtance from the time in which he lived, and are poſſeſſed of ſo many publick and private papers, that open to us the whole circle of his conduct, at the ſame time that all partiality or prejudice is, or ought to be, removed, that we may look on ourſelves as free, as well as competent judges of it. To this, if the pains taken in the preſent article, ſhall any way contribute, it will fully anſwer the only end for which they were taken, by recommending a critical examination of our Hiſtory, with an unbiaſſed regard to truth and the conſtitution.

[*NN*] *Could be eaſily imagined.*] In all probability, the reaſon of removing the Biſhop's corps ſo haſtily, was to have it in the proper place where theſe funeral honours might be paid, ſince at the Court, where he died, it would have been very improper. By five o'clock in the afternoon of the ſame day, his bowels were buried before the high-altar, in the pariſh church of St Mary Overy's; at ſix, the knell began, and a *Dirge* and *Maſs*, all the bells continuing to ring till ſeven at night. November the fourteenth, began the knell again; there was then a hearſe adorned with four branches of gilt candleſticks, two white branches, and three dozen of ſtaff torches. The choir was hung with black, and coats of arms and eſcutcheons, *Dirge* ſung that evening; the next day, Maſs of *Requiem* was ſung by Dr Bonner, Biſhop of London, many Prelates, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen being preſent; after which Dr White, Biſhop of Lincoln, aſcended the pulpit, and preached the Funeral Sermon, this over, they went to Wincheſter palace to dinner. The ſame day in the afternoon, was *Dirge* ſung in every pariſh in London, with a hearſe and ringing of bells, and the next day a Maſs of *Requiem* and prayers, according to the faſhion of thoſe times. On the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, about noon, began the knell, when the body was brought to the church of St Mary Over's, attended by all the Biſhops who were in town, and by a great number of the Clergy; the Biſhop of London performed the funeral Service, and wore his Mitre;

were ſet on foot at Court, on this great Prelate's death, about filling his places, which occaſioned ſome delay in diſpoſing of them. The great ſeal was in the mean time put into the hands of Sir Nicholas Hare, Maſter of the Rolls, and on Newyear's-day following given to Dr Nicholas Heath, Archbiſhop of York (*r*). In the Chancellorſhip of Cambridge he was ſucceeded by Cardinal Pole (*s*), who had ſome inclinations to have held his Biſhoprick of Wincheſter too *in commendam*; but at length it was given to Dr White, Biſhop of Lincoln, the modeſt Cardinal contenting himſelf with a penſion of one thouſand pounds a year out of the revenue, for the ſupport of his dignity (*t*). As to the Maſterſhip of Trinity-Hall, Dr Mowſe, who took it as a good Proteſtant in King Edward's time, was now become ſo good a Catholick as to take it again in Queen Mary's time; and in the days of Elizabeth had a Prebend of York beſtowed upon him, being once more become a Proteſtant (*u*). As to the private eſtate of Biſhop Gardiner, he diſpoſed of it by will, of which his two old friends (*w*), Sir Anthony Brown, Viſcount Montacute, and Dr Thomas Thirlby, Biſhop of Ely, were the executors.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 321.

(*s*) Catalog. Cancell. Cantabrig.

(*t*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 237.

(*u*) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 400, 401.

(*w*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 237.

Mitre; before the corps, went the King at Arms in his coat, and five banners of his arms, and four images wrought with gold and jewels. On the morrow were ſaid three Maſſes; one of the Trinity, one of our Lady, and one of *Requiem*; after which, the company repaired to dinner at Wincheſter Palace, and the body was depoſited in a vault, till it could be carried to Wincheſter. On the twenty-fourth of February following, were the obſequies of this Prelate celebrated after the following manner. In the afternoon, began the knell at St Mary Overies and ringing. After that began the *Dirge*. A pall of cloth of gold, and two white branches, and two dozen of ſtaff torches burning, and four great tapers. The Lord Montacute, the chief mourner, and the Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, Sir Robert Rochеſter, Comptroller, and divers other attendants in black, and many black gowns and coats. And the morrow, Maſs of *Requiem* and offering done, began the Sermon; and ſo Maſs being done, all repaired to a dinner at Lord Montacute's. At the gate, the corps was put into a chariot with four horſes all covered with black. Over the corps, an image reſembling the deceaſed, with his mitre on his head, with five gentlemen, bearing five banners of his arms. Then followed an hundred men in gowns and hoods. Then two Heralds in their coat-armour; Mr Garter and Rouge Croix. Then came men riding, carrying of torches burning, in number ſixty, about the corps all the way. Then came the mourners in gowns and coats, to the number of two-hundred, afore and behind; and ceaſing, and there they had a great torch given them. And ſo through every pariſh till they came to Wincheſter. And as many as came to meet them, had money given them. And a *Dirge* and Maſs at every lodging (121). All theſe needleſs ceremonies being over, the corps was interred according to the Biſhop's laſt will, as Biſhop Godwin tells us, on the north ſide of the high altar in the Cathedral, in a tomb anſwerable to that of Biſhop Fox, on the other ſide (122). Many poetical compoſitions, both in Latin and Engliſh, were publiſhed on the demiſe of this great Prelate; the moſt bitter invectives againſt him, may be found in Bale, who ſeems to have taken particular pleaſure in the abuſe of him; on the other hand, Mr John Morwen, who was fellow of Corpus-Chriſti College in Oxford, wrote an elegant Latin Poem in honour of his memory, in which there are many facts, as well as much panegyric. Sir John Harrington, whom we have before mentioned, deals very fairly by him and the publick, by preſerving a poem highly in his commendation; and that piece, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, reverſed into a moſt outrageous ſatire. It had been well, if authors on both ſides had confined their partiality and their prejudice, to poetical compoſitions only, and left hiſtory untainted with them, we ſhould then have been able to have made this article much ſhorter, as well as more ſatisfactory. E

(121) Stype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 229, 230. — p. 285, 286.

(122) De Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 237.

GARTH (Sir SAMUEL), a genuine ſon of Apollo, as he was at once an excellent Poet, and a very learned as well as ſucceſsful Phyſician. He was deſcended from a good family in Yorkſhire, and after he had paſſed through his ſchool education, he was removed to Peter-Houſe in Cambridge, where he is ſaid to have continued till he was created Doctor of Phyſick, July the ſeventh 1691 (*a*). His firſt examination before the Royal College of Phyſicians, was on the twelfth of March 1691-2, and he was admitted Fellow June the twenty-ſixth 1692 (*b*). In 1696, he zealouſly encouraged the ſpeedy erecting the Diſpenſary, being an apartment in the College for the relief of the ſick poor, by giving them advice gratis, and diſpenſing medicines to them at low rates (*c*). This work of charity having expoſed him, and many other of the moſt eminent Phyſicians, to the envy and reſentment of ſeveral perſons of the ſame Faculty, as well as Apothecaries, he ridiculed them with peculiar ſpirit and vivacity, in his admirable poem called THE DISPENSARY, in ſix canto's; which, tho' it firſt ſtole into the world a little haſtily and incorrect, in the year 1699, yet bore in a few months three impreſſions, and was afterwards printed ſeveral times, with a dedication to Anthony Henly, Eſq; and commendatory verſes by Mr Charles Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery, Colonel Chriſtopher Codrington, Thomas Cheek, Eſq; and Colonel Henry Blount (*d*). This poem raiſed our author a very juſt, as well as prodigious, reputation (*e*) [*A*]. This poetical character, together with his great learning and

(*a*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 58.

(*b*) From the Regiſter of the College of Phyſicians.

(*c*) A ſhort Anſwer to a late Book intituled *Tentamen Medicinale*, to which are added ſeveral Papers relating to the Riſe, Growth, and Uſefulneſs of Diſpenſaries.

(*d*) From the correct edit. in 1710. 8vo.

(*e*) Pack's Miſcellanies, p. 102.

[*A*] *As prodigious reputation.*] There are two things remarkable with reſpect to this admirable poem of our author's, the firſt, that it is in itſelf a moſt beautiful and elegant compoſition; the ſecond, that it was written to ſupport a moſt generous and charitable deſign. In order to make the reader perfectly maſter of the reaſons upon which that ſcheme was founded this poem was written to recommend: the judicious author in his preface, adviſes him to read a little piece, written by the directions, and publiſhed by the order, of the College of Phyſicians, then common, and in every body's hands, though now become very ſcarce and hard to be met with, which cannot therefore but be very acceptable to the reader, as without it, one of the beſt poems in our language, can be but very imperfectly underſtood. The title of this performance was,

A Short Account of the Proceedings *of the* College *of* Phyſicians, London, *in Relation to the* Sick, Poor, &c.

and ſkill in his profeſſion, his agreeable converſation, and unaffected good humour, procured him vaſt practice, and gained him the friendſhip and eſteem of moſt of the nobility and

Since it hath been the fate of many good undertakings, though in themſelves highly beneficial to the publick, to miſcarry and come to nothing, not ſo much by the *open oppoſition* of intereſted and deſigning perſons, as by their *private inſinuations* and *miſ-repreſentations*, whereby they prepoſſeſs the people to their own great hurt and damage; that the like misfortune may not befal the charitable deſign now ſet on foot by the *College of Phyſicians*, LONDON, for the relief of the *poor ſick* in and about this great city and ſuburbs; we have thought it neceſſary to give a ſhort hiſtorical account of the riſe and progreſs of this matter, whereby we hope it will appear, that this undertaking, as it was ſeveral years ſince begun, before there were any differences or miſunderſtandings, either amongſt ourſelves, or with the Apothecaries, upon no other ground but the commiſeration of the deplorable condition of the poor ſick, eſpecially poor houſe-keepers, not uſually taken care of by the pariſhes; ſo alſo, that the ſame hath been ever ſince carried on with the ſame honeſt intention: and we doubt not, but a work ſo advantageous to the ſick poor, and ſo honourable to this city, will in the ſame manner be ſhortly finiſhed, and brought to it's utmoſt perfection.

To omit therefore what has in former times been attempted of this nature by our predeceſſors, of whoſe early charity we have ſeveral inſtances recorded in our annals; the firſt ſtep we find tending directly to this purpoſe, is a vote of the College in their publick meeting, July the twenty-eighth, 1687, to this effect. 'It 'was this day appointed and ordained, by the unani-'mous vote of the college, that all the members there-'of, whether Fellows, Candidates, or Licentiates of the 'ſaid college, ſhall give their advice gratis, to all their 'ſick neighbouring poor, when deſired, within the 'city of London, or ſeven miles round.'

This order being carried by ſeveral of the Members of the College to the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen; they, Auguſt the twenty-third, 1687, did by Dr *Betts*, one of our Elects, return the College thanks, for this their charitable order, with this farther requeſt to the College, that they would explain themſelves, as to whom they meant by *poor?* which they did, by declaring, that all thoſe ſhould be eſteemed *poor*, that brought certificates under the hand of the Rector, Vicar, or Curate of the pariſh wherein they dwelt, of their being ſuch.

An account of this was by the reſpective Aldermen ſent to each ward. But partly by the induſtry of ſome perſons, with whoſe private gain it was not ſo conſiſtent, and eſpecially by reaſon of the high prices of medicines, above the purchaſe of poor houſe-keepers, it was for that time ſtifled. Which the College perceiving, and deſirous that ſo good an intention to ſo many poor people might not be fruſtrated, ſeveral methods for the removing this obſtruction, were propoſed at their general meetings, as the expending all the fines of the College, in providing phyſick for the poor, and the like: and at laſt they came to this reſolution, which was paſt into an order, Auguſt the thirteenth, 1688, viz.

'The College having conſidered, that the charita-'ble vote, which formerly paſſed for preſcribing to the 'poor gratis, hath not had the effect intended, by 'reaſon of the great prices they are obliged to pay for 'their medicines, have this day unanimouſly voted, 'that the laboratory of the College be forthwith fitted 'up, for preparing medicines for the poor, and alſo 'the room adjoining for a repoſitory.' And the College further gave a power to thoſe members who would ſubſcribe to this charitable work, to chooſe a committee from among themſelves, who ſhould order what compoſitions and ſimples ſhould be kept at the College for the benefit of the poor, and manage the whole affair as they thought fit.

It was expected, that upon this order, the Apothecaries, (rather than the College, ſhould make medicines themſelves) would have ſo far concurred in this charitable work, as to have borne their part therein: and that as we had freely offered our pains to preſcribe for the poor for nothing, ſo they would have given them their pains alſo in furniſhing them with neceſſary medicines at the intrinſick value, or at leaſt, for ſome ſmall profit. But inſtead of that, ſeveral amongſt them ſet themſelves, by all the art and induſtry they were capable of, to fruſtrate the whole deſign; and finding no method ſo promiſing, as to ſtir up a party among ourſelves to oppoſe our proceedings, they fell to intriguing with ſeveral of our own members, who were too eaſily lured off to ſerve the Apothecaries intereſt, for their own private advantage. And from this cauſe, as we have too much reaſon to believe, have chiefly ſprung the unhappy differences that are ſtill fomented among us.

But notwithſtanding all the diſcouragements we met with from thoſe of our own members, who contrary to all the obligations of honour and conſcience, conſtantly diſcovered to our adverſaries, whatſoever paſſed in the College relating to this deſign, and expoſed to them, the names of ſuch as were promoters thereof, that they might be kept out, as far as in them lay, from all patients, where they ſhould be propoſed, and themſelves brought in; theſe, and ſeveral other difficulties, were, though after a conſiderable time intervening, at laſt broke through, and the College proceeded to enforce their former order, by another of the eighteenth of March, 1694, to this effect. 'Whereas in the year '1687, there was an order made, by the unanimous 'conſent of the College, obliging every member there-'of to give his advice gratis, in their reſpective 'pariſhes in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and 'ſuburbs thereof, to all poor ſick, as ſhould be recom-'mended to them for ſuch, by the Rector, Vicar, or 'Curate of the ſaid pariſhes, by certificate under their 'hands, which ſaid order was preſented to the city: 'now we judge it neceſſary, that the ſaid order be 'again preſented to the Lord-Mayor, Court of Alder-'men, and Common-Council, and do hereby again, 'require ſtrict obedience from all our members, to the 'aforeſaid order.' And a committee was then choſen by the College, to take care of the managing this matter to the beſt advantage of the deſigned charity, conſiſting of the Elects, Cenſors, and eight Fellows, whereof five to be a committee.

This order was accordingly preſented to the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, June the eighteenth, 1695. Upon which, the Common-Council did nominate, appoint, and chooſe Sir *John Moor*, Sir *William Hedges*, and Sir *Joſeph Smart*, Aldermen; Mr *Darvile*, Mr *Ballow*, Mr *Eggleſtone*, Sir *Edmund Wiſeman*, Mr *Richer*, and Mr *Palfreman*, Commoners; whereof, any one of the ſaid Aldermen, and two of the ſaid Commoners to be a committee, to return the thanks of that court to the College of Phyſicians for ſuch their order, and with them, to conſult how to improve the advantage propoſed by the ſaid college, for the relief of the ſaid poor inhabitants.

July the twenty-fourth. The Committee of the city and College met, where the thanks of the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, were returned to the College of Phyſicians, for their charitable order.

The Committee of the College, delivered in a liſt of the names of all their members, with the places where they lived, which was deſired by the city to be printed.

Then the committee of the city made ſeveral propoſals or queries, as firſt, who ſhould be recommended as fitting objects of this charity? ſecondly, who ſhould be the perſons that ſhould make up the Phyſicians preſcriptions in the ſeveral wards and pariſhes of the city? thirdly, who ſhould prize the medicines preſcribed by the Phyſicians bills?

After which, they, with the College Committee, paſſing over the firſt propoſal, which was ſufficiently anſwered by the College's order, proceeded to debate the ſecond and third, and came to this reſolution, that ſome Apothecaries ſhould be found out, who ſhould ſupply the poor with medicines, at ſuch rates as ſhould be adjudged reaſonable by the Phyſicians in or near the ſeveral pariſhes, which the committee of the city earneſtly recommended to the Phyſicians to take care of, and promiſed that they would do the ſame on their part.

Upon

and gentry, and indeed of all ranks, of both sexes. Within the same period he gave a distinguishing instance of his profound knowledge in his profession, his perfect acquaintance with Antiquity, and correct taste in Roman eloquence, by a most admirable Latin oration, pronounced before the Faculty in Warwick-Lane, September the seventeenth 1697 (f), to the great satisfaction of the audience, and his own [illegible]. Pieces of this kind are often composed with peculiar attention to the [illegible] turn of the periods in the speaking, and their effect upon the ear; and tho' these advantages were by no means neglected in Dr Garth's performance, yet the sentiments, the spirit, the stile, manifested all their beauty in print, and the applause with which it was received by it's hearers, was echoed by those who perused it [E]. Upon the death of the famous [illegible]

(f) Sam. Garth, Coll. Reg. Med. Lond. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of the City committee; and after some time, found out several honest and charitable Apothecaries, who very chearfully and readily embraced the offer, and at the sollicitation of the Physicians, entered into this following subscription. *We whose names are here under written, are willing to furnish the poor within our respective parishes, with medicines, at such rates as the Committee of Physicians shall judge reasonable, witness our hands.* Which subscription we have now by us, but for the subscribers sakes, do not divulge their names.

When the Committee of the College had got a sufficient number of Apothecaries to furnish all the Wards of *London*, they acquainted the Committee of the City therewith, requesting them at the same time, that they would, for their encouragement, endeavour to have an act passed in the Common-Council, to excuse those charitable Apothecaries from any troublesome office.

Then the Committee of the City, did desire the College Committee to get a farther addition to their former order, whereby the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor, or any of them, might, as well as the Ministers, recommend, by certificate, fit objects of charity; as also, that all hired servants, and apprentices to handicraftmen, should be reckoned as objects of charity, which the Committee of the College promised to endeavour.

Now the College thought they had surmounted all difficulties, and had attained their end: but the Apothecaries Company having got knowledge of our meeting with a Committee of the City, did not only draw up and present a paper to the Committee of the City, tending wholly to frustrate the charitable ends of our design, which was sufficiently answered article by article, by the Committee of the College, (copies of both which [illegible]

[illegible] supply this charity, they were extreamly alarmed, and [illegible] called a Hall, wherein, partly by threatening [illegible] impose upon them the most troublesome and expensive offices of their company, and partly by charging [illegible] upon this compliance with the Physicians, with [illegible] of their oaths to their company, they affrighted [illegible] these Apothecaries from this undertaking, as if [illegible] oath obliged them not to do any thing chari- [illegible]

[illegible]. The College made [illegible] City Committee had [illegible] College did likewise [illegible] confirm [illegible] done by their [illegible] giving them thanks [illegible] the care and trouble [illegible] already taken, and desiring them to proceed [illegible] this charitable work, owning and declaring [illegible] the Committee had done, to be the act of [illegible] and not the act of six or seven men, as [illegible] industriously, though falsely, given out; and [illegible] College would accordingly stand by their Committee [illegible] what they had done.

[illegible] next meeting of the Committees, the addition [illegible] College to their former order, desired by the [illegible] delivered to them, who were [illegible]. Then they proceeded to con- [illegible] medicines. And the College [illegible] because they would avoid every [illegible] obstruct this designed charity, that the [illegible] of the Apothecaries Company [illegible] every year, and afterwards bring it to the [illegible] Censors of the College for their approba- [illegible]

[illegible] Company.

Thus it appearing, that the Apothecaries were resolved to obstruct this charity in every particular, the City Committee asked the Physicians then present, whether their College would provide medicines for the poor at reasonable rates, if the Apothecaries should refuse to do it; to which they answered, that they believed, rather than so charitable a design should fail, the College would undertake it, and promised that they would propose it at their next publick College meeting.

Hereupon, the City Committee being fully satisfied with the Physicians answers to their proposals, and with their sincerity in transacting this whole affair with them, as also, that the methods offered by them, were the most proper for obtaining the end proposed, drew up a report accordingly of the whole matter, which their Chairman, Sir *William* [illegible], offered to read at the next Common-Council; but some other business requiring a quicker dispatch intervening, it was put off for that time, and this happening at the latter end of the year, the Common-Council was not long after dissolved, and another chosen, in which, several of the then Committee were left out, which probably was the cause that this report was never after called for.

The matter resting thus, and the College being in expectation to hear from the City, they did nothing farther in it till December the twenty-second, 1696, when a proposition was made in the publick College, for a subscription by the Fellows, Candidates, and Licentiates, for carrying on this charity; which being there approved, about nine or ten only dissenting, a subscription to the effect following, was immediately made.

Whereas the several Orders of the College of Physicians, London, &c.

But this order being annexed to the preface to the Dispensary, it is unnecessary [illegible]

[illegible] difference between the harmony of Prose and Verse, and that turn of thought which makes a great Poet or an accomplished Orator, that it rarely happens the same genius inspires both, at least in an equal degree. Cicero, who was not heard by his contemporaries with greater applause than his works are now read with admiration, attempted Poetry without success; and the same thing might be said of others, if it were decent to name them after Tully. Yet it must be confessed, that some of our own Poets have written Prose with equal skill and delicacy; as for instance, Dryden, Pope, and Garth. But it was the peculiar excellence of the latter, that not in his own language only, but in that of antient Rome, he delivered himself with equal eloquence and spirit. A short instance of this, from the oration of which we are speaking, shall suffice (11).

Plura dicerem ut artis Apollineæ laudibus [illegible] deessem, verùm ista omitto, ne multa hæc [illegible] ita pridem audita recensere videar. De medicorum itaque dignitate & titulis, qui certiores fieri velit Boessum & alios consulat. Sed [illegible] nos incidimus [illegible] tempora, quibus ipsa ægrotat medicina. Ars [illegible] omnibus aliis utilissima, sibi suisque prodesse nescit, dum plus Pseudomedicis quam morbis laborat Anglia. Quot & quales sint isti, programmata parietibus affixa monent indies. Hic circumforaneus in plateis equo insidens, dentes evellit; ille, domi certis horis fatuos expectat; Alter Matulas inspicit, & ubi morbum non invenit, facit; Alter, turbâ in unum Funambuli ope convocatâ, venit, videt, in confertissimam cæterum [illegible], & horrendam edit stragem. Non autem telis vulnerat ista Agyrtarum colluvies, sed Theriacâ quædam magis perniciosâ,

Dryden, in May 1701, by a very strange accident his burial came to depend on the piety of Dr Garth, who caused the body to be brought to the College of Physicians, proposed and encouraged, by his generous example, a subscription for defraying the expence of the funeral (g); and, after pronouncing over the corps, before it set out from Warwick-Lane, a suitable oration, attended the solemnity to Westminster-Abbey, where at last the remains of that great Man were decently interred. For this most memorable act of tenderness and respect, those who loved the person, or who honoured the parts of that excellent Poet, expressed much gratitude to Dr Garth. He was one of the most eminent members of a famous society called the *Kit Kat Club*, which consisted of above thirty noblemen and gentlemen, distinguished by their excellent parts, and their very zealous affection to the Prote- [illegible] upon and [illegible] Lord Godolphin's administration, no body was better received of his rank than Dr Garth, and no body seemed to have a higher opinion of the Minister's integrity and abilities, in which he had however the satisfaction of speaking with the publick. But in 1710, when things began to wear another aspect, and that noble person had an opportunity of distinguishing his own friends from those of his power, it could not fail of giving him sensible pleasure to find Dr Garth amongst the first, and to receive the tribute of his MUSE on that situation of his affairs, which would have struck a flatterer dumb (i). But there wanted not some to whom this remarkable testimony of gratitude was by no means pleasing, and therefore the Doctor's lines were severely criticized (k), in a certain paper engaged in the service of the new Ministry; but instead of sinking the credit either of the verses or the Poet, they added to the reputation of both, by exciting the judicious Joseph Addison, Esq; to write in their defence (l) [C]. He was also in particular favour and esteem with the Duke of Marlborough, whose disgrace, and voluntary exile abroad, he lamented in a fine copy of verses (m). In 1711, he wrote a dedication for an intended edition of Lucretius, addressed to his late Majesty, then Elector of Brunswick, which has been justly

(g) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 69.

[illegible] non pyrio, sed pulvere [illegible] quo exotico certat, non globulis plumbeis, sed pilulis æque lethalibus interficit. O genus hominum, si quod aliud, sceleratissimum! totam urbem [illegible] ipsi homicidæ, sed an imperitiâ an impunitate magis incertum; pro pudore, audacia, pro sagacitate [illegible], pro integritate improbitas hodie, ut olim, viget. Huic pesti ut occurreret Henricus octavus rex augustissimus, & sanitati subditorum religiosè consulens, collegium hoc quamplurimis immunitatibus ad rem medicam moderandum stabiliendamque donavit. Henrici ad exemplum Edvardus sextus, Maria & Elisabetha reginæ, Jacobi, Carolique ambo nullum officii genus ad emolumentum nostrum spectans, omisere: multa insuper Mariæ & Arabellæ Stuartiæ ex regio sanguine oriundis debemus, Lumleio Baroni, summæ eo tempore authoritatis [illegible] regali [illegible], vitâ etiam animi dotibus quam natalium splendore clariori. Neque nos fugiant societatis nostræ & alia ornamenta, Linacrus nempe Atkinsius, Readus, Moverellus, Foxus, Griffinus, Pagettus, Bidgodfus, Pamannus, præcipue vero Harvæus & Hamæus: ingenti virtute & doctrinâ fuere ambo, sed indole paulùm diversâ: Harvæus benignitate clarus habebatur, morum simplicitate Hamæus; ille humanitate festivâ probatus fuit, huic augusta gravitas dignitatem dedit; alterius lenitas, alterius stabilitas celebratur.

Which has been translated thus,

'More I might say, as there is no want of materials, in commending Apollo's art; but I omit them, that I might not seem on this occasion to affect delivering such things as were not sufficiently known before. Of the dignity and titles of Physicians, let those who would know more consult Poesius and others. But at present, let us speak of places and times in which medicine itself is sick. This art, of all others the most useful, knows not how to help itself; while rather from mock Physicians, than diseases, this country suffers. What, and what sort of people they are, the rubrick'd walls at the corner of every street will inform you. Here an Operator, mounted on his pyed horse, draws teeth in the streets; another is so obliging, as to be at home at certain hours to receive fools; another pores in urinals, and if he finds no disease there, he makes it; another still, draws together a crowd by the help of rope-dancing; he comes, he sees, then rushes forth upon the multitude, and murders without mercy. Yet not with weapons do these swarms of mountebanks inflict wounds, but with some nostrum more dangerous than any weapon; not with plain gun-powder, but with some strange foreign dust they charge their packets; not with leaden bullets, but with pills as mortal, they do their business. O race of men, of all others the most wicked! thro' the whole city these homicides spread their terror, whether with more ignorance or impunity it is hard to determine; instead of modesty, impudence; instead of sagacity, stupidity; instead of integrity, wickedness; now, as of old, flourishes. To check this plague, Henry VIII, a most august Prince, and religiously tender of the health of his subjects, established this College, and fortified it with [illegible] the art of Physick. Moved by the example of Henry, Edward VI, the Queens Mary and Elizabeth, James and both the Charles's, omitted nothing that might prove beneficial to the Faculty; much also we [illegible] to Mary and Arabella Stuart, whose veins were [illegible]riched with royal blood; much to the Lord L[illegible]ley, in his time a person of great authority; [illegible] to the Marquis of Dorchester, himself a Fe[illegible] this Royal College, and a man [illegible] by the virtues of his [illegible] his birth. Neith[illegible] ornaments in [illegible] kins, Read, M[illegible]ullion, F[illegible] Pamans; but ab[illegible] Harvey and H[illegible] great virtue and learning, but of diff[illegible]tions, Harvey distinguished by benign[illegible] Hames by simplicity of manners; the f[illegible] deared to all by his chearful humanity, [illegible] manded respect by a becoming gravity; [illegible] celebrated for his lenity, as the other [illegible]ness.'

The whole of the oration is equally bea[illegible] more especially the warm, pathetick, and [illegible] negyrick on King William, too copious to b[illegible]bed, and too fine to be curtail[illegible] word, tho' all the orations [illegible] body do honour to the learning of th[illegible] in point of sentiment or of eloquen[illegible] this of which we are speaking.

[C] *To write in their defence.*] In [illegible] both of the Criticism and of the Defence, [illegible] quisite first of all to read the Poem to [illegible]

juſtly admired as one of the fineſt pieces of Latin written in our times. On the acceſſion of that Prince to the throne, he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by his Majeſty, with the Duke of Marlborough's ſword (*n*). He was likewiſe made Phyſician in Ordinary to the King, and Phyſician-General to the army. As his known ſervices procured him a great intereſt with thoſe in power, ſo his humanity and good nature inclined him to make uſe of that intereſt rather for the ſupport and encouragement of men of letters who had merit, than for the advancement of his own fortune, his views in that reſpect having been always very moderate. He lived with the Great in that degree of eſteem and independency, and with all that freedom which became a man poſſeſſed of ſuperior genius, and the

(*n*) Chronological Diary for A. D. 1714, 1715, p. 14.

refer, more eſpecially as it is very ſhort, and as it may be very well ſuppoſed written ſuddenly, and at leaſt as much from the author's propenſity to Patriotiſm as Poetry.

To the Earl of Godolphin.

Whilſt weeping Europe *bends beneath her Ills,*
And where the ſword *deſtroys not* famine *kills.*
Our iſle *enjoys by your ſucceſsful care,*
The pomp *of* peace *amidſt the* woes *of* war.
So much the publick *to your* prudence *owes,*
You think no labours *long for our* repoſe.
Such conduct, *ſuch* integrity *are ſhown,*
There are no *coffers* empty *but your* own.
From mean dependence, merit *you* retrieve;
Unaſk'd you offer, *and unſeen you* give.
Your favour, like the Nile, *increaſe beſtows;*
And yet conceals the ſource *from whence it* flows.
So poiz'd your paſſions *are, we find no* frown
If funds *oppreſt not, and if* commerce *run,*
Taxes *diminiſh'd,* liberty *entire,*
Theſe are the grants *your ſervices* require.
Thus far the ſtate-machine *wants no* repair;
But moves in matchleſs order *by your* care.
Free from confuſion, ſettled and ſerene;
And, like the univerſe, *by ſprings* unſeen.
But now ſome ſtar, miniſter *to our* prayers;
Contrives new ſchemes, *and calls you from* affairs.
No anguiſh *in your* looks, *nor* cares *appear,*
But how to teach *th' unpractis'd* crew *to ſteer.*
Thus like ſome victim *no conſtraint you need,*
To expiate their offence *by whom you* bleed.
Ingratitude's *a* weed *in ev'ry clime;*
It thrives too faſt *at firſt, but* fades *in* time.
The God *of* day, *and your own* lot's *the ſame;*
The vapours *you have* rais'd, obſcure *your* flame.
But tho' you ſuffer, *and a while* retreat;
Your globe *of* light *looks larger as you* ſet.

The criticiſm upon theſe verſes was publiſhed in a letter to the Examiner, for Thurſday September the ſeventh 1710; and the author of it obſerves (2), that there does not appear either Poetry, Grammar, or deſign, in the compoſition of this poem. 'The whole, 'ſays he, ſeems to be, as the ſixth edition of the *Diſ-* 'penſary happily expreſſes it, *a ſtrong unlabour'd impo-* 'tence of thought.' If we examine it by the new teſt of 'good Poetry, which the Doctor himſelf has eſtabliſh- 'ed *pleaſing at firſt bluſh*, has this piece the leaſt 'title even to that? Or if we compare it with the only 'pattern, as he thinks, of juſt writing in this kind, 'Ovid, is there any thing in *De Triſtibus* ſo wild, ſo 'childiſh, ſo flat? What can the ingenious Doctor 'mean? Or at what time could he write theſe verſes? 'Half of the poem is a panegyric on a Lord Treaſurer 'in being, and the reſt a compliment of condolance to 'an Earl that has *loſt* the *ſtaff*. In thirty lines his pa- 'tron is a *river*, the *primum mobile*, a *pilot*, a *victim*, 'the *ſun*, *any thing*, and *nothing*. He beſtows in- 'creaſe, conceals his ſource, makes the machine move; 'teaches to ſteer, expiates our offences, raiſes vapours, 'and looks larger as he ſets. Nor is the choice of his 'expreſſions leſs exquiſite than that of his ſimilies. For 'commerce to run, paſſions to be poiz'd, merit to be 'retrieved from dependance, and a machine to be ſe- 'rene, is perfectly new. The Doctor has a happy ta- 'lent at invention, and has had the glory of enriching 'our language by his phraſes, as much as he has im- 'proved medicine by his bills.

(2) Examiner, No. VI.

But to be more particular:

And where th' ſword *deſtroys not* (ſays our Panegyriſt) famine *kills.*

'I could wiſh the verſe would have allowed of the 'word *plague* or *peſtilence*, for I ſuppoſe that is what 'the author means. I have heard of the *plague* at 'Dantzick, but what part of Europe *famine* rages in I 'know not. Why won't *phyſick* ſtand here? It is bet- 'ter ſenſe, runs as well. What the *pomp* of *peace* is, 'I as little comprehend as how it can be enjoyed a- 'midſt the *woes* of *war*.

Such conduct, *ſuch* integrity *are ſhown;*
There are no *coffers* empty *but your* own.

'Since there is little *poetry* in this couplet, I wiſh 'there were more *truth* in it. *Some* coffers I have 'heard were *empty* three weeks ago, and if they are 'not ſo *ſtill*, the nation is more obliged to the 'Doctor's *unpractiſed crew* than to the *experienced* 'pilot.

Unaſk'd you offer.

'A great diſcovery! I always thought, till now, he 'that was *aſked* might be ſaid to *give*, but not proper- 'ly to *offer*. The malicious part of the world, will, 'I doubt, be apt to obſerve, that this ſentence, as it 'ſtands here, is as true in fact as it is exact in lan- 'guage.

Your favour, like the Nile, *increaſe beſtows.*

'If the beauty of the ſimile is to be judged of by the 'frequent uſe which the Poets of all ages have made of 'it, ſcarce any can come in competition with the Doc- 'tor's river. The *Nile* on theſe occaſions, is as trite 'as the ſtories of *Icarus* and *Phaeton*. I remember I 'uſed it when I was about twelve in a *new-year's-gift* 'to my uncle, and was heartily aſhamed of it a *year* 'after. A ſchool-boy can no more miſs the *Nile*, than 'a *French* author when he dedicates to the *Grand* 'Monarch can live without the *ſun*, that other ſimile 'in which the Doctor rejoices.

——— *ſome* ſtar, miniſter *to our* prayers,
Contrives new ſchemes.

'*Alii legunt*, five ſtars which makes this paſſage in- 'telligible. I have often heard Aſtrologers talk of a 'ſort of influence that ſtars have upon human affairs, 'but I know of no ſtars but thoſe in Mr *Bickerſtaff*'s 'conſtellation that ever contrived ſchemes, and thoſe 'too were erected under no very *benign aſpect*.

'My Lord's care, he tells us, is to teach the *un-* 'practiſed crew to *ſteer*. By crew we are to under- 'ſtand the Lords of the Treaſury. A very civil ex- 'preſſion! But as to the ſenſe of it, what affinity is 'there between crew and ſteering. Is *ſteering* the bu- 'ſineſs of the *whole* ſhip's *crew?* This is a true image 'of the *whig* ſcheme, where every man is his *own* 'pilot.

'If we read the next two lines, we ſhall find theſe 'people have wounded him; and yet, like the beſt 'natured victim imaginable, he needs no conſtraint to

'expiate

the moſt valuable talents. He was not ſo haughty as to be above being obliged, and he had a fund of gratitude and good ſenſe, which induced as well as enabled him to oblige them in return.

' expiate their offences. All this is what the *French* ' call *gallimatias*, and what the Engliſh critics term ' *nonſenſe*. But what follows? *For whom you bleed.* ' Bleed? What is the Devil in the Doctor, to mention ' ſuch a word, and give ſo unlucky a *hint?* I hoped ' that this point had been ſo well guarded, that here ' could be no farther need of an *act* of *ſecurity*.

The God *of* day, *and your own* lot*'s the* ſame.

' A hundred pound for a genitive caſe, as old *Buſby* ' uſed to cry out upon ſuch an occaſion.

' But to go on from Grammar to decency. Of this ' happineſs of *Great Britain*, is any part aſcribed to ' the Queen? To this machine, which moves ſo like ' the univerſe, does the royal hand give any turn? ' Methinks he might at leaſt allow her Majeſty as much ' as his friends did in the coronation medal, *Vicem ge-* ' *rit illa*. But, as the Poet obſerves,

Ingratitude*'s a* weed *of ev'ry clime.*

' He will give me leave, in my own turn, to ob- ' ſerve, that in Don *Sebaſtian* it is

Ingratitude*'s the* growth *of ev'ry* clime.

' What occaſion was there of *altering* a verſe he ' thought fit to *ſteal?* This is being a mere *Banditti* ' in Poetry, to *rob* and *murder* too. But who is to be ' charged with this ingratitude? The whole body of ' the *nation* did indeed wiſh the Treaſurer *out*, but it ' was her Majeſty only that could *diſplace* him. Such ' are the compliments which the *Crown* receives from ' this *anti-monarchical* academy. Excellent *Poets!* duti- ' ful *Subjects!*

' I could give you many more obſervations upon the ' beauties of this ſublime panegyric, if I had my Lon- ' ginus by me. It has been corrected, I find, twice ' or thrice already; and if the author corrects it once ' more, I am ſo well acquainted with his lucky per- ' formances that way, that I do not doubt but I ſhall ' be tempted to write to you again upon the ſame ſub- ' ject. He will not be like himſelf, if he does not ' ſhift his patron as well as his phraſes; and it will ' not ſurprize me at all, if the next edition the ' poem ſhould come out inſcribed to the late Treaſurer ' of Ireland.'

In the Medley, or Whig Examiner, publiſhed September 14, 1710 (3), this criticiſm was roundly replied to, with all the wit and ſpirit, and with all the critical ſkill and judgment, for which it's excellent author was ſo famous. ' The deſign, ſays he, of this ' work, is to cenſure the writings of others, and to give ' all perſons a re-hearing, who have ſuffered under any ' unjuſt ſentence of the Examiner. As that author has ' hitherto proceeded, his paper would have been more ' properly intituled the Executioner, at leaſt his exami- ' nation is like that which is made by the rack and ' wheel. I have always admired a critic that has diſ- ' covered the beauties of an author, and never knew ' one who made it his buſineſs to laſh the faults of other ' writers, that was not guilty of greater himſelf; as the ' hangman is generally a worſe malefactor, than the ' criminal that ſuffers by his hand. To prove what I ' ſay, there needs no more than to read the annota- ' tions which this author has made upon Dr Garth's ' poem, with the preface in the front, and a riddle at ' the end of them.'

(3) No. I. Or ſee Addiſon's Works, Vol. IV. P. 331.

Mr Addiſon concludes that paper with theſe words. ' Before I take my farewel of this ſubject, I ſhall ad- ' viſe the author for the future to ſpeak his meaning ' more plainly. I allow he has a happy talent at dog- ' grel, when he writes upon a known ſubject; where ' he tells us in plain intelligible language, how Syriſca's ' ladle was loſt in one hole, and Han's Carvel's finger ' in another; he is very jocular and diverting; but ' when he wraps a lampoon in a riddle, he muſt conſi- ' der that his jeſt is loſt to every one but the few merry ' wags that are in the ſecret. This is making darker ' ſatires than ever Perſius did. After this curſory view ' of the Examiner's performance, let us conſider his ' remarks upon the Doctor's. This general piece of ' raillery, which he paſſes upon the Doctor's conſider- ' ing the Treaſurer in ſeveral different views, is, that ' which might fall upon any poem in *Waller*, or any ' other writer who has diverſity of thoughts and allu- ' ſions; and, tho' it may appear a pleaſant ridicule to ' an ignorant reader, is wholly groundleſs and unjuſt. ' I do likewiſe differ from the Examiner upon the ' phraſes of *paſſions being poiſed*, and of *the retrieving* ' *merit from dependence*, which are beautiful and po- ' etical.

' It is the ſame cavilling ſpirit that finds fault with ' that expreſſion of the *pomp of peace, among woes of* ' *war*, as well as of offering unaſk'd. As for the *Nile*, ' how *Icarus* and *Phaeton* came to be joined with it, ' I cannot conceive! I muſt confeſs they have been ' formerly uſed to repreſent the fate of raſh ambitious ' men, and I cannot imagine why the author ſhould ' deprive us of thoſe particular ſimilies for the future. ' The next criticiſm upon the *ſtars*, ſeems introduced ' for no other reaſon but to mention Mr *Bickerſtaff*, ' whom the author every where endeavours to imitate ' and abuſe. But I ſhall refer the *Examiner*, to the ' *Frog*'s advice to her little one that was blowing it- ' ſelf up to the ſize of an *ox*.

——— *Non ſi te ruperis, inquit,*
Par eris ———

' The alluſion to a *victim* may be a gallimatia in ' French politics, but is an apt and noble alluſion to a ' true Engliſh ſpirit. And as for the Examiner's re- ' marks on the word *bleed*, tho' a man would laugh to ' ſee impotent malice ſo little able to contain itſelf, ' one cannot but obſerve in them the temper of the ' *Banditti* whom he mentions in the ſame paper, who ' always *murder* where they *rob*. The laſt obſervation, ' is upon the line *ingratitude's a weed of ev'ry clime:* ' Here he is very much out of humour with the Doc- ' tor, for having called that the weed which Dryden ' only terms the growth of ev'ry clime. But, for God's ' ſake, why ſo much *tenderneſs* for *ingratitude?* But I ' ſhall ſay no more. We are now in an age wherein ' impudent aſſertions muſt paſs for arguments, and I ' do not queſtion but the ſame who has endeavoured ' here to prove that he who wrote the *Diſpenſary* was ' *no* Poet, will very ſuddenly undertake to ſhew that ' he who gained the battle of *Blenheim* was *no* Gene- ' ral.'

It is not impoſſible that our author himſelf might have in view this criticiſm, and ſome other compliments of the like nature, when, at the cloſe of his preface to the tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, he takes occaſion to deliver himſelf in a manner equally ſuitable to the caſe of that Roman Poet, and of his own. His words will bear reading, even after thoſe of Mr Addiſon's.

With all thoſe wond'rous talents, he (Ovid) was li- bell'd in his life-time, by the very men who had no other excellencies but as they were his imitators. Where he was allowed to have ſentiments ſuperior to all others, they charged him with theft; but how did he ſteal, no otherwiſe than like thoſe that ſteal beggars children, only to cloath them the better.

'Tis to be lamented that gentlemen ſtill continue this unfair behaviour, and treat one another every day with moſt injurious libels. The Muſes ſhould be ladies of a chaſte and fair behaviour; when they are otherwiſe they are Furies. 'Tis certain that Parnaſſus is at beſt but a barren mountain, and it's inhabitants contrive to make it more ſo, by their unneighbourly deportment; the authors are the only corporation that endeavour at the ruin of their own ſociety. Every day may convince them, how much a rich fool is reſpected above a poor wit. The only talents in eſteem at preſent, are thoſe of Exchange-Alley; one tally is worth a grove of Bays; and 'tis of much more conſequence to be well read in the tables of intereſt, and the riſe and fall of ſtocks, than in the revolutions of empires.

return. His poem intituled CLAREMONT (*o*), addreſſed to the preſent Duke of Newcaſtle, will ſurvive the noble ſtructure it celebrates, and remain a perpetual monument of it's author's learning, taſte, and great capacity as a Poet, ſince in that ſhort work there are innumerable beauties, and a vaſt variety of ſentiments eaſily and happily interwoven, the moſt lively ſtrokes of ſatire being intermixed with the moſt courtly panegyric, at the ſame time that there appears the true ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which diſtinguiſhes the works of one born a Poet, from thoſe of a witty or learned man, that has arrived at no higher art than that of making verſes. His knowledge in Philoſophy, his correct taſte in Criticiſm, and his thorough acquaintance with Claſſical Literature, appear with all the advantages that can be derived from an exact but concealed method, an accurate tho' flowing ſtile, and a language pure, natural, and full of vivacity, in the preface that he prefixed to a tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, which would have been ſufficient to have raiſed him an immortal reputation, if it had been the only product of his pen [*D*]. It has been attributed by ſome

(*o*) Printed in the ſixth Vol. of Dryden's Miſcellanies.

[*D*] *The only product of his pen.*] It is generally allowed by the critics, that Ovid is the moſt learned of the Latin Poets, perhaps we might be juſtified in ſaying, that he is not exceeded in this by any of the authors in his own language, either in verſe or proſe; but with all this learning, he has a moſt lively imagination, and writes with wonderful harmony and perſpicuity. Theſe ſingular and ſurpriſing excellencies joined perhaps to his tender inclinations, and that inimitable manner, in which he has deſcribed the ſofteſt paſſions, recommended him peculiarly to our author's ſtudy and regard. There was a great reſemblance in their humours, their manners, and their poetry, and perhaps, it was from a conſciouſneſs of this, that Sir Samuel intereſted himſelf ſo much on behalf of this Roman bard. He dedicated to the Lady Louiſa Lenos, afterwards Counteſs of Berkeley, an Engliſh tranſlation of his epiſtles; he addreſſed likewiſe, his Art of Love, to the Earl of Burlington; and now, after tranſlating a part, he prefixed a preface to the whole of his Metamorphoſes.

A preface, which may be conſidered as a model in it's kind, ſince it ſerves not only to give an idea of the work which follows it, and points out it's principal beauties; but ſhews farther, the uſes of his poem, and how it may be read to moſt profit. If we regard it in this light, his preface is in reality, a ſhort but excellent commentary, which enables the reader to enter into the ſpirit and genius of his author, to underſtand his meaning, to apprehend the moral of his fables, and to feel the force of thoſe fine reflections which are every where ſcattered through his writings. In the very opening of that ſhort piece, he vindicates his author and himſelf, from an imputation that has fallen but too commonly upon Phyſicians and Poets. He obſerves, that Ovid had a diſcerning notion of the gravitation of bodies, and that there can be no arbitrary principle in mere matter; it's parts cannot move, unleſs they be moved, and cannot do otherwiſe when preſt on by other parts in motion; and therefore, ſays he, it is evident from the following lines, that Ovid ſtrictly adhered to the opinion of the moſt diſcerning Philoſophers, who taught, that all things were formed by a wiſe and intelligent mind:

Juſſit, & extendi campos ſubſidere valles,
Fronde tegi ſylvas,

It may be, he carries it a little too far, in ſaying, that *the* Fiat *of the* Hebrew law-giver, *is not more ſublime than the* Juſſit *of the* Latin Poet. After explaining his philoſophy with much learning and judgment, he comes next to conſider him in his poetical capacity; and to ſhew how far he has been juſtly cenſured by the critics, and how much he has been frequently injured for want of being underſtood. He ſuggeſts, and he brings the author's own authority from another of his works to prove it, that this great performance never received his laſt hand, but went into the world, even in his own opinion, in ſome meaſure unfiniſhed; but as he very juſtly remarks, the variety with which he feaſts his reader, ought certainly to compenſate for ſome trivial inaccuracies. 'Here, ſays he, are the hurries of 'battles for the heroe; tender emotions of ſoul for the 'lover; a ſearch and penetration into nature, for the 'Philoſopher; fluency of numbers, and moſt expreſ-'ſive figures for the Poet; morals for the ſerious, and 'pleaſantries for admirers of points of wit.' Where an author labours to pleaſe all, all ought in juſtice, to come with an inclination to be pleaſed. He compares this writer with Virgil, and though he confeſſes the compariſon very unequal, yet he ſhews, that tho' Ovid be moſtly, he is not always inferior. In reference to many ſubjects, his education and breeding enabled him to enter deeply into them, and with theſe advantages, his genius gave him a power of treating them with ſuch ſtrength, and yet with ſuch facility, as perhaps leave him without any rival.

Ovid deſerves as much praiſe for ſaying a great deal in a little, as cenſure for ſaying a little in a great deal. None of the claſſic Poets had the talent of expreſſing himſelf with more force and perſpicuity. Sir Samuel gives ſome inſtances of this, and goes on. Ovid never excels himſelf ſo much, as when he takes occaſion to touch upon the paſſion of love, all hearts are in a manner ſenſible of the ſame emotions, and like inſtruments tuned uniſons, if a ſtring of any of them be ſtruck, the reſt by conſent vibrate. The fable of Byblis, ſhews how touchingly the Poet argues in love affairs, as well as thoſe of Medea and Scylla.

The two laſt are left by their heroes, and their reflections are very natural and affecting. Ovid ſeemed here to have had Virgil's paſſion of Dido in his eye, but with this difference, the one had converſed much with ladies, and knew they loved to talk a great deal; the other conſidered no leſs, what was natural for them to ſay, than what became them to ſay. Virgil has through the whole management of this rencounter, diſcovered a moſt finiſhed judgment. Æneas, like other men, likes for convenience, and leaves for greater. Dido, like other ladies, reſents the neglect, enumerates the obligations the lover is under; upbraids him with ingratitude; threatens him with revenge; then by and by ſubmits, begs for compaſſion, and has recourſe to tears. Nor does the genius of Ovid more exert on the ſubject of love, than on all others.

In the contention of Ajax, Ulyſſes's elocution is moſt nervous and perſuading. Where he endeavours to diſſuade mankind (Book xv. of his Metamorphoſes) from indulging carnivorous appetites in his Pythagorean Philoſophy, how emphatical is his reaſoning. Through the whole texture of this work, Ovid diſcovers the higheſt humanity, and a moſt exceeding good nature. The virtuous in diſtreſs are always his concern, and his wit contrives to give them an immortality with himſelf. He ſeems to have taken the moſt pains in the firſt and ſecond book of the Metamorphoſes, though the thirteenth abounds with ſentiments moſt moving, and with calamitous ſentiments introduced with great art. The animated thoughts, and lively images of this poem are numerous. None ever painted more to the life than our author, though ſeveral groteſque figures are now and then ſeen in the ſame group. The moſt plentiful ſeaſon that gives birth to the fineſt flowers, produces alſo the rankeſt weeds. Ovid has ſhewn in one line the brighteſt fancy, ſometimes in the next, the pooreſt affectation.

Ovid was much too fond of trivial witticiſms, which are more to be wondred at, becauſe they were not the faſhion of that age, as puns and quibbles are of this. Virgil, as I remember, is not found trifling in this manner above once or twice. With regard to Ovid's diction, he obſerves, that a great many of his lines end with monaſyllables, and more indeed than ſeems conſiſtent

ſome to a certain indolence of temper, but with more juſtice certainly may be referred to his prudent and ſound judgment, that he did not write more, but choſe rather to reſt his reputation upon a ſmall number of fine things, than to riſque it by undertaking many. Yet tho' all his works would ſcarce make a moderate volume, it may be truly affirmed that we find in them a greater variety of ſentiments than in almoſt any writer of his time (*p*). His epigrams for the glaſſes of the Kit Kat Club, are bold, lively, and free, abounding with that vivacity which conſtitutes extempore wit; whereas the DISPENSARY and CLAREMONT, ſhe whim to have poſſeſſed a cool and regular judgment, which enabled him to make a proper uſe of his warm imagination. His poems to the Earl of Godolphin, and the Duke of Marlborough, are ſerious and ſententious; and yet his epilogue to Cato, and many other lighter pieces, ſhew that he was a great maſter of humour. One circumſtance might very probably contribute to the real value of his works, as well as to his univerſal reputation; and that circumſtance was this, that his hand and his heart went always together. He became very early acquainted with ſome of the wiſeſt and wittieſt, as well as ſome of the ableſt and greateſt, men in the kingdom, to whom he ſteadily adhered in all their fortunes; which, as it did him deſervedly great honour, ſo it turned, in the end, as it uſually does, not a little to his advantage. But in juſtice to his memory it muſt be obſerved, that tho' he was zealous for and conſtant to his party, yet he was very far from having that narrow and malignant ſpirit which induces men to hate thoſe who differ from them in ſentiments. He was indeed, and his writings ſpeak it, as free from this pernicious quality as any man that ever lived; and he felt the juſt conſequences of it, ſince he was beloved, eſteemed, and admired, by the beſt men of all parties [*E*]. The truth is, that he had as many amiable

(*p*) His Writings have been lately publiſhed together by Meſſ. Tonſon, &c.

ſiſtent with the majeſty of heroic verſe. When lines, (continues he) are deſigned to be *ſermoni propriores*, this liberty may be allowable; but not ſo, when the the ſubject requires more ſonorous numbers. Virgil ſeems to endeavour to keep up his verſification to an harmonious dignity; and therefore, when fit words do not offer, with ſome eaſe he'll rather break off in an hemiſtich, than that the line ſhould be lazy and languid. He well knew how eſſential it was in poetry to flatter the ear, and at the ſame time was ſenſible, that this organ grows tired by a conſtant attention to the ſame harmony, and therefore he endeavoured now and then to relieve it by a cadence of pauſes, and a variation of meaſures.

Thoſe that are moſt converſant in claſſic poetry, muſt be ſenſible that Virgil has been much more ſollicitous than Ovid, to keep up his lines to an eaſy and muſical flow; but though the criticks charge the latter with breaking through proſody and grammar, and allowing himſelf too often the licence of græciſms. I take this cenſure to be only an arrogant pedantry in the grammarians, and groundleſs in itſelf; but though it were true, I dare be confident, it is full as juſt upon Virgil. Certainly no-body can imagine, but that theſe two celebrated authors underſtood their own tongue better than the ſcrupulous grammarians of after-ages, who are too dogmatical and ſelf-ſufficient, when they preſume to cenſure either of them for not attending ſtrictly enough to Syntax and the meaſure of verſe. The Latin tongue is a dead language, and none can decide with confidence on the harmony or diſſonance or the numbers of theſe lines, unleſs they were thoroughly acquainted with their pauſes and cadence. They may indeed pronounce with much more aſſurance on their diction, and diſtinguiſh where they have been negligent, and where not finiſhed. There are certainly many lines in Ovid, where he has been downright lazy, and where he might have avoided the appearance of being obviouſly ſo, by a very little application.

Ovid's allegories are either phyſical or natural, moral or hiſtorical. Of the firſt kind, is the fable of Apollo and Python: in the explanation of this, all the Mythologiſts agree, exhalations and miſts, being the conſtant effects of inundations are here diſſipated by the rays of the Sun. Of the ſecond kind, are Acteon torn to peices by his own pack of dogs; and Eriſichton ſtarved by the diſeaſe of hunger. Theſe two allegories ſeem to ſignify, that extravagance and luxury end in want. Of the third, is the ſtory of the rape of Europa. Hiſtory ſays, ſhe was daughter to Agenor, and carried by the Candians in a gally, bearing a bull in the ſtern, in order to be married to one of their Kings, named Jupiter. As to Ovid's being cenſured for being too free with the characters of his Gods, it muſt be conſidered, that what appeared an abſurdity in our Poet, is not ſo much his own fault, as that of the times before him.

The character of the Gods in the old heroick age, repreſented them unjuſt in their actions, mutable in their deſigns, partial in their favours, ignorant of events, ſcurrillous in their language; ſome of the ſuperior hierarchy, treating one another with injurious brutalities, and are often guilty of ſuch indecencies and miſbehaviour, as the loweſt of mortals would bluſh to own. The commentators may endeavour to hide ſome abſurdities in the Iliad, under the veil of allegories; but the reader, that conſiders the whole texture of that poem, will find that the author's meaning, and their interpretations, are often as unlike, as the imaginary heroes of his time are to the real ones of ours. Ovid was ſo far from paying a blind difference to the venerable name of his Greecian predeceſſor, in the character of his Gods; that when Jupiter puniſhes Andromeda for the crimes of her mother, he calls him *injuſtus Ammon* (Metamorph. Book iv.) and takes commonly an honourable care of the decorum of the Godhead, when their actions are conſiſtent with the divinity of their character. His allegories include ſome religious or inſtructive moral, wrapt up in a familiar perſpicuity, and the reader cannot fail of obſerving how many leſſons of morality Ovid has given us in the courſe of his fables. To conclude, the poem of the Metamorpoſes has been the ample magazine which has furniſhed the greateſt Poets of the following ages with fancy and alluſions; and the moſt celebrated Painters with ſubjects and deſigns.

[*E*] *By the beſt men of all parties.*] We find in the Diſpenſary, and indeed in all the writings of Sir Samuel Garth, a ſtrict regard paid to merit, and due praiſes given to men of very different parties; the following lines, to avoid numerous quotations, will ſufficiently prove the truth of what is here advanced.

In ſenſe *and* numbers *if you would excel,*
Read Wycherley, *conſider* Dryden *well:*
In one, *what* vig'rous turns *of* fancy *ſhine!*
In th' other, ſyrens *warble in each line.*
If Dorſet's *ſprightly muſe but touch the lyre,*
The Smiles *and* Graces *melt in ſoft deſire,*
And little loves confeſs their amorous fire.
The gentle Iſis *claims the ivy crown,*
To bind th' immortal brows of Addiſon:
As tuneful Congreve *tries his rural ſtrains,*
Pan *quits the woods, the liſt'ning* fawns *the plains,*
And Philomel *in notes like his complains.*
And Britain *ſince* (*) Pauſanias *was writ,*
Knows Spartan *virtue, and* Athenian *wit.*
When Stepney *paints the god-like acts of Kings;*
Or what Apollo *dictates,* Prior *ſings,*
The banks of Rhine, *a pleas'd attention ſhow,*
And ſilver Sequana *forgets to flow.*

(*) Written by a Nobleman; brought on the Stage by Capt. Southerne, who dedicated to Anthony Henly, Eſq;

We

amiable qualities to recommend him, as could be well found in one perſon. He was a general ſcholar, without the leaſt tincture of affectation or taint of pedantry. Humane in his profeſſion, and not more ready to viſit than to relieve the neceſſitous. His converſation was free and ſprightly, his wit flowing and agreeable, and always tempered by affability and good nature. He was cenſured for his love of pleaſure, and under ſome ſuſpicion in reſpect to his religious principles (*q*); with reſpect to the former, it would be eaſier to excuſe than to defend him; and in regard to the latter, ſome who knew him intimately have thought that he was injured; and indeed it is not eaſy to conceive, how a man bleſſed with ſo much good ſenſe, and ſo ſolid an underſtanding, ſhould err in matters of ſuch high importance, and which ſo nearly concerned his own peace. He died after a ſhort illneſs, which he bore with great patience, January the eighteenth 1718-19, and was buried on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, in the church of Harrow on the Hill, in the county of Middleſex, in a vault which he had cauſed to be built for him and his family (*r*), leaving behind him an only daughter, married to the Honourable Colonel William Boyle, a younger ſon of the Honourable Colonel Henry Boyle, who was brother to the late, and uncle to the preſent, Earl of Burlington (*s*).

(*q*) Reimanni, Hiſtor. univerſalis Atheiſmi, p. 463.

(*r*) Chronological Diary, A. D. 1719, p. 5.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 259.

We have already ſeen how warmly Mr Addiſon defended our author's writings, when they were attacked merely upon a principal of party; and it would be no difficult thing to cite, many compliments to him, or on his writings, from ſome of the greateſt men his age produced; but what follows, will abundantly anſwer our intention.

Lord LANDSDOWNE, on Dr GARTH's illneſs.

MACHAON ſick! in every face we find,
His danger is the danger of mankind;
Whoſe art protecting, nature could expire,
But by a deluge, or the general fire.
More lives he ſaves, than periſh in our wars,
And faſter than a plague deſtroys repairs;
The bold carowſer and adventurous dame,
Nor fear the fever, nor refuſe the flame,
Safe in his ſkill from all reſtraint ſet free,
But conſcious ſhame, remorſe, or piety.
Sire of all arts, defend thy darling ſon,
Reſtore the *man*, whoſe life's ſo much *our own*,
On whom like *Adam* the whole worlds reclin'd,
And by preſerving GARTH, preſerve *mankind*.

The celebrated Mr Pope, in a letter to a friend, gives the following account of our author's death, his ſenſe of it, and his own opinion of the character he deſerved. 'The beſt natured of men, ſays he, Sir Samuel Garth, 'has left me in the trueſt concern for his loſs. His death 'was very heroical, and yet unaffected enough to have 'made a Saint or a Philoſopher famous. But ill tongues, 'and worſe hearts, have branded even his laſt moments, 'as wrongfully as they did his life with irreligion. You 'muſt have heard many tales on this ſubject; but if 'ever there was a good Chriſtian, without knowing 'himſelf to be ſo, it was Dr Garth (4).' This letter is dated Dec. 12, 1718; and his free and candid ſentiments of this great man, as they are infinitely better, ſo will they probably laſt much longer, than any monumental hiſtory. E

(4) Pope's Works, Vol. VI. p. 99.

GASCOIGNE (Sir WILLIAM), Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, in the reign of King Henry IV. was nobly deſcended, of a very antient and numerous family, which has been ſeated ſome hundred years in Yorkſhire; where, and in other parts, it appears to have flouriſhed in very honourable diſtinction, at leaſt from the Conqueſt. As the name is derived from Gaſcony in France; as it appears in the roll of *Battle-Abbey* (*a*), among thoſe who entred this Kingdom with William the Norman, and as one of his anceſtors, brought hither by King Henry II, was, in right of his wife Eleanor, Duke of Gaſcoin (*b*), it has been thought that the family was not fixed here, more early than in the former, as it might not be more illuſtriouſly ſo, before the latter of thoſe Kings; yet it's firſt entrance may not have been with the earlieſt of theſe, but it might be more antiently ſettled here, than in either of thoſe reigns; as many, out of families long inhabiting this iſland, who, wearied with Harold's Uſurpation, went over to join the Conqueror, and being entred in that roll, after their return, appear as then firſt entring the nation with him (*c*); and as other eminent progenitors have been traced thereof, up to the Saxon times, in ſome of the elaborate pedigrees, which have been preſerved therein; or who, at leaſt, were then, at the Conqueſt, of Saxon names and lineage; tho' the name of Gaſcoigne appears not annexed to them, becauſe ſurnames were not cuſtomary, or hereditary among us, till after the entrance of the ſaid William the Norman (*d*), and then it was common for local names, eſpecially of French derivation, to ſwallow up thoſe that were perſonal. The family thus deſcending through, or engrafted with, different nations, may help us to account for the different ways of ſpelling it's name. For tho' we have here, in the head or title of this article, preferred that orthography, or ſpelling thereof, which is now, and has long been, moſt eſtabliſhed and received, as we generally find it in our moſt antient law-books, and as his deſcendants retain it to this day; yet hath it been written, as ſome antiquaries of his own county have obſerved (*e*), from very authentic precedents, more variouſly than perhaps any other among us [*A*]. It has alſo been obſerved from his pedigree, that the chriſtian

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, edit. fol. 1615, p. 106.

(*b*) Memoirs of the family of Gaſcoigne, communicated by a deſcendant thereof.

(*c*) Dr Fuller's Church Hiſt. fol. 153.

(*d*) Camden's Remains, edit. 4to. 1614, p. 110, &c.

(*e*) Mr Hopkinſon's Pedigrees of the Yorkſhire gentry, MS. and Mr Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, more particularly cited in the next note.

[*A*] *His name has been more variouſly written than perhaps any other among us.*] Surnames are ſubject to mutation, according to the caprice, not only of ſtrangers, but their owners themſelves. Tho' many are for retrenching every redundant letter, and making names correſpondent, with the language of the times, to the moſt graceful, or converſible manner of ſtile or ſpeech, and ſo as they may be rendered moſt ſmooth, eaſy and familiar, to ſpeaking and writing, reading and remembrance: yet others will pride themſelves in retaining every mark of antiquity in their names, as the moſt conciſe cognizance, and genuine teſtimony in them, both of reverence and authority, how inelegant ſoever to the eye or ear, in themſelves; or upbraiding of novelty in others; and urge, they may be found upon conſideration, to be leſs diſguiſed in their obſolete orthography, than in any modern maſquerade. Beſides, ignorance as well as willfulneſs, is ſo much greater, in ſpelling the names of particular perſons erroneouſly, than the general words in a language, that it is no wonder the greateſt pſeudography is moſt often propagated therein; eſpecially of ſuch families as, having been eminently and fruitfully deſperſed through different countries, have had their names ſubject to the different impreſſions of their ſeveral

christian name of William has been preserved from the Conquest so successively in the heir or eldest son of the family, that the like in others is rarely to be met with; there being no fewer than fifteen *Williams*, of whom six or eight were Knights, in a lineal descent; that is, seven before this Sir William the Judge, who was the eighth lineal heir by whom that christian name was borne; and it was preserved also as regularly in his eldest descendents, for seven generations after him, as may be more particularly seen in the note subjoined [*B*].

The

ral dialects. From some of these, or such like motives, many instances of such diversity or transposition, in spelling of names may be accounted for. Dr Thomas Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, has quoted five or six authors, who have differently written the name of Sir Gervas Elwis, tho' neither of them right (1): and Dr Fuller observes, in his *Discourse upon the Alteration of Surnames*, that the name of Villiers, has been written, in their old evidences, fourteen several ways (2). Yet in a volume of the principal families in Yorkshire, whereof divers transcripts having been made, it is well known among the gentry of that county (3), we have observed this name of Gascoigne is still more variously spelt; and Mr Thoresby has printed no less than nineteen variations thereof, as they have been distinguished out of the old deeds and records, by those who have laboured most extensively in the pedigree of this family: and, as he has transmitted them, they stand thus (4). Gaskin, Gauscin, Gascoigne (5); Gascoygne, Gascoinge (6); Gascoyn (7), Gascun, Gasken; Gaskyn, Gaskun, Gaston (8); Gastone, Gastoyn (9); Gastoynge, Gasquin, Gasquyne; Gawsken, Vascon and Guascogn. But there are two or three different spellings more, that have been occasionally used, as the true name, not wantonly studied for the sake of variety, and are not here, in that list mentioned: one whereof, may appear as ancient or authentic as most of them; and that is written, de Gasquone; another is Gaskoigne; as may hereafter more particularly occur. But these various readings are all now, chiefly reduced, either to Gascoigne, after the shorter sound of the French; or Gascoyne, to smoothen the spelling, and keep the sound of the dipthong open, after the broader manner of the English pronunciation; tho' in current speech it is more briefly sounded Gaskin.

[*B*] *Fifteen Williams successively, in a lineal descent, as may be seen in the note.*] Certain surnames have been most frequently preserved, and devolved through divers families, as from other occasions, so chiefly in memory of some eminent ancestors who bore them; as that of Frederic, in the Tilneys; Everard, in the Digbys; Marmaduke, in the Constables, Wyvils, &c. or in respect to such Princes or Potentates, who had conferred honours upon some branches thereof: and, as in regard to others, so to the Williams in particular. The name of *William* is of German original, and was used with us in the Saxon times; though it was not in such vogue or request, till the establishment here of William the Conquerer. It is a compound word; and as *Helm* signifies *Defence*, in the German tongue, according to Martin Luther, and Kenhelm, defence of kindred (10), so *Willy*, *Villi* or *Billi*, with the Germans, like *Poly*, before several names among the Grecians, signifies *Many*; and consequently *Wilhelm*, now mollified into *William*, *Much Defence*, or *Defence of Many*: though, as some Etymologists have derived the *Willow* tree from it's *Willingness* to grow (11), others have turned *William* into a *Willing Defender* (12). In several families, which had any dependance upon the Conqueror, and his line, especially those who had received grants of pardons, privileges, offices, lands, or seignories, his name was thus transmitted, and became so predominant, among those of eminent rank, that, as our last cited Antiquary has recorded, upon a certain festival day, in the court of King Henry II, when Sir William Saint John, and Sir William Fitz-Hamon, two special officers, had commanded that none, *but of the name of William*, should dine in the great chamber with them, they were accompanied with, *an hundred and twenty* Williams, *all Knights* (13). And as many of these, in grateful remembrance of those Princes, who had conferred honours, promotions, or estates upon them, or their ancestors, had their royal names engrafted on their own, to spread and survive in themselves and posterity; so it is probable, from what may hereafter appear, that for such like favours, the like commemoration was preserved, with such constant and singular gratitude, in this of the *Gascoignes*. Among other names derived from, or revived in memory of, our most famous Princes, that of Henry, but more especially of Edward, has also been very numerous; insomuch, that Dr Plot has taken notice of it as very observable (14), that there were nine Sir Edwards successively in the Family of Littleton, of Pillaton Hall, but of this of the Gascoignes, as we said before, there were no fewer than fifteen Williams, of whom six or eight were Knights, in a lineal descent; that is, seven before, and seven after the celebrated Sir William Gascoigne, the Chief Justice; tho' as some of our Antiquaries and Heralds have truly observed, there may be an inconvenience herein; and if a man should be forced to prove his descent, this identity of names, would be apt to perplex or confound it, and make it hard to prove the donor and the donee in *formedon*, or distinguish the one from the other (15). The most copious pedigree we have in print, of this family, is that extracted by Mr Ralph Thoresby, from a very extensive one, which was lent him in the year 1696, by John Gascoigne, of Parlington, Esq; the father of Sir Edward Gascoigne, Bart. of *Nova Scotia*. It is drawn out in sixteen large sheets or skins of parchment, curiously illuminated, and attested by Sir Henry St George, Norroy. In this extract, Mr Thoresby traces not the Gascoignes so high as Ailricus, a noble Saxon of this family, who was banished by the Conqueror, and has omitted most of the females and younger branches (16): nevertheless his extract appears considerably copious, and begins, if not so high as the Conquest, but few degrees below it, as it contains a line of *seven descents* before the Judge; and all of them, as we observed, are named *William*. Of the *four* first, the wives are not mentioned. The *fifth*, was William Gascoigne of Harwood; who married Elizabeth, the heir of W. Bolton. The *sixth*, is called *Sir William Gascoigne*, in one account (17), though not mentioned as a Knight in this pedigree; and he, by Manfild, or Matilda, if it should be translated Maud, daughter of John de Gawkethorp, had William Gascoigne of Gawthorp; who by Agnes his wife, had five sons and two daughters; that is to say, 1. This *Sir William Gascoigne*, the Chief-Justice. 2. Nicholas. 3. Richard. 4. Thomas; and 5. John, a Clerk: the daughters were, Anne, married to Sir Robert Constable; and Elizabeth, to John Aske of Olstroppe. The Chief Justice was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Alexander Mowbray (18), of Kirtlington, Esq; by whom he had one son, *Sir William Gascoigne*, as Walsingham calls him, of Gawthorp, a brave commander in the wars of France under King Henry V (19). who, by Jane, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Wyman, had *Sir William Gascoigne* of Gawthorp, High-Sheriff of Yorkshire, 20 Henry VI; who by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Clarell, Esq; and relict of John Fitz-Williams, had four sons, and five daughters; the first whereof was, *Sir William Gascoigne*; another was named John, of Thorp on the Hill, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir William Swillington of Thorp, and was ancestor to the Gascoignes of Thorp: that Sir William, by Joan, Daughter of John, the son of Sir Ralph Nevil, of Oversley in Warwickshire, had *Sir William Gascoigne* of Gawthorp; to whom, at the death of the said John, in 1482, when Sir William was aged thirty years, fell Oversley, Merston-Boteler, with other Lordships or Manors, in the the said county of Warwick; which were sold by the fourth descendent from this, who was Nevil's heir, to Thomas Lord Cromwell; by whose attainder they escheated to the Crown (20). That Sir William was created Knight of the Bath at the Queen's coronation in the third, not the first, of King Henry VII (21), Anno 1487; and marrying Margaret, Daughter of Henry Piercy, the third Earl of Northumberland, had by her

(1) See his *Baconiana*, 8vo. 1679. p. 9.

(2) Worthies of Eng. fol. 51.

(3) A Collection of the Pedigrees and Descents of several of the Gentry in the West-Riding of the County of York: By Mr John Hopkinson of Lofthouse, near Leeds, MS. 4to. 1666. With Continuations and Additions, by Rich. Thornton and Ralph Thoresby, Esqrs. Further of the original author, see Mr Francis Drake's Antiq. of York, in the Preface.

(4) Thoresby's Antiq. of Leedes, fol. 1715, p. 178.

(5) So most often in the records, reports, &c. and so as we remember written by Mr Rich. Gascoigne the Antiquary.

(6) So by Fuller in his account of the Judge, but in others of the family as we spell it.

(7) It was Gascoyne in the seneſtral inscription at Harwood: so also in Clem. Maydestone: and so by one or more branches of the family, to this day.

(8) So in the old title of Dr Gascoigne's MS. Life of St Jerom.

(9) So in Hall's Chronicle, anno. 3. Rich. III. fol. 44.

(10) Camden's Remains, edit. 4to. 1614. p. 77.

(11) John Minsheu's Guide to Tongues, fol. 1627.

(12) Camden's Remains, p. 90.

(13) Idem, as he cites it from the authority of Robt. Montensis, under the year 1173.

(14) Dr Robt. Plot's Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire, fol. 1686. p. 271.

(15) Vide Sampson Erdeswick's Survey of Staffordshire, &c. 8vo. 1717. And Camden's Remains, p. 49.

(16) Thoresby's Antiq. of Leeds, fol. 176, 178.

(17) Memoirs of the Gascoigne family, MS. as above.

(18) So the printed Pedigree in Mr Thoresby. And so in the Eng. Baronettage, edit. 8vo. 1741. Vol. IV, p. 336. He is called Roger Mowbray in the MS. Memoirs of the Gascoignes before mentioned, and said also to have been a Chief Justice. But in Dugdale we find none of the name later than John Mowbray, a Justice of the Common Pleas, 1360. However it was thought, by this marriage, that Judge Gascoigne was related to Tho. Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, in an old Vol. of genealogical tables among the MSS. of the late Peter Le Neve, Esq; Norroy.

(19) Tho. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. fol. 402. No. 40. E. Hall, &c.

(20) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire, 2d. edit. fol. 1730. Vol. I. p. 557.

(21) Idem, Vol. II. p. 836.

The family was poſſeſſed of lands in various parts of that county, particularly in *Bingley*, *Sykeſted*, *Ottelay*, *Plumpton*, *Abbyrforth*, *Ledwodhouſe*, *Allerton by the water*, and other mannors

her Sir *William Gaſcoigne*, who was twice married; to Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Froynel, and after, to Margaret, daughter of Richard Lord Latimer; by both whom he had iſſue, and by the firſt, *Sir William Gaſcoigne* of Gawthorp (*), who was High-Sheriff of Yorkſhire, the eleventh of Henry VII: he married firſt, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams; and afterwards, Lady Lucy, daughter and heir of John, Marqueſs of Montacute: by the former Lady, he had *William Gaſcoigne*, Eſq; beſides two ſons, who died iſſueleſs, and three daughters. The ſaid William, by his wife Beatrice, daughter of Sir Richard Tempeſt, had four ſons, who died young, and Margaret his ſole heir; in whom this line terminated; ſhe married Thomas Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouſe in Yorkſhire, Eſq; in 1552 (22), and brought a great eſtate into that family. The ſaid Thomas, was Sheriff of Yorkſhire in the 24th of Eliz. and had by this wife, four daughters, and one ſon, who was Sir William, the father of Thomas, the firſt Earl of Strafford. Thus we have given the eldeſt deſcendents from the Chief Juſtice, by his firſt Wife. His ſecond, was Joan, daughter of Sir William Pickering, Knight, and relict of Sir Ralph Grayſtock, Baron of the Exchequer (23), by whom he had a ſon, James Gaſcoigne, of Cardington, in Bedfordſhire. Dr Fuller has mentioned and diſtinguiſhed, from good authority, a younger brother of Gawthorp Houſe, named William Gaſcoigne, who was, long after that James, ſettled at Cardington nigh Bedford, by marrying the inheritrix thereof. He was Sheriff of Bedford and Bucks, the 22 Henry VII, and again the 5th and 9th of Henry VIII. He was alſo knighted by this King, and Comptroller of the Houſhold to Cardinal Wolſey (24).

Nicholas Gaſcoigne of Laſingcroft, next brother to the Chief Juſtice, was, by his wife Mary, the daughter of Sir Hugh Cliderhow, father of ſeveral children; and anceſtor of others, who married into the families of Beckwith, Vavaſour, Ardington, Ingleby, &c. From him was deſcended John Gaſcoigne of Laſingcroft, who died in 1557; and left, among other children, John, his third ſon and heir, of whom hereafter; and George Gaſcoigne, Eſq; (25) firſt of Oldhirſt, who by Mary, daughter of John Stokeſley, was father of Sir Nicholas Gaſcoigne of Surry, who was knighted in 1603, and died in 1617; alſo of Richard Gaſcoign, Eſq; the celebrated Antiquary, and other children. This Richard was born at Sherfield, near Brentwood in Eſſex, *Anno* 1579, as he left it written in a note with his own hand, on the title page of a book which was part of his own library (26). He was educated at Cambridge, whether in St John's College, we are not ſure; but in that Univerſity he made others eminent for their learning beſides himſelf. He was famous among the Hiſtorians and Antiquaries, for his manuſcript Collections, before the year 1622; and as Sir Robert Cotton, St Low Kniveton, Mr W. Liſle, the Saxon Antiquary, of Wilbrougham in Cambridgeſhire, beſides others, imparted of their greateſt curioſities to him; ſo was he no leſs communicative of his own choice and invaluable collections, to ſeveral who were cultivating the like ſtudies with himſelf (27). Nor ſpared he to employ his intereſt, with ſuch of his friends, who could beſt forward their productions to the publick. Soon after Mr Dugdale was firſt brought to London by Sir Simon Archer, in 1638, and recommended by Sir Henry Spelman, to Mr Roger Dodſworth, Mr Gaſcoigne, who had great acquaintance with Sir Chriſtopher, afterwards the Lord Hatton, a noble encourager of theſe ſtudies, ſo effectually introduced Mr Dugdale to this worthy patron, that he was not only made welcome, with all expreſſions of kindneſs, but actual readineſs to promote his labours (28); which turned greatly to the benefit and advancement thereof. Wherefore, Dugdale, afterwards recording ſome particulars we have before ſpoken of, relating to the deſcendents of Nicholas Gaſcoigne of Laſingcroft, brother, as we obſerved to the Chief Juſtice, and their alliance with the Wentworths, has gratefully added theſe words, 'Nor muſt I forget that, likewiſe from the 'ſame ſtock, is alſo ſprung my ſpecial friend, Richard 'Gaſcoigne, late of Branham Biggen, in the county of 'York, Eſq; a gentleman well worthy of the beſt re'ſpects from all lovers of antiquities; to whoſe good 'affections and abilities in thoſe ſtudies, his own fami'ly and ſeveral others of much eminency, allied there'to, are not a little obliged (29).' He was related, as we have ſaid above, to the Wentworth family, by the marriage into it of a female heir; and as ſhe enriched it with a large eſtate, ſo did he, with no ſmall portion of honour; by reviving, from his own extraordinary treaſury of antiquities, ſuch a numerous generation of the moſt eminent anceſtors therein. Some copy of this copious, painful, and accurate work, was made by Dr Johnſon, as appears among the voluminous collections he gathered for the *Antiquities of Yorkſhire* (30). For theſe, and other reſpects, Mr Gaſcoigne was much eſteemed in the Strafford family; as by Thomas, the firſt Earl, ſo alſo by his ſon William, after his death, Earl of Strafford, at Wentworth Woodhouſe. His picture was there preſerved, repreſenting him with a freſh healthy complexion, in his very old age, when his head was reverendly ſilver'd over with grey hairs. It is a half length, ſitting in a chair; attir'd in a white damaſk gown, flowered with black; and in his hand, an old parchment deed or charter, folded up, with a broad ſeal of yellow wax appendant: but if it could cover the poſthumous treatment of it's original's memory, as gracefully as it does it's length and breadth of the wainſcot, it would ſurely then be a moſt honourable ornament. Several printed books were alſo preſerved in the Library there, as hath been in ſome others, relating to the Hiſtory and Peerage of England, the Antiquities of the Counties, and Monumental Inſcriptions in the Churches, wherein any pedigrees or deſcents of noted families are mentioned; which were many of them laboriouſly corrected, and enlarged with marginal notes, and additional tables of Genealogy, written in the fine, fair, little hand, of the ſaid Richard Gaſcoigne. By which we may perceive, he ſpent much of his long life, eſpecially the latter part, in theſe Studies. What family he had, is but briefly mentioned. We find in the printed pedigree, that he was, or had been married, to the daughter of Mr Colles, or, as others ſeem to have corrected it, Collet (31): and there was an old gentleman of this name, in the reign of K. Charles I, who was chief Clerk, or Deputy Keeper of the Records, in the Tower of London, under Sir John Buroughs (32); but we know not that this was the father of his wife, nor what iſſue Mr Gaſcoigne had by her. Though he was often at the Univerſities, at York, and at London, ſearching the libraries, archives, and offices of record; or at the ſeats of his learned and honourable friends, augmenting his antique collections from their family records; as Mr Henry Ferrers of Baddeſley had alſo gathered part of his many volumes of Antiquities from the living, as well as the dead, yet his own dwelling, or proper abode, was at Bramham Biggin in Yorkſhire; where it is thought he died; and, as we compute, about the year 1658; having ſeen ſome books, with his writing and illuſtrations in them, ſo late, as within one or two years of that time (33); when he muſt have been aged near fourſcore. As for his vaſt magazine of moſt valuable and venerable antiquities, which once filled the rooms of a tall ſtone-tower, their duſty dormitory, or long unmoleſted aſylum, and what became of them; ſo many original charters, patents, deeds, and other evidences, ſome in the Saxon character; ſo many rolls of pedigrees, creations, ſucceſſions; court-rolls, and others of limned portraits, from old illuminated manuſcripts, feneſtral paintings, and monumental effigies, with their inſcriptions, arms, &c. beſides his infinite extracts, as well from ancient regiſters, ledgers, couchers, viſitations, obitals, wills, eſcheats, and all ſorts of other records, as from the painful reſearches of many other antiquaries, which enabled him, ſo expertly to make, as well all thoſe additions and improvements in the printed books of Heraldry, Genealogy, Topography, &c. aforeſaid, as to draw out the many volumes from them, in manuſcript, which he did, of our moſt eminent families, eſpecially in Yorkſhire, even throughout the

(*) Quære, Which Sir William Gaſcoigne of Yorkſhire relieved ſo many, with a rare medicine he had for the Eyes; in Dr William Bulleyn's Bulwark of Defence againſt Sickneſs, &c. fol. 1562. p. 47.

(22) Hiſtorical Collections relating to the Lineage, Actions, and Character of Tho. Earl of Strafford, MS.

(23) So the printed Pedigree; but Sir William Dugdale mentions Henry de Grayſtoke, made Baron of the Exchequer, Oct. 6, 1358. and no other of the name in his Chron. Series.

(24) Fuller's Worthies in Bedfordſhire, fol. 125.

(25) Quære, Whether this is a different perſon from that Geo. Gaſcoigne, Eſq; who was a Lawyer, Soldier, and eminent Poet, in Q. Elizabeth's reign; who lived and died, as A. Wood ſays, at Walthamſtow in Eſſex, in Octob. or Nov. 1578. And whether both are different from another of the name we meet with, in an old Tract intituled, A Remembrance of the well employ'd Life, and godly end, of Geo. Gaſcoigne, Eſq; who deceaſed at Stalmford in Lincolnſhire, Oct. 7, 1577. By Geo. Whetſtones, Gent. an eye-witneſs of his godly and charitable end in this world, 4to. then printed.

(26) Everard. Dygbeius, De Arte Natandi; Libri duo, 4to. 1587, &c.

(27) As may be ſeen among the MSS. of Mr Roger Dodſworth, at Oxford. Alſo thoſe of Dr Nathaniel Johnſon, &c.

(28) Memoirs of Sir William Dugdale's Life, before his Hiſt. of St Paul's Cathedral, edit. fol. 1716. p. 6, 7. Alſo A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. in Faſti. fol. 9.

(29) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, 2d. edit. fol. 1730. Tom. II. p. 857.

(30) That Copy is inticuled, A Tranſcript of a large Volume of the Pedigree of the moſt noble Family of Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouſe in Yorkſhire. Compoſed by Mr Richard Gaſcoign, a learned Antiquary. Catal. Libror. Manuſcriptor. Angliæ et Hiberniæ. fol. Oxon. 1697. Tom. II. fol. 102.

(31) The Baronetage of Eng. Vol. IV. p. 337.

(32) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, as before.

(33) Mr Gaſcoigne's elaborate Emendations and Enlargements of the Pedigrees, &c. in W. Burton's Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, fol. 1622. preſerved in Jeſus College Cambridge, appear in almoſt every page. And in a fair Tranſcript which has been made in another copy of that book, it may be ſeen, p. 35, that they were written by Mr Gaſcoigne in the Year 1656. Many of theſe notes are alſo preſerved in Mr Dodſworth's MS Collections, at Oxford.

mannors (f); but their principal ſeat was at *Harwood*, till Sir William Gaſcoigne, grandfather to the Chief Juſtice, married Maude the daughter and heireſs of John de Gawthorp; from

(f) Memoirs of the Gaſcoigne family, MS. as above.

the alphabet; each volume being diſtinguiſhed by a letter thereof: what became of all this ineſtimable treaſure, I ſay, except thoſe alphabetical volumes, more happily eſtranged; and by what innovating, intimidating, or other infatuating, and miſconceived motives, they met with a moſt undeſerved fate, from whence it was leaſt to be expected, being all, without diſtinction, wilfully ſacrificed to the no leſs undiſtinguiſhing flames, as it is elſewhere obſerved (34), about ſeventy years after the death of their learned and worthy collector, it might be more tedious than agreeable, in this place, more amply to relate. However, thus much may be ſaid, of what has been thought thereof, that, whatever ſimilitude may appear in the action, there was a great diſparity between the motives to that ſacrifice, and thoſe, whereby our famous Whittington (35) is ſaid to have teſtified his generous loyalty, and gratitude, for the honours he had received; when, in his coſtly *Fire of Spices*, far leſs precious, leſs profuſe, than that of thoſe *Antiquities!* further to brighten, and enrich the fragrant flame, he made a burnt-offering of thoſe manuſcript obligations, whereby his princely benefactor had engaged himſelf to reſtore the treaſures wherewith he had been intruſted (36). All we have more to obſerve here, of this learned Antiquary, is that, whether it was a different perſon, or not, of the ſame name and family, whoſe genealogy is preſerved in one of our publick libraries (37), we have not been yet certified. The third ſon and heir of John of Laſingcroſt before mentioned, and uncle to this Richard was John Gaſcoigne of Parlington, Eſq; who by Maud, the daughter of William Arthington of Caſtley, Eſq; had beſides younger ſons John Gaſcoigne of Laſingcroft, Parlington, and Barnbow, the eldeſt; who was created Baronet of *Nova Scotia*, by King Charles I. And this Sir John Gaſcoigne, dying May 3, 1637, his eldeſt ſon, by his lady, Anne, Daughter of John Ingleby, Eſq; was Sir Thomas Gaſcoigne, Baronet, of Elmett in the *Weſt-Riding* of Yorkſhire; who, being above eighty-five years of age, very deaf, and ſuperannuated, in February 1679, was indicted at the King's-Bench-Bar Weſtminſter, for high-treaſon, upon the evidence of Robert Bolron, and one Mowbray, his ſervants; the former of whom, had been ſued on his bonds for debt to Sir Thomas, and ejected from his farm for default of rent; and the latter alſo diſcarded, and diſgraced, for defrauding his ſaid maſter of money: yet one or both pretended to have been, notwithſtanding, engaged by him in a conſpiracy, to deſtroy the King, for a large ſum of money, and bring in the Popiſh Religion (38). The Chief Juſtice Scroggs, left the Court, when he ſaw the malicious contrivance detecting, and the evidence againſt Sir Thomas likely to be invalidated: and though the other Judges would have biaſs'd the Jury, to find him guilty; yet, theſe, ſeeing how exceptionable the witneſſes againſt him were, and how improbable, that Sir Thomas ſhould ſhew ſo little favour to thoſe, at whoſe mercy it was pretended, he had truſted his life, now ſo much endanger'd by the ſpirit of revenge, and avarice in them, upon ſuch proſpects eſpecially as they had of reward, for their accuſation, the ſaid Jury brought him in *Not Guilty:* And 'tis remarked, as an inſtance in this tryal, of the new witneſſes of the plot, which were then riſing every day, that if a ſervant had cheated, or robbed his maſter, he would ward off the proſecution, by ſwearing him into the conſpiracy (39). But Hiſtory might accommodate us with more agreeable particulars, of ſome ſucceeding deſcendents in this line of the Gaſcoignes of Laſingcroft, Parlington, and Barnbow, were it to be continued down to Sir Edward Gaſcoigne, Baronet, beforementioned; whoſe benefactions to the Cathedral Church of York, are recorded by the hiſtorian of that city (40); or thoſe other gentlemen of merit and diſtinction, who are now living; among whom we ſhall only mention, John Gaſcoigne, Eſq; Rear-Admiral, the preſent chief of one branch of the family; to whom, and to another John Gaſcoyne of London, Eſq; who is related to the alderman of this city, of the ſame name, we here make our grateful acknowledgement, and return of thanks, for the favour of their communications, relating to this article of the Lord Chief Juſtice. The next line, of the Judge's ſecond brother, Richard Gaſcoigne of Hunſlet, Eſq; is but ſhort (41). He is diſtinguiſhed in the records, to have been Marſhal of the Exchequer, by the grant for life, of Thomas, Earl of Kent (42). Some of our old writers pretending to give us the names of his father and mother, have miſtaken both (43). He married, according to the pedigree, Anne, daughter and coheir of Henry Ellis, Eſq; and dying in 1422, left a ſon named Thomas, and two daughters, Alice and Elizabeth: the firſt was married to Sir Thomas Nevil, Knt. and the ſecond to Sir John Everingham. That Thomas was bred at Oriel College in Oxford, and became a learned Doctor of Divinity; famous both abroad and at home. In 1434, he was Vice-Chancellor, and in 1442, Chancellor of that Univerſity, which he reſign'd about three years after (44). He was the author of many books, all written in Latin it ſeems; at leaſt, the titles of them are all in that language. Some ancient copies of them are preſerved in many Libraries; but we meet with none that have been ever printed. The moſt conſiderable of them are, *An Epiſtle of the Proceedings at the Council of Florence*, in Trinity College Library at Cambridge; his *Narrative of the Decollation of Archbiſhop Scrope*, among the manuſcripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; his *Life of St Jerom*, in the Library at Magdalen College, in that Univerſity; his *Complaint againſt the Election of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in* 1443, among Bodley's MSS. and beſides three or four more, upon ſcripture arguments (45), his *Theological Dictionary*, in Lincoln College; the largeſt, moſt noted, and moſt cited of all his works. Among the additions to one of our old Hiſtorians, ſet forth by the late Mr Thomas Hearne, he has given us an extract, or collection in ſeveral pages, of ſuch particulars in this Dictionary, as are moſt enriched with hiſtorical intelligence (*). As for the author, there is a letter written to him by Wolfard Kober, in 1456, preſerved among the manuſcripts in Baliol College, Oxford; and, as appears in the pedigree, he died on the 13th of March 1457, but in other accounts, that he was flouriſhing three years later (46): And as for the Judge's two youngeſt brothers, Thomas and John, beforementioned, we have already ſaid as much of them, as we have met with. But, whereas there was one Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne, who has been looked for in this pedigree, and thought to have been inadvertently omitted, we ſhall, to prevent any further miſapprehenſion, here briefly ſhew, how likely it is, that he had no right of admittance therein. This Knight, having the reputation of being well acquainted with the German intereſt, and policies, was employed by King Charles II, in the quality of his envoy to the Imperial Court at Vienna, in order to negotiate a match, which was then propoſed between his Majeſty's brother, James, Duke of York, and the Archduchеſs of Inſpruck. While Sir Bernard reſided there, in the Emperor's court, he wrote an hiſtorical and political diſcourſe upon the German Empire, which he then ſent over in a letter to King Charles; and it was, in the beginning of the late Queen Anne's reign, ſet forth in print (47). There were alſo publiſhed at the ſame time with it, among other ſtate papers, written by ſeveral other perſons, the epiſtolary correſpondence which was held by Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, then Secretary of State, with Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne, on the occaſion of the ſaid match. They conſiſt of about thirty letters in number, and contain ſome reaſons and arguments to be uſed, or directions to be followed, in that negotiation, by the ſaid Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne (48). But the ingenious editor of theſe papers, in his prefatory diſcourſe prefixed to them, gives us to underſtand, that the ſaid *Deſcription of Germany*, was writ by no countryman of ours, and conſequently, as we preſume, unallied to the Engliſh family of Gaſcoignes before ſpoken of; for where he has given ſome character of it, in regard to the phraſe or diction in which it is written, he confeſſes that, 'The ſtyle thereof is ſomewhat obſcure 'or harſh; which ought to be pardoned, ſays he, in a 'foreigner, as Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne was, being a *Florentine* by birth; but, adds he, the importance and 'faithfulneſs

(34) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, Vol. III. 8vo. 1744. p. 23.

(35) Who was Judge Gaſcoigne's contemporary, and died about 9 years after him.

(36) The Pedigree of the famous Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord-Mayor of London, among the MS. Collections of Rodney Fane, Eſq; late of Colchеſter in Eſſex. Some mention is alſo made of this Spice-Fire, in an old Hiſt. of Sir Rich. Whittington, printed 4to. in black letter, without date.

(37) See the Deſcent of Rich. Gaſcoigne, of Sutil Hall in Yorkſhire, 1568, among the Heraldical MSS. in the Aſhmolean Library at Oxford. There are other Pedigrees of the Gaſcoignes, among Mr Dodſworth's Collections.

(38) See the Trial of Sir Tho. Gaſcoyne, Part. for high-treaſon, in conſpiring the death of the King, the ſubverſion of the government, and alteration of religion, on Wednеſday Feb. 11, 1679, at the Bar of the King's-Bench, before the Right Hon. Sir William Scroggs, Lord Chief Juſtice, and the reſt of the Judges of that Court, fol. 1680. Reprinted in the State Trials the laſt edit. Vol. III.

(39) Mr Salmon's Abridgment of the State Trial, fol. 1738, p. 583.

(40) Mr Drake's Antiquities of York, fol. 519.

(41) See Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, concerning Hunſlet, and this Rich. Gaſcoigne, who bought it: And of it's ſucceeding Poſſeſſors, p. 175.

(42) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. VIII. anno 1398, p. 44. De Officio Mareſcalli Angliæ Conceſſio.

(43) J. Pits, De Illuſtr. Brit. Scriptor. p. 651.

(44) John Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, fol. 1716, p. 442, 447. It is ſaid that Dr Gaſcoigne was alſo Chancellor of the Church of York afterwards, in 1452, in Mr Drake's Eboracum, p. 567, ſo that Dr W. Langton might ſucceed him. Vide Le Neve, as before, p. 318. And Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 22.

(45) Mentioned in Bale, Pits, &c.

(*) Vide Walt. de Hemingford, Hiſt. de Reb. Geſtis Edward. I, II, III, edente Tho. Hearnio. 2 Tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1731, p. 509.

(46) Bale, Pits, &c.

(47) Intitul'ed, A Deſcription of Germany; it's Government, Manner of aſſembling *Diets*; Ceremony of electing and crowning the King of the Romans: With an Account of their preſent Imperial Majeſties Houſhold; together with the Genealogy of all the Imperial Princes of the Empire. By Sir Bernard Gaſcoign, ſent to King Charles II. in the Year 1672. 63 pages, 8vo.

(48) They are intituled, Letters from my Lord Arlington to Sir Bernard Gaſcoign, Reſident at the Imperial Court of Vienna: Wherein the whole Affair of the intended Marriage of the young Archduchеſs of Inſpruck and the Duke of York, is laid open and diſcovered. Dated from Whitehall, in 1671 and 1672.

from which time this place became their chief ſeat of reſidence (*g*). That Sir William's ſon William, married Alice, the daughter and coheir of Nicholas Frank, Eſq; by whom he had this Sir *William Gaſcoigne*, the Chief Juſtice, their eldeſt born; beſides the ſons and daughters whom we have mentioned in the preceding note. At Gawthorp, in the ſaid pariſh of Harwood, between Leeds and Knarſborough, it is credibly atteſted that this Chief Juſtice was born (*h*), and, as it has been computed, in the middle of King Edward IIId's reign, about 1350, or not much later. He was afterwards a ſtudent of the Law in the Inner Temple, as our laſt quoted author informs us; but Sir William Dugdale has given us a ſculpture of his arms, from one of the windows in Grays-Inn-Hall, importing him to have been a member of that Society (*i*). He grew ſo eminent in his profeſſion towards the latter end of King Richard II, that he was made one of the King's Serjeants in September 1398 (*k*). And how much eſteemed he was by his ſucceſſor, for his knowledge and fidelity in the tranſaction of the moſt intricate and important affairs, as well relating to his own rights as thoſe of the kingdom, may be inferred from ſeveral inſtances. For, on the eighth of October in the ſame year, he was nominated by King Richard, with others, in a commiſſion of Agency, procured by the ſaid Henry of Lancaſter, Duke of Hereford (*l*), ſoon after King of England, when he was going into baniſhment. Theſe letters patent, which were ſo granted to Duke Henry at his departure, whereby Gaſcoigne, and the Duke's other General Attorneys, were empowered to proſecute his cauſes, and ſue livery of any Inheritance, which, during his exile, might fall to him, as that of his father John of Ghent did, and whereby his homage was reſpited for a reaſonable fine, were, as one of our Hiſtorians has truly obſerved, revoked by King Richard (*m*), as it appears from the Parliament rolls on the eighteenth of March following, the ſaid grant being judged unlawful by his Parliament; and when Duke Henry, the next year, aſcended the throne, that revocation was judged unlawful by his Parliament, and made one of the articles for depoſing King Richard (*n*); ſo that the ſaid King's ineffectual endeavours to extinguiſh the Duke's greatneſs, did but augment it, to his own deſtruction; as the general Hiſtories have related. From the firſt year of this King Henry IV, who began his reign in September 1399, to the latter end of it, we meet with the abſtracts of Gaſcoigne's opinions, arguments, diſtinctions, and deciſions, as well before he was Chief Juſtice as after, very frequently recited, among thoſe of other ſages of the Law, in our old books of Reports (*o*), many whereof are diſtinguiſhed, and recommended, by the brief remarks of their learned editor, as very notable, or worthy of obſervation, and may give good lights into our old law caſes; eſpecially the more choice, nice, or intricate cauſes, then canvaſſed or agitated in our courts of juſtice; with the various opinions, abilities, and characters, of thoſe who preſided in them; and have been long ſo well eſteemed to yield many precedents of good authority, that ſome famous Judges, and others learned in the laws, have taken much pains, of ſummaries as they are, to render them ſtill more ſuccinct (*p*). And as ſome remarks, critical or hiſtorical, have been made, by one of our moſt induſtrious Antiquaries, upon the antient adminiſtrators of juſtice, whoſe ſentiments and judgments are recorded in theſe books, ſome character or diſtinction, according to the title of his performance, may be expected to appear, of Judge Gaſcoigne therein (*q*); but whether ſuch diſtinction or character is there preſerved, we have not now the opportunity of information. It appears from very good authority, that he was Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, ſo early at leaſt as the ſecond year of King Henry IV, or 1401; tho' there has been ſome little diſagreement upon that head [C]. And now, the nation being embroil'd with dangerous commotions,

(*g*) Idem. Of the manor and feet of Harwood caſtle, the antiquities there, the marble and alebaſter tombs for the Gaſcoignes, &c. in Harwood Church, and the venerable chapel at Gawthorp-hall, &c. See Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, p. 135. And Biſhop Gibſon's Camden, in Yorkſhire.

(*h*) Dr Fuller's Worthies of Eng. in Yorkſhire, p. 199. 'From the information of Mr Rich. Gaſcoigne, deſcended from the Judge, an accompliſhed Antiquary in Record-Heraldry.'

(*i*) See Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, edit. fol. 1671, p. 308.

(*k*) Idem, in Chronica Series, p. 55.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. VIII. p. 49. Pro Henrico de Lancaſter, Duce Hereford iæ, de Attornato.

(*m*) Sir John Hayward's firſt part of the life and reign of King Henry IV, &c. 4to. 1599, p. 52.

(*n*) See Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London, publiſhed by W. Prynne, Eſq; edit. fol. 1657, p. 375. tit. 87. and p. 387. tit. 30.

(*o*) See the Year Books, Part VI, throughout this reign.

(*p*) Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's Abridgment, &c. 2 Vols. fol. 1565. Sir Rob. Brook's Grand Abridgment, fol. 1573, &c.

(*q*) Sir W. Dugdale's Obſervations upon ſeveral perſons learned in the law, extracted from the Year-Books; among his MSS. in the Aſhmolean Library.

'faithfulneſs of the relation, will, I hope, make ſufficient compenſation for the deficiency of the language; and certainly cannot be unwelcome at this conjuncture, when England has ſo viſibly an intereſt in the affairs of Germany (49).' When the ſaid Sir Bernard Gaſcoign returned from his embaſſy into England, he took ſhipping at Dunkirk; and one of the paſſengers who came over with him, was Mrs Aphra Behn, the ingenious poeteſs. It is aſſerted by the writer of her life, that in the courſe of their voyage, they all ſaw a ſurpriſing *Phænomenon*, whether formed by any riſing exhalations, or deſcending vapours, ſhaped by the winds, and irradiated by refracted lights, is not explained; but it appeared, through Sir Bernard's teleſcopes, in a clear day, at a great diſtance, to be, or to reſemble, a fine, gay, floating fabrick, adorned with figures, feſtoons, &c. At firſt they ſuſpected ſome art in his glaſſes, till at laſt, as it approached, they could ſee it plainly without them; and the relater is ſo particular in the diſcription, as to aſſert, that it appeared to be, a four-ſquare floor, of various coloured marble; having rows of fluted and twiſted pillars aſcending, with Cupids on the top, circled with vines and flowers, and ſtreamers waving in the air. 'Tis added, of this ſtrange viſionary, if not romantic or poetical pageant; for fancy is an architect, that can build caſtles in the clouds, as well by ſea as land; that it floated almoſt near enough for them to ſtep out upon it; as if it would invite them to a ſafer landing, than they ſought by ſailing; or portended that the one ſhould be as dangerous and deceitful as the other: for ſoon after the calm which enſued, there aroſe ſuch a violent ſtorm, that they were all ſhipwreckt, but happily in ſight of the land; to which, by timely aſſiſtance, they all got ſafe (50).

(49) See Miſcellanea Aulica: or, A Collection of State Tracts, &c. collected by Tho. Brown, 8vo. 1702. See more of this Sir Bernard, in News from the New Exchange, &c. 4to. 1650 and 1731, p. 18. A Wood, in Faſti, Vol. II. p. 59. calls him 'A known friend to the Engliſh nation.'

(50) See the Life of Mrs Aphra Behn, prefixed to her Novels, &c. 8vo. the 6th edit. 1718.

[C] *There has been ſome little diſagreement upon that head.*] John Stow is manifeſtly miſtaken in ſuggeſting that this Chief Juſtice, appeared no ſooner on the King's Bench than the ſixth year of King Henry the Fourth's reign (51). And Dr Fuller, in correction of him, has aſſerted, as from good authority, that Gaſcoigne was made Chief Juſtice of that Bench, on the firſt of November in the firſt year of that King (52), wherein he is alſo miſtaken; for it is manifeſt in the Parliament Rolls, that Sir Walter Clopton, was then Chief Juſtice of this Bench, from that remarkable incident of his taking the confeſſion of John Hall, who was concerned in that moſt wicked and formal murder of Thomas, Duke of Glouceſter, by ſmothering him between two feather beds, in the Prince's Inn, or Engliſh Priſon, as ſome call it, at Calais, according to the ſecret direction of King Richard (53). This confeſſion was taken, and the ſaid malefactor executed, on the

(51) Stow's Annals, edit. fol. 1615. p. 342. col. 2, in the Margin.

(52) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 199. Ex Origin. de ipſo anno, Bundello 2. Rot. 52.

(53) See Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London, fol. 1657. among the Pleas of the Crown, anno 1 Hen. IV. p. 400, &c.

commotions, by the friends of the late King Richard, and other enemies of King Henry, we find among the records, that, in July 1403, together with Ralph Nevil Earl of Weſtmorland, this Judge Gaſcoigne, and others, are commiſſioned by the ſaid King, to iſſue their power and authority, for levying and aſſembling forces in the counties of York and Northumberland, of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever, againſt the inſurrection of Henry Percey Earl of Northumberland (*r*). In the fifth year of King Henry, which is one part in 1403 the other in 1404, when an erroneous judgment, which had been given againſt Roger Deyncourt, touching a mannor in Warwickſhire, was, upon examining the proceſs and record, reverſed by this Chief Juſtice; and he gave a tranſcript of it, under his own hand, to the Clerk of the Parliament; as alſo, a *ſcire facias* to the ſaid Roger, returnable in the next Parliament; we obſerve in the printed abſtract of this record, the Chief Juſtice is diſtinguiſhed by the title of Sir William Gaſcoigne (*), expreſſing him to have been at that time a Knight; tho' from ſome remarks of other writers, which we have mentioned in the note directed to in the next year of that King's reign, it ſhould ſeem that he was not knighted till then. On the 25th of April 1405, we find the ſaid Earl of Weſtmorland, William Gaſcoigne, and others, alſo appointed, by letters patent, with full power and authority, from King Henry, to treat with the rebellious abettors of the ſaid Earl of Northumberland; that they, paying their fines, might be received to mercy: and there was a proclamation iſſued by the King to the ſame purpoſe, at Pontefract, the next day (*s*). Soon after, in the ſame year, when Archbiſhop Scrope, with others, was taken in arms againſt the King, and his Majeſty would have had Judge Gaſcoigne pronounce ſentence of death directly upon him, he maintained the law ſo incorruptibly, with regard to the eccleſiaſtical privileges, which the Archbiſhop himſelf had charged the King with violating, and ſo inflexibly refuſed to paſs ſuch ſentence, in the illegal and irregular manner required, that he incurred the King's high diſpleaſure for that refuſal, tho' for his integrity he gained great applauſe [*D*]. But when the heads of that inſurrection were cut off,

(*r*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. VIII. p. 319. De Hominibus Defenſabilis Congregandis.

(*) Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London, fol. 1657. anno. 5. Hen. IV. p. 429.

(*s*) Rymer, as before, p. 394.

(*s*) See the Loyal Martyr: or, the Life of the moſt Rev. Father in God Rich. Scroop, Archbiſhop of York, cruelly put to death by King Henry IV, for adhering to his rightful Sovereign. With the articles by him exhibited againſt the aforeſaid intruding King, 8vo. 1722.

(54) Sir William Dugdale's Summons of the nobility to the Parliaments, &c. fol. Lond. 1685. p. 360.

(55) The words in the Report are 'W. Gaſcoigne, 'audonques Chief 'Juſtice, fuit en 'le Place en le 'Common Banke: et dit,' &c. See in the Year-Books, Part VI. Les Reports del Caſes en Ley, que furent Argues en le temps de Hen. IV. et Hen. V. fol. 1679. anno 2. Hen. IV. p. 24.

(56) Dugdale's Chronica Series, as before, p. 54. Ex Pat. 2. Hen. IV. p. 1. M. 28.

(57) The Articles of the Piercies againſt the King, are extant in Hall's Chron. anno 3. Hen IV.

(58) Speed quotes Judge Fortescue's Aſſertion of the King's Title alſo in theſe words.

(59) See Archbiſhop Scrope's Articles againſt the King, in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 392. collated with the Contin. of Peter de Ickham's MS. Hiſt. in the Lambeth Library.

(60) Tho. Walſingham's Hiſt. Angl. fol. 375. & Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 565.

(61) Memoirs of the Gaſcoignes, MS. as before.

the 28th of November, in the firſt year of that King, or 1399; and, on the third of October, in 1400, we find the ſaid Sir Walter Clopton, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, called to Parliament (54); but after that, and he had ſat about twelve years on this bench, we hear no more of him; for, in one of the volumes of old *Reports* before referred to, it appears, under the *ſecond year* of King Henry IV, that Gaſcoigne was then Chief Juſtice, as it ſeems, of the King's Bench; and alſo that he ſat, or had ſet, ſometimes, in the Common Pleas; whether before Sir William Thyrning was advanced thereto, in the foregoing year, or during that Judge's extraordinary engagements in the renunciation and depoſition of King Richard, or upon any other ſpecial cauſes, does not appear (55): but in Sir William Dugdale's Tables of Juridical Succeſſion, it is aſſerted, againſt, or under, the year 1401, that William Gaſcoigne was conſtituted Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, on the 15th of November (56); which is near two months in the *third year* of King Henry: ſo that Judge Gaſcoigne is promoted to this ſeat, above a year too ſoon, in Doctor Fuller, and at leaſt three years too late, in John Stow.

[*D*] *Though for his integrity he gained great applauſe.*] As the Earl of Northumberland at his inſurrection, exhibited articles againſt King Henry, before the battle of Shrewſbury (57): So now after it, Archbiſhop Scrope alſo iſſued his. They contain many heavy charges againſt him; as, of perjury, falſhood, oppreſſion, tyranny, uſurpation, ſo eſpecially, of cauſing King Richard, after fifteen days and nights periſhing with hunger, thirſt and cold, in Pomfret Caſtle, to be murdered; or as the Archbiſhop ſays, put at laſt, to a moſt vile death; hitherto altogether unknown in our kingdom (58), but, by the Grace of God, no longer to be concealed (59): ſo that, ſtarving ſeems to be but one part of his ſufferings, and the other, not to have been diſcloſed in Hiſtory: for as to the aſſaſſination of Sir Pierce Exon, it ſeems romantic, and but a copy of the motives which Archbiſhop Becket's aſſaſſins received from their Prince. Archbiſhop Scrope had a ſtronger power than the King, and might have overcome his army, if his own credulity in the treacherous pretenſions of his adverſary, had not betrayed him; being enſnared, or deluded by the Earl of Weſtmorland, to enter into a parley, and diſband his forces, from a feigned approbation of his articles (60), and ſeeming revolt to his party; then was the Archbiſhop arreſted by him, and taken priſoner at Shipton More (61); and the King, knowing that the Houſe of Lords had lately, in taking the Earl of Northumberland's caſe from the Judges under their cognizance, cleared his inſurrection of treaſon, on account of his ſubmiſſion (62), and judged it to be only a treſpaſs, puniſhable by fine and ranſom, did not care to bring this caſe of the Archbiſhop's before that Judicatory (63); but reſolving to have him put to death for high-treaſon, would, when the Archbiſhop was brought to his manor houſe at Biſhopſthorp, near York, before his Majeſty, have obliged Judge Gaſcoigne to pronounce ſentence accordingly upon him as a traytor; but this upright and memorable Judge (64), who was, by no proſpect of fear or favour, to be corrupted to any ſuch violation of the ſubjects rights, or infringement of their laws and liberties, as then eſtabliſhed; which ſuffered no religious perſon to be brought to a ſecular or lay-trial, unleſs he were a heretic, and firſt degraded by the Church, as the Archbiſhop had objected againſt the King, in the caſe of others (65), abſolutely refuſed to obey the royal command, and ſaid to his Majeſty, *Neither you, my Lord the King, nor any liege Subject of your's, in your name, can legally, according to the rights of the kingdom, adjudge any Biſhop to death* (66). Whereupon the King, highly incenſed againſt the Judge, commanded Sir William Fulthorp (or Fulford, as Stow and others call him), who might be learned in the Laws (67), but was no Judge, to pronounce ſentence againſt the Archbiſhop, which he did, that day, being the 8th of June in the year 1405, as aforeſaid, from a high throne, or ſtage, as ſome call it, erected in the Archbiſhop's palace, after the moſt abrupt and extrajudicial manner, without indictment, trial, defence, or any other ceremony; and the Archbiſhop's tragedy was compleated the ſame day, in a corn-field without the city walls; being there, according to the King's mandate, beheaded, with Thomas Mowbray Earl Marſhall, and others. As for the miracles which are ſaid to have enſued at the place where the Archbiſhop ſuffered, upon certain lays of barley, which ſprung up next ſeaſon ſo fruitfully, tho' they had been all cruſhed and trampled down by the ſpectators of his death; and the judgments which befel the King, in thoſe leprous diſeaſes which ſoon after broke out upon him, as 'tis ſaid to have been teſtified to maſter Thomas Gaſcoigne, Profeſſor of Divinity (68), who was the Judge's nephew; with other ſuch particulars; we leave them where they are to be found, among ſome who have aſſerted (69) and others who diſcredit them (70); and ſhall only here obſerve, that Judge Gaſcoigne's conſcience was highly celebrated, for his having no ſhare in the Archbiſhop's death; and his courage, for reſiſting ſo incorruptibly ſuch a temptation to violate the laws of his country. Clement Maydeſtone ſtiles

(62) Cotton's Records, 5. Hen. IV. p. 426.

(63) Memoirs of the Gaſcoignes, &c.

(64) Mr Fra. Drake's Eboracum: or, Hiſt. and Antiq. of the City of York, fol. 1736, in the Life of Archbiſhop Scrope, p. 438.

(65) In his Articles; ſee the Life of Rich. Scrope, Archbiſhop of York, 8vo. 1722. p. 23.

(66) Clementis Maydeſtone Hiſtoria de Martyrio Ricardi Scrope Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis: In Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. 1691. p. 370.

(67) Stow's Annals, fol. 333. Biſhop Godwin, in his Life of Archbiſhop Scrope; and Prince, in that of Sir William Fulford, erroneouſly engage Sir W. Gaſcoigne with him, in pronouncing this Sentence.

(68) Quære, If theſe Miracles, as they are called, are mentioned in the ſaid Dr Gaſcoigne's MS. Diſcourſe of the Archbiſhop's Decollation before ſpoken of.

(69) C. Maydeſtone, &c. as before.

(70) Edward Hall, &c.

off, it is evident that he ſoon recovered the King's favour; if now, the ſame year in which he loſt it, he received, as we ſee it aſſerted in the laſt note, the honour of knighthood from him. In April 1408, the Earl of Weſtmorland, Judge Gaſcoigne, and others, were further empowered by the King, who is expreſſed to be fully ſatisfied of their fidelity and circumſpection, to treat with, compound, and offer clemency or pardon to the adherents of the Earl of Northumberland; likewiſe to receive their fines, and pay them into the Exchequer: and this power for their ſaid treaty, is alſo dated from Pountfreyt Caſtle, on the 25th of April, in the year aforeſaid (*u*). Beſides the determination of particular cauſes in the Court of King's-Bench, which may be conſulted in the law books, as we before obſerved, many other publick affairs of the kingdom, of more general or national concern, we may diſcern the Chief Juſtice engaged in, to regulate or reform, according to the reſolutions and directions of the Parliament; tho' his name does not frequently occur, in ſuch abſtracts of their acts and ordinances as have appeared in print: and this may be obſerved from the beginning of Judge Gaſcoigne's adminiſtration of Juſtice in that Court. As where, upon a petition of the Commons, that the fees of all the Marſhals in every one of the King's Courts, and of the Warden of the Fleet, might be certainly, or expreſsly, ſettled and eſtabliſhed by authority; the King is ſaid to have appointed, that the Council, Chancellor, and Juſtices, ſhould take order therein (*w*). So alſo, where a judgment had formerly been given in the King's-Bench, in a cauſe between the late King Richard demandant, and Edmund Baſſet deforcient, for certain lands and tenements with-held from him in Somerſetſhire; and that judgment given againſt the ſaid Baſſet, was, for certain errors, revoked in the ſaid Court, now, in the reign of King Henry, with reſtitution granted of the premiſes; tho' no Judge of this Court is mentioned to have reverſed that judgment (*x*); it was late enough in this King's reign for Gaſcoigne to have then been the Chief Juſtice there, and to have granted the ſaid reſtitution. And, when certain Abbots, Priors, Knights, Eſquires, and other perſons of diſtinction, who had been wrongfully impeached, by a common perjured evidence in the King's-Bench, for ſundry heinous crimes, and ſuffered impriſonment; when the villainy was detected, that evidence condemned to death, and the guiltleſs priſoners diſcharged, by the King's writ; as 'tis expreſſed to be ſent to the Juſtices of the King's Bench; it is here likewiſe manifeſt, that Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne did then officiate in that ſeat (*y*), and might be principally implied, tho' no one Judge is named in the abſtract, or any thing elſe, whereby we might diſcover which of them was moſt inſtrumental in detecting ſuch extenſive injuſtice in the guilty on one ſide, and promoting ſuch a general deliverance of the innocent on the other; but the names of thoſe who were ſuch benefactors, in this ſignal relief, are thus paſſed over, and that of the malefactor, as may be ſeen, preſerved (*z*). As other inſtances might be given, in ſome ſucceeding years of that King's reign, how little we are able to diſtinguiſh what particular ſhare the Chief Juſtice had in theſe parliamentary references to a determination in his Court, from the ſhort and general form or manner of thoſe references; or the little we can find determined by him, in what appears among thoſe abſtracts under his own name, we ſhall give but one example more of a caſe, in which he is thus conjunctively referred to; and that was of great moment to many, as it concerned ſuch a comprehenſive reformation of practice in the Law. For the Attorneys being even then grown, by their multitude and male-practice, a publick grievance; an act was now made, in 1410 (*a*), not only for the reduction and limitation of them, to a certain number for every county, but alſo for their amendment and correction; as that they ſhould be ſworn every term, to deal faithfully and truly by their clients; and in breach thereof, ſhould be impriſoned for a twelvemonth, and make their ranſom according to the King's will: alſo, that the Prothonotaries and Filacers, upon conviction, ſhould endure double penalties: and it being further enacted, that the Juſtices of both Benches ſhould make this regulation, the Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne muſt be again allowed his particular, if not a principal part in this general benefit and redreſs of the ſaid grievance thro' the whole kingdom. Upon this grant of that power to them, is endorſed, *Reſpectuatur per Dominos Principem, et Conſilium* (*b*): by which we may underſtand, that the King's eldeſt ſon, Henry Prince of Wales, was then Preſident of the Council. It ſeems the Clerks and Attorneys of both Benches, did afterwards pray for a revocation of this ſtatute, but the motion itſelf proved that the ſame was an act, notwithſtanding the *Reſpectuatur* thereon endorſed: however, the Judges of both Benches were appointed further to conſult thereupon, as well as more effectually to reform many other miſchievous corruptions and irregularities in their Courts (*c*). But there is another deciſion remitted to our Chief Juſtice, in this abſtract of the Parliament rolls, wherein he is expreſsly named; and that is, in the caſe of William Lord Roos of Hamalake, and his complaint againſt Sir Robert Thirwit, one of the Juſtices of the King's-Bench, in the latter end of November, or beginning of the next month, in 1411 (*d*), for withholding certain manors and

(*u*) Rymer's Fœdera, as above, p. 520.

(*w*) Cotton's Records, anno 2. Hen. IV, p. 409.

(*x*) Idem, p. 408.

(*y*) Ibid. anno 4. Hen. IV, p. 424.

(*z*) Idem, ibidem.

(*a*) Cotton's Records, anno 11. Hen. IV. p. 475. There were but 140 Lawyers and Attorneys in England, temp. Edward I. as appears in a Parliament Roll, anno 20 of his Reign; yet as Chancellor Forteſcue ſays, in little more than 100 years, they encreaſed to about 2000, but afterwards they were reckoned at 10000, and the Courts of Juſtice above 100, by Lord Coke, in Epil. to 4 Inſtit.

(*b*) Cotton, as before.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 483.

(*d*) Idem, anno 13. Hen. IV. p. 479.

ſtiles the Judge at this time no more than Eſquire; which may agree very well with what another Hiſtorian obſerves of his receiving the honour of knighthood this year, the ſixth of King Henry IV (71), if we may allow the King's reſentment was but ſhort, or that he was ſo ſoon reconciled to him, for ſuch diſobedience of his unlawful injunction, as to correſpond with his conferring upon him, the ſame year, ſuch a mark of his favour.

(71) Fuller's Worthies, in Yorkſhire, as before.

and commons in the county of Lincoln; and for lying in wait, with five hundred men, to apprehend or ſeize the ſaid Lord. Sir Robert confeſſed his fault before the King, and offering to abide by the order of two Lords, the complainant's kindred, they made a long award; and further enjoined Sir Robert to make a great feaſt at Melton le Roos, in the ſaid county; that he ſhould prepare two fat oxen, twelve ſheep, two tuns of Gaſcoigne wine, with other proviſions; and then aſſemble thither, all ſuch Knights, Eſquires, and Yeomen, as were his accomplices in this riot; where they ſhould confeſs their miſbehaviour to the Lord Roos, crave his pardon, and make him an offer of five hundred marks in recompence; which the ſaid Lord Roos ſhould refuſe, but pardon them, and partake of their dinner, in token of his reconciliation: and it was referred by the arbitrators aforeſaid, to Sir William Gaſcoigne the Chief Juſtice, to determine the common right between them (*e*); but to which party he adjudged it, does not appear. It is thought to have been in the latter part of the King's reign, that his ſon, Prince Henry, indulged himſelf with ſome of his corrupt courtiers, in that interval of wild and diſorderly frolicks which ſeveral authors have taken notice of (*f*). In the courſe whereof, as the Chief Juſtice had before given an extraordinary teſtimony that no reſpect of dignity, however ſupream, in the King himſelf, could move him to an undue adminiſtration of the Law; ſo there occurred ſuch a memorable occaſion to exert the like reſolution againſt the obſtruction of it, in that famous incident of the Prince's being committed to priſon by our Chief Juſtice, now about the latter end of this reign [*E*], that no act of his, or any other Judge, has been more celebrated by Hiſtorians, Poets, and other eminent writers, to ſucceeding generations. The ſubſtance of the ſtory, as here briefly gathered from the moſt credible accounts, is, that a ſervant of Prince Henry's being arraigned before Judge Gaſcoigne, at Weſtminſter, for felony, and the Prince hearing of it, came into Court, commanded him to be unfettered, and offered to reſcue him; wherein being oppoſed, he ruſhed up to the Bench, with ſuch fury, that, as

(*e*) Cotton's Records, as laſt quoted.

(*f*) Stow, Speed, &c.

[*E*] *The Prince's being committed to priſon by the Chief Juſtice, now about the latter end of this reign.*] Tho' we find not the year in which this extraordinary incident occurred, yet we may gather from ſeveral circumſtances in our old Hiſtorians, that thoſe wild excurſions which Prince Henry gave into, with ſome of his diſſolute and flattering attendants, were more eſpecially made in the latter part of his father's life. For he was carefully educated, and governed at the Univerſity of Oxford, in his green or younger age; and when he came from thence, he was laudably engaged in ſpiriting up his father's armies with his preſence, to appeaſe the commotions in the kingdom, as at Shrewſbury and in Wales, even till the flight of Owen Glendour. We may alſo frequently ſee him ſummoned to the Parliament; and how ſome propoſitions were there made, that he ſhould be ſent with a commiſſion to abide in Wales in the year 1407 (72), for the more effectual ſuppreſſion there of the rebellion. We may ſee him likewiſe mentioned, in ſome years, as Preſident of the Council; as where, in May 1410, when two of the Counſellors were changed, the Speaker recommended Prince Henry, and his brothers the Lords Thomas, John, and Humphry, to advancement; for which the King thanked him, and promiſed ſatisfaction at opportunity (73); and, as it is recorded elſewhere, under that year, the ſaid Lord Thomas was then created Duke of Clarence; the Lord John, Duke of Bedford; and Humphry, Duke of Glouceſter (74). Tho' others, from the records, affirm, that the ſaid Lord Thomas of Lancaſter was not created Duke of Clarence till two years after, and about eight months before his royal father's death (75). Again we may alſo find, that on the laſt of November 1411, the King is prayed, by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Thomas Chaucer, the ſon of Geffrey the Poet, in the name of the Commons, to give thanks to the Prince, and others appointed to be of the King's Council in the laſt Parliament, for well employing the treaſure therein granted (76). And yet there is interval or ſpace enough before the King's death, which was more than fifteen months after that, for ſuch a contempt to have been committed in the Court of King's Bench, as might occaſion the impriſonment of the Prince. For this aſſault of the Chief Juſtice, is agreed upon to have been done, when the Prince was well grown into the years of manhood, and beyond the controllment of any tutors (77). And it muſt have been alſo after he was Preſident of the Council, becauſe the Hiſtorians likewiſe agree that the King, upon the ſaid inſult of his Chief Juſtice, diſcarded the Prince of Wales from the Council-board, and took his brother Thomas, whom they call Duke of Clarence at that time, into his room, to the Prince's great reluctance, remorſe, and open reproach. If the Prince had been reformed any conſiderable time before the King died, there would have been no occaſion for him to be ſeen in that ſtrange kind of emblematical dreſs or diſguiſe at Court; breaking in, as it were, upon the King's retirement, ſo weak and crazed, or near his latter end, as he appears to have been; and in a blue ſilk gown, full of black eylet-holes, with the needles hanging, like ſo many trickling drops of penetential tears, from every one, by the ſilk that wrought them; and offering a dagger for the King to kill him, if he ſuſpected his duty or loyalty (78); in order to diſſipate the jealouſies which he thought had been infuſed into him, by thoſe traducers who might take advantage from his miſconduct towards others, to ſuggeſt that he would grow dangerous and diſloyal to his father. Beſides, if the Prince had, for a good while before the King's death, renounced his irregular and diſcreditable frolicks, he would alſo have diſcharged his looſe accomplices or aſſociates in them; but, it ſeems, he kept them company till he came to the throne; becauſe, not till then, is he ſaid to have ſummoned and diſmiſſed them; and if it were not ſo, the reflection would be very improper in Polidore, and all our other Hiſtorians who have followed him in it; where they ſay, This man was he, ſpeaking of the Prince, after he was King Henry V, who made it manifeſt how neceſſary and commendable it was, for honours, according to the proverb, to change mens manners (79). In the ſame ſenſe Chriſtopher Ocland, one of our Latin Poets; and ſo Shakeſpear alſo underſtood the Hiſtorians, where he ſays of the Prince,

> The breath no ſooner left his father's body,
> But that his wildneſs, mortify'd in him,
> Seem'd to die too (80).

And tho' he had in a former play made an anachroniſm in relation of this incident, or antidated the Prince's violent oppoſition of the Chief Juſtice on the Bench, where he ſpeaks as if it was before the ſuppreſſion of Archbiſhop Scrope's Inſurrection (81); yet afterwards, in the ſame play, more conformable to hiſtorical direction, he deſcribes the Prince to have been ſo much in the heighth of his irregularities, and ſo abſolutely unreclaimed from them, till after his father's death, that it is moſt likely, from the Poet's own repreſentation, this miſdemeanor of the Prince's was not long before it.

(72) Cotton's Records, anno 8. Hen. IV. p. 452.

(73) Idem, anno 11. Hen. IV. p. 474.

(74) Hall's Chron. anno 11. Hen. IV. p. 30.

(75) Fra. Sandford's Genealogical Hiſt. edit. fol. 1707. p. 309.

(76) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, anno 13. Hen. IV. p. 479.

(77) Speed, Sandford, &c.

(78) Tho. Otterborne, in Chron. Regum Angliæ, 8vo. 1732. et Tit. Livii Vit. Hen. V. 8vo. 1716. Alſo Stow's Annals and Speed's Hiſt. Baker's Chron. &c.

(79) Pol. Virgil, in Hiſt. Angl. Sub. Hen. V. Hall's Chron. Edw. Leigh's Obſervat. on the Kings of Eng. 8vo. 1661. p. 130, &c.

(80) Shakeſpear's Hen. V. Act. I. Scene I. Alſo, Chriſt. Ocland, in Anglorum Prælia, 8vo. 1582. Sub. Hen. V.

(81) Shakeſpear, in the 2d. Part of Hen. IV. Act. I.

[*F*] *It*

as ſome ſay, it was expected he would, or, as others, that he did, ſtrike the Chief Juſtice; who, nothing diſturbed thereat, after ſome earneſt expoſtulation, upon ſuch interruption of the proceedings, and indignity, in that place, charged the Prince to go directly to the King's-Bench priſon, and there, to wait his father's pleaſure; but in ſuch venerable, ſuch coercive expreſſions; wherein the paternal authority of the King, was ſo inforced by the awful gravity of the Judge, that the Prince's calm ſubmiſſion to that diſgraceful puniſhment, was no leſs ſudden and ſurprizing, than the outrageous offence had been, which drew it upon him. And when that diſturbance, with this commitment, were, by ſome officious courtiers, ſo repreſented to the King, that it might foment his diſpleaſure, he diſcreetly defeated the ill-will of his informers; and, taking it in the right ſenſe, returned God moſt joyful thanks, that in this one example, *he had given him both a Judge who could miniſter, and a ſon who could obey juſtice* (g). 'Tis further affirmed, by many creditable writers of this ſtory, that for this, and other irreputable actions, the Prince was removed from the Council table, as Preſident thereof, and his brother, Thomas of Lancaſter, then, or not long after, Duke of Clarence, admitted in his place: tho' he was probably reſtored before the King's death, as we have ſeen ſome diſpoſitions to repentance and amendment in the foregoing note, and might find him giving other inſtances thereof, as well in the general Chronicles, as the particular Hiſtories, written at large, of his father's reign and his own. But as this was an event too extraordinary to eſcape the embelliſhment of our dramatic Poets, ſome of their audience have rather been inclined to think it a poetical invention, than built upon matter of fact; tho' it may be ſeen upon compariſon, that nothing appears in this ſtory upon the ſtage, except by the heigthning or colouring of the language, but what is founded upon the authority of our Hiſtorians, and other grave writers [F]. However, as both Poets

(g) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, as before. Biſhop Gibſon's Additions, in his Tranſlat. of Camden's Britannia. edit. Fol. 1722, Vol. II. p. 869, &c.

[F] *It may be ſeen upon compariſon, that nothing appears in this ſtory on the ſtage, &c. but what is founded upon the authority of our Hiſtorians, &c*] There were two plays in which Judge Gaſcoigne was brought upon the ſtage by the Poets in Queen Elizabeth's reign, upon this occaſion of his committing the Prince to priſon. The firſt was *the play of King Henry* V (82), a different work from what we have now of Shakeſpear's under that name, and written ſome years before it; becauſe Richard Tarlton, the famous Comedian, who died in 1592, acted in it, not only his own part of the Clown, but alſo that of the Chief Juſtice; the player who was to have performed the ſame being abſent. In this play the Judge on the Bench was to receive a blow of Prince Henry, who was repreſented by one Knell, another drole Comedian of thoſe times; and when it was to be done, he ſtruck Chief Juſtice Tarlton ſuch a ſwinging box on the ear, as almoſt fell'd him to the ground, and ſet the whole houſe † in an uproar of merriment. When *Tarlton* the *Judge* went off, preſently after entered *Tarlton* the *Clown*; and, according to that liberty wherewith the players in thoſe days were indulged, of obtruding interrogatories of their own, in the midſt of their acting, he very ſimply, and unconcernedly, aſked the occaſion of all that laughter, like one who was an utter ſtranger to it. *O!* ſaid another of the actors, *had'ſt thou been here, thou had'ſt ſeen Prince* Henry *hit the* Judge *a terrible box on the ear. What, ſtrike a Judge!* quoth Tarlton. *Nothing leſs,* ſaid t'other. *Then,* reply'd he, *it muſt indeed be* terrible *to the* Judge, *ſince the very report ſo* terrifies me, *that methinks the blow remains ſo freſh ſtill on my cheek, that it burns again.* This, it ſeems, raiſed a greater acclamation in the houſe than there was before; and this was one example of that extempore wit or humour, for which Tarlton was ſo much admired and remembered many years after his death (83). The ſecond play in which our Chief Juſtice is introduced on the ſtage, was written by Shakeſpear (84); but he more judiciouſly therein, has ſunk the action of the Prince's ſtriking the Judge, as an indecorum too groſs and diſagreeable, into a narrative. Their ſpeeches are too long to be here tranſcribed intirely; therefore we ſhall only extract ſo much of them, as may be neceſſary to ſhew how nearly the Poet has followed the ſenſe of the Hiſtorians in matters of fact, and only rendered them more lively and emphatical, by a greater variety of argument and aggravation, eſpecially on the Judge's part, in juſtification of himſelf. For, as it was not conſiſtent with the integrity of his conduct, in the character of a Chief Juſtice, to betray that of a malefactor, by any abject apology or repentance; ſo the Poet has very properly made him declare, before he ſaw his new Sovereign, the late Prince of Wales, whom he had ſo indiſcriminately puniſhed as a common offender, that he would never beg a foreſtalled remiſſion of him, for the power and priviledge he had exerted in right to the honour and prerogative of his office on that occaſion. Accordingly, upon the firſt interview between them, after the ſaid Prince was King Henry V, and he began to expoſtulate a little upon that rough treatment, the Judge diſcourſed him ſo convincingly into a better underſtanding of the matter, that he perfectly turned the tide of his wild blood, reaſoned him into a ſelf-conviction, and into a full reconciliation both to that treatment, and himſelf who had inflicted it; where the Poet makes the Judge intimate, that his reſentment proceeded not from the offence committed againſt him, but his royal father in him; with whoſe authority he was inveſted, in the adminiſtration of the law; and while he was upon his publick duty, in the place of his Sovereign, ſerving his country; or, as the Poet's words are,

(82) Perhaps that intituled *Henry the Fifth, his Victories; containing the honourable Battle of Agincourt*, &c. reprinted 4to. 1617.

† Which then was in Biſhopſgate ſtreet, where the Queen's players often acted.

(83) See Tarlton's Jeſts. 4to. 1611. ſign. C. 2.

(84) Henry the Fourth, the ſecond Part: containing his death, and the coronation of Henry the Fifth. 4to. 1600. &c.

Ch. Juſt. Whilſt I was buſy for the commonwealth,
Your Highneſs pleaſed to forget my place;
The majeſty and power of law and juſtice;
The image of the King, whom I preſented;
And ſtruck me, in my very ſeat of juſtice:
Whereon, as an offender to your *father*,
I gave bold way to my authority,
And *did commit you.* If the deed were ill,
Be you contented, wearing now the garland,
To have a ſon ſet your decrees at nought;
To pluck down juſtice from your awful bench;
To trip the courſe of law, and blunt the ſword
That guards the peace and ſafety of your perſon:
Nay more! to ſpurn at your moſt royal image,
And mock your workings in a ſecond body.
Queſtion your royal thoughts, make the caſe your's;
Be now the father, and propoſe a ſon;
Hear your own dignity ſo much prophan'd;
See your moſt dreadful laws ſo looſely ſlighted;
Behold yourſelf, ſo by a ſon diſdain'd;
And then, imagine me taking your part,
And in your power ſoft ſilencing your ſon:
After this cold conſiderance, ſentence me;
And as you are a King, ſpeak in your ſtate,
What I have done that miſbecame my place,
My perſon, or my Liege's ſoveraignty?
King. You are right, Juſtice, and you weigh this well
And I do wiſh your honours may increaſe,
Till you do live to ſee a ſon of mine
Offend you, and obey you, as I did,

Poets and Hiſtorians have generally thought it ſufficient, in repreſenting the ſame, to diſtinguiſh Judge Gaſcoigne in it, under his title only of the Chief Juſtice, without thinking it

So ſhall I live to ſpeak my father's words;
Happy am I, that have a man ſo bold,
That dares do juſtice on my proper ſon:
And no leſs happy, having ſuch a ſon,
That would deliver up his greatneſs ſo,
Into the hands of Juſtice! You committed me;
For which I do commit, into your hand,
Th' unſtained ſword that you have us'd to bear;
With this remembrance; that you uſe the ſame,
With the like bold, juſt, and impartial ſpirit,
As you have done 'gainſt me. There, is my hand.—
You ſhall be as a father to my youth;
My voice ſhall ſound as you do prompt mine ear,
And I will ſtoop, and humble my intents,
To your well-practis'd, wiſe directions (85).

(85) Shakeſpear's ſecond Part of Hen. IV. Act 5.

Thoſe who are curious to know how much, or what parts, of theſe ſpeeches are founded upon truth, may find, that the moſt material points or particulars in them, which, among the unread part of their auditories, often paſſed for poetical licence, were, long before this Poet's time, authorized, by good hiſtorical and other grave writers. One of them is Sir Thomas Eliot, a gentleman of good credit and diſtinction, not only for his ſervices to the government under King Henry VIII, but for the learning and virtuous principles he teſtified in many books, which he ſet forth for the benefit of the publick. This author, deſirous of preſenting the ſaid King with the mirror of ſuch an accompliſhed Miniſter, Ruler, or Governor as he wiſhed under him, has accordingly drawn a capital piece of ſuch a character; and in one of the chapters, to ſhew how requiſite the *virtue* of *Placability*, or a reconcilable diſpoſition, is in ſuch a perſon, has illuſtrated the ſame by an example of this incident, in it's full circumſtances, between the Prince and our Chief Juſtice; which, becauſe it has been very ſeldom, if ever, perfectly or exactly recited, without abridgment or alteration; and as his book is now grown, from it's great age, very ſcarce, we ſhall here revive it entirely, as follows, in the author's own words. 'We lack not of this virtue, ſays he, domeſtical examples, I mean of our own Kings of England; but moſt ſpecially one, whych, in myne opinion, is to be compared with any, that ever was written of, in any region or country. (*) The moſt renowned Prince, Kynge Henry the fifte, late Kyng of Englande, durying the lyfe of his father, was noted to be fierſe, and of wanton courage. It hapned that one of his ſervauntes, whome he favoured well, was for felony by him committed, arreigned at the Kynge's-Benche; whereof the Prynce beyng advertiſed, and incenſed by light perſones aboute him, in furyouſe rage came haſtyly to the barre where his ſervant ſtode as a pryſoner, and commanded hym to be ungyved, and ſet at lybertee. Wherat al men were abaſhed, reſerved the Chief Juſtice; who humbly exhorted the Prince to be contented, that his ſervaunte moughte bee ordered accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme; or yf he wolde have hym ſaved frome the rigour of the lawes, that he ſhould obtaine, if he mought, of the Kynge his father, his gracious pardon; whereby no lawe, or juſtice ſhulde be derogate. With which anſwere the Prince nothyng appeaſed, but rather more inflamed, endeavoured hymſelfe to take away his ſervant. The Judge, conſyderyng the perillous example and inconvenience that mought therby inſue, with a valiant ſpirit and courage, commaunded the Prince upon his allegeance, to leave the pryſoner and departe his way; with which common commandement the Prince, being ſet all in a fury, all chafed and in a terrible manner, cam up to the place of jugement, men thinking that he wold have ſlaine the Judge, or have done to hym ſome damage; but the Judge ſittyng ſtil without moving, declared the majeſtee of the Kingis place of judgment, and, with an aſſured and bold countenance, had to the Prince theſe wordes followyng. *Syr, Remembre your ſelfe; I kepe here the place of the King your Sovereigne Lorde and Father, to whom ye owe dowble obedience; wherefore eftſoones, in his name, I charge you deſyſte of your wylfulneſſe, and unlaufull enterpryſe, and from henſforthe gyve good example to thoſe, whych hereafter ſhall be your propre ſubjects. And now, for your contempte and diſobedience, go you to the* priſon *of the* Kynges-Bench, *wherunto I commytte you, and remayne ye there pryſoner, untill the pleaſure of the Kynge your father be further knowen.* With whyche wordes beyng abaſhed, and alſo wondryng at the marvailous gravitee of that worſhipfull Juſtice, the noble Prince, laiyng his weapon apart, doyng reverence, departed and went to the Kynges bench, as he was commanded. Wherat, his ſervantes diſdeigning, came and ſhewed to the Kyng all the holle affayre. Wherat he, a whyle ſtudienge; after, as a man all ravyſhed with gladnes, holding his eyes and handes up towards Heaven, abrayded with a lowde voyce: *O mercifull God! Howe much am I bounde to your infynite goodneſſe? ſpecially, for that ye have given me a Judge, who feareth not to miniſter juſtyce; and alſo a ſonne, who can ſuffer ſemblably, and obey juſtice* (86)!' Here Sir Thomas remarks, how worthy of being preſerved in memory theſe three perſons were. Firſt, the Judge; who, tho' a ſubject, could ſo undauntedly execute juſtice on the heir apparent of the crown: ſecondly, a Prince; who, in the midſt of his paſſion, could be ſo ſuddenly ſtruck, by a grave reproof of his evil example, both with ſhame thereat, and ſubmiſſion to his reprover: laſtly, a King; who could ſo laudably rejoice, to hear of ſuch diſobedience in a ſon, by ſuch a ſubject corrected.

(*) Here the author's marginal note is, *A good Judge, a good Prince, a good King.*

(86) The Boke named *The Governour*, deviſed by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knt. Printed by Tho. Berthelet, 8vo. 1546. Boke II. Cap. 6. p. 102.

In this account it may be obſerved, that Sir Thomas Eliot does not mention the Chief Juſtice to have received any blow of the Prince, tho' Shakeſpear, in the play, does; in which particular he is ſupported by authors as ancient, tho' in others the Poet ſeems to have followed him. And notwithſtanding that one Hiſtorian thinks this account in Eliot reſts upon his credit only (87), as to the ſpeeches we ſuppoſe, of the Judge, and the King, yet he has not himſelf over-faithfully quoted the ſtory from him, becauſe he mentions alſo, as from his authority, the blow given; which as we may ſee above, is not to be found in this author, tho' that circumſtance is aſſerted by ſome of our Hiſtorians, who wrote as early as himſelf (88), expreſsly enough, to juſtify the recitation; and more particularly afterwards, by an Italian writer of our hiſtory (89). And though Judge Gaſcoigne is not named in the relation of this ſtory, either by theſe, or ſeveral other authors who mention it, (the effect of which ſilence, or omiſſion, we ſhall ſee in the next note) yet no body will doubt the ſubſtance of it, and matter of fact, or that he was the Judge by whom the Prince was ſo committed, who has but read or heard, how early, frequently, and unconteſtedly, the Lawyers and Judges themſelves, were wont to cite this very caſe, as a precedent, in other ſucceeding caſes of commitment. We ſhall here produce but one inſtance; and that, in the words of Crompton, a grave and learned Counſellor in Queen Elizabeth's reign, which are as follow. WHIDDEN *vouche un Caſe in Temps* GASCOIGNE, *Cheefe Juſtice* D'Englitierr, *que commit le* PRINCE *(que voile aver pris un Priſoner del Barre in* Banco Regis*) al priſon; que luy obey humblement, et ala auſſi a ſon commandement; in que le* ROY *grandment rejoice, in ceo quil avoit* Juſtice *que oſaſt miniſter juſtice a ſon Fits le* Prince, *et que il avoit* Fits *que lui obey. Et* CATLIN *dit in cel caſe, que il ne uſont de monſtre in le Brē, pur que ils met pur home, mes ceo nous reſervom? in nrē.* Pectus, *car poit eſtr pur treaſon, ou grand conſpiracie* (90). That is to ſay; 'Whidden cites a caſe, in the time of Gaſcoigne, Chief Juſtice of England, who committed the Prince to priſon, becauſe he would have taken a priſoner from the bar at the King's-Bench; and he very ſubmiſſively obeying him, went thither according to order: at which the King was highly rejoiced, in that he had a Judge who dar'd to miniſter juſtice upon his ſon the Prince, and that he had a ſon who obey'd him. And Catlin ſays, in this caſe, that they were not wont to ſpecify the cauſe of the commitment

(87) In J. Speed's Hiſt. of Great Brit. edit. fol. 1623. p. 782.

(88) See Edw. Hall's Union of the Families of Lancaſter and York, &c. fol. 1548. p. 33. Alſo R. Grafton's Chron. at large, in Hen. V. &c.

(89) Sir Francis Biondi's Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Eng. between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, tranſlated by Hen. Earl of Monmouth, in Vol. I. fol. 1641, under the reign of Hen. V.

(90) *L'Authoritie et Juriſdiction des Courts de le Majeſtie de la Royene: Novelment Collect et compeſe, per* R. Crompton, *del Milieu Temple, Eſq;* Lond. In Ædib. Caroli Yetſweirti Arm. &c. 4to. 1594, p. 79.

ment

it needful to make any mention of his name, the conſequence of this inaccurate diſtinction, ſeems to have been an attempt to ſupply that omiſſion of his name by an erroneous ſubſtitute, which might transfer the ſhining character of an invincible defender of the laws, from one Chief Juſtice to another [G], without any ground to ſupport the uſurpation. Therefore

' ment in the Brief, or Habeas Corpus, but reſerved ' that in their own breaſt; becauſe it might be for ' treaſon, or ſome grand conſpiracy.' Here is a ſummary of the moſt material points of the ſtory, confirmed by the moſt credible authorities; thoſe of Sir John Whiddon, and Sir Robert Catlyn, two eminent Lawyers; the former a Judge, the latter Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, near two hundred years ago; and probably they were not the firſt who made a precedent of it, but if the old law books were to be ſufficiently inſpected, we might find others who had cited it before them. If after theſe teſtimonies there needed any further confirmation of this extraordinary event, we might alledge the ſolid evidence of that metallic memorial, which, not long after it occurr'd, was ſtruck in honour thereof; being a ſmall medal, not ſo broad as a guinea, repreſenting the Judge himſelf, ſitting by another on the Bench, and, with a writing in his hand, reading or ſpeaking to a perſon preſumed to be the Prince, among others in the Court before him; with this inſcription round the edge of it in the old Engliſh character; *Sir Wylliam de Gaſquone* (91). An impreſſion, or ſtamp of this medal, with printing-ink, as it is remembered by thoſe who have ſeen it, was made and preſerved in the margin of a large manuſcript volume, containing the pedigree of that noble family, whereunto the Gaſcoignes were by marriage allied, as is before mentioned, againſt the Rundle wherein the name of Sir William Gaſcoigne is written; which pedigree was partly deduced by Robert Glover, Somerſet-Herald, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and is alſo adorned with the arms of the ſeveral relative or collateral branches, blazon'd in their proper colours; as is uſual in the like accurate tables of conſanguinity, which have been drawn out in commemoration of the Gaſcoignes alſo, and other eminent families. But as this illuſtrious example, which has propagated ſuch a variety of encomiums, attracted ſome of our ancient Poets to flouriſh upon it, as we have ſeen towards the beginning of this note, in their theatrical entertainments: ſo does it continue ſtill to ſhine with ſuch equal luſtre and influence upon ſome Moderns, as hath induced them alſo to celebrate, in the Chief Juſtice, that ſalutary correction and reſtraint which was ſo ſignally, ſo happily, conducive to the Prince's glorious converſion, whereby he ſoon after became ſuch a renowned Conqueror in France, as in other efforts of their genius, ſo in the following *Epigram*; wherewith we ſhall conclude our remarks upon this part of our ſubject.

(91) The Britiſh Librarian, 8vo. 1738. p. 267.

While upright *Rokeby* ſcorns the ſhining pelf,
And pays in gold, but eats in wood himſelf (†):
While dauntleſs *Gaſcoigne*, from the Judgment Seat,
To *Juſtice* dares make princely *Pow'r* ſubmit;
Dares tame by law, him who all laws cou'd break,
And to a *Heroe*, raiſe a *royal Rake*:
Whilſt we ſuch precedents can boaſt at *home*,
Keep thy *Fabricius*, and thy *Cato*, *Rome*.

(†) Sir Tho. de Rokeby, twice Lord Juſtice of Ireland, in 1351 and 1355, who ſo laudably labour'd to ſuppreſs that damnable cuſtom (as tis called in the Statute, 12 Hen IV. Cap. 6.) of *Coigne* and *Livery*; ſaid, *He would eat out of wooden diſhes, but he would pay for his meat in gold and ſilver.* Vid. Annales Hibern. anno 1356. And Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 218. Camden ſeems to relate it of Sir T. Rokeby, in the time of Rich. III. See his Remains, edit. 1614, p. 283, in the Cap. of *Wiſe Sayings*.

[G] *Transfer the ſhining character of an invincible defender of the laws from one Chief Juſtice to another.*] It ſeems that in default of a name to this ſtory in Hiſtory, Sir John Hody was the Judge firſt propoſed to father the ſaid impriſonment of the Prince upon; but this choice being ſoon found ſo ignorantly made, in that the ſaid Chief Juſtice could not be met with in Hiſtory, upon the King's-Bench, till many years after that Prince's death (92), his title to the action was relinquiſhed. But how well the change was mended, in fathering it upon another who was Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and how much more properly cognizable the caſe was in that Court, may be ſeen in Bracton, Staunford, Crompton, and other writers who diſtinguiſh the proper juriſdiction of our Courts. This other was Sir William Hankford, who was Sir John's countryman; for to a native of Devonſhire, ſome Antiquaries of that county were very fond of intituling the credit of this notable commitment. And one of them ſays accordingly, that this was the noble and famous Juſticiary that dared to do juſtice upon the King's ſon (93), who afterwards was the glory of the Engliſh nation, by the name of Henry V. And upon this authority, another writer, who undertook to revive the eminent men that were born in the ſaid county, has given us an abſtract of this ſtory under the life, and in the name of Sir William Hankford (94), much as it is to be found in John Speed, and other compilers of our general chronicles; tho' neither under the name of Hankford in this author, nor that of any other Chief Juſtice: And adds this reflection, upon the Prince's immediate obedience to the Judge's ſentence, out of Sir Richard Baker: *You would wonder to have ſeen how calm the Prince was in his own cauſe, who in the cauſe of his companion had been ſo violent* (95): As if this Hiſtorian had, by nominating the Judge, authorized him to attribute the ſaid commitment to his Worthy: whereas Baker, in his recital thereof, like moſt others, neither names Sir William Hankford, nor any other Chief Juſtice. But if he had conſulted John Stow, he might have perceived that this Hiſtorian underſtood the Judge, who ſo ordered the Prince to priſon, was Sir William Gaſcoign; tho' indeed he has not very exactly ſettled the whole time of his ſitting on the Bench (96), as we have before obſerved: nor would he have found any direction in this Hiſtorian, for ſending the Prince to the Fleet; but, according to the relation he follows of Sir Thomas Eliot, to the priſon of the King's-Bench (97).

(92) Sir John Hody was not conſtituted Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench till the 13th of April 1440, and then had 140 marks per ann. allowed for his more decent port, &c. as appears in Dugdale's Chron. Series; Alſo in Chronica Juridicialia, &c. 8vo. 1685. p. 127; So he is out of the queſtion.

(93) Tho. Riſdon's Survey, or Chronological Diſcription of Devonſhire; as quoted from the MS. in Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 362; and afterwards printed in 2 Vols. 8vo. 1713.

(94) John Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 1701. in the page laſt cited.

(95) Sir Rich. Baker's Chron. edit. fol. 1733, in Hen. IV. p. 163.

(96) J. Stow's Annals, or General Chronology of Eng. fol. 1615. p. 342. Col. 2. in the margin.

Now the liberty that has been taken of transferring the ſtory of this commitment from one Judge to the other, ſeems to have been hence derived; that a name being ſo often wanted to an event ſo remarkable, and it was reſolved that one ſhould be ſupplied; as there was no chronological ſucceſſion of the Judges then extant, when Riſdon, or ſome other of his countrymen, firſt advanced this miſnomer, to afford any exact light or diſtinction therein: And as Hankford was a Judge firſt of one Bench, during the Prince's minority, and Chief Juſtice of the other all the time he was King, till after his death: As the time of Gaſcoigne's death was not then publickly known in Hiſtory: As Hankford might be thought a Judge of the King's-Bench, while Gaſcoigne was Chief Juſtice on it; or Hankford's ſucceſſion, in his place, might be computed ſooner than it was; he was preferred, as the moſt probable perſon to fix the ſtory upon.

(97) We have been informed, that there is a lodging room in the King's-Bench priſon, which is called the Prince of Wales's chamber to this day.

But as this riot which the Prince made, was never pretended to be in the Court of Common-Pleas; whereof Hankford was one of the Judges indeed, but Sir William Thyrning Chief-Juſtice, while Gaſcoigne was ſo on the King's-Bench; as Hankford was never one of the Judges in the King's-Bench; much leſs while Gaſcoigne was Chief Juſtice there, and till he ſucceeded him: as Gaſcoigne did not die ſoon enough for the caſe to come before his ſaid ſucceſſor, in the King's Bench; therefore, if it was *Sir William Hankford*, who, after he was Chief Juſtice thereof, did commit the ſon of King Henry IV. to priſon, it muſt be after he was Henry the Vth, and King of England; which will not be eaſily allow'd. And as it is agreed on all hands, that the cauſe was brought before the King's-Bench, while that King Henry was Prince of Wales, it muſt conſequently be allowed to have been under the juriſdiction of *Sir William Gaſcoigne*. But there are greater improbabilities told under the name of Sir William Hankford, tho' not ſo much to his reputation; among which is, the cunning contrivance he is charged with, of bringing himſelf upon this account, to an untimely end (98). But it is more ſtrange, than, in all probability, true, that a grave, learned, and pious Judge, who had built a church upon his own eſtate at Annery in Devonſhire, ſhould, in his old age, turn ſuch a criminal, as to conſpire a robbery upon himſelf, even of his own life, and by the innocent hands of one of his own ſervants! deſigning it ſhould appear, a murder

(98) Vide Tho. Riſdon, as before in Annery.

fore as the glory of that action ſeems to be ſufficiently reſcued, and reſtored, to it's right owner, from the miſguiding conceptions of ignorance, or the impotent endeavours of circumvention to ſupplant him therein, by thoſe authorities which have been here aſſembled, in the foregoing note; and as it might therefore be unneceſſary to appear any further ſollicitous in appropriating the ſame, we ſhall proceed to obſerve that Judge Gaſcoigne perſevered conſpicuouſly in the diſcharge of his duty, not only to the laſt ſeſſion in the Parliament-Houſe, and the laſt term in Weſtminſter-Hall, during the reign of Henry IV, but even beyond the demiſe of this King, to the beginning of his ſon and ſucceſſor Prince Henry, in the royal throne, as it is manifeſtly apparent in the records; notwithſtanding the evidence of thoſe Heralds and Antiquaries, who, tho' reſpectfully to be regarded in many other communications relating to him, and his family, have in the pedigrees thereof been ſomewhat deficient in fixing the date of his death; and tho' it may, in the latitude of a rhetorical ſtyle, be granted, that his ſitting on the Bench, ran parallel in a manner to the King's ſitting on the throne (*b*), yet hiſtorically, or ſtrictly ſpeaking, the meaſure of the King's reign is too long for his adminiſtration at the beginning, and too ſhort in the end. So that as all authors conſent to his departure out of this life on the 17th of December, I think we may ſafely take the liberty of prolonging it only a ſingle year beyond their computation; and inſtead of contracting it to the laſt or fourteenth of Henry IV, extend it to the firſt year of King Henry V, or 1413, unleſs we can think it allowable that he was ſummoned to attend the Parliament out of his grave [*H*]; as he will appear to have been, if he died the

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies in his Account of Judge Gaſcoigne, as before.

der committed, in ſuch manner by another, as to clear him of the crime, himſelf of ſuicide, and ſave his effects from confiſcation. For ſo, many Hiſtorians inform us, that, pretending to be enraged with his park-keeper, for ſuff'ring his deer to be ſtoln, he charged him that, the firſt perſon he met, at unſeaſonable hours, who wou'd not ſtand, and give account of himſelf, he ſhou'd ſhoot him; and that he wou'd indemnify, or diſcharge him. Accordingly, the keeper did meet with a man in the park, under an oak tree, one dark night, who wou'd not ſtand and declare what his buſineſs was; whereupon he ſhot him dead, and it proved to be his Maſter (99). One relator of this tragedy informs us, he has ſeen the ſtump of that tree, which is called, ſays he, *Hankford's Oak* to this day (100). And one motive to this deſperate deſtruction of himſelf, is pretended to have been, his having committed the Prince of Wales to priſon, and his dreadful apprehenſions from thence, that being King, he wou'd be revenged for the diſgrace (101); tho' he had preferred him, after Gaſcoigne's deceaſe, to be his repreſentative on the King's Bench; which fear, throwing him into inſuperable melancholy and deſpair, provoked him to this preferable courſe, of getting himſelf *murdered*, that he might not be put to *death*; which is ſo ridiculouſly incredible, that it needs no other confutation, than to obſerve that, on the ſixth of October 1423, he was confirmed Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench (102); which proves that he could neither be in any fear of revenge from King Henry V, who had then been above twelve months in his grave, nor ſo diſorder'd, with any ſuch melancholy, deſpair, or diſtraction of mind, as is pretended, when he was thought capable, to the very concluſion of his life, which happened in leſs than three months after, of diſcharging his office, and deciding cauſes upon the bench. And that date, by the way, may alſo ſerve to rectify another, in the inſcription as quoted from his monument (103); by which, thro' ſome error in the copy, or defect in one figure of the date, we are led to believe, he died a year ſooner than he did.

(99) Riſdon, as above. Alſo Tho. Weſtcote's Survey of Devonſhire, MS. Alſo Fox, Baker, Fuller's Worthies of Devon, &c.

(100) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 362.

(101) Riſdon, as before.

(102) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 121. from Dugdale's Chron. Series.

(103) In Fuller, Prince, &c.

[*H*] *Unleſs we can think it reaſonable, that he was ſummon'd, to attend the Parliament, out of his grave*] Though in the pedigrees we have ſeen of this family, both in manuſcript and print, Sir William Gaſcoigne is mentioned to have died on the 17th of December, 1412; and though it is believed that Dr Fuller, in his account of this Chief Juſtice (104), received direction to confine himſelf to the ſame date, from Mr Richard Gaſcoigne the Antiquary, becauſe he acknowledges that he was informed by him of the Judge's birth place; and ſays, 'That date is fairly legible on his ſtately 'monument in Harwood church (105);' yet we think it will appear that there is a little miſcomputation therein, and that occaſioned, either through ſome error in the tranſcript from the tomb of Sir William Gaſcoigne, or ſome ſuch dimneſs of one, and the ſame laſt numerical figure upon it, as might cauſe the like miſtake in ſpace of time, with that which we obſerved before in the inſcription taken from Sir William Hankford's (106). For, it is credibly aſſerted, that Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne gave his judgment upon a certain brief in *Hillary*-Term the fourteenth of Henry IV (107), or between the latter end of January, and the middle of February, the ſaid year beforementioned, 1412 (108), which may be near two months after the time of his death above quoted, as from his tomb. And the ſaid King Henry died on the 20th of March following, which is above three months after that date of Gaſcoigne's death, as it is ſaid to have been inſcribed on the tomb: yet we ſhall find him to have been, after that King's death, alive, and called to Parliament, in the firſt year of King Henry V. But if in reverence to monumental authority, it muſt not be granted that Gaſcoigne was living after the ſaid King Henry's coronation, which was the ninth of April 1413, we muſt reject that ſpeech as a forgery, which he is affirmed to have made the day after it, to thoſe who had been his diſſolute comrades, while he was Prince of Wales; whom he then ſummon'd before him to renounce and diſcharge them, after a formal manner. In this ſpeech the Chief Juſtice is expreſsly mentioned to be alive, as it is recorded by John Truſſell; who, in the preface of his hiſtory, having declared againſt making, or deviſing fictitious ſpeeches, for any of the eminent perſonages commemorated therein, we ſhou'd the more reaſonably give credit to it (109); and in the ſaid ſpeech, after this King had told thoſe his companions, It was ſufficient, that for many years together, he had faſhion'd himſelf according to their unruly diſpoſitions, not without reluctance; and wandered with them in a wilderneſs of riot and unthriftineſs; whereby he had made himſelf almoſt an alien to the hearts of his father and allies, and ſo diſparaged, or depreciated himſelf, that in the eyes of mankind, his preſence was grown vulgar and ſtale, and like the cuckow in June, heard but not regarded; he proceeds in brief to relate how, when one of them was convented before the Lord Chief Juſtice, he interpoſed, and ſtruck him on the face; and that he was by him deſervedly committed for the ſame: *for which act of juſtice, ſays he, I ſhall ever hold him worthy of the place, and my favour; and wiſh all my Judges to have the like undaunted courage, to puniſh offenders of what rank ſoever*, &c (110). But if through any little diſagreements in this ſpeech with the more ancient accounts already related, any readers ſhall except againſt it, as doubting the genuineneſs thereof, there is no need to contend for it; ſince we have authorities, which they will think unexceptionable, from the Records themſelves, to prove that our Chief Juſtice was living after the ſaid King came to the crown, and was then called, as we before ſaid, to the Parliament. For, in Sir William Dugdale, who has mentioned all the writs of ſummons directed to him, from the third of Henry IV, we may ſee the laſt of them, dated from Weſtminſter, the 22d of March, in the firſt year of this King

(104) His Worthies, in Yorkſhire, as before.

(105) Idem.

(106) Sir W. Hankford, ſaid, in that Inſcription, to have died in 1422; but as we have computed, in 1423. Sir W. Gaſcoigne ſaid, in this Inſcription, to have died in 1412; but as we ſhall compute, in 1413.

(107) See the Year-Books, De Termino Hillarii, Anno 14. Hen. IV. p. 18.

(108) Or 1413; if our ancient Hiſtorians then began to draw the circle of their years at Chriſtmas time, as J. Speed aſſerts they did. See his Chron. edit. fol. 1623, p. 778. col. 2.

(109) His words are, in his Epiſtle to the Reader, that he has forborne to obtrude any thing of his own invention, *quia malui Aliena imprudenter dicere, quàm propria impudenter ingerere.*

(110) J. Truſſell's Continuation of Sam. Daniel's Collection of the Hiſt. of Eng. fol. 1641, p. 94.

the year before. There is no doubt but the [illegible] of his funeral was magnificently proportionable, as well to his eminent dignity, his honourable family, plentiful fortune, and exalted fame, as to the ſepulchral honours wherein his remains were diſtinguiſhed in Harwood church, the Place of his interment. Upon his [illegible] monument are to be ſeen the effigies of himſelf at length; and, on his right hand [illegible] wives by him. He is repreſented in his Judge's robes, with his hood on; a large part [illegible] girdle on his left ſide, and a long dagger on the right (*i*). But the inſcription which was [illegible] on a braſs fillet, and inlay'd about the verge of the tomb, having been [illegible] the civil wars, we cannot aſſert what date, or further particulars it contained, [illegible] doubtful copy, ſaid to have been taken from the monument before the [illegible] thereof, and thoſe particulars were legible. Of this inſcription having [illegible] ſome account, as alſo of ſome other antiquities relating to the family, [illegible] Mr Knight, Vicar of Harwood, and other correſpondents, our reader may [illegible] unworthy of preſervation in this place [*I*]; the rather becauſe, if the ſaid [illegible]

(*i*) Extract of a Letter from Smart Lethieullier, Eſq; F.R.S. to Mr G. Ver- from Alderſ- July 18,

King Henry V, to meet in the Parliament that was to be there held, in the third week of Eaſter; and it did aſſemble accordingly, on the 15th of May in the ſaid year 1413 (111), when, there is no intimation of the leaſt doubt to the contrary, but Sir William Gaſcoigne was at this time preſent in it. But, being afterwards incapacitated by age or infirmities, to officiate in court, or attend in the next Seſſions of Parliament, ſummoned from Weſtminſter, on the firſt of December, to be held at Leiceſter, on the 29th of January following, in the ſecond year of the King (112), and ſo on, through his reign, to the third of Henry VI, the like writs are directed to Sir William Hankford, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; and Sir William Gaſcoigne is no more mentioned. Whence it is evident, that, as he is univocally allowed to have died on the 17th of December, it was in this firſt year of Henry V, or 1413, and not the laſt of Henry IV, as the Genealogiſts and Hiſtorians have in a ſingle year miſreckon'd. And tho' Sir William Hankford is ſummoned, by the nominal title of Chief Juſtice, in the writ directed to him, on the ſaid firſt of December, yet it is diſtinguiſhed that he was not ſo conſtituted, till the 29th of January following, which is computed to have been in the year of our Lord, 1414 (113). But though many authors in this particular point of Chronology, have thus ſhorten'd a little the line of this celebrated Chief Juſtice's life, we have met with one who has made ample amends, and ſpun it out to a length beyond all authority or belief; as may be ſeen in the enſuing note.

(111) A perfect Copy of all the Summons of the Nobility to the great Councils and Parliaments of this realm, from 49 of Hen. III. until theſe preſent times: extracted from the Publick Records by Sir W. Dugdale, Knt. Garter, Principal King of Arms, fol. 1685. p. 389.

(112) Idem. De Parliamento tenendo apud Leiceſtriam, p. 390. 391, &c.

(113) Dugdale's Chron. Series. p. 56, ex Pat. 1. Hen. V. M. 33. And Chron. Juridicialia, p. 117.

[*I*] *Our reader may not think them unworthy of preſervation in this place.*] The account we formerly received from the late Rev. Mr Knight, in a letter containing theſe antiquities relating to the Gaſcoigne family, may beſt appear in the words of the ſaid letter; which is as follows.

Harwood, *April* 20, 1742.

SIR,

'HAVING been acquainted by Mr Green of Wakefield, who was lately at my houſe, that an account of the Lord Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne's Monument in my church would be acceptable to you, if what I have here drawn up will afford you any ſatisfaction, it will be highly pleaſing to me.

'Tis a misfortune there is no Inſcription now remaining on that monument; and the arms relating to the family, once viſible on the ſhields carved thereon, are now no longer ſo; having been only blazon'd in colours and not cut in *Baſſo-Relievo*. Yet it is obſervable, that ſome of the armorial lines, whereby eſcutcheons are divided, may be ſtill ſeen upon them, and particularly on one of thoſe at the eaſt end of the ſaid monument, where we can behold the too perpendicular lines drawn through the middle of the eſcutcheon, in form of a pale; which I am perſuaded once bore the arms of the family. Beſides the robes of a Judge, in which the effigies is apparell'd, is a very prevailing evidence that it was carved to repreſent this excellent Lord Chief Juſtice, as we find no other of his ſtation or dignity here interr'd.

'And what may further ſtrengthen our belief therein is, that in the eaſt window of the iſle or chapel where the monument ſtands, are ſome remains of painting on the glaſs; among which are three figures kneeling; whereof, two repreſent women, on each ſide one, and the third, a man in the middle, and him I take to be the Lord Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne; part of whoſe ſcarlet robe ſtill appears, though the greater part thereof is unfortunately defaced; which is confirmed, by an eſcutcheon of his arms, ſtill to be ſeen over his head; and I take the other two figures, which are pretty entire, to repreſent his two wives, as partly appears from the arms of Gaſcoigne, which are, *Argent, on a Pale Sable; a Demi Luce, Or*; and are impaled with their own, on each of their mantles; but more clearly from the eſcutcheons of their own arms, placed over their heads; which arms are, firſt, thoſe of the illuſtrious family of Mowbray, viz, *Gules; a Lion Rampant Argent, armed and langued Azure; a Bordure gobonated, Or, and Argent*: the other, thoſe of the ancient family of Pickering, viz. *Ermin; a Lion rampant Azure, crowned, Or; armed and langued Gules.* The arms of Mowbray are quarter'd with thoſe of Gaſcoigne, the latter diſtinct. Now that thoſe painted figures and arms repreſent and belong to the ſaid Chief Juſtice and his wives, is confirmed by the pedigree of the Gaſcoignes, printed in Mr Thoreſby's Antiquities of Leeds, to which I refer you for further ſatisfaction: and what is more, the original of the ſaid pedigree, which I have ſeen by the favour of Sir Edward Gaſcoigne, exhibits the painted figures abovementioned, by a copy thereof when entire; painted in ſuch a lively manner upon the parchment roll, as perfectly corroborates the obſervations I have drawn from the ruinous remains of the window, which is now in a worſe condition than it was when I firſt made theſe remarks, and conſequently lets in leſs light to our enquiries. But that I am not miſtaken in my account of thoſe figures and arms, the remainder of an inſcription at the bottom of the ſaid window, as it ſtood when I took it, will ſtill more evidently demonſtrate; which ſtands thus; Orate pro Gulielmo Gaſcoyne, et Elisabetha, et Johanna Uxoribus ejuſdem. I have ſupply'd, as you ſee, the chaſms which time had then made, and are now greater; yet I think, without any room to doubt ſuch ſupplement, as the name of his ſecond wife appears in the pedigree, to be Joan.

'But whereas Mr Thoreſby dates the Chief Juſtices's death in 1412, it ſeems to be a miſtake, by what is mentioned in the ſpeech of King Henry V, to his licentious aſſociates, while he was Prince, as it is recorded in Truſſel's Continuation of Daniel's Hiſtory; in which ſpeech, this Chief Juſtice appears to be then living; and the ſame is confirmed by a copy of the inſcription, ſaid to have been preſerved, as it originally ſtood upon the monument; which I deſigned to have annexed to this account, had not Mr Green, who received it from me, been before-hand with me, in tranſmitting it to you, wherefore it is omitted. And though, as you obſerve, Dr Fuller affirms, that the date of the Judge's death, which he mentions, is fairly written on his tomb in Harwood church; yet it does not appear from thence that he had ſeen it; nor is it likely that it was legible when he wrote the latter part of his Worthies; becauſe moſt of the braſs margins which contained the monumental inſcrip-

with nothing to confirm the [illegible] carry with it ſufficient caution, or advertiſement, that other [illegible] by it. It is alſo obſerved, that the Arms of England are carved or painted at the [illegible] of the Judge's tomb, with thoſe of France, *Semé Fleurs de Lis* (*k*); which [illegible] reduced to three of thoſe flowers, not long after he came to the crown, being the [illegible] number then worn by Charles VI. of France (*l*): and thus much in all [illegible] to obſerve of the ancient, valiant, and virtuous family, as [illegible] of the Gaſcoignes.

(*k*) Mr Lethieullier's Letter, as above.

(*l*) Fr. Sandford, as before, fol. 277.

[illegible] torn away, by the ſacrilegi- [illegible] grand rebellion; whereof there [illegible] in other parts of my church. But [illegible] communicated to you, which I re- [illegible] curious gentleman in London, is proba- [illegible] be relied on, than that in the printed au- [illegible] foreſaid, becauſe it ſeems to have been tran- [illegible] from the tomb when it was entire; being pre- [illegible] in an old volume of *monumental draughts, and arms from the Windows of ſeveral remarkable churches in Yorkſhire*, as they might be ſtanding perhaps an hundred and fifty years ſince; from which volume, among the *MSS in the Herald's Office*, it was copied, and ſent me by the ſaid gentleman, Mr Smart Lethieullier of Bond-ſtreet.

'There is a monument under the arch in the ſouth wall of the chapel, where Judge Gaſcoigne's is, which, as I ſuppoſe, is his father, and mother's, from the numerous progeny repreſented in effigie on one ſide, and at the end thereof; which progeny agrees pretty well with that in the pedigree; only, in this, a part is probably left out, for want of room. I take the other monument under the oppoſite arch, on the ſide of the great chancel, to be that of his grandfather and grand-mother, who was the heireſs of Gawthorp.

'When I ſaw the pedigree aforeſaid at Sir Edward Gaſcoigne's, and ſome other antiquities, I received from him the impreſſion of an original *ancient ſeal*, belonging to that family. It exhibits a perſon ſetting, who is thought to be William the Conqueror, and delivering a deed, it ſeems, to a perſon kneeling before him, who is ſuppoſed to be one of the family of Gaſcoigne, and to receive thereby a grant of lands. Other two perſons are alſo repreſented kneeling by him, probably for the ſame purpoſe; and there ſeems to be the head of another ſtanding by the Conqueror, as one of his officers or attendants. The legend round the ſeal is SIR WILLEME GASQVONE. Mr Richard Gaſcoigne has left ſome *obſervations on this ſeal*, in MS (which are in Sir Edward's hands) who writes his name as here ſet down, to the beſt of my remembrance. If theſe, or any other particulars I can furniſh you with, will anſwer your enquiries, it will be very agreeable to,

'SIR,

'Your moſt Obedient

'Humble Servant,

'R. KNIGHT (114).'

(114) He died at his Vicarage in Yorkſhire, in July 1747.

Here it may not be improper to remark, that the deed or patent, appearing, in this old family ſeal, to be given by W. the Conqueror, or one of his ſucceſſors, to an anceſtor of Judge Gaſcoigne, ſeems to be the ſame, which Mr Richard Gaſcoigne is repreſented in his picture beforementioned, to be holding in his hand, and doubtleſs he was poſſeſs'd of the old grant or patent ſo painted therein; which in all probability we ſhould find he has explained, or mentioned the contents of, in his ſaid *obſervations* upon that ſeal, were the curious obliged with an edition thereof from the preſs. Another account we have alſo received of this ſeal (115), with ſome further conſtructions of the images upon it; which, as they may be of uſe towards attaining the full knowledge or explanation thereof, we ſhall here alſo recite: 'There is ſtill preſerved in this family, the ſeal of the firſt William, the inſcription about it, in Gothic characters, and his name ſpelt in the Gaſcon manner, SIGILLUM WILLELMI DE GASQUONE. There is repreſented on it, a King, ſitting in a chair of ſtate, with another perſon by him, who ſeems to be a coaſſeſſor, and delivering a charter to a knight on his knees before him, agreeable to the cuſtom both of the Conqueror's and Henry IId's times: and perhaps the grant referred to by this device, when the eldeſt ſon of that King Henry was aſſociated with him in the royalty (116).' As for the copy, ſaid in the letter above, to have been taken of the Inſcription on the Chief Juſtice's monument, from a MS in the Herald's Office wherein it was preſerved, before that braſs edging was ript off whereon it was inſcribed; and which, as Mr Knight has alſo above ſaid, was ſent by the late Mr William Green, an ingenious carver and ſtatuary ſome time of Wakefield (117), in a letter to the writer of this article; that letter, containing the ſaid inſcription, is alſo ſtill in being; and the ſubſtance in it, of what concerns this matter is, That in, or about the year 1736, Sir John Forteſcue Aland (118) being in Yorkſhire, took a journey of ſome miles, to ſee Judge Gaſcoigne's monument; but finding no epitaph on it, and Mr Knight the Vicar of Harwood diſtant from home, he returned unſatisfied of the intelligence he wanted; as it was thought he intended to publiſh ſomething concerning the ſaid Judge. But afterwards, by letters from London, he ſought and obtained of Mr Knight, ſuch an account of the antiquities in Harwood church, &c. relating to this family, as we have printed above: yet Sir John received not the ſaid inſcription, becauſe Mr Knight was not then poſſeſſed of it. And after Mr Lethieullier had oblig'd him with it, Mr Knight ſent him, at his requeſt, or in return of the favour, a caſt of Judge Gaſcoigne's face from the effigies on his monument, taken, or finiſhed off, by Mr Green, in plaiſter of Paris; and he gave Mr Green a copy of the Inſcription; which, as he ſent it to us, in a letter (119), dated a fortnight before that above was written by Mr Knight, we ſhall here exactly tranſcribe; after having firſt obſerved, that in one part of Mr Lethieullier's letter, above quoted in the text, it is ſaid to be the effigies of his ſecond Lady, Joan, daughter of Sir William Pickering, which lies at the right-hand of the Judge on his Monument, but in this inſcription, to be that of his firſt Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Mowbray: and yet we believe, the great difference in the chronological aſſertion of the Judge's death, no leſs than ſixteen years later than any other account, will be a greater difficulty to digeſt. But here it is, juſt as we received it. *Hic Jacet Willielmus Gaſcoine, nuper Capitalis Juſticiar⁹ de Banco Henrici nuper Regis Angliæ, et Elizabetha uxor ejus: Qui quidem Willielmus obiit Die Dominica, 17°. Die Decembris, A°. Dni.* 1429 (120). Beſides the general exception to which this date, in the year of our Lord, is liable, by being ſo widely different from all authority or likelihood, the day of the week may alſo poſſibly, upon calculation, be found incoherent with the day of the month in the ſaid year; and thus much, if this date is ſuch an error as we take it to be, we thought here obſervable, to prevent the propagation thereof.

(115) In Memoirs of the Gaſcoignes MS. as before.

(116) Idem.

(117) But born in Lond. and was the author of ſome critical obſervations on the Monuments in Weſtminſter-Abbey; and alſo of Remarks upon ſome Churches, noble Seats, and other antique or noted Structures, in the North of Eng. never printed. He died at Lond. Sept. 24, 1747, aged 53.

(118) One of the Judges of the Court of King's-Bench, and late Lord Creden in Ireland; who died in December 1746.

(119) Mr Green's Letter concerning Judge Gaſcoigne's Monument, to the author of this article, dated from Wakefield, April 5, 1742.

(120) If any Reference to the Volume in the Herald's Office, from whence this Inſcription is ſaid to have been tranſcribed, had been ſent with it, we ſhould have here cited it, for the more eaſy examination thereof.

GASTRELL.

GASTRELL (FRANCIS), late Biſhop of Cheſter, a man of great learning, and an excellent preacher, was born at Slapton in Northamptonſhire, about the year 1662 (*a*). His education was at Weſtminſter-ſchool, under the famous Buſby; from whence he was elected Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. There he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1684; that of Maſter, April 20, 1687; and that of Bachelor of Divinity, June 23, 1694 (*b*). About the time he took this laſt degree, he was Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-inn: and was ſo eminent and admired for his ſound, elegant, and uſeful manner of preaching, that he was appointed to preach in the year 1697, the Lecture founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle, Eſq; The eight Sermons he made upon that occaſion, were publiſhed by him in 1697, in one continued Diſcourſe [*A*], that the ſtrength of the proofs therein uſed might appear more plainly from their connexion (*c*). By way of continuation, or ſecond part, of the ſame moſt important ſubject, he publiſhed in 1699, another Diſcourſe, to which he gave the title of, 'The Certainty of the Chriſtian Revelation, and the Neceſſity of Believing it, eſtabliſhed [*B*].' On the 13th of July 1700, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*d*): and, being Chaplain to the Houſe of Commons, was preſented by Queen Anne to a Canonry of Chriſt-Church in Oxford; to which he was inſtituted January 5, 1702-3, and inſtalled the 16th of the ſame month (*e*). He publiſhed, in 1702, 'Some Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that Controverſy [*C*].' And afterwards put out another piece againſt Dr Samuel Clarke, upon that ſubject [*D*]. But his moſt conſiderable work, next to his Boyle's Lectures, was an excellent book, which he intituled, 'The Chriſtian Inſtitutes, or the ſincere Word of God [*E*].' He alſo publiſhed in 1707, a Sermon preached at the Anniverſary meeting

[*A*] *The eight Sermons he made upon that occaſion, were publiſhed by him in* 1697, *in one continued Diſcourſe.*] He intitled it, 'The Certainty and Neceſſity of Religion in general, or the firſt Grounds and Principles of Humane Duty eſtabliſh'd; In eight Sermons, preach'd at St Martin's in the Fields, at the Lecture for the year 1697, founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; 8vo.'

In the Preface he obſerves, That 'in every age of the world we have any account of left us, the Wickedneſs of Mankind has much the largeſt ſhare in their Hiſtory; and if we believed the Complaints of the ſeveral Hiſtorians, who acquaint us with what paſſed in their days, we ſhould be diſpoſed to conclude, that thoſe particular times, we were reading of, were certainly a great deal worſe than any that went before, and that conſequently Vice having been always growing, and gathering ſtrength, as the world advanced in age, the preſent Generation of men muſt far exceed all their predeceſſors in wickedneſs: But though (ſays he) I have a very ill opinion of the age we now live in, I cannot look upon this reflection, as juſt and well grounded. The true occaſion, both of the Obſervation, and the Complaints grounded upon it, *he* takes to be that variety of Wickedneſs, whereby the ſeveral Ages and Countries of the world have been diſtinguiſhed from one another. For there have been as many different methods and faſhions of ſinning, among men, as forms of government; and as many changes and revolutions in vice as in Empire. Some periods of time have been remarkable for open Cruelty, Rapine, and Oppreſſion; others for Treachery, and private Revenge, and all the ſecret ways of deſtruction: Other ages there have been, when Luxury and Riot, and all manner of extravagant Luſt and Debauchery, were the publick reigning Vices: Sometimes Profaneneſs, and a publick Contempt of Religion have prevailed; at other times, Indifference, and a careleſs Neglect of all that is good; ſometimes Hypocriſy, and an open Pretence to piety and virtue, have been uſed for a cover to a cloſe and ſecret practice of all manner of vice; and at other times, men have had the Impudence to defend the worſt actions, by endeavouring to make them appear conſiſtent with religion. Theſe, and many more ſuch like differences, are obſervable in the Hiſtory of former times; but the peculiar diſtinguiſhing character of this Age is a publick denial of Religion, and all the obligations of it, with an endeavour to diſprove the Evidences brought for it, and to offer a more rational Scheme of Libertiniſm.'

In the firſt Lecture, he thus defines Religion. 'By Religion in general, I mean all that Worſhip, Service, or Obedience, we, that call ourſelves *Men*, are to pay to *God*; or whatever we are, in any reſpect, *obliged* to, upon the proſpect of his favour, or under the penalty of his diſpleaſure, in *this*, or a *future ſtate*.'

And, a few pages lower, he gives the following Deſcription of the Supreme Being. 'I conceive God to be *One Unchangeable* Being, of an *intelligent* nature, who *always neceſſarily exiſted* of himſelf, who knows every thing that can be known, who can do every thing that is poſſible to be done, who does every thing he wills, and nothing but what he wills himſelf, who enjoys an unalterable ſtate of the greateſt happineſs that can be enjoyed, who never wills or does any thing inconſiſtent with this ſtate, who makes *himſelf* the ultimate end of all he does, and next to that the good or happineſs of all ſuch beings as are capable of it; which, together with all other beings, and every thing that belongs to them, were from him, and depend upon him for their continuance; and laſtly who brings about whatever he wills or deſigns, by the fitteſt and moſt proper means.'

[*B*] *The certainty of the Chriſtian Revelation, and the Neceſſity of Believing it, eſtabliſhed.*] The reſt of the title, is, 'In oppoſition to all the Cavils and Inſinuations of ſuch as pretend to allow Natural Religion, and reject the Goſpel.' It is dedicated to the Lord Chief Juſtice Holt; to whom the ingenious Author pays very handſome compliments, and with a great deal of truth.

[*C*] *Some Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that Controverſy.*] To the third Edition, which came out in 1707, is ſubjoined, A Vindication of it, in anſwer to Antony Collins's *Eſſay concerning the uſe of Reaſon.*

[*D*] *And afterwards put out another piece againſt Dr Samuel Clarke, upon that ſubject.*] This was intituled, 'Remarks upon Dr Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity, by the Author of Some Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the ways of managing that Controverſy.' Lond. 1714, 8vo. Dr Clarke publiſhed an Anſwer to it, at the end of his *Reply to Mr Nelſon*; and obſerves, That the Objections in thoſe *Remarks*, were ſet forth to particular advantage, by the ſkill of a *very able and Learned Writer*; and propoſed with a *reaſonable and good ſpirit.*

[*E*] *The Chriſtian Inſtitutes, or the ſincere Word of God.*] The reſt of the title is, 'Being a plain and impartial Account of the whole Faith and Duty of a Chriſtian. Collected out of the Writings of the Old and New Teſtament: Digeſted under proper heads, and delivered in the words of Scripture.' It is dedicated, To the worſhipful the Maſters of the Bench, and the reſt of the Members of the honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn. And was printed in Italic, [illegible] tures; which were

meeting of the Charity-ſchools in London [*F*]. In 1711, he was Proctor in Convocation for the Chapter of Oxford; and made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to Queen Anne. Upon the tranſlation of Sir William Dawes to the Archbiſhoprick of York, Dr Gaſtrell being nominated Biſhop of Cheſter in his room, was conſecrated in Somerſet-houſe Chapel April 4, 1714, and allowed to keep his Canonry in commendam with that ſmall Biſhoprick (*f*). But being one of thoſe Prelates that were advanced during the four laſt years of Queen Anne, the Miniſtry of King George I. thought fit to frown upon him, without any ſufficient reaſon; which ſo much diſguſted him, that he oppoſed and proteſted againſt moſt of their meaſures (*g*). He ſhewed his zeal for the Univerſity of Oxford, in 1717, when it was attacked in the Houſe of Lords, upon account of the pretended riot on the Prince of Wales's birth-day (*h*). And when the Bill was depending, for inflicting pains and penalties, on his old friend and fellow-collegian Dr Francis Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter, he ſpoke in his behalf [*G*]. In the year 1719, &c. he had (out of a tender regard for the Honour and Intereſt of the Univerſities) a conteſt with the Crown, about filling up the Wardenſhip of Mancheſter-college. For Samuel Peploe, Maſter of Arts of the Univerſity of Oxford, having obtained a grant of that Wardenſhip from King George I; and it being a neceſſary qualification, according to the foundation-charter of the ſaid college, that he ſhould be Bachelor of Divinity; inſtead of taking this degree regularly at Oxford [*H*], he procured a faculty for it from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Dr Gaſtrell, who, as Biſhop of Cheſter, was to admit him; not thinking a Lambeth-degree to be a good and effectual qualification in law for any eccleſiaſtical dignity or benefice, refuſed to give him inſtitution, and publiſhed his Caſe [*I*]. However, the matter being referred

the preface, he obſerves, that 'ſeveral Abſtracts, or 'Summaries of *Chriſtian Doctrine*, had been drawn 'up, for the benefit of ſuch as will not be at the 'pains to ſearch and ſtudy the Scriptures; ſuch as, by 'reaſon of their age, are not capable of reading them 'with judgment; and ſuch as, through ſome preju-'dice or evil diſpoſition of mind, may be apt to miſ-'apply them.——But the great misfortune is, that 'theſe very books, which were intended to lead us 'more eaſily and certainly into the knowledge of 'Scripture, are moſt of them ſo framed, as to repre-'ſent the Religion there delivered to us, in a falſe 'light.——The chief occaſion of which abuſe, is, 'the many Differences and Diviſions that have hap-'pened among Chriſtians, both with regard to their 'Faith, and to their Rules and Meaſures of ſerving 'God; which Differences, as they plainly roſe at 'firſt, from a greater deference that was paid, either 'to the *Traditions*, or *Writings of Men*, than to the '*Word of God*; ſo have they been kept up ever ſince, 'by a greater care that hath been taken by the ſeveral 'ſects, to inſtruct their children in thoſe things which 'diſtinguiſh them from one another, than to teach 'them the common Doctrines and Duties of their moſt 'holy profeſſion: From whence it follows, that the 'books compoſed by them for that purpoſe, muſt 'needs give a very different, and the greateſt part of 'them, for that reaſon, a very falſe account, of the 'Chriſtian Religion.——Now, for the better remov-'ing any falſe opinions we may have received from 'thoſe different accounts which are given us of Scrip-'ture by other men, as well as preventing any wrong 'judgments we might be diſpoſed to make of the 'Word of God, when we read it ourſelves; I have 'often thought (ſays he) that it would be a work of 'great uſe, to collect out of the writings of the Old 'and New Teſtament, all the Doctrines and Precepts 'therein diſperſed; to lay them together in ſuch an 'order and method, as to give the Chriſtian reader a 'full and diſtinct view of his whole Faith and Duty at 'once; and by keeping all along the Language of 'Scripture, to leave no room for miſrepreſentation. 'This is what I have endeavour'd to do in the follow-'ing Treatiſe, as being fully ſatisfied of the truth of 'what a great writer obſerves, (1) *That we cannot* '*ſpeak of the things of God better than in the words of* 'God.'

(1) Chillingworth, p. 132.

[*F*] *A Sermon preached at the Anniverſary meeting of the Charity-Schools in London.*] It is intituled, 'The Religious Education of poor Children recom-'mended, in a Sermon preach'd in the pariſh Church 'of St Sepulchres, June 5, 1707. Being Thurſday 'in Whitſon-week, at the Anniverſary meeting of the 'Gentlemen concerned in promoting the Charity-[illegible] Cities of London and [illegible]hildren educated in 'the ſaid Schools, in number about three thouſand.' On Pſalm cxlvii. 12, 13.——In one part of it (2), he has this pretty alluſion, or compariſon.——'Theſe 'Schools are not like the Popiſh Monaſteries, and other 'places of religious retirement; thoſe *ſtanding Pools* '*of Charity*, which, if they do not ſtink and grow 'corrupt, yet, being pent up within narrow bounds, 'carry no refreſhment or fruitfulneſs to other parts. 'Theſe are pure and wholſome Streams, which are 'always running, and diſperſing themſelves into dif-'ferent channels, and by that means, communicating 'their virtues to all the dry and barren parts of the 'land. The children that are here educated, will af-'terwards be diſtributed into many families, &c.'

(2) P. 10.

He alſo publiſhed, without his name, *A moral Proof of a Future State*. And perhaps ſome other pieces, of that kind.

[*G*] *He ſpoke in his behalf.*] The ſubſtance of his ſpeech was. 'That extraordinary proceedings may 'be recurr'd to, upon extraordinary occaſions, and 'when they are evidently neceſſary for the preſerva-'tion of the State; but that this was very far from 'the preſent caſe, ſince the Conſpiracy, in which the 'Biſhop of Rocheſter was charged to have had a ſhare, 'had been diſcover'd and diſappointed long be-'fore (3).'

(3) Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, as above, p. 353.

[*H*] *Inſtead of taking this degree regularly at Oxford.*] When Biſhop Gaſtrell firſt ſcrupled to admit the Archbiſhop's Degree for a qualification, he ſaid [to uſe his own words] to Mr Peploe; 'That, being 'in all reſpects qualified to take his Degree *regularly* 'in the Univerſity, he might proceed that way, with-'out any fear of being denied; but, if he deſired any '*Favour*, uſually indulged to other perſons, that I 'would endeavour to obtain it for him; and I did 'not doubt but the Univerſity would readily grant it.' Upon what views and motives [adds the Biſhop] Mr Peploe declined taking his Bachelor of Divinity's Degree in Oxford, when he had actually prepared the beſt part of the *Exerciſe* required in order to it, I cannot tell; but ſure I am that he might have done it without hurting the Archbiſhop's pretenſions (4).

(4) Preface to the Biſhop of Cheſter's Caſe, p. 2.

[*I*] *And publiſhed his Caſe.*] Under this title, 'The Biſhop of Cheſter's Caſe, with relation to the 'Wardenſhip of Mancheſter. In which is ſhewn, 'That no other Degrees but ſuch as are taken in the 'Univerſity, can be deemed legal Qualifications for 'any eccleſiaſtical preferment in England.' Oxford 1721. fol. As this Book is now grown very ſcarce, the Reader will not be diſpleaſed with an extract of it. The learned Author then obſerves (5), That the Authority of Parliament, upon which the Archbiſhop grounds his pretended Right, is Statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. But there being no mention of *Degrees* in that Act; nor any thing that, upon a careful peruſal of the Act, can lead any one to think of Degrees; the Power

(5) P. 3.

now

referred to the King's Bench, was decided in favour of Mr Peploe. Bishop Gastrell did not long survive this conquest over himself and the Universities; for he died at his Canon's lodgings in Christ-Church November 14, 1725, in the 62d. or 63d. year of his age: and was buried in the Cathedral there, without any monument (i). But he left a sufficient monument of himself in his excellent writings. And his virtues are far from being yet forgotten. Besides his other honourable employments, he was one of the Commissioners for building the fifty new Churches in London: and a member of the Society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts (k). He was succeeded in the See of Chester, by Mr Peploe abovementioned.

(i) Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 4.

(k) Register, and Rem. in the Chron. Diary, p. 47.

now challenged by the Archbishop, of conferring Degrees, must be couched under the *general Powers* there conveyed to him, which are ranked under these two heads, viz. 1. 'All manner of licences, dispensations, 'faculties, &c. as heretofore hath been *used and accustomed to be had at the See of Rome*, —— or of any 'person by authority of the same.——2. All other 'licences, dispensations, &c. for all such causes and 'matters as shall be *convenient* and *necessary* to be had, 'for the honour and surety of the King, and the wealth 'and profit of the realm.' But Degrees, as he shews (6), were not *used and accustomed* to be had, for these kingdoms at the See of Rome; because no body ever had a good, just, and reasonable cause to have recourse to Rome for them, there being always a standing Power within this realm, from whence they might be obtained. And it was not likely that any persons would be at an *excessive charge* to obtain Degrees from Rome, which they might take at a cheaper rate here at home; namely, in our *Universities*.——Moreover, in the same Statute of 25 Hen. VIII, it being enacted, 'That 'there shall be two books made and drawn of one 'tenour, in which shall be contained the *Taxes* of all 'customable Dispensations, Faculties, and other writ-'ings, wont to be sped at Rome:' Therefore, from two entries, made in a Taxation-book, now remaining in the Faculty-office (7), some have inferred the Archbishop's right of conferring Degrees.——But our learned Author shews this Tax-book (now in the Faculty-office) to be of no manner of authority, or validity (8). For it is only a copy of an ancient paper-manuscript, taken about the year 1680; And that *ancient paper* manuscript, was not one of the *original Tax-books* directed to be made by the foresaid statute; as appears by this very material reason, among others, Because it is not *signed* or *subscribed* by any body; whereas the Act positively orders, that *every Leaf of those Books* (which were enacted to be made and drawn of one tenour), *and both sides of every leaf, should be subscribed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord-Chancellor of England, the Lord Treasurer, and the two Chief Justices of both Benches for the time being*. And such subscription was absolutely necessary to render the said books *authentick*.——Besides, in that ancient MS. paper, the number of heads upon which Faculties were granted, are 225: whereas by an order of Council in 1576, they were restrained to 13. And consequently it cannot be supposed, that a book where 225 several kinds of Faculties were taxed, should be looked upon as an *authentick* standard for granting Faculties, at a time when 13 only were judged grantable, which were no way distinguished from the other in the *old* book (9). Therefore, our learned Author thinks, that the said ancient paper manuscript was only a loose collection of various matters, taken out of several different books, relating both to the *ordinary* and *extraordinary* jurisdiction of the Court of Rome, put together, with a design to compose out of it such a *Tax-book* as the Act of Parliament directed to be made, and which he believes was *never made* (10).——In considering what the *Practice* hath been with relation to *Degrees* conferred by the Archbishop, since Statute 25 Hen. VIII; He observes, there are very few instances of such Faculties granted before the Restauration (11). And concludes, that no such *Custom* of conferring Degrees can be pleaded, as will establish the *Right* now claimed by the *Archbishop*; because *Custom* must be *certain, uniform, constant*, and *uninterrupted*; whereas the *Practice* in this case has been various, both as to *Form* and *Authority*, with a long intermission of at least 80 years, after a very considerable change made in the first ground and foundation of the pretence (12). ——After having duly examined several Acts of Parliament, Canons of Councils, Records, Articles of Enquiry at Archbishops and Bishops Visitations, &c. he draws what may be called his general conclusion, That Degrees conferred by the Archbishops of Canterbury could never be reputed or taken to be any more than *bare Titles of Honour*, which were attended with no *legal* or *canonical Effect* whatsoever; and as they are conferred without *Investiture*, so they give no right to any *habit* at all (13).

(7) Creatio Doctorum in quacunque facultate, 4l. Creatio aliorum Graduatorum in quacunque facultate, 3l.

(8) P. 5.

(9) P. 35.

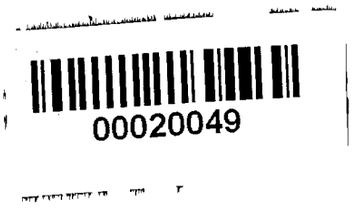
(10) P. 7.

(11) P. 8.

(12) P. 11.

(13) P. 12, 40.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.


00020049

Digitized with financial assistance from the

Government of Maharashtra

on 25 June, 2016